DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 428 552		FL 025 751

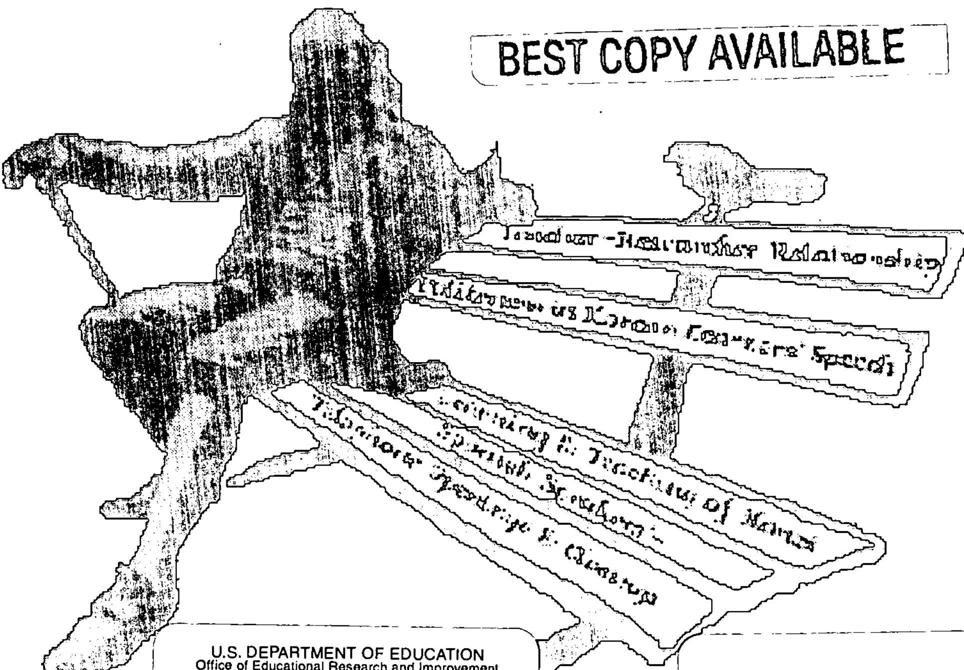
AUTHOR	Evans, Bruce, Ed.; Bell, Nancy, Ed.; Cahnnann, Melisa, Ed.; McKinney, Michelle, Ed.; Schwinge, Diana, Ed.; Wang, Shu-han, Ed.
TITLE	Working Papers in Educational Linguistics, Volume 14 Number 1.
INSTITUTION	Pennsylvania Univ., Philadelphia. Graduate School of Education.
PUB DATE	1998-00-00
NOTE	107p.; For individual articles, see FL 025 752-755.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Serials (022)
JOURNAL CIT	Working Papers in Educational Linguistics; v14 n1 1998
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC05 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Chinese; Classroom Techniques; *English (Second Language); Higher Education; Ideography; *Interpersonal Communication; Interprofessional Relationship; Korean; Language Patterns; *Language Research; Language Teachers; Learning Strategies; *Linguistic Theory; Native Speakers; Research Methodology; Researchers; Second Language Learning; *Sociocultural Patterns; Spanish Speaking; Teacher Attitudes; Teacher Researchers; Telephone Communications Systems; Uncommonly Taught Languages
IDENTIFIERS	*Politeness

ABSTRACT

Four papers on linguistics include: "The Teacher-Research Relationship: Multiple Perspectives and Possibilities" (Teresa Pica), on the research relationships of researchers and language teachers; "Politeness in the Speech of Korean ESL Learners" (Nancy Bell), focusing on the speech acts of disagreeing, requesting, and making suggestions; "Openings and Closings in Telephone Conversations between Native Spanish Speakers" (Serafin M. Coronel-Molina), examining Hispanic cultural patterns of conduct for telephone use; and "A Study on the Learning and Teaching of Hanzi-Chinese Characters" (Shu-han C. Wang), a study of how hanzi was taught and learned at an American university, with attention to the relationship between teacher beliefs and practices and students' learning strategies. (MSE)

Working Papers in Educational Linguistics

University of Pennsylvania
Graduate School of Education



2

Working Papers in Educational Linguistics

Language in Education Division
Graduate School of Education
University of Pennsylvania

Division Programs	TESOL Educational Linguistics Reading/Writing/Literacy Intercultural Communication

WORKING PAPERS IN EDUCATIONAL LINGUISTICS

Volume 14, Number 1 Fall, 1998

Contents

Dear WPEL readers,

We are proud to bring you the latest issue of the University of Pennsylvania's *Working Papers in Education Linguistics*. The work contained in this collection represents the diverse interests and research projects of the students and faculty associated with the Language in Education Division.

Our mission is to share the current and on-going work of our students and faculty with our worldwide readership. We also aim to work with our contributors to make their "working papers" into scholarly articles ready for publication in the top journals in our field.

In this issue:

Teresa Pica offers five perspectives on the multiple and possible relationships of second/foreign language teachers and researchers.

Nany Bell examines the production of the speech acts of disagreeing, requesting and making suggestions by Korean learners of English and the influence of status on performance .

Serafin Coronel-Molina looks at the openings and closing sequences of telephone conversations to determine how closely Hispanic cultural patterns of conduct for telephone conversations follow the sequences outlined by other researchers.

Shu-han Wang studies how Chinese characters (hanzi) was taught and learned by a group of non-Chinese speaking learners at an American University with attention to the relation between teacher beliefs and practice and to the strategies students use in learning hanzi.

In addition to our advisor, Nancy Hornberger, we gratefully acknowledge the following individuals whose help and cooperation made this publication possible: the authors, Keith Watanabe, Lorraine Hightower, Penny Creedon, amd Suzanne Oh.

We hope that you find the following selected contributions as engaging and worthy of scholarly interest as we have.

The editors

The Teacher-Researcher Relationship: Multiple Perspectives and Possibilities

Teresa Pica

Graduate School of Education
University of Pennsylvania

This paper offers five perspectives on the multiple and possible relationships of second/foreign language (L2) teachers and researchers. It begins with an overview of traditions and transitions in the approaches, values, and concerns of L2 teachers and researchers. This is followed by discussion and illustration of four of the five relationships, including (1) coexistence of teaching and research activities, centered on similar topics, through individual approaches and goals; (2) collaboration of teaching and research efforts, in shared collection, analysis, and interpretation of data, action research, and ethnographic study; (3) complementarity of teaching and research skills, toward theoretically motivated treatments, designed in a research context, then studied in the classroom; and (4) compatibility of teaching and research interests, with respect to cognitive and social processes of L2 learning, and material and activity selection for L2 teaching and research. The chapter concludes with a summary of a project on content-based L2 teaching and learning, which illustrates a fifth relationship, of convergence, across perspectives (1)-(4).

Introduction

Education is a field that is filled with questions and concerns that are of mutual interest to teachers and researchers. Increasingly, the scope, complexity, and urgency of such questions and concerns in the education of second and foreign language (L2) learners bring teachers and researchers together in relationships that integrate their activities, efforts, skills, and knowledge. These relationships are further evident among teachers and researchers in the traditions they share, the transitions they have experienced, and the collegial connections they have sought to nurture and sustain. This chapter therefore begins with a review of traditions and transitions in L2 education that have impacted teachers and researchers in their work with L2 learners.

Traditions in the Teacher-Researcher Relationship

Traditionally, L2 teaching and research have had their share of supporters and skeptics, the former arguing that theirs was a better method for teaching or for carrying out research, the latter often abandoning methods, or combining them eclectically. At the same time, they strive toward a more principled approach to their work, in which no single method is believed to be effective in any prescriptive sense, but rather that teaching and research can be viewed as complex efforts whose questions and concerns require principled and situated approaches, and whose implementation depends on the wisdom and experience of language educators.

Teachers and researchers also share a tradition of values as to the importance of the teaching profession and the work of teachers and researchers, in the wake of student needs, goals, and expectations.

Their experiences with, and as, L2 learners have led them to hold strong regard for the complexity of L2 teaching and learning and the need for informed and sensitive teachers and researchers. Almost all work out of traditional educational institutions, which they value also, as they strive to reform and develop them as needed. Teachers and researchers have long been eclectic and integrative in their approaches, as they have turned to various sources to inform their work, with psychology, linguistics, education predominating.

Finally, teachers and researchers are practical people, often guided by practical goals, with decisions drawn from observation, experience, reflection, consultation, and detailed analyses (See Ellis 1994, 1995; Howatt 1984; Pica 1994a; Richards 1987; Richards & Nunan 1990). Together, they hold similar concerns with respect to the current, future, and potential success of students, and a sense that there is ever so much to be learned, so much to be taught, and so many questions to answer about L2 learning. Such concerns have led them through several transitions in their relationship, as will be noted in the following section.

Transitions in the Teacher-Research Relationship: Relationships of Application

Within earlier relationships of application, arguments configured largely around matters of whether, and in what way, application of one field to the other was necessary or could be useful, as well as to which direction, if any, an application should be made. Consideration was given as to whether research findings were applicable to the development and modification of teaching methods or resolution of teaching issues; or conversely, as to whether teaching methods and concerns should be the basis for research questions that could be examined in the classroom and applied to wider theoretical concerns (See Chaudron 1988; Howatt 1987 for overviews, and Ellis 1994, 1995; Lightbown & Spada 1993; Pica 1994a; Swain 1995 for further illustrations and discussion).

Early research on L2 learning was not related to questions about L2 teaching, but rather, concerned itself with studying the simultaneous acquisition of two languages by young children (See, for example, Leopold 1939-1949). During the late 1940s through early 1970s, however, there was a good deal of connection across the two fields, as quantitative studies were carried out to compare the impact of instructional methods on student achievement (reviewed in Levin 1972). Questions regarding instruction were also addressed through 'contrastive analysis,' as researchers worked within structuralist linguistics and behaviorist psychology to locate differences between forms in the L2 and students' native language (NL), believed to 'interfere' with L2 learning, and to develop lessons in accordance with these findings (Stockwell, Bowen & Martin 1965).

Throughout this period, teachers and researchers grew frustrated as they attempted to understand L2 development and its relationship to students' NL and to features universal to L2 development, and as they tried to explain why certain error patterns and acquisitional plateaus were resistant to instructional intervention. For many years, terms such as 'creative construction' (Dulay & Burt 1974) and 'natural order' (Krashen 1977) dominated the field, reflecting the overall sense that teachers might better serve their students through activities in L2 communication and comprehension than by grammar practice and direct instruction, a point that had already been addressed by Newmark (1966) and others at a somewhat earlier time.

There was also an uneasiness within the field of L2 research about its readiness to enter into a relationship with L2 teaching. As early as 1978, Evelyn Hatch advised researchers to "apply with caution" the results of their studies to teaching matters (See Hatch 1978, and also Tarone, Swain, & Fathman 1976). This set the scene for another relationship, one of implication between teaching and research.

Transition from Application to Implication

Throughout the eighties, researchers continued to look toward the possibility of application, however, and to carry out research that was educationally relevant. Their efforts led influential publications, perhaps the most crucial of which was that of Long (1983a). Entitled "Does instruction make a difference?," this meta-analysis of existing studies on the impact of L2 teaching validated the classroom as an appropriate and advantageous context for L2 learning, the work of teachers as critical to the success of the learner, the input and interaction they could provide as necessary to affect and sustain the learning process.

In subsequent years, researchers continued to warn against direct *applications* of research on L2 learning with respect to the design of L2 teaching; however, they also wrote about its *implications* in this regard (See the collection edited by Hyltenstam & Pienemann 1983 and later; Crookes 1992; Long & Crookes 1993, for example). Along similar lines, L2 research was often discussed with respect to its use as a resource in instructional decision making (beginning with Lightbown 1985, and later, Ellis 1994, Lightbown & Spada 1993; Pica 1991; and Swain 1995). Questions also arose as to the necessity to look for relationships of application between such interdisciplinary fields as L2 teaching and research, since over the years each had established its own connections to other fields and disciplines (See Sharwood Smith 1994).

Within the field of L2 teaching, however, recent years have brought a greater interest in research. Current methods texts often refer to studies on L2 learning to suggest teaching strategies and instructional activities (See, for example, H.D. Brown 1994; J.D. Brown 1995; Nunan 1991, and the chapters of Long and Richards 1987). Further, teachers have begun to turn toward research as part of the knowledge base they require as professional educators (See J.D. Brown 1992/1993). Increasing numbers participate in research conferences, take courses on language learning, study for advanced degrees, seek professional development, and carry out research within their classrooms (See Bailey & Nunan 1996).

Taken together, these various perspectives and activities for L2 teaching and research depict a relationship that does not preclude 'application.' What they suggest, however, are additional ways in which the two fields can relate to each other. Four of these relationships will be described in the following sections. The chapter ends with discussion of a fifth relationship.

Relationships of Coexistence, Collaboration, Complementarity, and Convergence: An Overview

Distinctions and connections can be seen in the nature, focus and activities of the teacher-researcher relationship. Four relationships are particularly illustrative in this regard. First, there is the relationship of coexistence, in which teachers and researchers hold similar interests, but have different goals, and work independently in their teaching and research. Second, the relationship of collaboration of efforts of teachers and researchers finds them at work on mutual interests and concerns, with an emphasis on action research and ethnographic approaches, as they share in the collection, analysis, and interpretation of classroom data on L2 learning.

Two further teacher-researcher relationships are also well developed. These include a complementarity of skills, as teachers and researchers work together to address questions of language learning that are theoretically motivated, focused on features of learning and retention, require either fine-grained microanalysis or large scale, multi-layered studies, and involve materials and approaches that are teacher and researcher-designed, then implemented and studied in classrooms. Finally, a relationship of compatibility can be seen in teacher and researcher interests in the linguistic, cognitive. and social processes of L2 learning, and in the design and selection of materials and activities that can be used effectively for both teaching and research purposes.

Each of these relationships can also be examined within the context of distinctive factors and important needs. For example, the relationship of coexistence between teachers and researchers has arisen within the context of little need for new relationships between L2 teaching and learning, due to already established relationships with other fields, e.g., educational policy, pedagogical theory, and theoretical linguistics (Sharwood Smith 1994). Conversely, the relationship of collaboration has grown out of a call for relevant research on recurrent classroom issues and interest in contextualized, activist studies (See van Lier 1988). The relationship of complementarity has been nurtured by shared questions about roles of classroom methods, materials, and activities in L2 learning and retention that require careful, micro-level implementation and examination, or massive efforts to evaluate policy change and educational reform. The relationship of compatibility reflects mutual interests among teachers and researchers that have been focused on the role of linguistic, cognitive, and social processes in L2 learning, and on the need for effective, authentic materials in teaching and research. Further discussion of each of these relationships follows below.

Teacher-Researcher Relationships of Coexistence and Collaboration

In their relationships of coexistence and collaboration, teachers and researchers are somewhat polar in their intentions and efforts. Coexistence, in particular, can be noted throughout the early years of the teacher-researcher relationship, as discussed above, as language teachers often looked to theories of pedagogy to meet instructional goals. The notion of a relationship with L2 research suggested, at that time, the application of linguistic methods of contrastive analysis to drills and exercises for the language classroom. Researchers also looked to other fields, particularly linguistics, to inform their early concerns and methods, focused as they were on abstract rules of grammar and complex operations of language structure. The nature of their questions at that time brought little motivation for forging a relationship with teachers, nor for discussing the need for any.

Such a relationship of coexistence endures to date, as can be seen in publications on the teaching of L2 grammar and studies on its learning. The former often reflect pedagogical and linguistic decisions about learner proficiency, based on principles of linguistic complexity or frequency, or the communicative utility and importance of particular structures. The latter are often carried out with respect to structures and processes such as noun phrase heads or pro drop parameters, or deep to surface structures, uncommon to the lexicon of L2 teaching, and unlikely to be used among teachers and students in L2 classrooms. In this way, pedagogical guidelines and lessons on sentence constituents and construction (such as those found Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman 1983; Dart 1992; and Davis 1987) have been able to exist along side of research on universal grammar and language learning (for example, Eubank 1991) without a threat to the integrity of teachers and researchers in their respective fields. Many teachers and researchers have thus become so established in their concerns, approaches, and relationships with other fields, that there is no need to explain a lack of a relationship between them.

Teacher-Researcher Relationships of Collaboration

A much different relationship between L2 teaching and research is seen when teachers and researchers collaborate on common interests and concerns, through action research and ethnographic study of classrooms, schools, and communities. Such collaboration has been largely the outgrowth of the often expressed need among L2 educators for greater relevance of L2 research to questions regarding classroom practice. This is often revealed, for example, when teachers enrolled in graduate and inservice courses report an academic interest in course content, coupled with a difficulty in connecting this content with their daily classroom life. Teachers also note that the studies they read are seldom designed to solve to particular problems that arise in their classrooms, as these matters tend to be highly contextualized within the societies and communities in which they work (See van Lier 1988 for review and commentary). These are some of the reasons why, as Crookes (1993) suggests, language educators have continued to turn toward action oriented research on their own classrooms. This enables them to sort out the different ways in which research can, and cannot, help them with classroom particulars, and to understand, reflect upon, and modify their practice. Many classroom teachers work directly with researchers in these efforts, as the following section will illustrate.

Teachers and researchers often work together on case studies of individual students. The detailed profiles that they produce often have larger implications for instruction and promotion of L2 learning (See, for example, Adamson 1993; Kreeft-Peyton, Jones, Vincent & Greenblatt 1994; Peyton & Mackinson 1989). Such collaboration can also be found in ethnographic studies, as L2 teachers and researchers work together to address questions about the cultural context of their classrooms, schools and communities. Here, collaboration may extend beyond that of teacher and researcher, to embrace other members of the cultural context within classroom, community, and school (See Edelsky 1986, 1991; Hornberger 1994; Freeman 1996; Kuiper & Plough in Schachter & Gass 1996; Rounds in Schachter & Gass 1996).

Teacher-Researcher Relationships of Complementarity

The fields of L2 teaching and research have also displayed an increasing complementarity of contributions among educators and researchers to combine their skills in addressing shared interests and concerns. Such work is leading toward a more complete picture of L2 learning and retention through processes of intervention, designed and initiated in the research context, and extended into pedagogical contexts through short-term, classroom experiments and longer interventional studies.

In classroom experiments that illustrate such complementarity, theoretically grounded learning materials and strategies are selected or developed by researchers. The researchers then work with participating teachers toward classroom use of these materials and strategies, followed by research carried out in their classrooms on their impact on students' learning. Often the materials and strategies are chosen through joint efforts of the researchers and teachers, working together to respond to mandates from policy makers and administrators within the context of large-scale curricular change. In keeping with procedures for experimental design, control and comparison groups of other teachers and students also participate. One of the earliest experimental efforts of this kind is exemplified in work of Long, Brock, Crookes, Deicke, Potter & Zhang (1984), who provided L2 teachers with training on how to prolong the amount of wait time they gave English L2 learners to respond to their questions, then studied the impact of this instructional strategy on qualitative features of student response.

Perhaps the most exciting developments toward complementarity are taking place in Canada, through classroom experiments on immersion programs and work in experimental classrooms in English as a second language (See, for example, Lightbown 1992). In immersion classrooms, researchers have examined the immediate and long term impact of instructional materials and strategies, designed to assist the learning of difficult L2 structures. Harley (1989), for example, provided teachers with functional materials that had been created to assist learning of two French verb forms for past time reference which posed considerable difficulty for students. These were the imparfait, or habitual past, and the passe compose, or specific past. The teachers encorporated these materials into their teaching over an eight week period. Harley then studied the impact of the teachers' instruction by comparing students' learning in these classes with that of students in control groups.

Using a slightly longer period of research, Day and Shapson (1991) provided teachers with a curriculum of classroom activities, strategies, and materials. The materials, both functional and form-focused in scope, had been prepared by teams of teachers and researchers, with support from school administrators and policy makers. In both the Harley and the Day and Shapson studies, researchers were able to observe participating classrooms in the months that followed these interventions, to monitor the presence of the targeted structures in teacher input. This information helped to explain results of subsequent testing on student retention.

Another illustration of complementarity can be found in a series of experiments, again in Canada, in which researchers have tracked the impact of theoretically motivated instructional strategies as they are employed by teachers in classrooms for English language learning (See, again, Lightbown 1992; Lightbown & Spada 1990). Of particular interest have been the ways in which strategies such as form-focused instruction and correction assist students' learning of the rules and structures involved in adverb placement (White 1991) and question formation (Lightbown & Spada 1993). These features were chosen for instructional treatment because of their resistance to the communication oriented methods through which they had been typically taught. During the treatment period, participating teachers continued to teach communicatively, but accompanied their activities with instructional intervention and corrective feedback for adverbs and questions. In the months that followed the treatment period, the teachers resumed their regular teaching style and format to set the context for the researchers' follow up testing on retention of the treatment structures.

Teaching and research undertaken within the scope of complementarity can also involve contributions at levels of responsibility beyond those of L2 teachers and researchers, as policy makers from ministries of education, school boards, and administrations, become involved in the establishment, modification, or evaluation of language programs. Teams of teachers, researchers, and curriculum specialists might be recruited to develop classroom materials and strategies, with application to experimental intervention, ongoing research, and follow up testing. These group efforts are, unfortunately, not always complementary, as the goals and values of the policy makers may be inconsistent with those of the teachers, researchers, and L2 learners. Instead of a process of complementarity, then, a process of conflict might arise. This has long been a concern among many educators, most recently among those who write within the perspective of critical pedagogy (See, for example, Pennycook 1989, 1990).

Teacher-Researcher Relationships of Compatibility

Many of the relationships between language teachers and researchers are formed outside of the kinds of collaborative or complementary undertakings that involve specific projects, as described above. Such relationships appear to be more fluid and informal, as they are shaped by a compatibility of teacher and researcher interests in the cognitive and social processes of language learning, and in the instructional strategies and research techniques through which they carry out their work with language learners. Such compatibility of interests and activities often goes unnoticed because of the variation in terms and labels that are used within and across their respective fields.

Numerous cognitive processes are of mutual interest to teachers and researchers. Among the most prominent are the learner's comprehension, planning, and production of message meaning, the learner's ability to attend to language form as it shapes message meaning and to use feedback toward modification and accuracy. Of growing interest to teachers and researchers are the cognitive aspects of learner motivation toward language learning, including the role of effort and attention to learning processes and outcomes. As teachers and researchers note that the cognitive processes of L2 learning are difficult to separate from its social dimensions, they maintain a mutual interest in various forms of communication and interaction, ranging from collaborative dialogue to instructional intervention, and a concern for the ways in which learners and interlocutors negotiate meaning and engage in conversational revision and repair. Each of these cognitive and social processes will be discussed below.

Interest in Cognitive Processes

Both teachers and researchers have held a long and abiding interest in the process of comprehension as it relates to successful language learning (See, for example, Long 1985). With respect to teaching, comprehension based methods and materials have been advanced in a variety of ways. Some have been studied experimentally (See, Postovsky 1974; Gary & Gary 1980), while others have been developed and disseminated on an independent basis through methods such as Total Physical Response (See Asher 1969). Perhaps the most widely known comprehension-based method is the Natural Approach, a variation of Communicative Language Teaching, whose roots are situated in the efforts of two individuals, Stephen Krashen and the late Tracey Terrell, the former one predominantly a teacher educator and researcher, the latter, predominantly a foreign language teacher, both of whom brought extensive background and experience in teaching and research to their work on L2 learning (See Krashen & Terrell 1983).

It was Krashen, in fact, who made the term, 'comprehensible input,' serve as the context of the L2 learning process. According to Krashen, when learners understand message meaning, this frees their attention to access unfamiliar words and structures encoded therein, and thereby build their grammar for the L2 (See, for example, Krashen 1981, 1983, 1985). Recent studies of learners engaged in comprehension suggest that simultaneous attention to form and meaning is difficult and frequently unsuccessful (van Patten 1990), The argument has been made that it is actually learners' 'incomprehension' of L2 input that is what enables them to draw their attention to L2 form and meaning. This has been shown in studies on learners' attempts to comprehend the meaning of messages encoded with relative clauses (Doughty 1991), locatives (Loschky 1994), and pre- and post-modifiers (Pica 1994b). Pinpointing the exact role of comprehension in the learning process will continue to pose challenges. As such, it will no doubt maintain an important place among the processes of mutual interest to L2 teachers and researchers.

Message planning and production have also captured the interest of teachers and researchers. Interest in the planning process has been shown in the teaching of L2 composition and writing which emphasizes the precision needed for communication of message meaning, as attained through discussion and revision of the written text (See, for example, the volume of Johnson & Roen 1989; Zamel 1983). Researchers have been especially interested in the ways in which planning and production processes draw learners' attention to the preciseness of form they need for communication of message meaning, which, in turn, has a positive impact on their L2 learning. The positive effect of planning has been shown for English articles (Crookes 1989) and past regular inflections (Ellis 1987).

Production has long held a prominent place in language classrooms, in activities ranging from drills on sounds and structures to communication tasks requiring message planning. However, production has not gained the interest of L2 researchers until recently. This may be because the researchers had regarded learner production as intrusive to the learning process, especially during the early stages of development, when comprehension was believed to be critical (See again, Krashen 1983, 1985). As the L2 research field developed, however, studies suggested that learner production might play an important role in activating and sustaining cognitive processes of L2 learning, by providing a context in which learners might be able to compare their own production with L2 input, and "notice the gap" between them. Much of this research was initiated and implemented in classrooms and community settings in Brazil. (See Schmidt & Frota 1986).

Increasingly, research related to the classroom context has shed light on the contributions of production to L2 learning, thereby providing an empirical basis for the kinds of practice and communication activities that have been a consistent feature of L2 teaching. Classroom experiments have revealed how learners' production, if accompanied by responses of feedback, can facilitate their awareness of rules and help them distinguish irregularities and exceptions among them (Tomassello & Herron 1988, 1989). Other classroom-oriented studies have shown how production can draw learners' attention to the clarity and complexity of form needed for message meaning (See Gass & Varonis 1994; Linnell 1995; Pica, Holliday, Lewis, & Morgenthaler 1989; Pica, Holliday, Lewis, Berducci, & Newman 1991; Pica 1994b, 1996; Pica Lincoln-Porter, Paninos & Linnell 1996; Swain & Lapkin 1994).

Motivation has long been of interest to language teachers and researchers with respect to its role in the affective dimensions of L2 learning. Recently, however, researchers have also begun to regard motivation as a cognitive process in language learning, this largely through the work of Crookes and Schmidt (1991), who have operationalized motivation in terms of learners' attention to, persistence with, and active involvement in L2 learning activities. According to these researchers, this definition was drawn largely from teacher views and observations about what constitutes motivation among their students.

The cognitive process of attention has recently captured the interests of researchers, particularly with respect to the learners' need to notice relationships of L2 form and message meaning. This learning process has been encorporated into a variety of constructs such as "consciousness raising" (Rutherford & Sharwood Smith 1985), "noticing" (Gass 1988; Schmidt 1990, 1992), and "focus on form" (Doughty 1991; Doughty & Williams 1998; Long 1991a, 1991b, 1996). Among teachers, the process of attention finds compatibility with the notion of language awareness, illustrated, for example in the work of Stevick (1976). A methodologist, Stevick wrote about the learner's need for attentiveness and involvement toward L2 input. In more current work, the notion of attention can be located in a conceptualization of grammar learning as sensitivity to rules and forms in relation to communication of meaning (See Nunan 1993). The scope of interest in language awareness as a classroom construct is further evident throughout the volume edited by James and Garrett (1991).

Interest in Social Processes

The social processes of language learning have been a consistent focal point in the field of L2 teaching, particularly in its methods, materials, and classroom practices that emphasize communication as a goal of L2 learning and the process toward which that goal is accomplished. Communicative interaction has also been at the forefront of theory and research, for its role in generating the cognitive processes discussed above, and in activating conditions claimed to play a role in successful language learning.

Among the social processes of mutual interest and implementation shared by teachers and researchers, peer interaction and collaborative dialogue have held major importance. Both of these practices emphasize the work of L2 learners and other learners as they interact in conversational groups and dyads, and have been discussed extensively throughout the wider field of education, particularly within the context of a classroom practice known as cooperative learning. (Kagan 1986; Slavin 1982).

As L2 researchers have shown, the support provided through peer activities offers learners a context for L2 learning through which they can understand linguistic input, produce output, and respond to feedback through modified production (See, for example, Doughty & Pica 1986; Ellis, 1985; Gass and Varonis, 1985, 1986, 1989; Long and Porter, 985; Pica & Doughty 1985a, 1985b, Pica et al 1996; Porter 1986; Swain & Lapkin 1994). The study of peer conversational interaction has also drawn attention to the differential contributions of input from native and non-native speakers to the cognitive and social processes of L2 learning (See, again, Gass & Varonis 1985, 1986, 1989; Pica & Doughty 1985a, 1985b; Pica et al. 1996; as well as Plann, 1977; Wong Fillmore 1992). Such research can help to inform decisions as to classroom management and professional development of teachers.

Of particular interest to L2 researchers has been a social process known as the negotiation of meaning (Long 1983b; Pica 1994). During negotiation, learners and interlocutors repair, modify, and restructure their interaction for purposes of mutual message comprehension. In so doing, they adjust their input in order to understand the meaning of each other's messages and to convey their own message meanings. To accomplish these ends, learners and interlocutors generate, and respond to, each other's signals about their message incomprehensibility. This in turn can lead to modifications which enable learners to access comprehensible second language input both directly (Doughty 1991; Pica, Young and Doughty 1987), and by merely observing other learners negotiate (Mackey 1995; Pica 1991). Their participation in negotiation also provides learners with feedback on their use of vocabulary and morphosyntax (Long 1996; Pica et al. 1989), and offers them a context in which to modify and syntacticize their output, particularly to signals encoded as clarification requests and open questions (See Pica et al. 1989, 1991, 1995; Linnell 1995 for individual studies and also Larsen-Freeman & Long 1992; Pica 1993, 1994b, 1998 for overviews).

Much of the research on negotiation carried out in experimental classrooms and classroom-like contexts has been implicational (as defined earlier in this chapter). As such, findings from this research have had important implications for classroom instruction and management. Yet, research on actual classrooms has shown that very little classroom communication consists of negotiation, despite the presence of communication of various kinds, across different groupings of teachers and students. Rather, classroom communication is more typically characterized by transmission of information, discussion of opinions and ideas, and teacher-initiated 'display' questions whose answers are already known to the teacher (See, for example, Long & Sato 1983; Pica & Long 1986).

Thus, the process of communication has continued to enjoy compatibility of interest between the fields of L2 teaching and research, but its actualization has been quite different within the research and classroom context. This is why, as will be discussed in the following section, there is much promise in efforts toward adapting and developing classroom tasks that engage learners in communication as they also activate their participation in negotiation.

Interest in Processes of Implementation

A growing area of compatibility between teachers and researchers is found in their use of communication tasks in work with L2 learners. By definition, such tasks emphasize two important elements: They involve participants in the exchange of information and in communication toward an outcome or goal (See Pica, Kanagy and Falodun 1993 for review). As classroom activities, communication tasks provide learners with a context for meaningful, purposeful language learning and language use (Long & Crookes 1993; Prabhu 1987). As instruments for data collection they can be used in a variety of ways. For example, communication tasks can be targeted toward the generation of input, feedback, and output conditions to assist researchers in their study of L2 learning (Crookes & Gass 1993; Long & Crookes 1993; Pica, Kanagy & Falodun 1993). In addition such tasks can be used to obtain samples of specific, highly complex grammatical features that can be avoided during informal classroom communication or conversational interaction (Mackey 1994, 1995). Finally, they can be tailored to encourage conversation that requires structural forms and features, whose impact on learning can then be monitored (Day & Shapson 1991; Doughty 1991; Harley 1989; Linnell 1995).

The communication tasks considered most helpful for L2 learning are those that enable learners to create a learning context for themselves. The most helpful tasks are therefore tightly constrained with respect to the elements of information exchange and outcome; as such, information exchange is required among all task participants, and only one goal is possible as a result of such exchange. In that way, the execution of the task can succeed only if each participant holds information that must be shared among others in order to effectively accomplish its purpose. This insures, as closely as possible, that in carrying out the task, learners will work together to achieve message comprehensibility, by providing each other with input, feedback and modified production, as needed for communication, and, in turn, as a basis for their learning.

Classroom communication tasks currently in use fall somewhat short of addressing learner needs for L2 learning. Typically, they involve participants in decision-making and opinion-sharing that do not require unanimous participation in the exchange of information, nor accomplishment of one particular goal or outcome. As such, one or two learners may dominate the communication process, while others become distracted or inattentive (Again, see Pica, Kanagy, & Falodun, 1993 for review and analysis of relevant studies).

There is one additional problem about communication tasks that is shared by teaching and research contexts, alike: Even those tasks shown to engage learners in input, feedback, and production processes for L2 learning have been found to fall short in drawing their attention to the L2 forms and structures they need as well. Instead, task participants often exchange information and work toward task goals through the use of paraphrase, word substitution, and elaboration. Such message adjustments and modifications inevitably engage them in manipulation of grammatical form as well, but these manipulations are not found consistently overall, nor are they necessarily directed toward individual forms in need of further development (See Pica 1994b for discussion, and Pica et al. 1989, 1991, 1996 for relevant research). The challenge, then, is for teachers and researchers to design tasks that guarantee the occurrence of such grammatical adjustments and thereby direct learners' attention to form in the communication of meaning. In that regard, there is a great deal of promise on several fronts, including grammar oriented communication tasks and dictogloss activities, as described below.

The Teacher-Researcher Relationship: Developments and Directions

Thus far, the most successfully designed grammar oriented communication tasks involve learners in communication that focuses their attention on specific grammatical areas that are resistant to purely communicative activities in the classroom (Loschky & Bley-Vroman 1993; see also Pica et al 1996). Researchers have found such tasks difficult to design, however, because, given the range of forms that can be used to convey any one message meaning, there is no guarantee that learners will focus on the specific form needed to advance their L2 learning. This pattern was evident, for example, in a study on learner communication during a story task. There, learners who needed to focus on past tense markers to describe story actions and activities chose to describe the people in the story instead, thereby focusing on devices of noun pre- and post-modification (Again, see Pica et al. 1996).

A second type of grammar oriented communication task, known as the communicative, grammar-based task, engages learners in collaboration, decision making, and opinion exchange in order to complete grammar focused activities (Fotos & Ellis 1994; Fotos 1992). Such activities can be easily adapted from grammar exercises, test items, and textbook entries that owe their origin to the field of L2 teaching. Indeed, the reported effectiveness of these tasks for language learning provides a rationale for modification of the traditional classroom staple of teacher-conducted grammar exercises for use in student pair work in problem solving and discussion.

Finally, the dictogloss, an activity whose origins are in the field of language teaching (as described in Nunan 1989; Wajnryb 1994), has been shown to be successful in the research context in terms of drawing learners' attention to linguistic forms and features as they communicate message meaning (See Swain 1993). In the dictogloss, learners are presented with an oral text, which has been composed or adapted from an original text to highlight specific grammatical forms or structures needed for the communication of its meaning. Such a text might build an argument through its use of modals, or relate a story with a plot dependent on verb tense and aspect. As the text is read by a teacher or researcher, learners first take individual notes. Then they are assembled into pairs and groups in order to work together to reconstruct the text. As a result, they compose various individual and collective versions until they arrive at a single reconstruction to share with their classmates.

What makes these three types of tasks especially exciting is that they have great relevance for both teaching and research contexts and concerns. Developing tasks that focus learners' attention on L2 grammar in the inter-[illegible] of communication is one of the most challenging areas of work around which teachers and researchers have found increasing compatibility. Indeed, this enterprise appears to be moving teachers and researchers toward yet another relationship, in which there is convergence with respect to teacher and researcher interests, activities, efforts, and goals.

Such a highly focused relationship of convergence of teachers and researchers, moreover, can counterbalanced by another, very expansive view, one which integrates the relationships of coexistence, collaboration, complementarity, and compatibility, reviewed so far. It is this approach to convergence that can be seen in the relationships described and summarized below.

Teacher-Researcher Relationships of Convergence

A project is currently underway which illustrates convergence across the four relationships discussed above. As such, it brings teachers and researchers together as they focus on issues and interests of considerable compatibility, collaborate in classroom implementation of new instructional formats, engage complementarily in teaching and research, and yet coexist with other professional educators whose work takes them in different directions across school and university settings.

The purpose of this project is to identify and understand the scope and contributions of subject matter, content-based approaches to L2 instruction, in light of concerns about their sufficiency in meeting learners' needs to access meaningful, comprehensible L2 input, and to modify their production of output in response to feedback.

In its simplest terms, Content-Based Second Language Teaching (CBLT) may be defined as the integration of the L2 and subject matter content in teaching processes as well as in learning outcomes (as in Brinton, Snow, & Wesche 1989). Many language educators view CBLT as yet another variety of communicative language teaching. Indeed, the two approaches have much in common procedurally, with respect to their mutual emphases on the use of authentic and actual materials and interactive activities in the classroom. However, the goal of CBLT is for students to learn content as well as language; thus, content is sustained across numerous class meetings. On the other hand, communicative language teaching is directed primarily toward L2 learning. As such, it need not be bound to a sustained content area, but can be re-structured within or across class meetings on the basis of notional, functional, or situational categories, as needed.

Much of the current confidence in CBLT as an approach to L2 instruction has been based on the widely held view that CBLT provides opportunities for students to keep up with classmates in mainstream subjects, to learn the L2 skills they need to master subject-matter content, and to do so in ways that are of interest, relevance, and importance to their academic and professional goals. Thus, there is an expanding application of this approach to L2 instruction.

However, concerns about the effectiveness of CBLT for both L2 teachers and L2 learners have emerged, these largely from teachers and researchers themselves, who often bring their own views and experiences to such concerns, but do so in ways that are highly compatible. While teachers query the soundness of making L2 professionals responsible for academic and specific purpose content, researchers question whether the content itself, no matter how interesting, meaningful, and accurately provided, is sufficient to assist the L2 learner in an efficient and effective manner. Despite their compatibility among teachers and researchers, however, such concerns simply coexist, as they lose priority to other matters of classroom management and syllabus design, and research agendas that require an adequate subject pool.

Against this backdrop of teacher-researcher compatibility of concern and coexistence of activities, collaborative as well as complementary relationships surrounding issues of CBLT are ongoing as well. In the current project, for example, subject-matter content teachers are pursuing research interests by examining their own classrooms (See Boyd-Kletzander, forthcoming) and working complementarily in teams (as in Pica, Washburn, Evans, & Jo 1998; Shah, forthcoming).

Research questions in the various ongoing and completed studies within the project have asked whether the interaction over academic content and skills in CBLT classrooms also provides a context for learners to (1) access positive, comprehensible L2 input, (2) be given negative input or feedback on the comprehensibility and accuracy of their output, (3) produce output, modified for comprehensibility, accuracy, and morphosyntactic development, and (4) attend to relationships between L2 form and meaning within their input and output. These conditions have been identified and described extensively in Lightbown and Spada (1993), Long (1996), Pica (1998), and Sharwood Smith (1991). In addition, the studies address the question of whether CBLT interaction offers learners a context that is similar to, or distinct from, that found in classrooms whose focus is on grammatical features or academic skills.

Data have consisted of audio and video tapings collected during teacher-led discussion in advanced-level, pre-academic CBLT classrooms in American culture in film and literature, and during teacher-led, and individual sentence construction exercises in comparable level grammar-focused classrooms. These activities were chosen for data collection, as evidence from earlier and ongoing anecdotal comments and classroom observation indicated that they constituted the dominant mode of interaction in the L2 content-based classroom. The data have been coded through categories derived from current theoretical and empirical perspectives on L2 learning, i.e., the four input, output, and form-meaning conditions identified above.

Analysis of the CBLT data thus far has revealed a high incidence of positive L2 input in the form of words and their meanings, often through teacher responses to requests, and a low incidence of teacher or peer negative feedback to learners, this despite a relatively high proportion of learner non-target utterances. Negative feedback has been found to be confined mainly to learners' non-target contributions that are brief and one utterance in length. Such learner utterances have been relatively infrequent in the CBLT data, however. Instead, the CBLT learners have been shown to produce multi-utterance texts, most of which are comprehensible, but replete with non-target productions of grammatical features, during which there is minimal intervention by teachers or peers, beyond simple backchannelling and topic continuation moves.

Interaction in the grammar focused classrooms under study has been shown to differ considerably, as the sentence construction activity, so characteristic of these classrooms, has been found to generate numerous learner productions of single utterance length, then followed by utterances of negative feedback from teachers and peers. There is very little tendency, however, for the learners to engage in multi-utterance discourse in response to such feedback. Such brief productions of L2 output thus also keep them from the kinds of modified output considered crucial for syntactic development.

Analysis thus far suggests that the differences in the availability and frequency of important L2 developmental features in the content-based and grammar-focused classrooms might be an outcome of the activity types used rather than due to the content vs. grammar focus itself. Thus, it appears that distinctions in classroom type, i.e., content vs. grammar-focus, may be less relevant to these results than the activities in which teachers and students engage. The next step in the research, therefore, will be to introduce grammar-based and dictogloss communication tasks in the hope that they will facilitate interaction in ways more consistent to L2 learning processes. Such a challenge will continue to promote convergence across these relationships of teachers and researchers already in place, and may, indeed, lead to new relationships among them, as well as to greater scope and dignity throughout the field of language education.

Acknowledgements

An earlier version was presented at a colloquium on SLA Research/ Theory and Language Pedagogy, organized by Rod Ellis, at the 1995 Second Language Research Forum (SLRF), Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, September 29-October 2, 1995. An earlier published version, Second language teaching and research relationships: a North American view, appeared in Language Teaching Research 1: 1, (1997); 48-77.

References

Adamson, J. D.(1993). *Academic competence*. New York: Longman, 1993.

Asher, John. The total physical response approach to second language learning. *Modern Language Journal 53*, 3-18, 1969.

Bailey, K. & Nunan, D. (Eds.). (1995). *Voices from the language classroom*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Boyd-Kletzander, R. *Student responsibility and L2 learning*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, forthcoming.

Brinton, D., Snow, M. A., & Wesch, M. (1989). *Content-based second language instruction*. New York: Newbury House.

Brown, J.D. (1992/1993). What research questions interest TESOL members? *TESOL Matters: 20*, December/January.

Brown, H. D. (1994). *Teaching by principles*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Brown, J. D. (1995).*The elements of language curriculum*. Boston: Heinle and Heinle.

Celce-Murcia, M.& Larsen-Freeman, D. (1983). *The grammar book*. Cambridge, MA: Newbury House.

Chaudron, C. (1988). *Second Language Classrooms*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crookes, G. (1989). Planning and interlanguage variability. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 11*, 367-83.

Crookes, G. (1993). Action research for second language teachers: going beyond teacher research. *Applied Linguistics, 14*, 130-44.

Crookes, G. & Schmidt, R. (1991).Motivation: reopening the research agenda. *Language Learning, 41*, 469-512.

Dart, A. K. (1992). *Grammar dialogues: an interactive approach*. NJ: Regents/Prentice Hall.

Davis, P. (1987). English structure in focus. New York: Newbury House.

Day, E. & Shapson, S. (1991). Integrating formal and functional approaches to language teaching in French immersion: an experimental study. *Language Learning, 41*, 25-58.

Doughty, C. (1991). Second language instruction does make a difference: evidence from an empirical study of second language relativization. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 13*, 431-69.

Doughty, C. & Pica, T. (1986). Information gap tasks: an aid to second language acquisition? *TESOL Quarterly, 20*, 305-25.

Doughty, C. & Williams, J. (Eds.). (1998). *Focus on Form in Classroom Second Language Acquisition*. London: Longman.

Dulay, H. & Burt, M. (1974). Natural sequences in second language acquisition. *Language Learning, 24*, 37-53.

Edelsky, C. (1986). *Writing in a bilingual program: habia una vez*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Edelsky, C. (1994). *With literacy and justice for all*. Philadelphia: Falmer Press, 1994.

Ellis, R. (1985). Teacher-pupil interaction in second language development. In S. Gass and C. Madden (Eds.), *Input and second language acquisition*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Ellis, R. (1987). Interlanguage variability in narrative discourse: style-shifting in the use of past tense. *Studies in second language acquisition, 9*, 1-20.

Ellis, R. (1994). *The study of second language acquisition*. London: Oxford University Press.

Ellis, R. (1995). *The pedagogic relevancy of second language acquisition research: an applied linguistic perspective*. Paper presented at the 1995 Second Language Research Forum, Cornell University, New York, September 29-October 2, 1995.

Eubank, L.(1991). *Point/counterpoint: universal grammar in the second language.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Fotos, S. (1992). Consciousness raising and noticing through focus on form. *Applied Linguistics, 14,* 385-407.
Fotos, S. & Ellis, R.(1993). Communicating about grammar: A task-based approach. *TESOL Quarterly, 25,* 605-628.
Freeman, R. (1996). Dual-language planning at Oyster Bilingual School: "It's much more than language," *TESOL Quarterly, 30,* 3, 557-582.
Gary, J. & Gary, N. (1980). Comprehension-oriented foreign language instruction: an overview. *The Linguistic Reporter, 23,* 4-5.
Gass, S.(1988). Integrating research areas: a framework for second language studies. *Applied Linguistics, 9,* 198-217.
Gass, S. & Crookes, G. (1993). (Eds.), *Tasks in a pedagogical context integrating theory and practice.* Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.
Gass, S. & Varonis, E. (1985).Task variation and non-native/non-native negotiation of meaning. In S. Gass and C. Madden (Eds.), *Input and Second Language Acquisition.* Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
Gass, S. & Varonis, E. (1986). Sex differences in NNS/NNS interactions. In R. Day (Ed.), *Talking to learn: conversation in second language acquisition* (pp. 327-451). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
Gass, S. & Varonis, E. (1989). Incorporated repairs in NNS discourse. In M. Eisenstein (Ed.), *The dynamic interlanguage* (pp. 71-86). New York: Plenum.
Gass, S. & Varonis, E. (1994). Input, interaction, and second language production. *Studies in second language acquisition, 16,* 283-302.
Harley, B. (1989). Functional grammar in French immersion: A classroom experiment. *Applied Linguistics, 10,* 331-359.
Hatch E. (1978). Apply with caution. *Studies in second language acquisition, 2,* 123-143.
Hornberger, N. (1995). Literacy and language planning. *Language and Education, 8,* 75-86.
Howatt, A. (1984). *A history of English language teaching.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Hyltenstam, K. & Pienemann, M. (Eds.) (1985). *Modelling and assessing second language acquisition.* London: Multilingual Matters.
James, C. & Garrett, P. (Eds.). (1991). *Language awareness in the classroom.* London: Longman.
Johnson, D. & Roen, D. (Eds.). (1989). *Richness in writing. New York*: Longman.
Kagan, S. (1986). *Cooperative learning sociocultural factors in schooling. In Beyond Language: Social and cultural factors in schooling language minority students* (pp. 231-298). Los Angeles: Evaluation, Dissemination, and Assessment Center, California State University.
Krashen, S. (1981). Some issues related to the monitor model. In H.D. Brown, C. Yorio and R. Crymes (Eds.), *On TESOL'77.* Washington, D.C.: TESOL, 1977.
Krashen, S. (1981). *Second language acquisition and second language learning.* Oxford: Pergamon Press.
Krashen, S. (1983). Newmark's ignorance hypothesis and current second language acquisition theory. In S. Gass and L. Selinker (Eds.), *Language transfer in language learning* (pp. 135-156). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
Krashen, S. (1985). *The input hypothesis: issues and implications.* London: Longman.
Krashen, S. & Terrell, T. (1983). *The natural approach.* Oxford: Pergamon Press.
Kreeft-Peyton, J., Jones, C., Vincent, A. & Greenblatt, L. (1994). Implementing writing workshops with ESOL students: visions and realities. *TESOL Quarterly, 28,* 469-87.

Kuiper, L.& Plough, I. (1996). Classroom-based research as a collaborative effort. In J. Schachter & Gass, S. (Eds.), *Second Language Classroom Research: Issues and Opportunities*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Larsen-freeman, D. & Long, M. (1991). *Second language research*. New York: Longman.

Leopold, W.F. (1939-1949).*Speech development of a bilingual child: a linguist's record, 1939, 1947, 1949, Vol. 1, Vocabulary growth in the first two years. Vol. 2, Sound learning in the first two years. Vol. 3, Grammar and general problems in the first two years. Vol 4, Diary from age 2*. Northwestern University Press, Evanston, IL, 1939-1949.

Levin, L. (1972). *Comparative studies in foreign language teaching*. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell.

Lightbown, P. (1985). Great expectations; second language acquisition research and classroom teaching. *Applied Linguistics, 6*, 173-89.

Lightbown, P. (1992). Getting quality input in the second/foreign language classroom. In Kramsch, C. & McConnell-Ginet, S. (Eds.), *Text and context: Cross disciplinary perspectives on language study* (pp. 187-198). New York: Heath.

Lightbown, P. & Spada, N. (1990). Focus-on-form and corrective feedback in communicative language teaching: Effects on second language learning. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 12*, 429-48.

Lightbown, P. & Spada, N. (1993). *How languages are learned*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Linnell, J. (1995). *Negotiation as an aid to syntacticization*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

Long, M. (1983a) Does second language instruction make a difference? a review of research. *TESOL Quarterly, 17*, 359-82.

Long, M. (1983). Linguistic and conversational adjustments to non-native speakers. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 5*, 177-94.

Long, M. (1985). Input and second language acquisition theory. In S. Gass and C. Madden (Eds.), *Input in second language acquisition*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 377-93.

Long, M. (1991a). The least a theory of second language acquisition needs to explain. *TESOL Quarterly, 24*, 649-66.

Long, M. (1991b). Focus on form: A design feature in language teaching methodology. In K. De Bot, D. Coste., R. Ginsberg & C. Kramsch (Eds.), *Foreign language research in cross-cultural perspective* (pp. 39-52). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Long, M. (1996). The role of the linguistic environment in second language acquisition. In W.C. Ritchie and T.K Bhatia (Eds.), *Handbook of language acquisition. Volume 2. Second language acquisition*. New York: Academic Press.

Long, M., Brock, C. A., Crookes, G., Deicke, C., Potter, L., & Zhang, S. (1994). *The effect of teachers' questioning patterns and wait-time on pupil participation in public high school classes in Hawaii for students of limited English proficiency. Technical Report 1.*, Center for Second Language Classroom Research, Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu.

Long, M. & Crookes, G. (1993). Three approaches to task-based syllabus design. *TESOL Quarterly, 26*, 27-56.

Long, M. & Porter, P. (1985). Group work, interlanguage talk, and second language acquisition. *TESOL Quarterly, 19*, 207-28.

Long, M. & Richards, J. C. (Eds.). (1987). *Methodology in TESOL: A Book of readings*. Boston, MA: Heinle and Heinle Publishers.

Long, M. & Sato, C. (1983). Classroom foreigner talk discourse: forms and functions of teachers' questions. In H. Seliger and M. Long (Eds.), *Classroom oriented research in second language acquisition* (pp. 268-85) . Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Loschky, L. (1994). Comprehensible input and second language acquisition: What's the relationship? *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 16*, 303-324.

Loschky, L. & Bley-Vroman, R. (1993). Grammar and task based methodology. In S. Gass & G. Crookes (Eds.), *Tasks and language learning: integrating theory and practice* (pp. 123-67). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Mackey, A. (1994). *Using communicative tasks to target grammatical structures: A handbook of tasks and instructions for their use.* Language Acquisition Research Center, University of Sydney, Australia.

Mackey, A. (1995). *Stepping up the pace: input, interaction and second language acquisition. an empirical study of questions in ESL.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Sydney.

Nunan, D. (1989). *Designing tasks for the communicative classroom.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nunan, D. (1991). *Language teaching methodology: a textbook for teachers.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

Newmark, L. (1966). How not to interfere with language learning. *IRAL, 32*, 77-83.

Pennycook, A. (1989).The concept of method, interested knowledge, and the politics of language teaching. *TESOL Quarterly, 23*, 589-618.

Pennycook, A. (1990).Towards a critical applied linguistics for the 1990s. *Issues in Applied Linguistics, 1*, 8-28.

Peyton, J. K. & Mackinson, J. (1989). Writing and talking about writing: Computer networking with elementary student. In D. M. Johnson & D. H. Roen (Eds.), *Richness in writing: Empowering ESL students* (pp. 100-119). White Plains, NY: Longman.

Pica, T. (1991). Classroom interaction, participation, and comprehension: redefining relationships. *System, 19*, 437-452.

Pica, T. (1993). Communication with second language learners: What does it reveal about the social and linguistic processes of second language learning? In J. Alatis (Ed.), *Language, communication, and social meaning* (pp. 434-464). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Pica, T. (1994a). Questions from the classroom: research perspectives. *TESOL Quarterly, 28*, 49-79.

Pica, T. (1994b). Research on negotiation: what does it reveal about second-language learning conditions, processes, and outcomes? *Language Learning, 44*, 493-527.

Pica, T. (1998). Second language learning through interaction: Multiple perspectives. In V. Regan (Ed.), *Contemporary approaches to second language acquisition* (pp. 11-32). Dublin: University College Dublin Press.

Pica, T. & Doughty, C. (1985a). Input and interaction in the communicative language classroom: teacher-fronted vs. group activities. In S. Gass & C. Madden (Eds.), *Input and second language acquisition*. (pp. 115-32). Rowley MA: Newbury House.

Pica, T. & Doughty, C. (1985b).The role of group work in classroom second language acquisition. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 7*, 233-48.

Pica, T., Holliday, L., Lewis, N., & Morganthaler, L. (1989). Comprehensible output as an outcome of linguistic demands on the learner. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 11*, 63-90.

Pica, T., Holliday, L., Lewis, N., Berducci, D. & Newman, J. (1991). Language learning through interaction: What role does gender play? *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 13*, 343-76.

Pica, T., Kanagy, R., & Falodun, J. S.(1993). Choosing and using communication tasks for second language research and instruction. In S. Gass, & G. Crookes (Eds.),*Tasks and language learning: integrating theory and practice.* (pp. 9-34) London: Multilingual Matters.

Pica, T., Lincoln-Porter, F., Paninos, D., & Linnell, J. (1996). Learner-learner interaction as a resource for language learning. *TESOL Quarterly, 30*, 59-84.

Pica, T. & Long, M.(1986). The classroom linguistic and conversational performance of experienced and inexperienced ESL teachers. In R. Day (Ed.), *Talking to learn: conversation in second language acquisition* (pp. 85-98). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Pica, T., Washburn, G., Evans, B., & Jo, V. (1998). *Feedback in the language content classroom*. Paper presented at the Pacific Second Language Research Forum, Tokyo.

Pica, T., Young, R., & Doughty C. (1987). The impact of interaction on comprehension. *TESOL Quarterly, 21*, 737-758.

Plann, S. (1977). Acquiring a second language in an immersion situation. In H.D. Brown & R. Crymes (Eds.), *On TESOL '77*. (pp. 213-223). Washington, D.C.: TESOL.

Porter, P. (1986). How learners talk to each other: input and interaction in task-centered discussions. In R. Day (Ed.), *Talking to learn : conversation in second language acquisition* (pp. 200-225). Rowley, MA.: Newbury House.

Postovsky, V. (1974). Effects of delay in oral practice at the beginning of second language learning. *Modern Language Journal, 58*, 229-39.

Prahbu, N.S. (1987). *Second language pedagogy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Richards, J. C. (1987). Jack C. The dilemma of teacher education in TESOL. *TESOL Quarterly, 21*, 2, 209-26.

Richards, J. C. & Nunan, D. (Eds.) (1990): *Second language teacher education*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rounds, P. (1996). The classroom based researcher as fieldworker: Strangers in a strange land. In J. Schachter & S. Gass (Eds.), *Second Language Classroom Research: Issues and Opportunities*. Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Rutherford, W. & Sharwood Smith, M.(1985). Consciousness-raising and universal grammar. In W. Rutherford & M. Sharwood Smith (Eds.), *Grammar and second language learning*. New York: Newbury House/Harper and Row.

Schachter, J. & Gass, S. (Eds.) (1996). *Second LanguageClassroom Research: Issues and Opportunities*. Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Schmidt, R. (1990). The role of consciousness in second language acquisition. *Applied Linguistics, 11*, 129-158.

Schmidt, R. (1992). Psychological mechanisms underlying second language fluency. *Studies in second language acquisition, 14*, 357-85.

Schmidt, R. & Frota, S. (1986). Developing basic conversational ability in a second language: A case study of an adult learner of Portuguese. In R. Day (Ed.), *Talking to learn: conversation in second language acquisition*. Rowley, MA.: Newbury House.

Shah, I. *Content-based learning and classroom second language acquisition*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, forthcoming.

Sharwood Smith, M. (1991). Speaking to many minds: On the relevance of different types of language information for the L2 learner. *Second Language Research, 7*, 118-132.

Sharwood Smith, M. (1994). *Second language learning: theoretical foundations*. London: Longman.

Slavin, R. E. (1981). Synthesis of research on cooperative learning. *Educational leadership, 38*, 655-660.

Stevick, E. (1976). *Memory, meaning and method*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Stockwell, R., Bowen, J., & Martin, J. (1965). *The grammatical structures of English and Spanish*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Swain, M. (1993). The output hypothesis: just speaking and writing aren't enough. *Canadian Modern Language Review, Golden Anniversary Issue, 50*, 158-64.

Swain, M. (1995). *When might SLA research be applicable to classroom pedagogy?* Paper presented at 1995 Second Language Research Forum, Cornell, University, Ithaca, N.Y., September 29-October 2, 1995.

Swain, M. & Lapkin, S. (1994). *Problems in output and the cognitive processes they generate: A step towards second language learning.* Modern Language Centre. Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto, August 1994.

Tarone, S., Swain, M. & Fathman, A. (1976). Some limitations to the classroom applications of current second language acquisition research. *TESOL Quarterly, 10,* 19-31.

Tomasello, M. & Herron, C. (1988). Down the garden path: Inducing and correcting overgeneralization errors in the foreign language classroom. *Applied Psycholinguistics, 9,* 237-46.

Tomasello, M. & Herron, C. (1989). Feedback for language transfer errors. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 11,* 385-95.

Van Lier, L. A. W. (1988). *The classroom and the language learner: ethnography and second language classroom research.* London: Longman.

Van Patten, B. (1990). Attending to form and content in the input: an experiment in consciousness. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 12,* 287-301.

Wajnryb, R. (1994). *Classroom observation tasks.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

White, L. (1991). Adverb placement in second language acquisition: Some effects of positive and negative evidence in the classroom. *Second Language Research, 7,* 133-61.

Wong Fillmore, L. (1992). Learning a language from learners. In C. Kramsch, and S. McConnell-Ginet (Eds.), *Text and context: cross-disciplinary perspectives on language study* (pp. 46-66). Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Co..

Zamel, V. (1983). Writing: the process of discovering meaning. *TESOL Quarterly, 16,* 195-210.

Teresa Pica is Professor and Chair of the Language in Education Division. She holds an M.A. in Speech Pathology from Columbia University Teachers College and a Ph.D. in Educational Linguistics from the University of Pennsylvania. Her research interests in second and foreign language acquisition have focused on social interaction between language learners and native speakers and the role of instruction in the acquisition process.

Politeness in the Speech of Korean ESL Learners

Nancy Bell

University of Pennsylvania

This paper makes a contribution to the field of second language pragmatics by examining the production of three speech acts by a group of high beginning Korean learners of English. In comparing disagreements to requests and suggestions, it was found that, although the students demonstrated the ability to increase the level of politeness, their disagreements tended to be direct and unmitigated. It is suggested that status, and in particular age as a component of status, is an important factor in influencing the students' choices regarding the perceived level of appropriate politeness to use.

Introduction

The purpose of the present research is to contribute to the study of the development of pragmatic competence in ESL learners by attempting to discern patterns in the speech act production of a group of high beginning Korean ESL students. Specifically, the learners' strategies for producing the speech act of disagreement will be compared to those they use when requesting and giving advice/suggestions, three face threatening acts. While the learners in this study exhibited direct, bald on-record disagreements, the force of which were frequently intensified through, for example, the use of repetition or a loud voice, their behavior in giving advice/suggestions and in making requests revealed a high degree of linguistic sophistication and the ability to call upon at least a limited number of strategies to increase the level of politeness of the act.

I will present evidence that sensitivity to status, which in the case of Koreans includes a particular emphasis on age differences, is likely to be the major explanatory factor for the difference in strategies. In this paper I wish to provide a preliminary description of high beginning Korean ESL students' speech act behavior that may be used as a basis for further study and comparison. In addition, it is hoped that the insights provided here will be of use to teachers of ESL in understanding their L1 Korean students' language behavior and in targeting specific cultural differences in the use of certain politeness strategies that may need to be addressed in the interests of raising the students' awareness of the differences in pragmatic norms between English and Korean.

Background

My initial impression of the students' expressions of disagreement as being more direct and forceful than the American native English speaker's norm[1] was confirmed by previous research into disagreement by Americans. Using both samples of naturally occurring speech, as well as data collected by a discourse completion test, Beebe and Takahashi (1989: 203) found that regardless of status differences Americans tend to disagree rather indirectly, by prefacing the face-threatening statement with an expression implying agreement. This is what Brown and Levinson (1987: 114) term "token agreement," for example, "Yes, but...". In addition, Beebe and Takahashi (1989: 205) found that, again, regardless of status differences, Americans tend to soften the force of disagreement with positive remarks which they try to personalize for the hearer, rather than by employing formulaic positive statements. García (1989: 306) also found that Americans sought to avoid conflict when disagreeing, employing predominately what she terms, "nonconfrontational" devices and "impersonal" devices.

In contrast to the American tendency towards indirect and nonconfrontational expressions of disagreement, in an examination of argument strategies in Korean native speakers' conversational discourse, Song (1994: 4078) found both direct and indirect expressions of disagreement. Three multifunctional strategies (repetition, questioning, and code-switching), and four non-confrontational strategies (disagreeing playfully, giving opinions, relating personal experiences, and remaining silent), were found. The most direct type of argument expression was found to be "formulaic bald-on-record oppositional expressions." Less direct expressions were hedges, and the most mitigated expression of disagreement was silence. Given these differing cultural preferences for ways of showing disagreement, variation from the American norm is to be expected in the realization of the speech act of disagreement by Korean learners. However, differences exist, both across the learners' speech acts and in comparison to the American norm, which remain to be explained.

Research Questions, Design, and Methodology

This study involved two major research questions: What strategies and patterns of politeness can be found among high beginning level Korean ESL students? Why were the learners' acts of disagreement expressed in

[1] In this paper the term "American" can be understood as referring to North American, or more specifically, the United States.

such a bald, unmitigated manner, particularly in comparison to their performance of two other face-threatening acts, giving advice/suggestions and making requests? I hypothesized that the perception of status, and age as it related to perceived status among Koreans, would play an important role in determining what politeness strategy, if any, was to be used.

This research took place in the context of a voluntary grammar elective class in a university ESL program. The course was called "Beginning Grammar" and was open to enrollment for students from levels one and two in this program's system of six levels. Most of the students enrolled at the time of this study were from level two and could be classified as "high beginning" within the system. The class consisted of 11 students, a core of seven or eight of which attended regularly. The students were predominately male, Korean, and in their mid-twenties. Of the female students, two were Korean, one Italian, one Brazilian, and one, who was in her mid-forties, was Peruvian. They had been living in the U.S. an average of four months, a figure that excludes the Peruvian woman, who had lived in the U.S. for about 10 years.

Relationships between most of the students were comfortable. Many of them were enrolled in the majority of their courses together and also interacted socially outside of class. As their teacher, in addition to being the researcher, I was able to observe these relationships and judge the social distance between the various students.

The class met twice weekly for one hour over a period of 10 weeks. For eight of these weeks data were collected through audio or video taping of each class meeting. Taping usually began before students arrived and continued until the last student had left. In this way, I collected interaction that occurred outside of the context of the lessons, as well as that which occurred during class time. Lessons usually involved a warm-up activity in which a specific grammar point was presented implicitly, explicit presentation of the grammar point, and finally a practice exercise. This final activity was less structured than the previous two, and provided students with an opportunity for open discussion. Tapes were transcribed as soon as possible after the class in order to capture the full context in which each speech act occurred. The final corpus to be analyzed here consisted of 29 speech acts: five requests, six suggestions, and 18 disagreements.

The main framework used to analyze the data was Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness. They define "face" as "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself" (1987: 61). The notion of face is made up of two facets: positive face, or the desire to be liked and approved of; and negative face, or the desire to act without imposition by others. A face-threatening act is one that causes threat to any aspect of another's face.

When speakers choose to perform a face-threatening act (FTA), there are a number of different ways they can go about it. First, they may choose to do the act off record, in which case their intentions may be ambiguous.

For example, the comment, "Gee, that coffee smells great," could be a simple observation or a request for a cup of coffee. Speakers may also choose to do FTA's on record. In this case, they may choose to speak baldly and without redress, or to employ some sort of redressive action. A bald on-record FTA will (to most hearers) be clear and direct, although these qualities carry with them the risk of being impolite. Done on record but with redressive action, a FTA "attempts to counteract the potential face damage" (1987: 69), showing that the threat was not intended. The theory divides redressive action into two types: positive politeness strategies and negative politeness strategies. The former demonstrate regard for the hearer's positive-face needs by showing that the speaker approves of the hearer. The latter address the hearer's negative-face needs by showing deference and by allowing the hearer a way to avoid imposition. Within this framework, the positive face threatening act of disagreement, and the negative face threatening acts of requesting and advising/suggesting were classified by the specific type of each strategy that was employed, for example, the positive politeness strategy of "joking," or the off record strategy of "being vague."

Results and Discussion

In this section I will first present a general analysis of the politeness strategies that were found within the data as a whole. Next, I will examine the strategies that were employed by the students when requesting, advising/suggesting, and finally in disagreeing, and will also include in each section comments as to the linguistic well-formedness of the speech acts. As aggravating and mitigating moves occurred only in the disagreement corpus, these will be discussed in the section on disagreement. Finally, I will compare the disagreement data with the requesting and advising/suggesting data in an attempt to understand the learners' strategy choices.

Overall use of politeness strategies

A fairly limited range of strategies occurred in these data. Of Brown and Levinson's 15 strategies of positive politeness, two were found in the data examined here. Five of their 10 strategies of negative politeness were used, and two of their 15 strategies for committing a speech act off record were represented. The strategies in each category are presented below. The first number represents a raw count of how many times each strategy occurred. The second, in parentheses, provides information as to what percentage of all strategies the raw number represents. Totals for each type of strategy are also provided:

Interestingly, very few (9.37%) positive politeness strategies were employed, despite the fact that over half the corpus (18 of 28 speech acts) consisted of disagreement, an act which threatens the hearer's positive face and would therefore be expected to elicit positive politeness strategies (Brown and Levinson 1987: 101). Pragmatic transfer from Korean may be

Table 1. Politeness Strategies

Bald on record strategy	13	39.39%
Positive politeness strategies:		
Joke	2	6.25%
Give (or ask for) reasons	1	3.13%
Total	3	9.09%
Negative politeness strategies:		
Be conventionally indirect	11	73.33%
Question, hedge	3	20%
Apologize	1	6.67%
Total	15	45.45%
Off record strategies:		
Be vague	1	3.13%
Displace H	1	3.13%
Total	2	6.06%

the most likely explanation for this phenomenon. Hwang (1990) outlines a number of important politeness markers in Korean and notes that most involve negative politeness. Indirect speech, he says, is one of the most common means of conveying politeness. For example, requests might be presented as questions, as is often done in English by employing the modal "can." Hedges, such as *kkway* 'pretty much' and *malhacamyen* 'so to speak,' are common negative politeness markers (1990: 50). Hwang attributes this preponderance of negative politeness strategies to the traditional inclination towards "reservedness" as a marker of politeness in Korea (1990: 52). It seems plausible that at this early stage in their pragmatic development these learners were relying heavily on the norms of their native language and thus transferring the Korean preference for negative politeness strategies into their English speech.

In addition to the apparent preference for negative politeness strategies, the high occurrence of the bald on record strategy should be noted, as well as the fact that all but one of these involved disagreement. A linguistic comparison with disagreements in Korean may reveal pragmatic transfer in this case, as well. Song's (1994) analysis of Korean argument strategies revealed, as discussed above, the use of "formulaic bald on-record oppositional expressions" (1994: 4078). Perhaps these learners were equating the bald on record strategies they employed with their formulaic equivalents in Korean.

Requests

The requests collected were those that involved an attempt on the part of the speaker to influence the behavior of the addressee. Requests for information were excluded. All of the requests were linguistically well-formed and even somewhat sophisticated, for example, correctly drawing upon the modals "can" and "could." Table 2 below shows the politeness strategies used by the learners in making requests.

Table 2. Request Strategies

Request Strategies	Number	Percentage
Negative politeness	4	80%
Bald on record	1	20%
Positive politeness	0	0%
Off record	0	0%
Totals	5	100.00%

In this case, learners appropriately employed negative politeness strategies to realize their requests. Only one bald on record request occurred, and this was between two students with minimal social distance between them in the casual context of a party on the last day of class. Of the requests that used negative politeness strategies, three were directed to the teacher and one to a fellow student, a good friend of the speaker. Conventional indirectness was the only strategy employed in each case. Although the number of requests is small, the students do show a tendency to be more polite when addressing someone they perceive to be of higher status, that is, the teacher, by being conventionally indirect in their requests.

Advice/Suggestions

Nearly all of the six suggestions were linguistically well-formed. While some errors occurred, they were usually very minor, for example, the use of the bare form of the verb where the infinitive should have been used. Overall, the students' advice was grammatically correct, and even linguistically sophisticated, demonstrating correct use of the conditional, negative question formation, and the modal "should," among other similarly complex grammatical features.

Each of the six instances of advising/suggesting involves a student addressing the teacher, and here the Korean students' tendency to increase the level of politeness according to the perceived status of the addressee is seen again. Table 3 provides information as to the major strategies employed.

First, the students appropriately employ negative politeness strategies for the majority of their suggestions (66.67%). Conventional indirectness was again used most frequently, in three of the four instances of negative politeness, and once in conjunction with the hedging strategy, which occurred twice in this portion of the data. The single example of positive

Table 3. Advice/Suggestion Strategies

	Number	Percentage
Negative politeness	4	66.67%
Positive politeness	1	16.67%
Off record	1	16.67%
Bald on record	0	0.00%
Totals	6	100.00%

politeness for giving advice involved the use of the joking strategy.

Finally, this portion of the corpus contains the only instance of off record politeness, seen in the example below. In this exchange, which occurred at the end of one class, the student advises the teacher on caring for her sore throat:

> Hong: In- in our country if I hurt my- my egg er throat
> T: yeah
> Hong: they- they say to me "you should eat some egg without cook"
> T: Ew! Raw egg?

The student called upon two off record strategies (vagueness and displacing H) in order to advise the teacher that eating a raw egg would help her sore throat. His perceived status of the addressee may have played an important role in the student's choice of strategies, however, this alone seems unlikely to be able to account for this extreme politeness. More likely, perhaps, is that the student recognized the reaction that many Americans might have to eating raw eggs, (indeed, his suggestion was met with such a reaction), or that due to the culturally specific nature of his advice, it might be better not to press the issue.

Disagreement

Again, the disagreements in this corpus are, for the most part, linguistically well-formed. In disagreeing, the students often employed devices that were linguistically simple. For example, disagreement often simply involved a contradictory statement: "I don't think so" or "Honey is not good." The bare negative exclamation "no" also occurred frequently. In several cases it was followed by presentation of an opinion or explanation, which often contained lexical or grammatical errors, however the core of the speech act was almost always well-formed. The majority of the disagreements found in this data were performed baldly and without redress. Table 4 shows the strategies used.

As disagreement is an act that threatens the addressee's positive face,

Table 4. Disagreement Strategies

Disagreement Strategies	Number	Percentage
Bald on record	12	66.66%
Negative politeness	4	22.22%
Positive politeness	1	5.56%
Negative and positive	1	5.56%
Off record	0	0.00%
Totals	18	100.00%

according to Brown and Levinson (1987), we would expect to see positive politeness strategies being employed as a means of softening the force of the disagreement. However, positive politeness only occurs overtly (see discussion below) in two cases. In one of those two, positive strategies (joking and asking for reasons) are found in conjunction with the negative politeness strategy of conventional indirectness. The lesson has been about "too many/much" and a Korean student gives the example that there are too many Korean students in the class, implying that this tends to lead to less English and more Korean being spoken. The teacher agrees and a short exchange follows about the difficulties the class has often had in forming groups of students that come from different language backgrounds. Byung, however, enters this discussion to disagree with the notion of "too many Korean students" with a sly joke:

Byung: But "too" I learned "too" I learned you from you "too" mean so bad
(Unidentified male student laughs)
T: Oh, yes, that "too" means bad.
Byung: You said "too many Koreans here..."

(T. goes into an explanation intended to reassure that the makeup of the class is difficult, not the students themselves. T gets a sly look and laugh from the student at the end of her explanation, showing that he has been teasing her).

In the sole instance in which positive politeness is used alone, the joking strategy was chosen. This exchange took place just after the teacher has been given advice to eat a raw egg to soothe her sore throat, as seen in the earlier example. In response to her squeamish reaction ("Ew!"), Byung uses teasing to refute her impression:

Byung: IT'S NOT DISGUSTING!
T: IT IS DISGUSTING!
Byung: IT'S NOT DISGUSTING!
T: IT IS DISGUSTING!
Byung: IT'S NOT DISGUSTING!

T: I'm not gonna eat raw egg. I will not eat raw egg.
Byung: You'd better eat that!
T: NO!
Byung: (laughs)

Although his words are forceful, his loud voice, exaggeratedly bossy intonation, and laughter at the end all work together to create a joking strategy.

In examining the negative politeness strategies used in the students' disagreements, as well as the bald on record disagreements, I found Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper's (1989) notion of mitigating and aggravating supportive moves helpful. The former serve to decrease the force of the act. For example, the bare command "Give me your pen," can be made to sound less confrontational if the speaker hesitates when uttering it or prefaces the statement with "please." Aggravating moves, on the other hand, increase the force of an act. For example, the command "Give me your pen" can be made more forceful if the speaker shouts.

When negative politeness occurred alone, in two cases conventional indirectness was the only strategy called upon, and in one instance, questioning was used alone. The figures concerning negative politeness may be slightly deceptive, however, as in the case of the student who used the questioning strategy. The possible effects of this strategy are likely to have been canceled out by his also employing two aggravating moves, repetition and suprasegmentals. In this case, Dae, a Korean man who has never been to Italy but has a friend living there, disagrees with the assertion of Etta, an Italian woman, that men in Italy are very rude to women. The two students know each other well as a result of having several of their classes together; however, Etta does not like Dae.

Etta: Yeah, yeah, my mother was u:::m ( ) sometimes I see two couple like my mother my father um the man is very rude sometimes.
Dae: Rude? Very very RUDE? Very RUDE?
Etta: eah, rude.

The final case of negative politeness involved the most extreme measures to ensure politeness that were found in all of the 18 disagreements. This student not only chose two negative politeness strategies, conventional indirectness and apologizing, but also employed the only mitigating move in the entire corpus, hesitation, to soften her disagreement. In the following transcript, the students have been discussing how the lives of women have changed. Jin, a Korean woman and Song, a Korean man, are in disagreement as to how much leisure women have. The two students are on friendly terms and have most of their classes together, but Jin is ›unger than Song:

Song: Uh I thinks today is very different, woman's life for ex ample- housewife and uh about two- twenty uh twenty years ago woman, her- hers life is very hard and uh today's woman wake up and enjoy uh swimming and and and soccer ((ss laugh)) and and- Huh? Uh, why? Why- why you laughing?
Ana: enjoy work out, no?
Song: Yes, yes, yeah.
Jin: Just- just- excuse me, just um her husband um many money uh much money.

Perhaps significantly, this is only one of two instances involving Korean women expressing disagreement. While the size of the corpus and the small number of Korean females in the class prevents any more than speculation as to the role of gender in politeness expressions among Korean ESL learners, this could prove a fruitful area for future research.

We turn now to an examination of the bald on record strategy that comprised not only the largest proportion of all strategies used in disagreeing (66.67%), but a considerable amount of the strategies employed across the speech acts under examination (39.39%). Not only does it seem surprising to find such a large proportion of bald on record disagreements given the face-threatening nature of the act, but perhaps more puzzling is the fact that 9 of the 12 (75%) contained one or more aggravating moves that increased the force of an already direct expression of a positive face threatening act. In addition, one-third of those nine acts of disagreement contained two aggravating moves.

In Table 5 (below) are the raw numbers and percentages of the various aggravating moves which were found in the data. Two of Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper's (1989) aggravating moves were present in the data

Table 5. Aggravating Moves

	Number	Percentage
Suprasegmentals	5	33.33%
Opinion/Explanation	5	33.33%
Repetition	3	20.00%
Exclamatory Phrase	1	6.67%
Interruption	1	6.67%
Totals	15	100.00%

examined: repetition and suprasegmentals. Repetition as an aggravating move included repeating the actual negator, (e.g.; No, no, no), or repeating some less direct form of disagreement expression (e.g.; Very very RUDE? ry RUDE?). Suprasegmentals, in each case, involved the use of a louder, more forceful voice. Three additional types of aggravating moves, not found in their framework, emerged in my data: 1.) Explanations, 2.) Exclamatory phrases, and 3.) Interruptions. Opinions/Explanations that followed a bare statement of disagreement (No) were considered to be aggravating moves as in no case did they appear to be an attempt to soften or even neutralize the disagreement, but rather to act as a means of strengthening the argument and adding force to the disagreement (e.g.; No. I don't think so). An exclamatory phrase (Oh my God!) was, in one case, used to express a stronger feeling than could be conveyed with a simple negation. Finally, interruption was considered to be a deliberate aggravating move in one case.

The relatively low proficiency of these learners can not account for the preponderance of the bald on record strategy, as they displayed throughout the data both adequate linguistic means of expressing themselves, as well as control of at least a limited variety of politeness strategies. One possible explanation might be that the speech act of disagreement is acquired later than the acts of giving advice and requesting. Also, some of the learners' control of, for example, modal use in these speech acts may be due to the explicit instruction that often accompanies the teaching of these forms in ESL/EFL classrooms. Modals as used for requesting are often explicitly presented on a continuum from less polite (e.g.; Can I...?) to more polite (e.g.; Could I...?). This explanation however, can not account for the use of aggravating moves, which were found to accompany 75% of all bald on record disagreements. It is one thing if learners lack the linguistic proficiency to express disagreement in a more elaborated manner than with a simple "no," and quite another for them to shout this expression.

An examination of the data according to age and status reveals a more plausible explanation. First, of the 18 expressions of disagreement, only four (22.22%) were directed to the teacher and of these four, three (75%) were on record with redressive action. While it is possible that the students were in more or less continual agreement with the teacher, a more realistic analysis of the situation might attribute this small proportion of teacher-directed disagreements to two of Brown and Levinson's (1987: 112-113) strategies for positive politeness: seek agreement and avoid disagreement. In addition, this might be explained as transfer of what Hwang (1990:52) referred to as the traditional Korean tendency towards "reservedness" as a means of politeness.

While the request and advice/suggestion data only contain two such speech acts directed towards other students and therefore allow for little comparison across the status levels, the data show that the students are sensitive to perceived status differences (see Table 6), clearly tending to choose politeness markers when speaking to the teacher. Their demonstration of this ability to alter the level of politeness according to their interlocutor strengthens the argument that the students were actually employing the strategies of disagreement avoidance and seeking agreement when they may not have agreed with the teacher, but perhaps felt it disrespectful

Table 6. Request & Advice/Suggestion Strategies by Status

	Student to teacher		Student to student	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Bald on record	0	0%	1	50%
Negative politeness	7	77.78%	1	50%
Positive politeness	1	11.11%	0	0%
Off record	1	11.11%	0	0%
Totals	9	100%	2	100%

to disagree directly with her. Interviews with students or perhaps a careful videotape analysis of their nonverbal behavior, particularly with the help of a Korean informant, would reveal these means of expressing disagreement. Perhaps also present in these data, but unnoticed, were instances of silence used as disagreement, as found by Song (1994), who described this as the most mitigated method of disagreeing in Korean.

In Korean society, age is among the important determinants of status. Hwang (1990) posits that an age difference of as little as three years can initiate the use of different honorifics. My Korean informants specify that in many cases even an age difference of six months to one year will elicit not only different honorifics, but more importantly here, different forms and strategies of politeness. They stress that in most cases interlocutors must be very close in age and also have very little social distance between them in order to ignore the linguistic means of marking various levels of politeness. By analyzing the instances of student-student disagreement by age difference, further insights into the importance of status, and particularly age as an important component in the perception of status, can be revealed even though the students were all in their early to mid-twenties.

As Table 7 shows, age is an important factor in determining whether or not politeness formulas should be used. Not only did older students tend to express more disagreement with the younger students, but they also

Table 7. Disagreement Strategies by Age

	Older to younger		Younger to older	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Bald on record	10	90.91%	2	28.57%
Negative politeness	1	9.09%	3	42.86%
Positive politeness	0	0%	1	14.29%
Negative and positive	0	0%	1	14.29%
Totals	11	100%	7	100%

employed the bald on record strategy in the vast majority of their disagreements with younger students (90.91%), leaving only one instance (9.09%)

of disagreement with redressive action. The younger students were apparently not quite as free to disagree with their elders, and while the distribution of strategies used by younger students when addressing older students was more equal than that of the older students, only 28.57% of the younger students' expressions of disagreement were bald on record. Younger students chose to use some from of redressive action or to go off record in 71.44% of their disagreements with older students. This finding is similar to what Kim (1995) uncovered in her research into Korean ESL learners request strategies. In this study, high intermediate to advanced level Korean ESL students' requests to children were found to be overly direct in comparison to the American norm. Kim attributes this to the negative transfer Korean rules of pragmatics, which place a great deal of emphasis on age differences (1995: 79). In the case of disagreement, what appears to the native English speaker to be excessively direct and impolite behavior, may in fact be due to some degree of pragmatic transfer from Korean of what Song (1994: 4078) termed "formulaic bald on record oppositional expressions." Unfamiliar with American norms, the students may equate English direct expressions of disagreement with their formulaic Korean equivalents.

Conclusions

I will conclude by examining the answers to the two research questions put forth at the beginning of this paper. First, I was concerned with the strategies and patterns of politeness that could be found among this group of high beginning level Korean ESL students. A preference for negative politeness strategies to be used regardless of whether the act threatened the positive or the negative face of the addressee was found and attributed to the probable transfer of the Korean pragmatic preference for negative politeness strategies that allow for reservedness (Hwang 1990).

Also as a part of this initial research question, I had hypothesized that status, and age as an important factor contributing to status among Koreans, would play an important role in determining politeness strategies. This hypothesis was borne out in the data, with students demonstrating increased use of politeness strategies when addressing a person they perceived to be of higher status, for example the teacher or an older fellow student. The excessively forceful, bald on record expressions of disagreement that occurred mainly when older students addressed younger students were also attributed to transfer, possibly of the formulaic direct expressions of disagreement that can be used in Korean (Song 1994). The relative lack of disagreement that was directed by the students to the teacher was also considered to be a politeness strategy. Either Brown and Levinson's (1987) "avoid disagreement" and/or "seek agreement" positive politeness strategies may have been used by the students, or perhaps the strategy of nce (Song 1994).

Taken together, the discussion in the preceding paragraphs also proposes an answer to the other research question that was posed as to why, compared to their performance of the face-threatening acts of requesting and of giving advice/suggestions, the learners' expressions of disagreement were so forceful, unmitigated, and even aggravating in the American perception. First, most of the expressions of disagreement occurred between students, and most of these were initiated by older students. These students, when addressing those younger than themselves, may have felt free to use direct expressions that, in Korean, are formulaic and considered acceptable, but in English can sound impolite. As nearly all of the instances of advising/suggesting and requesting were addressed to the teacher, more polite formulas are found.

A number of limitations apparent in this study prevent any wide generalizations, but provide the groundwork for future research. First, the number of learners involved is small, resulting in a small corpus of data. This has prevented any examination of, for example, male and female differences in politeness strategies. Also, with a small sample of learners it is impossible to be certain as to whether the patterns of strategies found were due to linguistic and pragmatic factors, or were simply particular to this group of learners and the interaction of this constellation of personalities. Finally, future studies would benefit from an insider's knowledge of Korean pragmatics. Obtaining Korean native speakers judgments of learners' utterances will help to determine specific areas where transfer may be occurring and provide reasons for transfer.

Still, some implications for classroom instruction and research can be drawn. First, although the focus of this paper has been mainly on disagreement, a point must be made regarding the appropriateness of the students' advice/suggestions and requests. As discussed above, most of the students' requests and suggestions were linguistically well-formed, and it was put forth for speculation that this may have been due to instruction, particularly in modal use. Often students are instructed that one form of, say, a question, is more or less polite than another. While this is important information, ESL students must also be given the culturally specific information as to what constitutes a more or less formal situation. For example, many of the students in this study employed "You should X" in a grammatically correct manner when giving advice. As Banerjee and Carrell (1988: 335) point out, this is a form that may be perfectly acceptable between friends, but could seem impolite if used with a person of higher status. While I never perceived rudeness in any of these cases, it is possible that another might. If we are to teach our students that one request is more polite than another, or that "should" is used to give advice, we must have research that tells us how these forms are perceived by native speakers and in what situations or under what conditions they are appropriate.

Concerning expressions of disagreement, this study, along with Kim's (1995) study of Korean ESL learner's requests, points to some pedagogic concerns which may be specific to Korean learners. By transferring Korean pragmatic norms to English, Korean ESL students may tend to be perceived as rude and overly direct when addressing people they perceive to be of lower status, which includes those who are even slightly younger. It is important for all students that teachers point out the different variables that make up the American concept of status, and for Korean students in particular to note the lack of emphasis on age. Early instruction in this concept could prevent social blunders and embarrassment for the students.

Finally, the insights afforded by this study can serve as a basis for further research into ESL learners pragmatic development. Comparisons can be made with the pragmatic performance of intermediate and advanced Korean ESL learners, and with that of beginning ESL learners of various language backgrounds and cultures in hopes of gaining knowledge into the process of developing pragmatic competence in a second language.

References

Banerjee, J. & Carrell, P. (1988). Tuck in your shirt, you squid: Suggestions in ESL. *Language Learning*. *38*, 3, 313-364.

Beebe, L. & Takahashi, T. (1989). Sociolinguistic variation in face-threatening speech acts: Chastisement and disagreement. In M. Eisenstein (Ed.) *The Dynamic Interlanguage: Empirical Studies in Second Language Variation*. (pp.199-218) New York: Plenum.

Blum-Kulka, S., House,J. & Kasper, G. (1989). The CCSARP coding manual. In S. Blum-Kulka, J. House & G. Kasper (Eds.), *Cross-cultural pragmatics: Requests and apologies*. (273-294). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Brown, P. & Levinson, S. (1987). *Politeness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

García, C. (1989). Disagreeing and requesting by Americans and Venezuelans. *Linguistics and Education*. *1*, 3, 299-321.

Hwang, J-R. (1990). 'Deference' versus 'politeness' in Korean speech. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *82*, 41-55.

Kim, J. (1995). "Could you calm down more?": Requests and Korean ESL learners. *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics*, *11*,2, 67-81.

Song, K-S. (1994). An interactional sociolinguistic analysis of argument strategies in Korean conversational discourse: Negotiating disagreement and conflict. *Dissertation Abstracts International*, *54*, p. 4078.

Nancy Bell is a doctoral student in Educational Linguistics in the Graduate School of Education at the University of Pennsylvania. She also teaches ESL at Drexel University. Her research interests include second language pragmatics and social interaction between native and non- native speakers of English.

Appendix

Requests

1-8-97

The teacher has just told the class that she wants to videotape the class the following week and asks if that is OK. B. makes a joking request.

B: Could you prepare a mask for me? [1]
T: A mask?
S: Mask.
B: Just to (video taping gesture)
T: Oh, god! (Laughs) Are you shy? (Ss laugh)

1-20-97

The teacher is explaining abbreviations and makes an unfortunate choice of example which results in J. making a request that sidetracks class for the rest of the day (i.e.; a successful request).

T: I don't say "orange juice," I say "o.j."
Ss: o.j.? o.j. O.J. Simpson.
T: Yeah, O.J. Simpson. Because we-
J: AH! I wanna talk about O.J. Simpson. [2]

1-28-97

Two students have explained to the teacher the use of the Korean honorific suffix "-nim"used when speaking to teachers. The teacher has teasingly suggested that they refer to her in this manner to show their respect. Shortly after this the teacher is working with another group and B. calls for her, becoming progressively louder over the noise of the classroom, to make his request.

B: Nancy-nim? Nancy-nim? NANCY-NIM?
T: Yes!
B: (laughs) Can I open the window? [3]
T: Of course!

3-4-97

This request occurred after class between two students with low social distance.

J: Do you have some tissue? [4]
E: Some?
J: Tissue

3-18-97

This request occurred during the party on the last day of class between two students with medium social distance.

S: Give me one piece. [5]
T: Not even please! Not even please, G. You shouldn't give it to him! Just give me one piece, he says.
S: Not polite?
T: Well, you could say please, couldn't you?

Advice/Suggestions

1-30-97

Just after class SH approaches the teacher to point out that she has chalk dust under her eye.

SH: Nancy.
T: Yeah.
SH: Something you...something you...(XXX)...you have... (Gesturing towards under her eye.) [1]
T: What?
S: Chalk.
T: Oh, do I have chalk? Oh, thanks.

2-25-97

G. interrupts near the beginning of class to give the teacher advice on how to cure her hoarse voice.

T: Well, you guys, listen d-
G: I think you- you should relax your voice. [2]

2-25-97

The teacher has been trying to find out where several of the absent students are. She has had a short exchange with another student concerning her throat, which is hoarse this day, and then tries to again find out about missing students, but the students, particularly G., are not finished giving advice.

T: Well do you guys know about S. and H. and B. and D. and A.? Are they here today?
G: I think a better way is, uh, is- xxx stop and very stop and- [3]
Ss: (laughing because he's still fixated on the throat advice and he's the one who can tell T. about the other students)
T: It's ok, it's ok, don't worry, don't worry.

2-25-97

At the end of class the students continued to give advice for the teacher's hoarse throat.

H: In- in our country if I hurt my- my egg er throat
T: yeah
H: they- they say to me "you should eat some egg without cook" [4]
T: Ew! Raw egg?

2-25-97

B. has been joking about the teacher's squeamish response to the suggestion that she eat raw egg for her throat. After jokingly disagreeing with her reaction (see disagreement #8), he advises her to try it.

T: I'm not gonna eat raw egg. I will not eat raw egg.
B: You'd better eat that! [5]

3-18-97

B. makes a career suggestion for the teacher during the party on the last day of class.

B: If you have to- if you have to be xxx to plan to teach another country, why don't you choose Korea [6]
T: Yeah, maybe. You never know.

Disagreement

1-18-97
Students are practicing "too +adjective" and the teacher has given the example of a lady who is 98 and too old to drive.

T: She's too old to drive, right?
H: But I know one woman, her age is 90, she drives. [1]

1-28-97
Students had been in groups discussing schools in their respective countries. The class had just come together to share what they had learned and E., an Italian, has put forth the idea that Korean teachers usually wield a lot of authority in the classroom.

T: Ooooh, th- the Korean teachers have a lot of authority. Usually.
E: Usually.
T: Not always.
S: NO! (Cough) I was teaching college, and I just...(goes on to relate his experience) [2]

2-25-97
The teacher, who is hoarse this day, has been trying to find out where several of the students are. She has had a short exchange with another student concerning her hoarse throat and then tries to again find out about missing students, but the students, particularly G., are not finished giving advice. G. and E. disagree as to the best method of cure.

T: Well do you guys know about S. and H. and B. and D. and A.? Are they here today?
G: I think a better way is, uh, is- xxx stop and very stop and- [3]
Ss: (laughing because he's still fixated on the throat advice and he's the one who can tell T. about the other students)
T: It's ok, it's ok, don't worry, don't worry.
E: No, no, no! Better is drink um...hot milk with honey and and and uh best is with honey honey and whiskey.
G: Honey is not good. [4]
T: And whiskey? All right, I'll take it!
G: Honey is not good. [5]

T: How about honey and lemon? Honey is good, honey helps.
G: No, no, no. Honey, if you uh drink honey yeah if it uh if you eat honey you more the [6]
E: liquid
G: No, uh.... (starts looking in dictionary)

(3 more exchanges with other students, one tries to explain that G. would know where the missing students are)

2-25-97

The lesson is about "too many/much" and a Korean student gives the example that there are too many Korean students in the class. The teacher agrees and a short exchange follows about the difficulties in making groups of students from different language backgrounds. B. disagrees with the notion of "too many Korean students" with a sly joke.

B: But "too" I learned "too" I learned you from you "too" means so bad [7]
(Unidentified male student laughs)
T: Oh, yes, that "too" means bad.
B: You said "too many Koreans here..."

(T. Goes into an explanation intended to reassure - that the makeup of the class is difficult, not the students themselves and gets a sly look and laugh from the student at the end of it, showing that he's giving her a hard time).

2-25-97

As the students are leaving they have been giving the teacher advice on how to cure her sore throat. One suggestion has been to eat raw egg. The teacher has reacted to this with a squeamish noise ("Ew!). B. teases her about her reaction to eating raw egg, refuting her impression.

B: IT'S NOT DISGUSTING!
T: IT IS DISGUSTING!
B: IT'S NOT DISGUSTING! [8]
T: IT IS DISGUSTING!
B: IT'S NOT DISGUSTING!
T: I'm not gonna eat raw egg. I will not eat raw egg.
B: You'd better eat that!
T: NO!
B: (laughs)

3-6-97

The students have been discussing how the lives of women have changed. J. and S. are in disagreement as to how much leisure women have. There is low social distance between the two students.

> S: Uh I thinks today is very different, woman's life for example- housewife and uh about two- twenty uh twenty years ago woman, her- hers life is very hard and uh today's woman wake up and enjoy uh swimming and and and soccer ((ss laugh)) and and- Huh? Uh, why? Why- why you laughing?
> A: Enjoy work out, no?
> S: Yes, yes, yeah.
> J: Just- just- excuse me, just um her husband um many money uh much money. [9]
> S: NO! I think almost uh womans- [10]
> J: Almost?
> S: Yes. Xxx aerobic dancing and shopping.
> J: No. I don't think so. [11]

3-6-97

G., who has never been to Italy but has a friend living there, disagrees with the assertion of E., (an Italian woman), that men in Italy are very rude to women. There is a medium level of social distance between the two students and E. does not like G.

> E: Yeah, yeah, my mother was uuum ( ) sometimes I see two couple like my mother my father um the man is very rude sometimes.
> G: Rude? Very very RUDE? Very RUDE? [12]
> E: Yeah, rude.
> G: Oh my God not rude. [13]
> E: Yeah, rude I think-
> G: I think man is very polite. [14]
> E: No.

3-18-97

This exchange occurred during a class party on the last day of class. S. and B. disagree as to the name of their teacher. There is very low social distance between the two.

S: This term my teacher is-
B: Mike
S: John John [15]
T: You're taking pronunciation AGAIN?
S: Yes.
B: MIKE! [16]
S: Who?
T: Mike or John?
S: John! He's John.

3-18-97

This disagreement occurred during the party on the last day of class. B. has put a chicken wing in the ranch dip and H. does not think this is the correct use of the dip. There is very low social distance between the two students.

H: It's for celery.
T: Dip, what?
H: For celery.
T: Is it? (Simultaneously) B: NO! [17]

3-18-97

The students are have been saying that the teacher is not tall. When the teacher disagrees, she is refuted.

T: I'm tall.
S: You're not tall. [18]

Openings and Closings in Telephone Conversations between Native Spanish Speakers

Serafín M. Coronel-Molina

Graduate School of Education, University of Pennsylvania

The current investigation contributes new data to a growing body of work on cultural universalities vs. particularities in the functions performed in telephone opening and closing sequences. While telephone conversations in many languages and cultures have been studied, the Spanish language is conspicuously absent in the literature. The present work addresses this lack, augmenting available linguistic data with the novel contribution of Spanish to the database. In this presentation, I offer my analysis of the opening and closing sequences of 11 dyads in natural telephone conversations conducted in Spanish. I attempt to determine how closely Hispanic cultural patterns of conduct for telephone conversations follow the sequences outlined in previous works by Schegloff, Hopper, and other researchers. I conclude that Hispanic conversational norms do indeed fall within Schegloff's canonical schema of universality, while at the same time exhibiting unique sequential variations. These variations may or may not be culture-specific, a point which can only be determined through further investigation.

Introduction

Conversational analysis of telephone conversations is a fairly well established area of investigation, beginning in the late 1960's with Schegloff's (1967) dissertation on conversational openings. Since that time, numerous researchers have advanced the study of telephone interactions, both between members of the same culture (Hopper 1989; Hopper, Doany, Johnson & Drummond 1991; Hopper & Drummond 1989; Lindström 1994; Schegloff 1979, 1970, 1968, 1967; and Schegloff & Sacks 1973) and across cultures (Godard 1977; Halmari 1993; Hopper & Koleilat-Doany 1989; and Sifianou 1989). Languages investigated range from English and French to Greek and Finnish. This is clearly a broad range, including some less commonly spoken languages; one would assume that within such a range, most of the more commonly spoken languages would be represented. However, in all the studies I have examined, Spanish, which [one] of the five most widely spoken languages in the world, is notable by [its] absence in the literature. Hopper (1992) offers a brief description of different ways of answering the telephone in the Spanish-speaking world, but no formal research seems to have been done in this area.

Many of the researchers cited above concentrate on aspects of the openings and closings of conversations, such as turn-taking, initiation of sequences, etc. Hopper and Schegloff are two researchers who individually have done much work in this area, and I have relied on their theoretical underpinnings to ground my own work. In all of his investigations, in fact, Schegloff deals specifically with the sequences involved in the openings of telephone conversations, which he breaks down into four adjacency pairs: (1) summons/response; (2) identification/recognition; (3) a greeting adjacency pair; and (4) a "how are you" adjacency pair.

Godard (1977) offers an objection to Schegloff's work. She argues that his "summons-response" sequence cannot be universally applied, and maintains that it is important to take cultural aspects into consideration. In doing her own analysis of French and English conversations, she found that some of Schegloff's categories and/or theorizing did not fit well with her own data. Godard concludes that some of Schegloff's work is culture-specific and it cannot be applied universally to telephone conversations in all languages.

Hopper et al. (1990-91) use Schegloff's work to determine the extent to which Schegloff's set of four opening sequences might be universally applicable and which elements might be specific to North American culture. Hopper et al. disagree with Godard's contention that cultural specificity significantly affects the sequences necessary to open a conversation. Rather, they argue that such cultural differences will have more to do with the actual content, or perhaps the order of the sequences, than with the functions they serve: "We argue that the different sounds of telephone openings in different languages mask similarities to what was sketched in the canonical telephone opening" (Hopper et al. 1990-91: 375).

Hopper (1989) mentions another interesting aspect of opening sequences which could be significant in some cases. He describes the different functions that opening sequences may serve, and how those functions are used to serve varying conversational needs. He specifically examines the opening sequence in which the caller (a) asks the answerer (b) how s/he is doing. This sequence, he maintains, serves more as a "pre-invitation" than as merely an inquiry into one's state of health. It provides the opportunity to offer other than just health information; for instance, in the case of this article, to inform a that b currently has another caller on hold.

In this paper, I will analyze the interactions of native Spanish speakers in telephone conversations conducted in Spanish - specifically, the etiquette involved in openings and closings of such conversations - to determine to what extent this data fits within Schegloff's theoretical models of sequencing in openings and closings. At the same time, I will look at some cultural implications inherent in my data, in accord with the observations of such searchers as Godard (1977) and Sifianou (1989). Finally, I will highlight the relevance of my investigation for second language teaching and learning

All of the researchers cited previously raise valid points to keep in mind when analyzing data from another culture based on previous research for English. However, I find very persuasive Hopper et al.'s assertion that "Schegloff's (1979) discussion of identification and recognition includes virtually every format that have [sic] been argued as being unique to Greece, France or Holland - and all from North American data!" (1990-91: 378). Overall, then, I will rely heavily on frameworks pioneered by Schegloff (1968; 1973, with Sacks; 1979) and further elaborated by Hopper (1989; 1989, with Koleilat-Doany; 1991, with Doany, Johnson and Drummond; 1992) in structuring my analysis. I will also draw on cultural implications in my discussion and conclusions, keeping in mind points raised by those researchers concerned with cultural specificity.

Methodology

The current work will focus exclusively on data collected from native speakers of Spanish from a variety of Latin American countries. While I am not specifically doing a comparative analysis with English or other languages, there will necessarily be some comparative conclusions drawn. It is through such cross-cultural comparisons that the greatest relevance to second language learning will be realized.

Research questions

I am interested in investigating three questions in particular regarding telephone conversation openings and closings. Two of them deal with the opening sequences. The third focuses on the closing. The questions are:

(1) Does there appear to be a standard formula used in beginning a telephone conversation among Spanish speakers as suggested by Schegloff?

(2) Do Spanish speakers move immediately to the purpose of the call, or do they follow a pattern of information exchange before the "real" conversation begins?

This is addressed by Schegloff's final adjacency pair sequence, which Hopper and Koleilat-Doany (1989: 163) list as step 4, a "how are you" or inquiry sequence in which each participant offers an initial inquiry about the other. Some of the cross-cultural studies seem to indicate that the answer to this question is culture-specific. For instance, Halmari (1993) indicates that in business calls, at least, Americans have a tendency to get straight to the point, with little in the way of preliminary pleasantries, while Finns are much more likely to make some kind of polite conversation before talking about business.

(3) The third question actually has three parts: Are there any specific verbal cues the speakers use to prepare to close the conversation? If so, is there a standard formula for closing once a speaker has signaled his intention via these verbal cues that he wants to terminate the conversation? Finally, who typically terminates the conversation, the caller or the recipient?

Schegloff and Sacks (1973) also address some of these issues, proposing somewhat fluid categories such as preclosings, new topic initiation and final closings. The researchers do not summarize these divisions into such neat and tidy categories as the opening sequences. This is due to the much more fluid nature of closings as opposed to the very structured nature of openings.

Research Design

To answer the questions that I have posed, I performed a conversational analysis of telephone conversations in Spanish, with primary focus on adjacency pairs and overall organization into stages of openings and closings. Eleven telephone conversations between dyads of native Spanish speakers were audiotaped from the time the telephone began ringing to the final hang-up.

The informants came from a variety of Spanish-speaking countries, all from Latin America. The countries represented were Chile, Cuba, Mexico, Panama , Peru and Puerto Rico; some informants called friends or relatives living in the United States, and some called family in their home countries. In total, there were sixteen women and five men involved in the eleven dyads. In almost all cases, the dyads were comprised of either family members or intimate friends. In one call, the dyad was a more casual acquaintanceship, but of long standing; that is, they were friends, but not close friends. There was one telephone call in which a woman called her family in Chile, and talked to two different members of her family. In this case, I counted them as individual conversations, but only counted the caller once. This explains why the number of participants adds up to twenty-one instead of twenty-two.

All but one of the participants ranged from between 28 to approximately 55 years of age; the one exception was the 18-year-old daughter of the caller to Chile. All come from educated backgrounds, having earned at least a bachelor's degree and in several cases, higher degrees (except for the 18-year-old, who had just finished high school). All personal data on the informants and their conversational partners was supplied by the callers themselves, before they made their calls via oral interview.

Once the data collection was accomplished, I transcribed only those parts of the conversations which were clearly part of the opening or the closing of the conversations. I derived my working definition of opening both from the sequences outlined by Schegloff and from the cultural norms a typical conversation among Hispanics based on my own experience as a member of that culture. Regardless of the ultimate purpose of a visit or telephone call, Hispanic etiquette requires that the participants first inquire after the health and/or activities of each other's family members. Therefore, at the beginning of a conversation, as long as the participants were asking about each others' families, I considered it to be part of the opening. Once the topic changed, I determined that to be the end of the greeting, regardless of whether they later returned to discussion of family matters.

Results and Discussion

I examined the data from two perspectives. First, I did a simple count of how many of the categories for openings (Schegloff 1968) and closings (Schegloff and Sacks 1973) appeared in the data, and in what combinations to get an idea of how closely my information fit with the extant theories of universal functions.

As in English, there are certain verbal cues in Spanish that one uses to indicate that s/he would like to terminate the conversation, either face to face or by telephone. These include such interjections as "bueno..." or "pues..." ('well...') followed by a pause, or phrases such as "muchas gracias por la llamada" ('thank you so much for calling') or "me da gusto haber hablado contigo" ('it was good to talk to you'). I searched for such clues in the conversations, and transcribed the closings from that point forward to the actual end of the conversation. Very often, closings were much longer than openings, which is also in line with the function that Schegloff and Sacks propose for preclosing sequences. Since a preclosing leaves open the option for the other party to introduce a new topic of conversation, it could result that there are several preclosing gambits before both speakers decide that they no longer have any new topics to discuss. This obviously implies the possibility of a much longer closing sequence than opening.

In general, it turns out that there are close correspondences, although not necessarily exact matches, between the predicted categories and actual occurrence in Spanish. In this sense, I would argue that the correspondences support the idea of universal functions in telephone conversations across cultures, while the lack of exact fit reflects the cultural differences mentioned by such researchers as Godard (1977) and Sifianou (1989).

After this initial counting step, I returned to look more closely at the actual text to find examples in support of both concordances and differences between the data and the current theories. It is through this textual approach that specific cultural idiosyncracies can be identified, and this will provide the most useful information for application to second language learning. After all, highlighting similarities and differences between one's own culture and another brings them to conscious awareness. Once someone is consciously aware of something, it is much easier for him/her to learn and/or remember that information and to have it consciously accessible when it is needed.

Openings

Schegloff identifies four possible adjacency pair sequences in telephone conversational openings: summons/answer, identification/recognition, greeting sequence, and inquiry sequence. I have previously defined the first two categories. Schegloff (1968: 1080) limits the definition of the greeting sequence to being specifically a second round of "hellos" that follows recognition. He argues that a telephone "hello" in the summons/answer sequence does not serve as a greeting per se, but rather an acknowledgment or answer to the summons of the ringing of the telephone. Therefore, once recognition is achieved, in many cases the participants will do an additional "hello" which functions this time as an actual greeting to a known interactant. The inquiry sequence is very often an extension of the greeting sequence, but apparently since both do not always appear together, Schegloff classified them as two distinct steps in the opening process.

I found examples of all four of these opening sequences in my data. In the table below, I summarize the number of occurrences of each sequence found in eleven samples of telephone conversation.

Clearly, if we look at nothing but the numbers, there appears to be a strong fit with Schegloff's suggested categories. Out of the eleven total conversations, 100% of them included both a summons/response sequence

Table 1. Summary of Opening Sequences

Categories	Number of occurrences	Percentage
Summons/response	11	100%
Identification/recognition	10	100%
Greeting	6	55%
Inquiry	11	100%

and an inquiry sequence. I also argue that there is 100% use of identification/recognition strategies as well. As discussed previously, one of the telephone calls actually involved a single person calling her family in Chile and talking to two different family members; in other words, she was involved in two consecutive conversations in a single call. When the telephone was passed to the second member, both parties of course already knew who was going to be on the line, and so there was no need for this sequence between them. Essentially, the identification/recognition was carried out in advance of the beginning of their conversation.

This means, then, that the only somewhat variable element was the greeting, or some form of second "hello" after the response to the summons. In only seven of the eleven cases, or 55% of the time, did people make use of it, as opposed to 100% for the other sequences. However, that is still a significant percentage. In the other four cases (45%), the participants went directly from identification/recognition to asking how the other person was, which is a phrase in Spanish that is capable of doing double duty as both greeting and inquiry. In Spanish speaking countries, as well as asking about the other participant, it is often typical to extend this inquiry sequence to ask about the whole family, especially if one is speaking to either a family member, or a close friend whose family is well known to the speaker. As a result, in Spanish this sequence is often more extended than merely an adjacency pair. The following extract is an example of the most typical opening sequences:

0		«rin, rin, rin» (ring, ring, ring)
1	Aurora:	Aló. *Hello.*
2	Ursula:	¿Aló? *Hello?*
3	Aurora:	¿Sí? *Yes?*
4	Ursula:	Hola hermanita. ¿Cómo estás? *Hello, little sister. How are you?*
5	Aurora:	Oh, Ursula. *Oh, Ursula.*
6	Ursula:	¿Cómo estás, qué dices? ¿Estás ocupada? *How are you, what's up? Are you busy?*
7	Aurora:	Acá, cocinando. *I'm just here, cooking.*
...		
19	Ursula:	¿Andan todos bien por la casa? ¿Ramón? ¿Salvador? *How is everyone at home? Ramon? Salvador?*
20	Aurora:	Sí, sí. *Yes, yes.*
21	Ursula:	Están bien. ¿Hay alguna novedad? *Everyone's fine, then. Is there anything new going on?*
22	Aurora:	Nooooo. *Nooooo.*
...		
25	Ursula:	¿Has oído algo de mi mamá o mi papá? *Have you heard anything from mom or dad?*
26	Aurora:	Sí, hablé la semana pasada. *Yes, I talked [to them] last week.*
27	Ursula:	Ya, ¿cómo está mamá? *Yeah? How's mom?*
28	Aurora:	Quería que le enviara algo por su cumpleaños del bebe.... *She wanted me to send her something for the baby's birthday....*

Lines 0 and 1 show the summons/response sequence: "Ring, ring, ring" and "Hello?" Line two shows the beginning of the identification/recognition sequence, which in this case actually takes two talking turns for each participant. In lines 2 and 3 - "Hello?" and "Yes?" - the two sisters are essentially offering voice samples for recognition by the other party, without offering overt identification in either case. According to Schegloff (1979: 50) and Sifianou (1989: 533), this is often a preferred recognition method in American English as well as Greek, at least in personal phone calls. Sifianou characterizes this as evidencing the more positive politeness of Americans and Greeks, showing solidarity with one another (1989: 533). I am inclined to draw a similar conclusion from my own data, since there are only two samples in which the speakers self-identify without waiting for the callee to guess; in a third case, the callee fails to guess, and specifically asks with whom he is talking, forcing the caller to self-identify. Based on this limited data and personal knowledge of the culture, it is tempting to follow the lead of Schegloff (1979) and Sifianou (1989) and identify Hispanic cultures as more positively polite, seeking ways to reaffirm solidarity with each other.

In any case, lines 4 and 5 verify that the two speakers have successfully identified their interlocutors: "Hello little sister," and "Oh, Ursula." The same closure of the identification/ recognition sequence serves the dual function of being the greeting as well. In the case of line 4, which also incorporates the question "How are you?", this combines both the greeting sequence and the inquiry sequence. This combination of the two sequences together in a single sentence is fairly typical: it occurred this way in all seven of the instances in which a greeting was used.

The sister responds to the identification/greeting/inquiry with recognition in line 5 ("Oh, Ursula"), but does not directly answer either the greeting or the question inherent in the caller's recognition response. Perhaps because of this initial lack of response to her inquiry, the caller asks it again, and once her sister answers this question, Ursula moves on to ask about the rest of the family. Such extended inquiry sequences occurred in five of the eleven conversations, normally between either family members or very close friends. In some of the cases where it was not done, either the caller did not know the callee's extended family, or knew that the person did not have family with whom they were in close contact.

Two other interesting variations on other researchers' data which may again provide support for the cultural specificity perspective, and therefore have significance for teaching communicative/pragmatic competence in a second language, are two incidents of apologies for interrupting, and variations on the order of presentation of Schegloff's canonical opening sequences. Godard (1977) insists often that French callers are obliged to apologize for interrupting the callee at some point in their opening sequence, while Americans are not. In either case, apologies were exceptional enough in my data to stand out as contrary to the norm. In one case, the caller knew he had awakened the callee, and so an apology was obviously in order. The second case is not so clear cut, since there was no apparent reason for an apology, as evidenced by the following dialogue from dyad 6:

0		«rin, rin, rin» (ring, ring, ring)
1	Lucas:	¿Aló? *Hello?*
2	Teresa:	Ah, ¿Lucas? *Um, Lucas?*
3	Lucas:	¿Sí? *Yes?*
4	Teresa:	Ah, ¿cómo estás? *Ah, how are you?*
5	Lucas:	¿Con quién hablo? *Who is this?*
6	Teresa:	Soy Teresa. Teresa Portales. *This is Teresa. Teresa Portales.*
7	Lucas:	Ah, ¿cómo estás? ¿Qué tal? *Oh, how are you? What's up?*
8	Teresa:	Bien. Mira, Lucas, ojalá que no te esté molestando. *I'm fine. Gee, Lucas, I hope I'm not bothering you.*

Apparently, this dyad was not as intimate as others, as evidenced by the callee's failure to immediately identify the caller's voice. Perhaps this more distant relationship had a role in the caller's apology. The caller also mentioned before she made the call that she knew her friend was planning to watch a show that was scheduled to start very shortly; this may have been an additional influence on her decision to apologize for interrupting his evening.

The final variable aspect from my data on openings that I would like to discuss is some difference in presentation of the sequence of the elements of openings. The canonical sequence is that proposed by Schegloff which I have cited several times throughout this paper: (1) summons/answer; (2) identification/recognition; (3) greeting tokens; and (4) initial inquiries ("how are you") and answers (Hopper et al. 1991: 370). There was only one sample in my data of this canonical order of adjacency pairs. The table below summarizes the variant sequences I found. Most of these represent instances of the second part of an adjacency pair not following directly from its logical first part; although, in all cases, all the requisite information of an opening sequence is ultimately included in one way or another. For example, in cases where a sequence is not explicitly used, its function is fulfilled in covert ways, such as one person recognizing another's voice from the first ord, and bypassing the tentative identification routines to go directly to the greeting or inquiry sequence.

One interesting aspect which can be noted in the above summary is the frequency with which the recipients answered the opening sequence using

Table 2. Patterns of Opening Sequences and Frequency of Occurrence

Order of sequences	Description	Number of ccurrences
1, 2, 4	greeting skipped by both parties	4
1, 2, 3, 4 / 1, 2, 4	caller used canonical order; adjacency pairs disrupted	2
1, 2, 3, 4	"canonical" order with recognizable adjacency pairs	1
1, 3, 4 , 2 / 1, 2, 4	caller inverted order of sequences; callee omitted3	1
1, 3, 2 / 1, 3, 4	caller inverted greeting & ID; callee skipped ID	1
1, 3, 4 / 1, 4	caller skipped ID; after initial response, callee only answered inquiry	1
4	secondary conversation within another conversation; sequences 1-3 not necessary	1
TOTAL		11

The numbers in the left column refer to the sequence number in the list of opening sequences above in Table 1.

only the summons-response (which is required in Hispanic society), and sequence 4 (inquiries) as the common elements. The use of sequences 2 and 3 varies, with 2 being slightly more common than 3. It seems to be a common occurrence that callers can readily identify the callees' voices just from that brief response to the summons ("hello?"), and their next gambit provides enough information for most recipients to be able to recognize the callers' identity. There is seldom any self-identification, as discussed previously. Even so, in most cases there is still some form of overt recognition before moving immediately into the inquiry phase ("Oh,Teresa! How are you?"), which explains the presence of the second category at all.

Category 4, the inquiry sequence, seems to be able to act as a greeting as well as an inquiry, especially when issued by the callee. This is in contrast English, where it seems to be much more common to hear, for example, "Oh, Teresa! Hello! How are you?" The second sentence appears to be relatively superfluous for Spanish speakers who are on the receiving end of phone calls, who simply skip from recognition to inquiry, as noted above. While the callers themselves very often use the greeting immediately before the inquiry, without awaiting a response ("Hello! How are you?"), the callees are much more likely to omit it, as seen from information in the table above. It is difficult to postulate why this might be so. Clearly, based on the reactions of both participants in the conversation, this is not perceived as rude or abrupt; it is merely the normal reaction to the caller's greeting and inquiry.

Closings

Conversational closings, which Schegloff and Sacks (1979) call "terminal exchanges," were rather more difficult to determine. Schegloff and Sacks (1979: 303-304) identify markers in American English that they call "preclosings," or indicators that one party is ready to terminate the conversation but is offering the other party the opportunity to open another topic of conversation. These "preclosings" can take various forms, which the authors elaborate throughout the paper. They also emphasize the importance of taking into account surrounding context in determining that a certain word or phrase is functioning as a preclosing marker, since words such as "we-e-el-l-l" or "okay then" can also be used in other contexts that do not necessarily implicate the desire to close the conversation.

In addition, Schegloff and Sacks (1979) describe various stages of the closing (without giving precise names to them), and discuss several of these in their article. These parts of a closing do not all necessarily need to be present, as is also the case with the four sequences in openings, and in fact, they are not always all present in my data in both openings and closings.

Since Schegloff and Sacks do not offer formal names for their closing sequences, I have tentatively put them into the following simplified categories: (1) preclosing, or initiation of the closing sequence (the only category for which Schegloff and Sacks do offer a label); (2) new topic introduction; (3) recapitulation; and (4) final closing. Preclosings have been discussed above. New topic introduction means simply that an introduction of a new topic of conversation after a preclosing gambit. Recapitulation involves a brief summarizing of the topics discussed and/or arrangements made. I have decided to also include such elements as sending best wishes to other family members and other shutting-down details in this category, for the sake of simplicity. Such recapitulation is often an optional element in a personal conversation, although Halmari (1993: 422) indicates that it is almost obligatory in business conversations. Final closings are the actual "goodbyes" or some equivalent appropriate to the specific context of the conversation, such as "Thank you" (generally in business or information-seeking phone calls) or "I'll talk to you later." I have looked for representations of these categories in determining the closing sequences of Spanish conversations.

Since closing a conversation is not nearly as straightforward as opening one, it is much more difficult to define concrete categories into which one can divide the different tasks involved. This subject was addressed to some extent in a previous section, wherein I also defined the breakdowns I will use for subdividing my data. To review, the categories of closings into which I divided the data are (1) preclosing; (2) introduction of a new topic; (3) recapitulation; and (4) final closing. These sequences are based on Schegloff's categorizations, with some latitude built into the third category, which he does not precisely define. Rather, he enumerates a wide range of possibilities that can fall into a vague category between preclosing and final closing, but which are not exactly new topics of conversation. For that reason, and to simplify the examination of my data, I have accommodated all of these variations under the heading of recapitulation.

As with openings, not all of the elements of closings are evident in all samples. One major difference between openings and closings is that in closings, there is only one element that absolutely has to be present at all times to constitute a terminal exchange: the final closing. While all the other sequences are possible, and even likely, at least in English, they are not required to determine that a conversation has terminated.

Most often, what seems to happen is that one party offers a preclosing word or phrase, and the other party responds to it with initation of a new topic. As explained above, this is perfectly normal, and actually even perhaps expected in many cases. Such alternations of preclosings and new topics will continue until both parties have decided they have nothing new to add. Then the preclosing gambit will be met with a similar preclosing response, and the two participants may either go into a recapitulation routine, or move immediately to the final closing.

My own data reflects patterns very similar to this. In all, there were 37 preclosing gambits, 26 initiations of new topics, 16 recapitulations, and 11 final closings. This last figure, of course, is entirely expected, since there are 11 conversational dyads in the data set, and each one must end with a final closing. Following is a table that outlines the various combinations of sequences identified in the data.

As the table illustrates, and Schegloff predicts based on his proposed purpose of them, preclosings lead in the vast majority of instances to the initiation of a new topic not directly related to anything previously discussed in the conversation. However, there are a few variations which I found rather interesting. Clearly, a preclosing does not have to lead to either a new topic or a recapitulation. In two cases, the preclosing resulted directly in the final closing. Nor do either of these need to follow directly after a preclosing, as we can see by the few cases in which a series of functions started with recapitulation rather than preclosing.

What is most intriguing, from my perspective, is the circular nature of process. This is displayed in the cases where a preclosing might look

Table 3. Closing Sequence Combinations and Frequencies

Closing sequence combinations	Number of occurrences
preclosing + new topic	19
preclosing + recapitulation + final closing	6
preclosing + recapitulation + new topic	4
preclosing + final closing	2
preclosing + recapitulation + preclosing + new topic	2
recapitulation + final closing	2
recapitulation + new topic	1
preclosing + recapitulation + preclosing + final close	1
Total	37

like it was headed into the final countdown, so to speak, only to take a turn and have a new topic introduced after the recapitulation, or go through a series of alternating preclosings, recapitulations, and/or new topics. This variability emphasizes the individuality and unpredictability of the communication process and highlights the difficulty of trying to analyze the process. However, it is still possible to make some tentative predictions based on the data above.

For instance, despite the two exceptions where a closing segment began with the recapitulation, it is evident that the vast majority of such sequences began with preclosing statements of some kind. Hence, one could reasonably predict that it is difficult to close down a conversation without a preclosing. In fact, the instances that begin with recapitulations arise from previous instances of a preclosing plus new topic initiation. After a few exchanges on the new topic, one of the speakers utters a recapitulative statement instead of returning all the way to the preclosing. An example of this from dyad 1 follows:

49	Ana:	Está bien. Muchísimas gracias porque todavía no estoy completamente bien del catarro que me dió. *Okay, then. Thanks a lot, because I'm still not completely over that cold I caught.*
50	María:	Sí. A mí también me tomó como tres semanas. Bueno, tú también te acuerdas ... pensé que me moría. *Yes. It took me about three weeks also. Well, you remember too, I thought I was going to die.*
51	Ana:	Sí. *Yeah.*
52	María:	Pero esa medicina china que mi mamá me lo compró me dió un buen resultado ... bueno, tómatela... y mañana si te sientes mal, no te puedes concentrar ... y es una barbaridad, así es que no te olvides de tomar. *But that herbal medicine my mom bought for me worked*

really well... so take it... and tomorrow, if you feel bad, you won't be able to concentrate, which is horrible, so, don't forget to take it.

53 Ana: No, no se me olvida.
No, I won't forget.

54 María: Eso no tiene efecto secundario, no te va a poner a dormir ni nada. Al contrario...
And it doesn't have any side effects, it won't make you sleepy or anything.
Actually...

55 Ana: Comienzo a cantar. (risas)
I'll start singing. (laughter)

56 María: Bueno, Ana, como no te voy a ver. ¡Que tengas suerte mañana!...
Well, Ana, it's not like I won't see you. Good luck tomorrow!

57 Ana: Así haré.
I hope so.

58 María: Dime una cosa, a lo mejor paso por ahí. ¿Quieres que te lleve una coca cola o algo a esa hora?
Tell me something, I might be stopping by there. Do you want me to bring you a Coke or anything about then?

59 Ana: Tal vez una coca cola fría.
Maybe a cold Coke.

...

60 María: Pues sí. Entonces, yo te la llevo... Bueno, Ana, saluda a Bernardo y hablamos entonces.
Okay, then. I'll bring it to you then. Well, Ana, say hello to Bernardo, and I'll talk to you later.

61 Ana: Gracias, hablamos. Chao.
Thanks. Talk to you later. Bye.

In line one, Ana thanks María for an offer of some herbal medicine, and gives a possible indication that she would like to close the conversation: "Okay, then. Thanks a lot because I'm still not completely over that cold I caught." This could be interpreted as containing both a preclosing and a recapitulative, since she's summing up their previous discussion about medicine. However, it is not an unmistakeable preclosing, and apparently María doesn't take it as such, since she launches into a discussion of her previous cold. Ana answers her with a monosyllable ("Yes"), which is often read as a discouragement to further conversation.

María still does not accept the preclosing gambit immediately, however. The information about the medicine from her mother might be somewhat working towards that, although this is not entirely obvious. Then her iling statement, "So take it..." could be clearly construed as a preclosing, which she then converts to a more drawn-out reason why her friend should remember to take the medicine. Ana offers another terse reply: "No, I won't forget." And so the conversation continues on, with Ana replying shortly, proffering little encouragement for continued conversation, and María refusing these preclosing gambits.

Finally, María herself utters a statement that could be interpreted as a recapitulation: "Well, it's not like I won't see you. Good luck tomorrow!" Ana follows this with another brief reply, "I hope so." But then, once again María introduces a new topic, the offer to bring Ana a Coke during her exam. They discuss this for one or two exchanges, and then María presents another recapitulation, and a statement that can easily be construed as a final closing: "Okay, I'll bring it to you then. Say hello to Bernardo for me." At this point, Ana replies with a goodbye, and the conversation terminates.

It is interesting, although perhaps not significant, that this particular conversation did not end until the caller herself finally decided she was ready to terminate it. Does this mean, then, that it is up to the caller to give final closure to a conversation? Not necessarily, according to the rest of the data. While the caller typically offers more preclosing gambits than the callee (26 as compared to 11 for the callee), the final closings are initiated approximately equally between the two, with callers performing six of them and callees, five.

In addition, new topics were initiated almost equally, with a slight advantage to the callee: callers introduced 11 new topics as compared to the callees' 15. Recapitulations were offered 10 times by callers, and 6 times by the callees. These numbers are summarized in the table below.

Finally, an interesting little phenomenon occurred in the final closing itself. Schegloff speaks of adjacency pairs, in which an initial utterance prompts a coordinated response from the hearer. In the final closing, I did find such pairs. However, I also encountered, with equal frequency, final closings in triplets rather than pairs. One person would utter "Goodbye,"

Table 4. Frequencies of Termination Exchanges: Dynamics of Termination Exchanges

	Caller	Callee	Totals
Who initiates preclosings?	26	11	37
Who initiates new topics?	11	15	26
Who initiates recapitulations?	10	6	16
Who initiates final closings?	6	5	11

the second would respond in kind, and then the first person would repeat it once more before hanging up. There did not appear to be any attempt by the other interlocutor to match this repetition by the first person, which leaves the interaction in a triplet rather than a pair. The following excerpt an example of this:

35 Natalia: Chao.
Bye.
36 Wanda: Cuídate también. Chao.
You take care, too. Bye.
37 Natalia: Chao.
Bye.

In the data set there are five such examples of final closing triplets, compared to six for adjacency pairs. So, clearly, such occurrences of triplets are fairly natural and common. In trying to determine a possible reason for this, the numbers do not appear to offer any significant help. I have tabulated them below to aid in visualizing the breakdowns. In addition, I have shown whether it is caller or callee who wants to capture this last word.

There is little mention of such triplets in the telephone exchange literature, although one researcher, Amy Tsui (1989), makes a strong case for their importance in conversational exchanges in general. Perhaps it is much more common in face to face exchanges than in telephone conversations. Alternatively, it could merely be that other researchers have not felt it significant enough to report in their data. For me, it is an interesting phenomenon that might or might not have greater significance. There is no way to know this without exploring further and seeing just how widespread an occurrence it really is. In the same way, it is difficult to say why it might have occurred with such regular frequency in my own data, since I do have so little data on which to base any definite conclusions. One possibility could be as simple as personal style; perhaps those people who did it just have a need to get in the last word before hanging up the phone.

Table 5. Adjacency Pairs vs. Triplets: Who Gets the Last Word In?

	Caller	Callee
Adjacency pairs	3	3
Adjacency triplets	3	2

Based on this limited data, it is difficult to definitively say that one participant or the other tends to play a greater role in terminating the interaction. Perhaps the best interpretation for these numbers is that they prove, once again, to what extent the act of communicating is a socially constructed experience, and the importance of the active participation of all the interactants.

Another notable point I found in looking at the data is that the international calls generally had much longer closings than local calls or domestic long distance calls. For example, one call from the United States to Peru had eight preclosing attempts before the call finally terminated; another to

Peru, between different interactants, had five. Similarly, the woman who called Chile attempted four preclosing gambits with her daughter, and five with her mother before successfully terminating the respective conversations. On average, local calls and domestic long distance calls required about two preclosing gambits before closure was reached.

One reason for this could be that there is a much greater possibility that people will call locally or domestic long distance more often than they will call internationally. Hence, there is less "new" news that happens between telephone calls, and it is consequently easier to terminate the conversation. On the other hand, when the length of time increases between phone calls, not only is there more time for new things to occur in the respective lives of the participants, but there could also be an increased anxiety to talk to the other party. For this reason, people will look for reasons or excuses to maintain contact with their loved ones for as long as possible.

Summary and Conclusions

The data presented in this current work supports Schegloff's and Hopper's assertions of certain conversational universals across languages and cultures, especially relating to telephone discourse. Both of these researchers outline elements of telephone openings and closings, focusing on similarities across cultures. Hopper and Koleilat-Doany (1989: 176) state it plainly in regard to openings: "Certainly we do not claim that every telephone opening sounds just like those in the United States. Rather, there is a certain set of jobs that must get accomplished to do the opening of a state of conversational speaking."

This certain set of jobs is performed by the informants in my data, in accomplishing both openings and closings. The four standard opening sequences identified by Schegloff and summarized by Hopper recur constantly in the conversations, and the same is true of the four basic phases of a closing. The only significant difference is that such sequences may not occur in Schegloff's canonical order, or may not be explicitly present. In the latter case, the function performed by the explicitly missing sequence is always implied in another sequence.

In regard to the original questions I set out to answer, it is quite apparent that there is indeed a formulaic approach to both opening and closing a conversation. The easy manner in which the data analyzed in this study fits into the typologies which Schegloff has elaborated verifies the routinized nature especially of conversational openings. On the other hand, it was somewhat more challenging to try to match the data to distinct closing sequences, since a single utterance could potentially be interpreted in various ways. Even so, it is still fairly clear that there are certain strategies that conversational partners use to indicate their readiness to terminate a conversation. I have identified a few of these potential preclosing indicators in my data set, and then followed them through the rest of the conversation to determine how they function within the context of the dialogue, in conjunction with initiation of new topics of conversation, recapitulation techniques as other indicators of desire to terminate, and final closings. As a result of these analyses, it is clear that there is a process, but it is not so clear which interlocutor is preferred for which part of the process. According to my data, either participant can initiate any stage of the closing process, and either partner also has equal right to ignore such closing attempts to introduce new topics of conversation.

I think that the differences that have been noted between English, French, Greek and Spanish conversational patterns, according to the various investigations to which I have compared my data, can be safely related to the specific cultural paradigms within which telephone usage has developed in those cultures. I agree with Hopper, however, that such local, specific differences do not significantly alter the conversational functions being performed within those varying semantic constructions. The evidence presented by the researchers arguing from a cultural specificity standpoint does not stand up under close scrutiny in terms of representing some new aspect that Schegloff has missed, or of trying to undermine the universalist argument. Rather, it serves merely to reinforce the fact that, yes, there are cultural differences between societies, and different ways of performing essentially the same communicative work.

I recognize that there are limitations to my own work. The most significant of these, of course, is the small size of my data sample. Due to the small sample, my conclusions can be considered suggestive rather than conclusive. Another possible constraint is the very broad, pan-Hispanic focus I have taken. Because this is such a preliminary work, I felt it was more important merely to get some information into the field on Spanish as a whole, since it was so conspicuously lacking in the literature. However, perhaps the debate can also be enlightened by a focus on specific regional differences within the Spanish speaking world itself. Latin American Spanish is not a uniform, monolithic entity. It is possible that some of the differences I have described in responses within the dyads has some relation to such regional differences. However, I do not have enough data to elucidate this issue, and thus the present work tends to simplify the case into universalities.

Additionally, cross-cultural studies which have already begun could further benefit from the inclusion of data on Spanish. It is to be hoped that my own contribution will offer some ideas for other researchers to follow, so that they may design more cross-cultural studies which include Spanish data. Even something as close to home as more studies involving bilingual Spanish speakers in the United States would contribute to this effort.

My work presents information on only one type of telephone discourse, that of personal phone calls among intimates. Similar work on other types of telephone discourse, such as generational differences in telephone us-e or business conversations in Spanish, would also further this field of study. Considering the focus on the use of Spanish in the business world in the present day, this latter focus could have significant implications for helping second language learners master communicative and pragmatic competence in the business environment.

Educational Implications

Wolfson (1989: 96) emphasizes the importance of knowing different cultural norms when one is learning a foreign language: "This little rule, as insignificant as it may seem, is extremely important to the learner... who might, if not shown how the two frames work, use the wrong one and thereby be misunderstood." Such knowledge feeds into a learner's communicative and/or pragmatic competence in the target language and culture, as noted above. Such studies provide concrete information to teachers who must teach the norms of daily Spanish usage to their learners; at a very pragmatic level, communicative competence on the telephone is something that is not currently emphasized in most Spanish education curricula. Perhaps if there were more solid information for the teachers to use, they could translate this into practice exercises for the classroom.

This Spanish data could also be used as a comparative tool to teach English to speakers of Spanish, if it is used in a supplementary, comparative/contrastive fashion in conjunction with the English data they need to learn. A final possible use of such studies as these is to provide a practical example of an everyday situation which all students encounter, as a springboard to a lesson on differences and similarities between the native culture and the target culture.

The above are just some possible applications of telephone conversational analysis. Clearly, it is a wide-open field, and I believe researchers and educators can and should find ways to explore and apply it in all its variety inside and outside the classroom.

References

Clark, H. H.& French, J. W. (1981). Telephone goodbyes. *Language in Society, 10,* 1-19.

Godard, D. (1977). Same setting, diffferent norms: Phone call beginnings in France and the United States. *Language in Society, 6,* 209-219.

Halmari, H. (1993). Intercultural business telephone conversations: A case of Finns vs. Anglo-Americans. *Applied Linguistics, 14* (4), 408-430.

Hopper, R. (1992). *Telephone conversation.* Bloomington: Indiana University.

Hopper, R. (1989). Sequential ambiguity in telephone openings: "What are you doin' ". *Communication Monographs, 56* (3), 240-252.

Hopper, R., Doany, N., Johnson, M. & Drummond, K. (1991). Universals and particulars in telephone openings. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 24,* 369-387.

Hopper, R. & Koleilat-Doany, N. (1989). Telephone openings and conversational universals: A study in three languages. In Stella Ting-Toomey and Felipe Korzenny (eds.) *Language, communication and culture.* 157-179. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Lindstrom, A. (1994). Identification and recognition in Swedish telephone conversation openings. *Language in Society, 23,* 231-252.

Schegloff, E.A. (1979). Identification and recognition in telephone conversation openings. In George Psathas (ed.) *Everyday language: Studies in ethnomethodology,* 23-78. New York: Irvington.

Schegloff, E. A. (1968). Sequencing in conversational openings. *American Anthropologist, 70,* 1075-1095.

Schegloff, E.A. (1967). *The first five seconds: The order of conversational openings.* PhD dissertation. University of California, Berkeley.

Schegloff, E. A. and H. Sacks (1973). Opening up closing. *Semiotica, 7,4,* 289-327.

Sifianou, M. (1989). On the telephone again! Differences in telephone behavior: England versus Greece. *Language in Society, 18,* 527-544.

Tsui, A. B. M. (1989). Beyond the adjacency pair. *Language in Society, 18,* 545-564.

Wolfson, N. (1989). *Perspectives: Sociolinguistics and TESOL.* Boston: Heinle & Heinle. 95-97.

Serafin Coronel-Molina is a Ph.D. candidate in Educational Linguistics in the Graduate School of Education at the University of Pennsylvania. His research interests include language policy and planning, with special emphasis on its applicability to his native language, Quechua. He is also interested in micro and macro sociolinguistics and bilingual education.

A Study on the Learning and Teaching of Hanzi - Chinese Characters

Shu-han C. Wang

Graduate School of Education
University of Pennsylvania

The study presented in this paper examines how Chinese characters, hanzi, was taught and learned in a first-year Chinese language class in a major American university. The teaching of Chinese in an American context to students of non-Chinese ethnic background is relatively new since the 60s (Moore, Walton, and Lambert, 1992). Traditionally the teaching of Chinese characters in a university setting has taken one of the following four approaches: the radical approach, the high-frequency-hanzi approach, the phonetic approach, and the non-teaching approach. This paper analyzes the four approaches from second language acquisition perspective, specifically the L1-L2 transfer and orthographic depth effects in comparing native Chinese learners and second language learners of Chinese. In this study, participant observation, interview, and survey were used to collect data. Answers to the following researcher questions were searched: (1) what approach/belief does the teacher under study follow? What is the relationship between her belief and her teaching? and (2) what learning strategies do students of this class develop and adopt in studying hanzi? Some pedagogical implications were also discussed in view of the findings of the study.

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, due to the rise of the economic and political influence of Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, and the People's Republic of China, the Chinese language has enjoyed an increased popularity as a subject of second/foreign language (CSL/CFL) study in the States. However, because of its non-alphabetic writing system, in addition to its tones in pronunciation, the Chinese language has had a reputation of being difficult. While many students are attracted to Chinese because of the Chinese characters, called "hanzi," many more students are afraid of studying the language for the same reason. The learning and teaching of hanzi thus present a great challenge to students and teachers alike.

This paper, therefore, examines some aspects of the learning and teach- of hanzi to students of language backgrounds other than character-based orthographic system. By conducting a study in a first-year Chinese language class in a major American university, I intended to find out how hanzi is taught and learned in a classroom situation. I was also interested in finding out if classroom interaction can improve the teaching and learning of hanzi. Based on the findings of this study, I shall discuss some pedagogical implications and thus, hope to make a small contribution to the research and teaching of Chinese as a second/foreign language.

Popular Assumptions about the Teaching of Hanzi

Different teachers hold different assumptions on how hanzi should be taught and learned. Traditionally, there are four prevailing approaches to teaching/learning hanzi in the CSL/CFL context. The first approach suggests that teachers should teach students hanzi by emphasizing radicals, the semantic indicator that usually appears on the left side of a compound hanzi (Liu 1983; Pye and Itoo 1979 cited in Horodeck 1987). One main reason is that radicals and number of strokes are how traditional Chinese dictionaries are arranged; learning radicals will help students know how to look up a new word. Another reason is that radicals often give clues to the meaning of the hanzi. Liu (1983) specifically suggests teaching xingsheng (phonetic compounds, usually with radicals on the left and phonetic indicator on the right side) first so that students can learn them with relative ease through the radicals to grasp the semantic-ideograph relationship, then the phonetic indicative should be emphasized as well because it sometimes gives clues to the pronunciation of the whole hanzi. For example, in 爆 (bao), the radical is 火 (huo, fire), and the phonetic is 暴 (bao, sudden and violent); therefore, 爆 is *bao*,"to explode," a sudden burst of fire.

This teaching approach of emphasizing the semantic function as primary in hanzi is being criticized on two grounds. One is that many xingsheng hanzi are not high-frequency words/morphemes. When they are rarely used in real-life contexts, they are not reinforced and are thus easily forgotten (Horodeck 1987). The second problem is that, in high frequency hanzi, both the phonetic indicators and radicals are unreliable clues (DeFrancis 1984). As an alternative, the proponents of the second approach advocate that the most beneficial way for beginners to learn hanzi is to start with a small number of high frequency hanzi and ignore either the radical or the phonetic (DeFrancis 1984; Jordan 1962). They argue that once learners have learned a "critical mass" of hanzi, they will be able to analyze hanzi by radicals or phonetics, thus utilizing their accumulated knowledge of hanzi and their relationship with radicals and phonetics to advance their study and the hanzi reading/writing skills. However, it needs to be pointed out that, so far, there has not been much research on the number of hanzi that constitutes the "critical mass" as suggested by many teachers of Chinese.

The third approach advocates that beginning CSL/CFL learners should be introduced to a small number of high frequency hanzi first, and that the sound value of these hanzi should be stressed as being primary (Horodeck 1987; Li 1981). Much research in psycholinguistic and cognitive psychology (Tzeng 1980; Tzeng & Hung 1980; Horodeck 1987) supports that phonological recoding is automatically and inevitably a part of reading no matter what orthography is read and how deep it might be (Frost et al. 1987, see the next section). While the argument for this approach is appealing, nevertheless, the supportive evidence shows the product of phonological mediation of hanzi recognition. How the phonological mediation aids the processing mechanism of hanzi recognition or production has yet to be determined.

In addition to these three popular and much debated approaches, there is another prevalent yet silent approach in the field. That is, the "non-teaching" of hanzi. It is believed that hanzi must be internalized by learners themselves, a task that must be tackled through individual effort and rote-memorization. In light of the time constraint of the classroom and the difficulty of acquiring the language, the task of learning/studying hanzi is usually assigned to students as homework. Furthermore, the notion of "critical mass" is commonly held to the extent that many teachers do not require students to do anything with hanzi before such a mass is accumulated. The result is that students are left on their own with the most difficult aspect of learning the Chinese language. There is hardly any wonder that students realize the task of learning hanzi is labor-intensive and time-consuming, which also demands a huge amount of memories and study capabilities (Everson 1998).

L1-L2 Transfer and Orthographic Depth Effects

Each of the approaches mentioned above focuses on how teachers should teach, without taking into account how students learn hanzi. Many studies in second language acquisition have demonstrated that language transfer does take place (for review, see Gass 1996). However, given the fact that the writing systems of Chinese and English are not related, is there any linguistic transfer for English speakers who study Chinese? Before this question can be answered, some understanding of what takes place for a native speaker of English or Chinese to process word recognition in their native language will be helpful.

In her review of the second language word recognition studies, Koda (1996:452) cited Seidenberg and McClelland's (1989) connectionist model that describes the word recognition and skill acquisition processes of native English speakers. According to this model, the orthographic knowledge of native speakers of English is an elaborate matrix of correlation among letter patterns, phonemes, syllables, and morphemes. Through repeated processing experience in the English writing system, native speakers gain literacy by forming interletter associative networks. The more and faster a speaker internalizes the interletter relationship in words, the more proficient a reader he/she becomes. When a pattern of letter-sequence combination is activated frequently, the connection that holds it together becomes stronger. This is the reason why high frequency words are better acquired than low frequency words, and real words are easier to process than pseudo words which, in turn, are easier than nonsense words.

But how do Chinese speakers process hanzi recognition? Besides the obvious difference in script, English and Chinese writing systems also differ in two aspects: their representational units and their orthographic depth. First, in English, the linguistic unit is represented through its phonemes, whereas as in Chinese, it is through monosyllabic morphemes (Tzeng & Hung 1980; Horodeck 1987). Second, Chinese is considered as a deep orthographic language, while English is not as deep. The orthographic depth hypothesis (ODH), proposed by Frost, Katz & Bentin (1987), states that the extent to which the writing system represents phonology, i.e., the regularity in sound-symbol correspondence, may be deep or shallow from language to language. Serbo-Croatian is considered a shallow orthographic language because its orthographic code is isomorphic with its phonological code, and Chinese and Hebrew are considered deep, while English is somewhere in between. Many cross-linguistic studies (see Koda 1996 for review) have provided evidence to the hypothesis of ODH that the more shallow orthographies are, the more phonological (i.e., prelexical) coding can be generated from print, whereas the deeper orthographies are, phonology is retrieved through lexical (i.e., postlexical) coding (Frost et. al. 1987; Chikamatsu 1996: 407). Word recognition in Chinese is further complicated by the fact that recognizing individual hanzi does not necessarily guarantee recognition of the whole word, which is usually a compound of two or three single hanzi (morphemes) bound together.

The results of some empirical studies have shown that perceptual abilities are more involved in reading the Chinese script. The configuration of the Chinese script as its script-sound and script-meaning relations can differentially affect perceptual processes. Various studies also show that visual code plays a greater role in memory of Chinese compared with English (Chen & Juola 1982; Turnage & McGinnes 1973; Tzeng 1982; Tsou 1986; Ji and Luo 1989; Hue & Erickson 1989). Taken together, these studies suggest that there may be a stroke order, graphemic, phonological, and morphological interrelationship within individual hanzi, similar to the correlation among letter patterns, phonemes, and syllables in English words described in Seidenberg and McClelland's model (1989).

However, although these studies generally support the theory that the Chinese orthographic system involves more visual coding processing as predicted by ODH, some empirical studies present different results. For example, Hue (1992) and Cheng (1992: 67-91) conducted character naming/lexical-decision experiments. They both conclude that phonological formation represented in scripts are used in processing the scripts, and reading Chinese requires phonological mediation. Another study conducted by d'Arcais (1992) also refuted the notion that hanzi are processed more "like pictures" than like words. In addition, he argues that when the task requires naming the hanzi, phonological information seems to become available prior to the full availability of semantic information, not afterwards. Horodeck's study (1987) on native speakers of Japanese shows evidence that native speakers associate kanji primarily with sounds when they read or write.

These studies on hanzi are hardly conclusive; however, they do offer some windows to the mechanism of hanzi processing, especially in native speakers of Chinese or Japanese. Hoosian posits that hanzi processing mechanism is a bottom-up process (Hoosain 1991: 60), in which each hanzi requires more individualized phonological, semantic, as well as visual-scanning experience. Although words are usually coded phonologically, the visual-spatial processing as well as psycho-motor code plays a more central role, compared with other languages. Words are units of memory whose morphological and orthographic information are stored somewhat differently than with English.

In summary, although none of the experiments were conducted to test the efficacy of any of the teaching methods mentioned in the earlier section, the results do support each teaching approach in a special way. For example, Ji and Luo (1989), Tsou (1986), and Hue and Erickson's (1988) studies showed that stroke orders were important, and radicals and phonetic components that frequently appeared in hanzi enhanced the recall of hanzi containing these parts. The claim of the first teaching approach which emphasizes the use of radicals and phonetic components as organizing principles is thus supported. However, the fact that radicals and phonetic parts activate not only semantic meaning, but also offer visual clues to hanzi recognition indicates that high frequency appearance of radicals/phonetic part/hanzi is an important factor in short-term and long-term memory and retrieval. This points to the support of the second approach of teaching high frequency hanzi. Coincidentally, D'Arcais (1992) and Horodeck's (1987) studies indicate that phonological mediation is particularly helpful to the recognition of hanzi. Hence, the claim of the third teaching approach which emphasizes phonological encoding is validated.

It is important to note that all the research cited above is conducted on native speakers of Chinese or Japanese. For these speakers, (1) hanzi processing relies heavily on visual coding, and (2) hanzi processing also involves phonological mediation. Equally important is the fact that none of the teaching methods may be better or more effective than the others, because each addresses only partial phenomena of the hanzi processing mechanism in native speakers of Chinese. The question now is, how do learners of different orthographic writing system process hanzi? What is the L1-L2 transfer effect?

In reading and cognitive psychology, many researchers are interested in the effect of orthographic differences on visual information processing. The hypothesis is that reading different writing systems of various orthographic depths may entail different processes (Gibson 1975: 163-164; Tzeng 1981: 237-238). Based on reviews of various findings in literature and from the results of their own experiments, Tzeng and Hung (1980) posit that orthographic variations affect cerebral processing, memory functions, problem-solving strategies, lexical access pathways, and the lexical organization of bilingual subjects. Koda (1996) points out, based on the results of two cross-linguistic research (Koda 1989b; Muljani et al. in press), that superior word recognition performance has been consistently demonstrated by learners whose L1 and L2 orthographic systems are related and similar. Koda thus hypothesizes that L2 learners with divergent L1 backgrounds would utilize qualitatively different processing procedures during L2 processing (Koda 1996: 468).

Chikamatsu's (1996) study on the effects of a L1 orthographic system on L2 word recognition strategies supports such hypothesis. Forty-five American and seventeen Chinese college students who were enrolled in the second semester of a Japanese language course at an American university participated in the study. The results indicated that English subjects utilized the phonological information in Japanese kana words more than did Chinese subjects whereas Chinese subjects relied more on the visual information in L2 Japanese kana words than did English subjects. In the context of CFL, Everson (1998) also demonstrates that beginning students of Chinese already develop a strong relationship between knowing a word's meaning and knowing its pronunciation. His finding coincides with that of Chikamatsu's (1996) study and support the hypothesis that American students transfer their L1 processing strategy of relying on phonological mediation to process L2 orthography, whether they are Chinese hanzi or Japanese kana. The question now is what optional strategies do learners of CSL/CFL possess in order to acquire hanzi?

The Study

So far, I have delineated popular assumptions about the teaching of hanzi. In discussing L1-L2 transfer and orthographic depth effects, I cited various empirical studies from first language acquisition of Chinese and Japanese as well as studies on L1-L2 transfer of reading different orthographic systems. I am interested in finding out if teachers teach in the way described above and how students learn hanzi despite what the research indicates. My research questions are as follows:

(1) What approach/belief does this teacher take? What is the relationship between her belief and her teaching? and
(2) What learning strategies do beginning students of Chinese develop and adopt?

In order to find out what methods teachers use and what strategies students develop with regard to hanzi acquisition, I conducted a qualitative study over a period of ten weeks. Questionnaires, interviews, participant observation, and field notes were used, and classroom teaching materials and homework assignments were also collected.

Subjects and Setting

A first-year, second-semester, non-intensive, Chinese Mandarin class designed specifically for students of non-Chinese background at an American university was selected for two reasons. First, these students' native orthographic systems are not related to Chinese. Second, students in their second semester of studying Chinese should have already developed their strategies to study hanzi.

There were fifteen students in this class: five female and ten male students. They met Monday through Thursday for 50 minutes per day. The textbook used was Practical Chinese Readers, Vol. 1 (Beijing Language Institute 1990), which will be finished in two semesters. The teacher of this class was Lin Laoshi (Teacher Lin, a pseudonym), who had established a routine with the class. Generally speaking, one lesson was taught in six days, starting with the learning of vocabulary, oral reading of the text, grammar instruction and drills, then going over exercises and review before the lesson test. There were five written and oral tests, given alternately every week. None of the tests was cumulative, i.e. they only covered the material taught in the lesson, not including previous lessons.

As far as hanzi was concerned, the goal of the course was to learn 300 hanzi by the end of the semester; i.e. a total of 600 hanzi in the first year. As a way to help students achieve this goal, each week the teacher would distribute a hanzi homework packet. It included hanzi worksheets with which students had to (1) copy each new individual hanzi; (2) translate sentences from English to hanzi and pinyin (a Romanized pronunciation system for Mandarin Chinese); (3) fill in blanks with hanzi; (4) re-arrange scrambled phrases into coherent sentences; and (5) answer questions which were written in hanzi. However, except for item (1) in which copying hanzi was required, students were allowed to use pinyin to finish their homework in items (2) through (5). On each Monday, students had to turn in hanzi homework and took a quiz on hanzi that were assigned for the previous week.

The format of hanzi quizzes was very simple in that students only had to fill out either hanzi, pinyin, or English definition according to the clues provided. In other words, hanzi quizzes assessed students' ability to memorize and produce newly introduced, isolated hanzi at the time of the quiz.

Data Collection

Questionnaires were used to provide basic answers to the research questions. There were two questionnaires for students: one on their background information and the other on their strategy use. The students' background questionnaire (Appendix A) was designed to find out their language learning experience, perceptions and beliefs about the Chinese language, and their goals and purposes for studying Chinese. The strategy-use questionnaire (Appendix B), on the other hand, was based on theories about L1-L2 transfer effect, L1-L2 orthographic depth effect, hanzi learning, and vocabulary as well as Chamot and O'Malley's three-way learning strategy framework (Chamot & O'Malley 1990). Finally, the teacher's questionnaire (Appendix C) was designed to solicit teacher's belief, attitude, and the methods of teaching hanzi. All the questionnaires were in checklist form. Subsequent follow-up interviews provided insight on the participants' teaching and learning process and allowed the teacher and students an opportunity to explain and elaborate on their questionnaire responses.

Classroom observations allowed comparisons between answers on questionnaires to classroom behavior and provided first-hand information on how the class was taught and how students and the teacher negotiated the learning of hanzi. As a participant observer, I generally sat in the back of the class and took field notes, although with the teacher's permission, I would work with the students upon request. For example, when they were in need of a partner, I would play the part. I collected extensive field notes and documents, which included the course syllabus, weekly schedules, hanzi quizzes, classroom handouts, homework papers, and xeroxed copies of students' hanzi quizzes.

Results of Teacher Questionnaire and Interview

The data collected from the teacher questionnaire, interviews, classroom observation, and casual conversations after classes indicated that Lin Laoshi believed that listening/speaking should precede reading/writing, so she placed more emphasis on the aural and oral work in First Year Chinese.

Because of the requirement of the curriculum, in the third week of the first semester, she introduced hanzi to students. First she distributed a handout explaining the concept of radicals and the six principles (liushu) of hanzi formation. After that, students had to study hanzi on their own. The routines of weekly hanzi homework and quizzes described earlier had since then been established and continued throughout the whole year.

There were several reasons why Lin Laoshi did not teach hanzi in class nor use/design any activities or tasks beyond what was required of homework and quizzes. First, she felt that there was already too much to cover in the first year Chinese, she did not have the time to teach hanzi or the tools for analyzing them. Second was her belief that studying and memorizing hanzi should be an individual activity. Students must take the responsibility of internalizing hanzi on their own. Third; she felt that classroom activities or tasks, if any, would be an extra burden for the students, instead of providing them with more opportunities to use and practice hanzi. Fourth was her belief that a critical mass of hanzi must be accumulated in the students' vocabulary repertoire before they could use them for communication. Students simply must go through the drudgery of building their own hanzi bank. Fifth came the readiness issue. This class of students, as compared to the intensive class, was believed to be not ready to produce anything in hanzi, other than taking the weekly quizzes. The sixth reason was that, because she felt sorry for her students who had to spend much time to learn hanzi independently, she was apologetic and tried to keep the learning or using of hanzi to the minimum. Finally she felt it was unfortunate that students had to learn the traditional instead of the simplified hanzi. In her opinion and based on her experience of teaching the simplified form of hanzi in another university, she felt that the traditional hanzi were much more complicated and harder to memorize than the former. Her mixed sentiments of empathy, pity, and the sense of being pressured to complete the prescribed curriculum surfaced many times during classes and during our interviews.

I found that the teacher's belief and attitude toward hanzi and the Chinese language in general had shaped the teacher-student role and interaction of this classroom. Because she felt sorry for students that Chinese was such a difficult language and the fact that she felt that this class was not "ready", the teacher did not expect them to do anything in hanzi. The Chinese language was treated as an academic subject, rather than a system for communication. The four skills were taught separately in distinct sequence and discrete points, and were tested as such. Although students sometimes were required to synthesize their skills and knowledge, such as putting grammatical and lexical knowledge into skits, they did not have to integrate the four skills and apply them beyond the scope of the textbook. I shall elaborate these points in the following sections.

Results of Student Background Questionnaire (Appendix D)

Among the fifteen students in the class, six were freshman, two juniors, four seniors, and three graduate students. Ten of them were majoring in business, one in science, one in engineering, one in music, and two were undecided. In terms of foreign language study experiences, this was a very sophisticated class because Chinese was the third language for all students; for two of them, it was the fifth language. Ten of them were native speakers of English, the rest included one Hungarian, two Indonesian, one Malay, and one Thai student. The Thai and Indonesian students were of Chinese descent, in addition to two Chinese-Americans who grew up in Cantonese-speaking families.

As far as their goals of studying Chinese were concerned, "to go about daily life in Chinese-speaking region" and "to do business in Chinese" were marked as most important (40% each), followed by "to be very fluent in Chinese" and "to read and write some basic Chinese for survival purposes"

(33.33% each), with "to learn the culture and the Chinese way of doing things" and "to make friends with Chinese people" trailing behind (13.33% each). None of the students checked to enjoy/study Chinese literature, philosophy, and arts, etc. or to read and write like an educated native speaker as important for them.

These students did not use computer programs to learn or practice Chinese. Slightly over half of the class (53.33%) said that they did not have opportunities to practice Chinese outside the classroom.

Half of the class felt that listening and speaking were more important, while the other half felt that all four skills were important. None stressed the importance of reading/writing skills alone. As to which skill was more difficult, 80% felt that writing was undoubtedly on the top of the list, second was speaking (20%), reading was next (13%), and listening was the least difficult (6.67%). (In some questions, students were allowed to check more than one answer as long as they were applicable to their situations.)

Most students spent a considerable amount of time studying Chinese outside the class. Sixty-six percent of students reported that they studied Chinese at least three days a week, with a total of 3-5 hours (53%). More than a quarter of the class spent more than five hours a week, with one student spending over eight hours per week. Did they feel that their performance in Chinese was in proportion to what they put in? Almost half of the class said that they felt that their performance was, a quarter felt somewhat, and 20% of the students felt not quite.

Results of Students' Strategy Use Questionnaire (Appendix E)

When students encountered any new hanzi, did they try to find something in them that they had already known? 80% of students answered yes, while 20% of them said no. What did they rely on, if yes? Most students reported copying them repetitively (44.44%), followed by looking for pictures, ideas, or familiar shapes (18.52%), associating them with English either by sound or meaning(11.11%), and using recurring phonetic indicators as clues (7.40%).

What metacognition learning strategies did they employ? 93.33% reported that they aimed for memorization, except for one student who audited the class. 86.67% of students said that they tested themselves on hanzi memorization, 13.33% said that they did not. How realistic was their expectation of their memorization effort? Slightly over half of the class (53.33%) said that they did not expect to have memorized the hanzi once they had studied them. The same percentage of students also admitted that they made a conscious effort to use hanzi whenever they could in tests, quizzes, homework, or in class, but not beyond.

Cognitively, how did they study hanzi? 80% of students answered that they did not categorize hanzi into groups. It came as no surprise, therefore, that 73% of students did not answer the following question which asked, if they did, how they categorized hanzi. Of those students who answered the question, radical was on the top (13.33%), phonetic indicator and referential meaning, respectively, came as seconds (6.67%), and no one categorized hanzi by sounds (homophones). When they tried to memorize hanzi, equal numbers of students reported memorizing them as independent characters (e.g., as morphemes such as hua: flower; Cha: tea), or as compounds (huacha: jasmine tea). On the other hand, the majority of students (73.33%) said that it was easier to memorize hanzi by itself (as compound words), 13.33% as phrases, 6.67% as sentences, with one student not answering this question.

Sixty percent of students said that they read hanzi out loud when studying them, and 73.33% said that they translated word for word into English, or vice versa. In fact, 60% of students reported that they used English to study hanzi, noting that it was how the hanzi quizzes were designed.When they encountered new hanzi or new ways of using the hanzi that they had already learned, the majority did not take notes about the changes (73.33%). However, slightly over half of the class (53.33%) reported that they tried to create a "network" by associating hanzi with other hanzi in different contexts, while the others did not. Did it bother them if they did not recognize some hanzi in the sentence or passage they read? 80% said yes. Did they look over their errors and practice over them? 53.33% said yes, 46.67% said no.

Apparently most students agreed with the belief that studying hanzi was an individual effort (80%), although 13.33% expressed that they would like to study hanzi with other fellow classmates (One student did not answer this question.) Did they extend hanzi reading/writing into their daily life? 60% said no, 33.33% said yes, with 6.67% saying a little.

To the big question of whether they had found an effective way to study hanzi, 53.33% answered yes, 46.67% said no. How did they summarize their experience of studying hanzi? Challenging (86%) and time-consuming (80%) were on the top of the list, followed by satisfying (40%), frustrating (33.33%), and fascinating (20%).

Summary of Findings

The teacher under study is an experienced teacher who is caught between the reality of classroom and curricular demands. She knows that students must learn to develop oral proficiency before they can develop reading/writing literacy. However, she has to "teach" 600 hanzi in the first year of the program in order to prepare students for their second year of studying Chinese. On the other hand, she believes that her students cannot use hanzi before they have learned the 600 required for the course. As a result, her approach is to ensure the "teaching" (covering) of prescribed hanzi in the textbook but to ignore the retention and application of those hanzi

The students under study are sophisticated language learners. They know that they have to memorize hanzi, and they have employed motor-sensory skills of copying hanzi repetitively to achieve this goal. They also developed various ways such as using flash cards or making their own dictionary/glossary words to help them memorize hanzi. However, they tend to treat hanzi as a whole, without taking hanzi apart and tackling its components such as radical, phonetic indicator, sound, or shape as they would with English words. The implications of these findings will be addressed in detail in the following section.

Discussion

Based on the data collected through questionnaires, interviews, and classroom observations, it is clear that the program designers must re-examine the stated curricular goals and course syllabus against the type of students they are serving in their Chinese courses. According to the student background information, most of students did not plan to pursue a degree in Asian Studies or Chinese Literature. Instead, many of them came from engineering or business backgrounds. Their goals and purposes for studying Chinese and their needs for the type and degree of proficiency were very different from those students who had a literary or historical interest in Chinese-related studies, as mostly witnessed in previous generations of students of Chinese (CLTA Leadership Seminar discussion 1996).

Given the fact that this is a proficiency-based curriculum, as stated on the course bulletin, coupled with the consideration of students' needs, it is important to critically examine how Chinese is taught in the program. That is, is it treated as an academic subject that is to be studied, understood, and memorized, or as a communication system? The data of the present study indicated that Chinese was taught and studied as a linguistic system, in which the form of the language was explained and drilled. The assessment of students' progress was also on their knowledge about the linguistic system and how well they could control the production of the language within the scope of the textbook, rather than on how well they could do things with Chinese, an essential outcome of a proficiency-based program.

Student modality was heavy on listening with few opportunities to speak. Most listening and speaking took place in the form of a typical teaching move, i.e. teacher initiation/solicitation, student response, and teacher evaluation/comment (IRE) (Sinclaire & Clouthard 1975; Fanselow 1977; Mehan 1979; Chaudron 1988). Occasionally students asked clarification questions, however, almost all questions were asked in English, as were teacher's explanations. Very few interactional restructuring moves such as confirmation and comprehension checks and clarification requests (Pica 1987; Pica, Young, & Doughty 1987) could be coded. If they occurred, again, they were usually conducted in English. In fact, several students expressed the desire of engaging in "real conversation" to talk about themselves. One student, PS (name initials), doubted his ability of carrying on a conversation with a native speaker other than their teacher. CL said that the skits they did in class could not be considered as "real speaking," because they got to write down what they wanted to say and were allowed to read the dialogues to the teacher. Another student, JE, even suggested that "we need more pressure to speak on the spot" (interview data).

Most reading activities derived from the textbook, sometimes with students repeating after the teacher, or students reading dialogues to each other. Oral reading was treated as hanzi or pinyin decoding activity, without any effort made on students' comprehension of the text. The only two times that any hanzi writing activity took place in class was when students had to copy individual hanzi from the textbook or the board onto their bingo worksheet in preparation to play the game. The bingo games, as acknowledged by the teacher and students, were played because of my presence and research inquiry. However, almost every student expressed an interest of playing more bingo games during the class. They commented that the game offered them an opportunity to interact with hanzi in a challenging and fun way.

When she wrote on the board, the teacher usually wrote only in pinyin. According to the teacher, she wanted to save time because writing hanzi took longer than in pinyin, in addition to saving students the aggravation or frustration of decoding hanzi. While her intention was sincere, the practice deprived students the opportunities of receiving input in hanzi. As Edelsky has strongly argued, the presence and use of meaning-making print materials are part of a literacy event , and students must be constantly exposed to meaningful print so that literacy in a L2 may begin to develop (Edelsky 1993). Some students in the study actually noticed the lack of use in hanzi. They commented, during the interviews, that they wished that the teacher would write more hanzi on the board. They felt that it would provide them a chance to test their reading ability, besides seeing how a native speaker would write hanzi in the right proportion and in correct stroke orders. They suggested that writing pinyin on the board was not necessary because the teacher would read the sentences anyway.

Did the outcome of the course align with students' needs and goals of taking this course? Keeping this in mind, the program designer needs to reassess whether or not requiring a beginning student of non-Chinese background to learn 600 hanzi in the first year, on top of trying to develop aural and oral proficiency in Chinese, is a reasonable goal. According to DeFrancis (1977), the number of the most essential hanzi is estimated to be 2,400. It is reported that it takes six years for children to master 3,000 hanzi in China (Serruys 1962:73 cited in Horodeck 1987). Leong's (1973:387 cited in Horedeck 1987) study states that students in Hong Kong learn 500-600 hanzi during each year of primary schooling. In Japan, students learn approximately 881 kanji in primary school (grades 1- 6), then 969 in grades 7-9 (Pye 1971: 3 cited in Horodeck 1987). If it takes so many years for children to develop L1 literacy, why do we expect an adult L2 learner with a totally different linguistic and orthographic system to develop oral proficiency and literacy in such a short period of time? Is it reasonable to expect a teacher to accomplish so much? What does it mean that students "have finished a Chinese textbook and studied 600 hanzi"?

Because of the pressure of teaching 600 hanzi, this teacher felt forced to play the number game. She chose to use teacher-fronted approach with which she could maximize her control of the classroom interaction and content in order to ensure the completion of the prescribed curricular goals. Considering that she had to help students develop all four skills in sixty-four contact hours, she chose to concentrate on oral and aural skills, which could not be adequately developed given the shortage of input and the opportunity to push for output. Her class was textbook-driven, aimed at finishing the book, not on what or how well students could do with all the material covered during the year.

Besides the issue of learning new hanzi without heeding to the use of them, another bigger problem existed. That is, the retention of old hanzi. Almost all students reported that they were most frustrated by the fact that they could not retain the hanzi they had studied so hard. Thus, we need to draw on research and incorporate some theoretical factors into consideration in curriculum design and classroom teaching practices. For example, according to the information processing model, focal awareness is necessary for short-term memory store which, through practice and constant processing, will become permanent storage and automatic skills will be developed (McLaughlin & Heredia 1996). Both presence and frequency of input (Schmidt 1990) in meaningful and appropriate contexts are necessary conditions for retention and active use of hanzi. Furthermore, the literature cited earlier in this study supports the notion that oral proficiency aids the development of reading/writing literacy (especially in a deep orthographic system such as Chinese). It is essential that teachers create the contexts in which hanzi and oral Chinese can be used and practiced meaningfully and repetitively in various ways.

Research has consistently shown that classroom interaction is important in providing comprehensible input for students (Long 1980, 1983; Ellis 1980; Pica 1987; Pica, Young, & Doughty 1987). Teachers of Chinese need to examine their own teaching and classroom interactive patterns to see if they create contexts that allow for negotiation in the form of simplification, repetition, paraphrasing, clarification, and confirmation checks in oral Chinese and hanzi literacy. Because Chinese is not "in the air" in the daily life of the American society, the classroom often becomes the only place where students hear and speak some Chinese on a regular basis. However, the data of the present study indicated that most of the negotiation was conducted in English. Did students have enough opportunities to listen and negotiate meaning in Chinese? If aural and oral input was already in ıch paucity, compounded with the fact that the teacher felt that reading hanzi in class was a waste of time and thus left hanzi learning and processing completely up to the students, then, the chance for students to develop literacy in hanzi was seriously diminished. If Chinese is, as it was categorized by the Foreign Service Institute (FSI), to be one of the most difficult languages for speakers of English to learn (Moore, Walton, and Lambert 1992), what we are doing is simply adding more load on students' shoulders and making the learning of Chinese harder than necessary.

Granted, learning and memorizing hanzi is an individual activity; however, I would argue that it need not be such a lonely and rugged journey. Teachers have the responsibility to help students build a bridge between their L1 and L2 so that some L1-L2 transfer would take place and the L1-L2 orthographic distance would be reduced. Research has shown that classroom interaction and input are important to students. Teachers need to recognize the power they possess over students' learning outcome. Long points out that the teacher's role is "the single most crucial element in determining how students perform" (Long 1984: 1). His argument can be examined from two perspectives. First, the teacher-student relationship in the classroom is unequal (Pica 1987). According to Fanselow (1977), and as was mentioned earlier, classroom interaction may be analyzed as a sequence of pedagogical "moves" in discourse, such as structure, solicit, respond, and react. Empirical data show that the pattern of teacher talk is 30-30-30-10, corresponding to solicitation-responding-reacting-structuring respectively, with students uttering mostly responding moves (Chaudron 1988). The IRE pattern also indicates that teachers get two turns while student gets only one turn, in addition to the fact that teachers control the floor through topic-initiation and nomination (calling on students) practices, among others. Second, how we teach our students will shape the kind of skills the students develop. For example, research has shown that students build a strong grammatical base if they are taught in grammar translation methods or audio-lingual methods because their attention has been drawn to syntactic structure of the TL (Sharwood Smith 1981).

The analysis of the data also indicates that the teacher should have taken advantage of what her students brought to the classrooms. As revealed by the questionnaires and interviews, these students were sophisticated foreign language learners. According to research in good language learners and learning strategy, the more prior experience a learner has in studying a foreign language, the better he/she learns another language (Ellis 1994). While the data of students' strategy-use and interview indicated that they knew how to study, they could have benefited more if they were provided with more hanzi learning strategies which will be elaborated later.

In the meantime, Lin Laoshi's notion of "readiness" is being seriously challenged by her students' background, experience, ability, and willingness to participate. That is, when do teachers know that students are ready to use hanzi for their own communicative purposes? In a three-year study 29 limited-English-proficient children (3-10 years of age), Kleifgen and

Saville-Troike (1992) found out that a common linguistic code is neither necessary nor sufficient for coherent communication. They concluded that shared background knowledge, including prior experience, world and cultural knowledge, was the most critical element for successful communication. Therefore, they emphasized that code, content, and context are interwoven in the dynamics of communication; the contribution of linguistic, situational, and background knowledge cannot be separated. Although their study was focused on achieving oral communication in a multilingual classroom, the finding demonstrates that what students have brought with them will be resources on which communication may be drawn.

On the other hand, Pienemann (1985) proposes that L2 learners must go through developmental stages in processing certain linguistic structures in the L2. There are also a few fundamental psycholinguistic "processing prerequisites", i.e., learner's cognitive and affective needs, that must be met first. In the present study, nonetheless, Lin Laoshi insisted that her students were "not ready" to do anything in hanzi. By so believing, she failed to assign them with any real-life reading and/or writing activities in hanzi either in or out of the classroom. Lacking the opportunity to receive input and push for output in hanzi, students' cognitive and affective needs were not met in developing expertise in hanzi. This is rather unfortunate because the auto-input hypothesis (Schmidt and Frota 1986) suggests that a learner's own output becomes his/her input. Without making the connection between input and output, hanzi remained distant and marked in students' L2 interlanguage system.

Some students made a few suggestions to increase the use of hanzi in their lives. They said that they would like to write notes to each other and were willing to co-author, in class or as homework, stories in hanzi that they had learned or must memorize by heart. One student (KG) said that she wrote all her secret personal identification number (PIN) codes in hanzi, and another student (JK) said that he wrote down his lists of things to do in hanzi. If the teacher could capitalize on her students' willingness and readiness to use hanzi in real life, the learning of hanzi did not need to be such a drudgery.

PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

Finally, I would like to propose a few points for teachers to help students improve their learning strategies in processing and retaining hanzi. As suggested by Higgs (1982), teachers can and should make the unavailable available, i.e. they need to help students convert input into intake (Corder 1978). Schmidt (1990) posits that intake is that part of input that learners notice. Research in the area of consciousness raising (Bialystok 1978; Rutherford & Sharwood Smith 1985; Schimidt 1990; Sharwood Smith 1981) and input enhancement (Rutherford 1987; White, Spada, Lightbown & Ranta 1991) has demonstrated that students may fail to perceive certain structures in naturalistic input. When certain features in the TL are specifically taught and practiced, through conscious-raising activities, students' performance in the TL improves. When designing different classroom activities, tasks, homework, and assessment instruments, teachers need to pay attention to how the input they provide may affect students' rate of progress and the type of skills. The following is a list of suggestions which teachers could explicitly teach or discuss in class, particularly in the first few months when students are just beginning to learn hanzi. The first three are related to language learning in general, while the fourth is concerned specifically with learning hanzi.

A. *Encourage students to develop their own self-monitoring system.* One important learning strategy identified by researchers in this area is the employment of a self-monitoring system (O'Malley and Chamot 1990; Ellis 1994). Many students in this study reported that they used flash cards or created their own dictionary system to practice and to test themselves. One helpful example included the making of "dazibao," putting hanzi in big letters and posting them on the wall in the dorm.

B. *Teach students to adopt "good language learner" strategies* (Ellis 1994). The strategies include paying attention to form and monitoring one's own and other's speech, attending to meaning, being flexible, focusing on meaning or form at different times, being actively involved in language learning, being "active" in the classroom, and engaging in "silent speaking" or "silent writing" in their mind, striving for high-quality participation and output, being aware of their own learning process and progress by assessing their own needs, evaluating progress, giving direction to their learning, determining how they are going to tackle a certain learning task, and controlling their own learning. Students should also develop multiple ways to study according to different task demands and situations. They should take advantage of their general prior knowledge, classroom experiences, and that of the Chinese language.

C. *Help students apply Chinese in real-life situations.* Teachers need to encourage students to use an experiential approach to complement the analytical approach (Harley 1993). With the former, students use or immerse themselves in the TL as a tool to learn other subject-matter, while with the latter, students focus on specific features of the TL. Students need to understand that classroom instruction contains the following characteristics: limited time, focus on form, patterned drills, limited input, teacher talk, one person input, and an instructional/syllabus-based orientation. On the other hand, naturalistic learning experiences may include real-life tasks, natural negotiations, unlimited input, foreigner talk, multiple interlocutors, and with a communication orientation. Students should be encouraged to make the use of Chinese a part of their life. Given that Chinese is not ubiquitous in American society, teachers have the added responsibility of creating contexts in which students have to use Chinese and thus, activate their linguistic knowledge and develop sociolinguistic competence.

Examples include leaving or taking phone messages, or writing notes/cards/e-mail messages in Chinese to a classmate or the teacher.

D. *Help students develop their own learning strategies to process hanzi.* As Brown and Perry's (1991) research suggests, the deeper a person processes information, the more he/she will remember. Students should be encouraged to look at the similarity, in addition to the differences, between hanzi and English. For example, individual hanzi can be taken apart by radicals or phonetic indicators, just as there are prefixes, stems, or suffixes in English. Once we learn the parts, it will become easier to tackle the whole, although the sum of all parts may not always equal the whole. In this way, the L1-L2 transfer will take place in terms of processes, and the interrelationship between shapes, sounds, and meanings will be played out and strengthened over time.

At the individual hanzi level, instead of asking students to copy hanzi mechanically, encourage them to do things with hanzi. Students need to be aware that the more they categorize, network, compare and contrast hanzi, the more they will remember. As they engage in these cognitive activities, the learning of hanzi will also become less tedious and more interesting in the process. For example, students may learn to put all hanzi with the same radicals or phonetic indicators together, while comparing and contrasting their similarities and differences in terms of pronunciation, shape, number of strokes, meaning, and usage. Because Chinese has many homonyms, it would be helpful to compare words with similar or identical sounds or tones. Students can also put words with similar shapes together to compare.

At the compound/word level, students may be introduced to the "building block" concept of hanzi. For example, an individual hanzi can be a morpheme stem, to which different prefixes or suffixes may be attached to form new words. Once students are aware of the concept of word formation in Chinese, they will be able to remember many new words without having to learn all hanzi in the compound. In addition, they will have the chance to review old hanzi and learn their various new combinations.

Students should be introduced to peg-word, key-word or the semantic-keyword methods (Thompson 1987; Brown & Perry 1991), as well as be encouraged to come up with their own mnemonic or iconic methods (Cohen & Aphek 1981). For example, the radical-phonetic indicator learning method is similar to the peg-word method, because radicals and phonetic indicators can be used as cues with which vocabulary categories in the L2 can be built. Because most words in Chinese are bimorphemic or polymorphemic, these compounds may be learned either by themselves as words or by peg-word method. For example, *xue* may be used as the peg or semantic category, which means to study. Thus, *xuesheng* is a "student," *xuexiao* a "school," *xuexi* to "study," and *xuewen* "knowledge." All these words containing the morpheme *xue* and are related to "study" in a certain way, so se words may be learned as vocabulary words or compounds stemming from the peg *xue*.

The key-word method may involve using pictographs and ideographs as links between pictures and/or ideas to meaning and graphemic information carried in hanzi. In fact, because of the use of pictographs or ideographs is fun and attractive, it often becomes the source of misconception that hanzi is like "pictures." It is thus important to point out to students that pictographs and ideographs constitute only five percent of hanzi (Moore, Walton, and Lambert 1992: 56), although they may serve as an interesting point of departure.

Phonological mediation can be an example of key word-semantic method. By activating sounds in short-term memory (bottom-up and visual information), it involves the use of top-down processing (oral proficiency and phonological mediation) and triggers what is stored in long-term memory about the sound-meaning of the hanzi. English words may be used to associate with some hanzi either through sound or meaning. For example, "too" (meaning excessive as in too much) is pronounced as "tai" in Mandarin Chinese, which sounds similar to the English word "tie," when you wear a tie, you'll feel "too" tight.

Repeating or copying hanzi may be necessary but is not sufficient. Using them in contextualized sentences or discourse will increase the frequency of these hanzi being used in a meaningful way, and help students gain real control of grammatical usage, cultural connotation, and sociolinguistic competence. The edited writing samples can be used for reading material on which reading comprehension tasks may be developed. When students read or write about themselves and for a real audience for authentic communicative purposes, the texts will be contexualized in a more meaningful way (Edelsky 1993). In the process, students will have to rely on their memory bank for hanzi, which will be activated instead of laying dormant. Most important, when students read or write in discourse, their oral proficiency and phonological mediation will be called on for processing, thereby employing top-down, not just bottom-up, processing mechanisms.

Finally, the class could spend some time discussing how students process hanzi. The more they can share their strategies, the more creative they will become. Many teachers of Chinese worry that if students use the "wrong" methods to memorize hanzi they will develop misconceptions about the origin or formation of hanzi . However, etymology is an academic pursuit; students are not required to know the historical changes that occurred in hanzi. For the majority, their goal is to memorize, retain, and use hanzi; how they achieve that aim is a personal strategy and journey.

Conclusion

Because hanzi is often the area of most difficulty for L2 learners of Chinese, this paper has examined what teaching approaches the teacher takes and what learning strategies students adopt in order to tackle this problem. Additionally, I examined classroom interaction and activities in order to find out if or not the learning of hanzi could be facilitated.

I have also made some suggestions to program designers to re-examine if studying 600 hanzi is a reasonable goal in first year Chinese for students of non-Chinese background. I called for program designers and teachers to re-evaluate the role of the student, who should be treated as an active learner and user of Chinese, instead of someone who only waits and absorbs linguistic knowledge about Chinese. Finally, in addition to offering some specific suggestions to teach hanzi, I asked teachers to re-examine the classroom instruction and interaction. Because the products of students' learning will be shaped by instructional approaches and philosophy, teachers need to heed the issue of aligning instruction with the former's goals. Eventually, the success of language programs depends not on how many words students can memorize, but on whether or not they are able to do things in the language under study.

References

Chikamatsu, N. (1996). The effects of L1 orthography on L2 word recognition, a study of American and Chinese learners of Japanese. *SSLA*, 18, 433-473. Cambridge University Press.

CLTA Leadership Seminar, July, (1996). Kalamazoo College, Michigan.

Cohen, A. D. & Aphek, E. (1981). Easifying second language learning. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition.*, *3*, 221-36.

Cook, V. (1991). *Second language learning and language teaching*. London: Edward Arnold.

Corder, S. P. (1978). Language learner language. In Richards, J. C. (ed.) *Understanding second and foreign language learning*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

D'Arcais, G. B. F. (1992). Graphemic, phonological, and semantic activation process during the recognition of Chinese characters. In Chen, H. C. & Tzeng, O. (Eds.), 1992.*Language processing in Chinese*. (pp. 37-66). Amsterdam, Holland: North Holland.

DeFrancis, J. (1977). *Beginning chinese reader* (2nd Ed.) New Haven: Yale University Press.

DeFrancis, J. (1984). *The Chinese language: Fact and fantasy*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Duff, P. A. & Polio, C. G.)1990). How much foreign language is there in the foreign language classroom? *Modern Language Journal*, *74*, ii, 154-166.

Edelsky, C. (1986). *Writing in a bilingual program: Habia una vez*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

Ellis, R. (1980). Classroom interaction and its relation to second language learning. *RELC Journal*, *11*, 2, 29-47.

Ellis, R. (1984). *Classroom second language development*. Oxford: Pergamon.

Ellis, R. (1994). *The study of second language acquisition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Everson M. E. & Ke, C. (1997). An inquiry into the reading strategies of intermediate and advanced learners of Chinese as a foreign language. *Journal of the Chinese Language Teachers Association.*, *32*,1, 1-20. February 1997.

Fanselow, J. F. (1977). Beyond 'Rashomon'—conceptualizing and describing the teaching act. *TESOL Quarterly, 11*, 17-39.
Felix, S. W. (1981). The effect of formal instruction on second language acquisition. *Language Learning ,31*, 87-112.
Frohlich, M., Spada, N. & Allen, P. (1985). Differences in the communicative orientation of L2 classrooms. *TESOL Quarterly, 19*, 1, March 1985.
Frost, R., Katz, L. & Bentin, S. (1987). Strategies for visual word recognition and orthographic depth: a multilingual comparison. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Human Perception and Performance, 13*, 104-115.
Gass, S. (1989). Second language vocabulary acquisition. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, 9*, 92-106.
Gass, S. (1996). Second language acquisition and linguistic theory: the role of language transfer. In Ritchie, W. C. & Bhatia, T. K. (Eds.), *Handbook of second language acquisition*. (pp. 317-40). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
Gibson, E. J. 1975. *The psychology of reading*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
Gillette, B. (1987). Two successful language learners: an introspective report. In C. Farch and G. Kasper (Eds.), *Introspection in second language research*. Clevedon,Avon: Multilingual Matters.
Guthrie, E. (1987). Six cases in classroom communication: a study of teacher discourse in the foreign language classroom. In J. Lantolf & A. Labarca (eds.) *Research in second language learning: Focus on the classroom*. (pp. 173-193). Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Company.
Harley, B. (1993). Instructional strategies and SLA in early French immersion. *SSLA*, 15, 245-259. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Higgs, T. V. (1982). Introduction: what can I do to help? In T.V. Higgs (Ed.), *Curriculum, competence, and the foreign language teacher* (pp. 1-10). Skokie, IL: National Textbook Company.
Hoosain, R. (1991). *Psycholinguistic implications for linguistic relativity: A case study of Chinese*. Hillside, N. J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.
Horodeck, R. A. (1987). The Role of Sound in Reading and Writing Kanji, Ph.D. Dissertation, Cornell University.
Hornberger, N. (1994). Ethnography. *TESOL Quarterly, 28*, 4, 688-690, Winter.
Huang, X. & Van Naerssen., M. (1985). Learning strategies for oral communication. *Applied Linguistics, 6*, 287-307.
Huang, J. T. & Wang, M. Y. (1992). From unit to gestallt: perceptual dynamics in recognizing Chinese characters. In H. C. Chen & O.J.T. Tzeng 1992. (Eds.), *Language processing in Chinese*. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: North Holland.
Hue, C. W. (1992). Recognition processes in character naming. In H. C. Chen. & O. Tzeng (Eds.), *Language processing in Chinese* (pp. 93-107) Amsterdam, Holland: North Holland.
Hue, C. W. & Erickson, J. R. 1988. Short-term memory for Chinese characters and radicals. *Memory and Cognition., 16*, 196-205.
Index to JCLTA (1966-1996). *Journal of the Chinese Language Teachers Association, 31*,3, 84-126. October 1996.
Itoo, K. (1979). Keesee mozi to kanzi sidoo (Phonetic kanji and Kanji instruction). *Gengo Seekato ,326,2,68-79.*
Ji, G. P. & Luo, C. R. (1989). Capacity limitation and strategy of image processing. *Acta Psychological Sinica, 21*, 18-23.
Jorden, E. (1962). *Beginning japanese*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Ke, C. (1996). An empirical study on the relationship between Chinese character recognition and production. *Modern Language Journal, 80*, iii., 340-350.
Kellerman, E. (1979). Transfer and non-transfer: Where we are now. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition.,2,.1,.37-59.*

Kleifgen, J. A. & Saville-Troike, M. (1992). Achieving coherence in multilingual interaction. *Discourse Processes, 15*, 183-207.
Kōda, K. (1989). The effects of transferred vocabulary knowledge on the development of L2 reading proficiency. *Foreign Language Annals, 22*, 529-42.
Koda, K. (1996). L2 word recognition research: a critical review. *Modern Language Journal, 80*, iv., 450-460.
Lennon, P. (1989). Introspection and intentionality in advanced second-language acquisition. *Language Learning, 39*, 375-95.
Leong, C. K. (1973). Hong Kong. In Downing, J. (Ed.) *Comparative reading: Cross-national studies of behavior in reading and writing*. New York: Plenum Press.
Li, H. T. (1977). *The history of Chinese characters*. Taipei, Twaiwan: Lian-Jian.
Li, C. N. & Thompson, S. A. (1981). *Mandarin Chinese: A functional reference grammar*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Liu, I. (1983). The learning of characters: A conceptual learning approach. *JCLTA, 18*, 2, 65-76.
Long, M. H. (1980). *Input, Interaction, and Second Language Acquisition*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles.
Long, M. H. (1983). Native speaker/non-native speaker conversation in the second language classroom. In Clarke, M. & Handscombe (Eds.) *Pacific Perspectives on Language learning and Teaching*. Washington, DC: TESOL.
Long, M. H. (1984). Process and product in ESL program evaluation. *TESOL Quarterly, 18*, 3, 409-25.
Long, M. H. (1996). The role of the linguistic environment in second language acquisition. In Ritchie, W. C. & Bhatia, T. K. (eds.) *Handbook of Second Language Acquisition*. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
McLaughlin, B. & Heredia R. (1996). Information-processing approaches to research on second language acquisition and Use. In Ritchie, W. C. & Bhatia, T. K. (eds.) *Handbook of Second Language Acquisition*. San Diego, CAL Academic Press.
Mehan, H. (1979). *Learning Lessons: Social Organization in the Classroom*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Mitchell, R. & Johnstone, R. (1984). *The routinisation of "communicative" methodology*. Paper presented to the 7th World Congress of Applied Linguistics, Brussels, August. (mimeo)
Moore, S. J., Walton, A. R. & Lambert, R. D. (1992). *Introducing Chinese into high schools: The Dodge Initiative*. Washington D. C.: The National Foreign Language Center.
Muljani, D., Koda, K., & Moates, D. (in press). Development of L2 word recognition. *Applied Psycholinguistics*.
Naiman, N., Frohlich, M., Stern, H. & Todesco, A. (1978). The good language learner. *Research in Education Series No. 7*. Toronto: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.
O'Malley, J. M. & Chamot, A. U. (1990). *Learning Strategies in Second language Acquisition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Oxford, R. (1989). Use of language learning strategies: a synthesis of studies with implications for teacher training. *System, 17*, 235-47.
Pica, T. (1987). Second-language acquisition, social interaction, and the classroom. *Applied Linguistics, 8*,1, 3-21. Oxford University Press.
Pica, T., Young. R., & Doughty, C. (1987). The impact of interaction on comprehension. *TESOL QUARTERLY, 21*, 737-758.
Pienemann, M. (1985). Learnability and syllabus construction. In Hyltenstam K. Pienemann, M. (Eds.) *Modeling and assessing second language development*, (pp. 23-75). San Diego: College-Hill Press.

Pike, K. (1982). *Linguistic Concepts: An Introduction to Tagmemics*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
Polio, C. G. & Duff. P. A. (1994). Teachers' language use in university foreign language classrooms: a qualitative analysis of English and target language alternation. *The Modern Language Journal, 78*, iii., 313-326.
Prokop, M. (1989). *Learning Strategies for Second Language Users: An Analytical Appraisal with Case Studies*. Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press.
Pye, M. (1971). *A Study of Kanzi*. Tokyo: Hokuseido Press.
Reiss. M. 1983. Helping the unsuccessful language learner. *The Canadian Modern Language Review, 39*, 257-66.
Reiss. M. (1985). The good language learner: Another look. *Canadian Modern LanguageReview, 41*, 511-23.
Rubin, J. (1987). Learner strategies: theoretical assumptions, research history and typology in Wenden and Rubin (Eds.), *Learner Strategies in Language Learning*. Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall.
Rutherford, W. (1987). *Second Language Grammar: Learning and Teaching*. London: Longman.
Rutherford, W. & Sharwood Smith, M. (1985). Consciousness-raising and universal grammar. In W. Rutherford, & M. Sharwood Smith (Eds.), *Grammar and Second Language Learning*. Rowley, (pp. 107-116). MA: Newbury House.
Schmidt, R. W. (1990). The role of consciousness in second language learning. *AppliedLinguistics, 11*, 2, 129-158. Oxford University Press.
Seidenberg, M. S. & McClelland, J. L. (1989). A distributed, developmental model of word recognition and naming. *Psychological Review, 96*, 523-568.
Serruys, P. L-M. (1962). *Survey of the Chinese Language Reform and the Anti-Illiteracy Movement in Communist China*. Berkely: Center for Chinese Studies. (University of California).
Sharwood Smith, M. (1981). Consciousness-raising and the second language learner. *Applied Linguistics*, 2, 159-69.
Sinclair, J., & Coulthard, M. (1975). *Towards An Analysis of Discourse*. London: Oxford University Press.
Stern, H. (1983). *Fundamental Concepts of Language Teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Tarone, E. & Yule, G. (1989). *Focus on the Language Learner*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Thompson, I. (1987). Memory in language learning. in A. Wenden and J. Rubin (Eds.), *Learner Strategies in Language Learning*, (pp. 43-56). Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
Tsou, S. L. (1986). *Contour detection mechanism in touch and serial vision*. Unpublished master thesis, National Taiwan University, Taipei. Taiwan.
Turnage, T. W. & McGinnes, E. (1973). A cross-cultural comparison of the effects of presentation mode and meaningfulness on short-term recall. *American Journal of Psychlogy, 86*, 369-81.
Tzeng, O. J. T. & Hung, D. (1980). Reading in a non-alphabetic writing system: some experimental studies. In J. F. Kavanagh and R. L. Venezky (Eds.), *Orthography, Reading, and Dyslexia*.
Tzeng, O. J. T. (1981). Linguistic Determinism: a written language perspective. In Ovid Tzeng and Harry Singer (Eds.), Perception of Print : *Reading, Research in Experimental Psychology*. Hillsdale, N. J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
Tzeng, O. J. T. (1982). On orthography and the relation between reading process and recognition. In H. S. R. Kao & C. M. Cheng (Eds.) *Psychological Research on the Chinese Language*, (pp. 85-101). Taipei: Wenhe. (In Chinese.)

Weistein, C. and Mayer, R. (1986). The teaching of learning strategies in Wittrock M. (Ed.), *Handbook of Research on Teaching*. (3rd Ed.). New York: Macmillan.

White, L., Spada, N., Lightbown, P. M., & Ranta, L. (1991). Input enhancement and L2 question formation. *Applied Linguistics, 12,* 4, 416-32. Oxford University Press.

Wong-Fillmore, Lilly. (1985). When does teacher talk work as input? in Gass, S. & Madden, C. (Eds.) *Input in Second Language Acquisition.*, (pp. 17-50). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Zhang, B. and D. Peng. (1992). Decomposed Storage in the Chinese lexicon. In Chen, H. C. & Tzeng, O.J. T. (Eds.),Language *Processing in Chinese*. Amsterdam. North Holland. 131-46.

Zhu, Y. P. (1987). *Analysis of cueing functions of the phonetic in modern Chinese*. Unpublished paper, East China Normal University. (In Chinese.)

Shuhan C. Wang is a Ph. D. candidate in the Educational Linguistic Program at the University of Pennsylvania. Prior to her study at Penn, she taught Chinese in different educational settings: K-12 educational system, ethnic-Chinese community schools, and higher educational institutions. She is now Education Associate for World Languages at the Department of Education in the State of Delaware.

Appendix A

Student Background Questionnaire

All the information on this questionnaire will be kept confidential.
1. Name____
2. Phone number(area code) ______________________________
3. E-mail____
4. Address ____
5. School and major ___________________________________
6. Are you a: Freshman____; sophomore ____; Junior _____; Senior _____
7. Your gender is: Male ________; female __________
8. What Chinese course are you enrolled ___________________

9a.What is your native language? ________________________

9b.Have you studied another foreign language? When? For how long? Whatlanguage(s)?

____

10. Why are you taking Chinese? List as many reasons that apply to your situation:

____

11. In your case, which skills are more important than the others? Check the appropriate answer(s):
a. listening and speaking are more important than reading and writing _____
b. reading and writing are more important than listening and speaking _____
c. all four skills are equally important _____

12. In terms of your goals and according to their importance, please rank the following items from 1 to 5 (1 being the most important and 5 the least):

____ a. to go about your daily life in a Chinese-speaking region
____ b. to be very fluent in Chinese
____ c. to read and write some basic Chinese for survival purposes
____ d. to read and write like an educated native speaker
____ e. to do business in Chinese
____ f. to learn the culture and the Chinese way of doing things
____ g. to enjoy/study Chinese literature, philosophy, and arts, etc.
____ h. to make friends with Chinese people

13. Do you have opportunities to use/practice Chinese outside the classroom?
Yes ____; No ____
14. Do you use computer to learn/practice Chinese?
Yes ____; No ____
15. If yes, what programs or internet service do you use for Chinese? Please list all that you have been using:

____

16. On the scale of 1-5 (1 being the most difficult and 5 the easiest) and based on your experience of learning Chinese, how would you rate the difficulty of Chinese?
1 ____; 2 ____; 3 ____; 4 ____; 5 _____
17. For you, what skill is the most difficult to acquire? Please rank them according to the degree of difficulty (1 being the most difficult and 4 being the easiest. You can also give them the same number if you feel that they are equally difficult or easy):
Listening ____; Speaking ____
Reading (hanzi) ____; Writing (hanzi) ____
18. How many days per week do you practice hanzi?

____

19. On the average, how much time do you spend on learning/practicing hanzi each time you work on it?
15 minutes ____; half an hour ____; 1 hour ____; 2 or more hours ____
20. Do you think your performance in Chinese is in proportion to what you have invested in it?
Yes ____; somewhat ____; not quite ____; definitely not _____
21. When will you be available for an one-half hour interview?

Appendix B

Student Strategy-Use Questionnaire

This questionnaire is interested in finding out what you do to learn hanzi. Please focus your response on the learning of Chinese characters. Mark the items with a V when they apply.

1a. When you encounter any new hanzi that you have to learn, do you try to find something in them that you have already known?

Yes ____; No ____

1b. What do you rely on?

radicals ____; phonetic indicators ____;
make pictures/ideographs ____; copy them repetitively ____;
associate the hanzi with English either by sound or meaning ___;
acting out ____; others ______________________________

2. When you learn a new hanzi, do you strive to memorize it?

Yes ____; No ____

3. Do you test yourself to see if you memorize the hanzi?

Yes ____; No ____

4. Do you expect yourself to memorize the hanzi as soon as you studied them?

Yes ____; No ____

5. Do you make a conscious effort to use the hanzi you have learned?

Yes ____; No ____

6a. As you are learning new hanzi, do you categorize hanzi into groups?

Yes ____; No ____

6b. If you do, how do you categorize them?

By radical ____; by phonetic indicator ____;
by sound ____: by meaning _____;
Others (please indicate) ______________________________

7. Do you memorize hanzi by individual characters or by compounds?

For example, (1) da4: big; xue2: to study; sheng1: a child—da4xue2sheng1: a big student, so, a college student. Or,
(2) da4xue2sheng1: college student.
By individual character ____; By compounds ____

8. Do you try to read out loud when studying hanzi?

Yes ____; No ___

9. Do you translate word for word in studying hanzi?

Yes ____; No ____

10. Do you take notes on any new hanzi or new ways of combining the hanzi that you have learned?

Yes ____; No ____

11. When you are studying a new hanzi, do you try to create a 'network'—by associating that hanzi—with other hanzi in other contexts?

Yes ____; No ____

12. Do you find it easier to memorize hanzi by itself or by using it in a phrase or sentence?

individual hanzi ____; phrase ____; sentence ____

13. Do you use any English to learn hanzi?

Yes ____; No ____

14. When you read texts written in hanzi, does it bother you if you don't recognize some of the hanzi in the sentence or passage?

Yes ____; No ____

15. Do you like to study hanzi by yourself or with a group of classmates?

By yourself ____; With a group _____

16. When the teacher give back your homework or tests, do you look at your errors and practice over them?

Yes ____; No ____

17. Do you try to use/read/write the hanzi you have learned in your daily life?

Yes ____; No ____

18. In your teacher's teaching of hanzi, what activities do you like most or find most useful?

____

19. In general, do you think you have found an effective way to learn hanzi?

Yes ____; No ____

20. Finally, how would you describe your experience of learning hanzi (mark whatever it applies):

Satisfying ____; challenging ____; fascinating ____; time-consuming____; frustrating ____

The information you provided will be extremely important and useful for my research. Thank you for your time and cooperation. Good luck with your study of Chinese.

Appendix C

Teacher Questionnaire

1. Your name: ________________________________
2. School: ________________________________

3. Course Title: ________________________________
4. You address (including zip code): ________________________________
____
5. Phone number (including area code): ________________________
6. e-mail: ________________________________

Please mark a check V in the appropriate space provided:

7a. If you are a native speaker of Chinese, please continue this item (otherwise, please go to 7b). You were raised in:
U.S. __________; China__________; Taiwan __________;
Hong Kong __________; or other place (please indicate)______________

7b. If you are not a native speaker of Chinese, you are a native speaker of
____

8a. Do you believe that speaking and listening should precede reading and writing hanzi?
Yes_________; No______________

8b. If yes, do you prioritize the development of oral proficiency over reading/writing literacy in the first semester?
More oral/aural work ____; equal emphasis ____;
More reading/writing work ____

9. When do you start teaching hanzi during the first semester?
in the first week__________; after pinyin is taught? __________
other time (Please indicate approximately which week) ____________

10. As a general rule, when you introduce hanzi in class, do you analyze them?
yes ______ ; No __________

11. Do you often encourage students to analyze hanzi as much as possible?
Yes ______; No _________

12. Do you teach students how to analyze hanzi?
Yes ____; No ____

13. If you analyze hanzi, what kind of association do you make?
classical etymology _____; ideographs _____;
radicals ________; phonetic parts ______;
or others, what are they? ________________________________

14. Do you feel that learning/practicing hanzi is an individual effort?
yes ________; No ____________

15. Do you expect students to memorize hanzi?
Yes ________; No ____________

16. Do you set special time for hanzi learning/practicing in class?
Yes _______; No __________

17. How often do you quiz/test hanzi in class?
Daily _____; Weekly ______; by-weekly _____;
Others (please specify) ________________________________

18. How do you treat hanzi ? each character is:
as a word _____; as a morpheme _____

19. How do you teach hanzi?
teach them as individual character ________ ;
teach them in compounds _____

20. Do you feel that stroke order is important in writing hanzi (in the scale of 1-5, 1 being the most important and 5 the least important)?
   1 ____; 2 _____; 3 _____; 4 _____; 5 _____
21. Do you feel that reading out loud will help students process hanzi?
   Yes _______; no difference ______; No _________
22. How soon in the course do you believe that students should be asked to read or write texts in hanzi?
   At the beginning of the course _____; After pinyin is finished _____;
   Other time (please specify) ____
23. Do you use any task or activity to help students practice hanzi?
   Yes __________; No __________
24. Do you advise students to use computer programs to practice hanzi?
   as a requirement ____; as a recommendation ____; not at all _____
25. Do you advise students to use hanzi (not as homework) outside the classroom?
   as a requirement ____; as a recommendation ____; not at all _____

Please give me a complete sample of one of your hanzi instructional units that is representative of your teaching and assessment of hanzi. Thank you for your cooperation and assistance.

Appendix D

Students' Background Results

1. Characteristics		
a. Freshman	6	40%
b. Sophomore	0	0
c. Junior	2	13.3%
d. Senior	4	26.67%
e. Graduate School	3	20%
f. male	10	66.67%
g. female	5	33.33%
2. Studied another langauge	15	100%
3. Native Langauge		
a. English	10	66.67%
b. Hungarian	1	6.67%
c. Indonesian	2	13.33%
d. Malay	1	6.67%
e. Thai	1	6.67%
4. Ethnic Chinese background		
a. Yes	5	33.3%
b. No	10	66.67%
5. Which skills are more important?		
a. listening & speaking	8	53.33%
b. reading & writing	0	
c. all four skills	8	53.33%
6. Goals		
a. to go about daily life in a Chinese-speaking region.	6	40%
b. to be very fluent in Chinese	5	33.33%
c. to read and write some basic Chinese for survival purposes	5	33.33%
d. to read and write like an educated native speaker	0	
e. to do business in Chinese	6	40%
f. to learn the culture and the Chinese way of doing things	2	13.3%
g. to enjoy/study Chinese literature, philosophy, and arts, etc.	0	
h. to make friends with Chinese people	2	13.33%
7. Opportunities to practice Chinese outside the classroom		

a. Yes	7	46.67%
b. No	8	53.33%
8. Use computer to learn/practice Chinese	0	
9. How difficult is Chinese?		
a. most difficult	5	33.33%
b. difficult	7	46.67%
c. somewhat difficult	1	6.67%
d. not too difficult	2	13.33 %
e. easy	0	
10. Which skill is the most difficult to acquire?		
a. listening	1	6.67%
b. speaking	3	20%
c. reading	2	13.33%
d. writing	12	80%
11. Do you think your performance is in proportion to what you have invested in it?		
a. yes	7	46.67%
b. somewhat	4	26.67%
c. not quite	3	20%
d. definitely no	0	

Appendix E

Student Strategy Use Results

1. try to find something in the hanzi		
a. yes	12	80%
b. no	3	20%
c. radicals	4	14.81%
d. phonetic indicators	2	13.33%
e. pictures/ideographs	5	18.52%
f. English	3	20%
g. copy repetitively	12	44.44%
h. acting out	0	
i. others	1	6.67%
2. I try to memorize them		
a. yes	14	93.33%
b. no	1	13.33%
3. I test myslef on hanzi memorization.		
a. yes	13	86.67%
b. no	2	13.33%
4. I expect to memorize a hanzi character once I study it.		
a. yes	7	46.67%
b. no	8	53.33%
5. I make a conscious effort to use hanzi		
a. yes	8	53.33%
b. no	7	46.67%
6a. I categorize hanzi into groups		
a. yes	2	13.33%
b. no	12	80%
6b. I categorize hanzi by		
a. radicals	2	13.33%
b. phonetic indicator	1	6.67%
c. sound	0	
d. meaning	1	6.67%
e. no answer	11	73.33%
7. I memorize hanzi by		
a. individual hanzi	8	53.33%
b. compounds	8	53.33%
8. I read hanzi out-loud when I study them.		
a. yes	9	60%
b. no	6	40%
9. I translate word-for-word in studying hanzi.		
a. yes	11	73.33%
b. no	4	26.67%

10. I take notes on new hanzi or new ways of using hanzi that I have learned.		
a. yes	4	26.67%
b. no	11	73.33%
11. I try to create a "network" by associating hanzi with other hanzi in other contexts.		
a. yes	8	53.33%
b. no	6	40%
c. no answer	1	6.67%
12. I find it easier to memorize hanzi		
a. by itself	11	73.33%
b. in phrases	2	13.33%
c. in sentences	1	6.67%
d. no answer	0	
13. I use English to learn hanzi.		
a. yes	9	60%
b. no	7	46.67%
14. It bothers me to not recognize some hanzi in the sentence of passage I read.		
a. yes	12	80%
b. no	3	20%
15. I like to study hanzi.		
a. by myself	12	80%
b. with others	2	13.33%
c. no answer	0	
16. I look at my errors and practice them over.		
a. yes	8	53.33%
b. no	7	46.67%
17. I try to use/read/write hanzi in my daily life.		
a. yes	5	33.33%
b. no	9	60%
c. a little	1	6.67%
18. I have found an effective way to study hanzi.		
a. yes	8	53.33%
b. no	7	46.67%
19. I found my experience of studying hanzi		
a. satisfying	6	40%
b. challenging	13	86.67%
c. fascinating	3	20%
d. time-consuming	12	80%
e. frustrating	5	33.33%

Information for Our Contributors:

The goal of *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics (WPEL)* is to present works in progress by students and professors on topics ranging from speech act analysis and classroom discourse to language planning and second language acquisition. Papers included in *WPEL* are generally based on research carried out for courses offered in the Language in Education Division of the Graduate School of Education.

It is our intention that *WPEL* will continue to be a forum for the exchange of ideas among scholars in the field of educational linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania and at universities with similar programs in educational and applied linguistics around the world. *WPEL* is sent to more than one hundred universities world-wide.

WPEL is published each Fall and Spring. The regular subscription price is US$ 4.00 per issue. Academic departments and commercial publications are invited to arrange an exchange subscription by sending the editors of this journal one copy of their working papers (or similar publication) in exchange for each requested copy of *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics*.

1.Submissions to *WPEL* cannot be under consideration for publication elsewhere unless permission has been granted by the other publications. In this case, it is the author's responsibility to obtain the necessary permission and citation. We ask that any *WPEL* article published elsewhere at a later time include a reference to *WPEL*. The individual authors retain copyright privileges.

2.Submissions should follow APA guidelines and must include an abstract of no more than 125 words.The methods section of any submission must be sufficiently detailed so that it could guide the replication of a similar study.Editors make every effort possible to ensure the accuracy of all citations; however, the final responsibility for citations remains with the author of each article.

3.Articles not accepted for the current issue may be rewritten and resubmitted for a following edition. A recommendation to rewrite is not a guarantee of future publication in *WPEL*. *WPEL* is not responsible for returning articles that have been sent to our office. Please, do not send an original paper, and do not send articles on diskette until asked to do so.

4.This journal recognizes the difficulty in using gender-neutral language. However, we are committed to avoiding the clumsy he/she construction and the use of plural pronouns for the singular antecedent. Therefore, we encourage authors to find their own solutions within these guidelines. All correspondence should be addressed to:

Working Papers in Educational Linguistic
Language in Education Division A-12
Graduate School of Education
University of Pennsylvania
3700 Walnut St.
Philadelphia, PA. 19104

Telephone: 215.898.3288
Fax: 215.573.2109
Email: wpel@nwfs.gse.upenn.edu
Internet: http://www.upenn.edu/gse

University of Pennsylvania
Graduate School of Education

Working Papers in Educational Linguistics

Volume 14, Number 1 Fall/1998

Articles in this issue

FL 025 757

U.S. Department of Education
Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI)
National Library of Education (NLE)
Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC)

ERIC®

NOTICE

REPRODUCTION BASIS

- [x] This document is covered by a signed "Reproduction Release (Blanket) form (on file within the ERIC system), encompassing all or classes of documents from its source organization and, therefore, does not require a "Specific Document" Release form.

- [ ] This document is Federally-funded, or carries its own permission to reproduce, or is otherwise in the public domain and, therefore, may be reproduced by ERIC without a signed Reproduction Release form (either "Specific Document" or "Blanket").