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ETHNICITY IN

CONVERSATION

by

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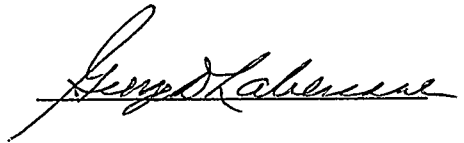
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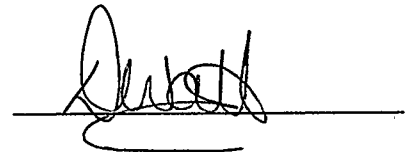Psychométrie 0632

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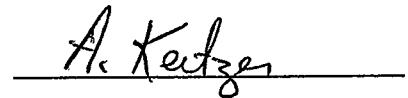# FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled, "Ethnicity in Conversation" submitted by Mary Moore Nance in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Supervisor, Dr. G. Labercane,
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Department of Curriculum
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Department of English

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ABSTRACT

The Purpose

The purpose of this study was to determine whether or not ethnic
variance exists in dyadic cross-cultural conversation as measured by
conversational analysis, as well as to determine possibilities for further
research.

The Study

This study was a modification of a study done by Duff (1986). Two Chinese
and two Spanish first language speakers participated in eight identical
conversational dyads of eight minutes duration each. Each of the four male
subjects in eight dyads was analyzed in identical Debate and Problem Solving
tasks. Half of the tasks were cross-cultural dyads and the other half were same
cultural dyads.

Ethnic behavioural differences were expected in specific conversational
milieu. It was hypothesized that Chinese and Spanish subjects would react
differently in the two cultural conditions of same versus cross- cultural
interaction. It was also hypothesized that Chinese and Spanish speakers would
interact differently in the two task type conditions of Problem Solving and
Debate. Despite task type, Spanish and Chinese subjects were hypothesized to
show differences in same and cross-cultural dyads. Quantitative differences in
turns, words per turn, turns stolen and questions soliciting a response were
hypothesized to be attributable to task type, either Problem Solving or Debate.
Predictions were based on previous cross-cultural research in rhetorical
organization, studies of values, response styles, comparative needs, mother-
child interaction and student expectations.

The Findings

Analyses of variance revealed that Spanish and Chinese interacted differently in same and cross-cultural tasks. Spanish took fewer same cultural Debate turns while Chinese maintained same cultural and cross-cultural equilibrium in Debate. Spanish show more variation in turns taken between Problem Solving and Debate tasks, while Chinese are not as affected by task type. Spanish had wider variation between same cultural Problem Solving and Debate turns. More variation for Chinese is shown between a quantitatively high cross-cultural and a low same cultural Problem Solving manifestation of turn taking. Significantly more turns, stolen turns and questions soliciting a response were generated in Problem Solving tasks, but Debate generated significantly more words per turn.

The ethnic variation between these two prominent language groups in Alberta classrooms has been determined by conversational analysis. Further research with other prominent populations, including female persons of the Chinese and Spanish ethnic groups, could aid understanding, a tool for more effective pedagogy

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DEDICATION

To the memory of my parents, Daisy Ethel Hendershott Moore and Edward Walters Moore, who valued education, but Truth in particular, as they were a part of immigration in the Westward Movement when this century was new.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Cross-Cultural Conversational Variation

Cross-cultural differences in both quality and quantity of speech habits
were acknowledged by Plato when he declared

> But first let me make an apology. The Athenian citizen is
> reputed among all the Hellenes to be a great talker, whereas
> Sparta is renowned for brevity, and the Cretons have more wit
> than words. Now I am afraid of appearing to elicit a very long
> discourse out of very small matter. (Plato, Laws 641E, Cited
> in Hymes, 1972, p. 44).

Plato's stance regarding the challenges of cross-cultural communication was
confirmed in contemporary history in 1974 when Ashworth reported the
results of her questionnaire in which she had asked ESL teachers their
opinion of new Canadians' major problem. Four times as many teachers
replied, " adjusting to the new culture " as those who answered, " learning the
language" (Disman, 1982, p. 71).

A sojourner immersed in the study of the Indonesian language while
living in that culture became aware that her language learning responsibility
went far beyond grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation when her tutor
pointedly explained to her that he was conscious of three posture
countenances reflective of culture in three languages which he spoke. If he
spoke with the sojourner in English his voice was loud, his body erect, with
almost constant eye contact. If the Indonesian national language (*Bahasa
Indonesia*) were the communicative medium with her, his voice was soft, and
his countenance was humble, but he smiled continuously as he used a
hierarchy of intonation. When the tutor conversed with his father in
Sundanese, the area dialect, his posture was stooped, his diverted gaze focused
on his father's feet, and his expression was stoic as he spoke in a monotone.
The conscious effort of language learning must involve the unconscious
indigenous ethnocultural aspects of communication. Sensitivity to the values,
attitudes and beliefs of the host country approaches a cultural integration
necessary for the student to achieve ethnolinguistic competence.

In order to help students achieve sociocultural awareness the teacher must first manifest an empathic sensitivity. An ESL teacher remarked that she had encountered " the most primitive mother I've ever seen. She squatted. Right there in my classroom! Doesn't she place any value in chairs?" Another teacher informed her early afternoon class that North Americans disapprove of audible burps and her Southeast Asian student reacted, "But teacher, that is just natural!" A teacher who had both Japanese students with several years of (grammar translation) English study in Japan and beginner Italian students in her class, found a need for encouraging Japanese participation while somewhat dampening Italian conversational input in order to equalize oral practice.

These incidents are exemplary of sociocultural, ethnolinguistic and pedagogical challenges involved in the cross-cultural interchange of the ESL classroom. The teacher's unconscious social mores did not encompass squatting as an acceptable position for social intercourse in a parent-teacher conference. The student's cultural background gave acceptance to burping as unconsciously routine and explicitly complimentary to a hostess. Both the student who was defensive of audible burps and the teacher who was taken aback at the squatting Asian mother had need of openness to new cultural perceptions. Japanese first language (L1) students, with a background of authoritative tutelage in reading based English instruction in a culture in which students are seen but rarely heard, and as persons who practice a communion of silence, were placed at an oral disadvantage when grouped with openly expressive Italian students whose first language is a Romance language and related to English. Schumann (1978) states that social, affective, personality, cognitive skill, and personal factors are among some other factors indicative of ESL student needs (pp. 163-178). Taborek and Adamowski (1984), who assessed needs of Chinese students from Hong Kong, observed that teachers need to be conscious of the difference in "language, educational system, and culture" (p. 88) manifested in ESL students.

Varonis and Gass (1985) found that non-native speaker (NNS-NNS) interaction provides a nonthreatening situation for language skills practice

and that non-native speaker/non-native speaker discourse provides opportunity for negotiation of meaning (87). Porter (1986) also found value in non-native speaker/non-native speaker input and interaction (p. 220). Varonis and Gass (1985) state that ethnicity, native language, status and roles of participants, as well as gender, age, discourse topic and size of discourse group are sociolinguistic variables. They note that each of these areas is rich for research (pp. 86, 87).

Sensitivity to various cultural norms regarding conversation, as observed by Plato, is still needed today. The foregoing observations on cultural matters and the observations of Varonis and Gass indicate the need for more specific studies in cultural contrasts.

In one research approach to ethnolinguistic differences and pertinent pedagogical implications, Duff (1986) analyzed differences, using conversational analysis of eight dyads to assess qualitative and quantitative variation in input and interaction during the pedagogical tasks of convergent Problem Solving (PS) and divergent Debate (D) tasks (pp. 147-181). Subjects were two Mandarin Chinese speakers (CH) and two Japanese speakers (J), students at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. Controlled variables included first language background, length of residence in U.S., proficiency level, familiarity (all subjects were ESL classmates), age, class standing and gender. Forty minutes of transcription from dyads of two same cultural (J/J, CH/CH) Problem Solving tasks and two cross -cultural Debate tasks, as well as two cross-cultural (CH/J) Problem Solving and two cross-cultural Debate tasks received analysis. It was observed that dyads of convergent Problem Solving tasks generated more subject turns than did divergent Debate tasks, but that Debate tasks generate more words per turn. Both task types generated verbal and logical reasoning without researcher intervention. The necessary two-way exchange of ideas between subjects brought into play clarification techniques, such as questions, repetitions, reformulations, and explanations. Effect for ethnicity was addressed as additional dyads participated in this same set of tasks.

Empirical study of five minutes of each dyad in Duff's (1986) conversational analysis research upheld the hypothesis that regardless of task type Chinese would dominate the conversations with Japanese and that Chinese would display conversational dominance on selected measures. Paired Chinese/Chinese dyads produced more total words than did Japanese/Japanese or Chinese/Japanese dyads. Chinese used more words, questions, and turns than did Japanese. Chinese stole three times as many turns regardless of the interlocutor's ethnicity (p. 165). Gender was not a significant variable (p. 170). "An overall main effect for ethnicity" (p. 160) was evident in measures of turns stolen, total words and subject words, total turns and subject turns, words per turn, and questions.

. The conversational analysis research reported here continues the search for the "overall main effect for ethnicity" (Duff, 1986, p. 160) in seeking to answer the question, "Are there quantitative or qualitative cross-ethnic variations in dyadic Problem Solving and Debate conversational interaction between Chinese first language and Spanish first language learners? If so, what are research possibilities and/or possible pedagogical implications in reference to sociocultural, ethnolinguistic and affective needs of ESL students in a cross-cultural classroom?"

Explanation of Terms

Conversational Analysis (CA) of Problem Solving (PS) and Debate (D) dyads necessitates the clarification of terms used in this present study. These terms are chosen from among Conversational Analysis terminology and are terms used in this report .

A turn is a complex term utilized in conversational analysis and is an aspect of conversation with which participants must deal. Syntactically projectable turn construction units are "sentential, clausal, phrasal, and lexical.... next turn starts". They occur at recognizable "possible completion points " of " sentences, clauses, phrases, and one word constructions " (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, 1974, pp. 720, 721) and limit the current speaker's right to talk (Goodwin, 1981, pp. 20, 21). Each speaker is entitled to one unit before speaker transition is an open possibility. Thus we see that a participant

might anticipate a turn boundary at a pause within a turn (in transcription a pause is signified by a dash--) at the end of a phrase and consequently begin a turn when indeed the interlocutor is only at a transition place. At this juncture, Speaker One's pause becomes a technical **gap** whenever Speaker Two opts for a turn during Speaker One's pause. It is when Speaker One continues the sentence as a next turn that the period of pause between Speaker One's first utterance and Speaker Two's utterance becomes a between turn silence, technically termed a **gap** (Goodwin, 1981, p. 18). For example:

Speaker One: You see, I went downtown --

Speaker Two: To the movie ?

Speaker One: to check on a new car.

After Speaker One's pause at a transition, Speaker Two opts for a turn at the pause, then when Speaker One continues the sentence by adding a phrase, the pause becomes a **gap** (p. 18). This situation illustrates the mutability of a concept of conversational turn boundaries. **Turn boundaries** mark points of speaker change. A **stolen turn** happens whenever a subject completes or usurps another person's turn without having been encouraged to do so (Duff, 1986, p. 160).

A **c-unit** (communication unit) is a sentence or word which makes a practical or meaningful contribution to a conversation. It is not based on phonology or syntax, but has an inferential semantic base (Duff, 1986, p. 153). Thus, a sentence fragment could qualify as a c-unit if it contributes meaning to the discourse.

S-nodes (sentence nodes) are units of syntactic complexity which represent thoughts within a sentence or utterance (Duff, 1986, pp. 166-169). An infinitive, gerund, or tensed verb signals an underlying s-node. Modals "can" and " have to " in this study are not credited as being signals of underlying s-nodes. The following example contains four s-nodes :

Speaker: Of course if you are a robber --

you can be skillful through your experience

to rob or to steal something   (p. 67).

A c-unit might contain a number of s-nodes , since a c-unit could contain several clauses, sentences, run-ons, or a compound sentence (Brock, 1985, p. 30, citing Freed, 1978, p. 43).

Questions are a broad spectrum with seven facets which can be categorized as **echoic** or **epistemic**. **Echoic questions** include **comprehension checks, clarification requests** and **confirmation checks**. Epistemic questions are **referential, display, expressive** and **rhetorical** (Long and Sato, 1983, p. 276).

In **comprehension checks** a first speaker uses repetition of all or part of his own immediately previous utterance, with rising intonation, a tag question or any expression to establish whether or not the interlocutor understood Speaker One's utterance(Long and Sato, 1983, p. 276). For example:

Speaker: Do you understand "find out"?

(p. 275)

or

Speaker: You know what I mean ?

(Duff, 1986, p. 167).

In **clarification requests** the listener attempts to clarify the interlocutor's preceding utterance by use of WH or Yes/No questions, tag questions, a rising intonation plea for new information (to aid understanding) or a recoding of the previous statement. For example:

Speaker: ·What ?

or

Speaker: I don't understand.

or

Speaker: What do you mean ?

(Long and Sato, 1983, p. 276)

or

Speaker: What you meaning ? (Duff, 1986, p. 167). In **confirmation checks** the listener tries to dispel or confirm the information in the previous speaker's utterance. The second speaker may use partial or complete repetition of the previous speaker's utterance, either verbatim or semantic, posed either as a Yes/No question or an uninverted, rising intonation (presupposing a "yes" answer). The listener strives to establish hearing and understanding of the speaker's utterance, or to establish that the listener did not understand. For example:

Speaker One: Carefully.

Speaker Two: Careful he?

Did you say "he"?

(Long and Sato, 1983, p. 276).

In **referential questions** a concrete factual answer is sought. For examples:

Speaker: Why didn't you close the door?

(Long and Sato, 1983, p. 276)

or

Speaker: Battery -- What's this ? (Duff, 1986, p. 167).

In **display questions** the interrogator knows the answer, but is checking the listener's knowledge. For example:

Speaker: When did Alberta become a province ?

(Long and Sato, 1983, p. 276).

In **expressive questions** a descriptive statement is followed by a tag question which asks for congenial agreement. For example :

Speaker: The snow on the mountains is magnificently

beautiful today, don't you agree ?

(Long and Sato, 1983, p. 276).

In **rhetorical questions** the interrogation is mainly a comment, not expecting the listener to answer. In fact, it is often answered by the speaker. For example:

Speaker: Why did I lock my keys in the car?

I was daydreaming !

(Long and Sato, 1983, p. 276).

Another question term to be defined is **collaborative checks** in which the speaker seeks definite agreement or disagreement feedback. For example :

Speaker: Agree ?   (Duff, 1986, p. 152).

This study also has empirical reference to total questions asked and subject questions referring to the number of questions asked by one subject (p. 152).

Ethnicity will be used as a classification term to distinguish subjects with Spanish or Chinese first language. Findings referring to culture will refer to persons in interaction with persons of their own first language **(same cultural)** or with a person of a different first language **(cross-cultural)**.

These terms are central to understanding the issues surrounding the present study, the purpose of which is to seek ethnic variation between Chinese first language and Spanish first language learners. This study is made from the assumption that people of all cultures have more commonalities than dissimilarities. Therefore these data are sought, not simply to pinpoint differences, but to aid understanding and give pedagogical guidance in the multicultural classroom as well as to discover areas for further research. Discovery of sociocultural, ethnolinguistic, and affective needs of students in these two language groups can assist immigrant populations in the multicultural classrooms of Alberta. The chapter which follows gives a review of the literature regarding the development of conversational analysis as a tool for ESL pedagogy, pivotal to development in learning theory. Interlanguage theory and politeness studies will be addressed. Cross-cultural comparisons, giving impetus for this present study, will address sociocultural contrasts between East and West, cultural rhetorical organization, comparative needs and values, response styles, mother-child interaction and student expectations. Just as Plato was conscious of cultural variation in speech

habits in his day, each of these areas shows variation as background for the expectations expressed in the hypotheses presented in Chapter Three.

CHAPTER TWO

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The review of the literature in relationship to this study is divided into two parts. The first part relates to development of conversational analysis as a relatively new research method pertinent to teaching English as a second language (TESL). The second part deals with cross-cultural comparisons pertinent to this study.

Conversational Analysis

Firth (1957) recognized the value of conversational analysis (CA) as recently as 1935, observing "neither linguist nor psychologist have begun the study of conversation, yet it is here that we shall find the key to a better understanding of what language really is and how it works" (p. 32). In 1952, when the study of meaning was considered to be outside the scope of linguistics, Harris applied the term, "discourse analysis" (DA) to the study of natural language above the clause level, formally quantifying connected speech. Descriptive linguistics was limited to a single sentence, but Harris noted that the essence of language is not stray words and sentences, but a continuum of connected discourse, whether the utterance consists of one word or volumes. In collaboration with Lukoff, Chomsky and A. F. Brown, Harris (1952) made an attempt to formulate a method for analyzing connected speech for writing. This type of study yielded a distributional analysis of morpheme occurrence (but not their meanings), giving information regarding structure and type of text. After formalizing the methods of distributional analysis, Harris noted that linguistic description must acknowledge social context in language and culture study, reflecting total meaning, rather than confining analysis to morphemes (pp. 1-3, 29-30).

Although no suitable tape recorder was available in 1949, Mitchell made transcripts (evidently from field notes) of dialogue at market auctions and dyadic market bargaining in Cyrenaica. In this early attempt at discourse analysis, the transcript had no overlaps or stolen turns. Speech patterns were natural descriptive grammar, rather than formal prescribed grammar. Both

verbal dialogue and nonverbal (body language) were used as basic units to ascertain technical and nontechnical language of buying and selling in Cyrenaican culture (Mitchell, 1957, pp. 31-32, 39, 50).

New and fluid discourse analysis was increasingly used in fields pertaining to education, namely: sociology (Goffmann, 1955), anthropology (Gumperz and Hymes, 1972), artificial intelligence (Winograd, 1972), philosophy (Searle, 1975a), sociolinguistics (Labov, 1978), and especially ethnomethodology (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974), and syntheses of linguistics, psychology, and sociology (Ervin-Tripp and Mitchell-Kernan, 1977). These fields generated data on kinship terms, societal culture patterns, phonological and grammatical units, as well as deviant and social behaviour (Daden, 1975, p. 4). Writings on discourse analysis are even yet formative and controversial, but there seems to be a prevalent common viewpoint that a coherent view of language must acknowledge connected discourse in everyday usage (Stubbs, 1985, p. 12).

As compact, sensitive tape recorders replaced clumsy wire recorders, Sacks recognized the tape recorder as an invaluable tool for conversational analysis. Researchers could listen to the conversation repeatedly to analyze actual interactions, far superior to field notes or recollection. Audio recording minimized effects of personal preconceptions and biases (Heritage, 1984, pp. 233-238). Sacks collaborated with Schegloff and Jefferson to found the conversational analysis field (p. 233). Academic writings addressed sequencing in conversational openings (Schegloff, 1968), opening up closings (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973) and the landmark system for organization of turn taking (Heritage, 1984, pp. 233-238; Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974).

Conversational analysis focused on actual interactions, giving cultural meaning to unstated cultural assumptions expressed in sentence fragments within conversational context (Heritage, 1984, p. 301). It sought to answer the question, "What is the interactional structure of natural talk?" Once natural speech has been recorded the transcriber must meticulously include each "uhm" and "uhh", sigh, overlap and its location. Laugh must be included, utilizing time consuming tape replays. As conversational analysis research

developed, it addressed replies and responses (Goffman, 1976) and foreigner talk (Hatch, Shapira and Gough, 1976), opening new pedagogical vistas in ESL.

Conversational Analysis and ESL Pedagogy

A new methodology for second language acquisition (SLA) research was utilized when second language acquisition of children's cross-cultural language play received conversational analysis. Peck (1976), who recorded and transcribed interactive language play of Mexican ESL children with native English speaking children, surmised that the "intense affective environment" and attention to form of language provides thoroughness in phonological and syntactic practice while utilizing social rules (pp. 162-163). Berko (1958) had earlier observed that children indeed possess and apply consistent, regular, simple morphological rules of common allomorphs, rather than those allomorphs of limited usage (pp. 150, 175-177).

Larsen-Freeman (1976) expounded on morpheme counts from Brown's (1973) research recordings finding a "significant correlation....between the common morpheme difficulty order of the learners and the frequency of occurrence of these morphemes in adult native speakers' speech" (Larsen-Freeman, 1976, p. 125). Thus, the pedagogical implication could be made that frequent input would allow for easier acquisition.

Wagner-Gough (1975) analyzed the acquisition of the ING function in a Persian child studying ESL. According to this data the child used ING for all tense/aspect possibilities, rather than using it in the proper syntactic function to voice immediate attention. Although the child was using ING, the syntactic function had not been acquired, making simple form counts less reliable. The most useful pedagogical contribution of morpheme counts was the conclusion that a morpheme is not meaningfully acquired unless the function is also acquired (Wagner-Gough, 1975, cited in Hatch, 1978, p. 403).

Wagner-Gough's use of conversational analysis in morpheme counts aroused awareness that educators could use conversational analysis to determine learner behaviour, thus distinguishing learner needs which could be addressed pedagogically. Emphasis turned from the product (morpheme

counts) to the learning process in an effort to discover cognitive strategies used in second language learning. Moerman (1988) states that talk is not only words, but intonation in a specific context and physical orientation, giving meaning to mere words (p. 2). Conversational analysis, made from the talk itself in a definite context, portrays nuances of meaning. Richards observed that meaning and intention

> are not settled by syntax of the passage ...[but] by the influence of our interpretation of other passages--many of them almost equally indeterminate by themselves (Richards, 1932, p. 6, cited in Moerman, 1988, p. 6).

Speech events have deep cultural meanings (Sherzer, 1983, cited in Moerman, 1988, p. 11) giving conversational analysis a record of actual happenings (Moerman, 1988, p. 12). Thus conversational analysis brings us to the heartbeat of a culture, helping us to resonate with that culture's meaning (pp. 12, 87). Conversational analysis of native English speakers reveals realistic conversational patterns, thus it utilizes natural conversation, rather than unconsciously assumed patterns of speech.

Natural conversation which has been transcribed looks quite messy and disorganized. Fragments, run-ons and pause fillers look quite inarticulate when compared to written discourse (Daden, 1975, pp. 1, 12). Oftentimes a student may function well in a classroom situation but fail to communicate outside the classroom. This problem could be due to rapidity of native speaker's speech, but it could also stem from the difference between natural speech habits of native speakers as opposed to regimented classroom dialogue based on idealistic speech patterns (p. 112).

As a developmental tool for TESL, conversational analysis utilized real speech, giving a picture of actual performance. The conversation as a whole needed analysis to aid educators in development of learning theory regarding second language acquisition.

Learning Theory Study

Conversational analysis enabled researchers to examine a whole body of speech. Thus examination of this interaction within a conversational body could facilitate researchers' formulation of learning theory. The theory

evolved that conversational verbal interaction fosters acquisition of syntactical structures (Hatch, 1978, p. 404).

Keenan (1974) audio recorded and video taped the natural early morning conversation of her twin sons for approximately a year, beginning at age 2.7 years. Analyzing this corpus of speech, produced without an attending adult, Keenan found that children indeed work at maintaining reciprocal conversation. Attending to form of the interlocutor's utterances, they focused on sequence of sound as they played with language sounds or they reproduced each other's utterances in cooperative talk (pp. 163,183).

In conversational interaction with adults, the child's first conversational task is to establish audience with the interlocutor (Keenan, 1976, cited in Hatch, 1978, p. 404). After getting audience attention, children nominate the conversational topic. Huang's (1970) study of a five year old Taiwanese boy, Paul, indicated that his favorite audience-getting ploy was the demonstrative "this" (Huang, 1970, cited in Hatch, 1978, pp. 404-408). Paul's use of many questions paralleled a high frequency of questions asked him (p. 412), also showing implications of the relationship between input and acquisition. Three Spanish kindergarteners, whose strategies were studied by Young , favored "that" (/dœt/) as a demonstrative (Young, 1974, cited in Hatch, 1978, pp. 404, 473). This method of topic nomination, using a demonstrative while pointing to a concrete object, usually elicits the noun word needed. Itoh analyzed conversational English development of Takahiro, a 2.6 year old Japanese boy, as he interacted with his English speaking aunt. At first he repeated each of her utterances. His use of rising intonation when repeating her statements was perhaps a clarification request, a plea for new information. His use of falling intonation when repeating her questions was perhaps a confirmation check, in which he was trying to establish his understanding of his aunt's utterance . Concrete objects were used as conversational subjects. As he internalized vocabulary and syntactic constructions, his use of repetition gradually waned (Itoh, 1973, cited in Hatch, 1978, pp. 409-410).

Adult ESL efforts have also received conversational analysis. Researcher transcripts show a more abstract approach with adults as opposed to more concrete communicative efforts with children. Butterworth (1972) studied a teenaged Spanish speaker with early beginner ESL proficiency. Ricardo was immersed in regular English classes of a school which had no ESL programme. Brunak, Fain, and Villoria (1976) studied language of Spanish-speaking Rafaela, an advanced beginner, who was studying ESL at community college night classes. Transcripts of data from both Butterworth and Brunak, Fain and Villoria studies show that researchers attempted conversational control with adults by asking questions related to abstracts, using no visual aids. In both studies, subjects were frustrated as they attempted repairs and topic modification in response to the researchers' abstract questions. Both Rafaela and Ricardo resorted to " huh" as a clarification request (Brunak, Fain, and Villoria, 1976, cited in Hatch, 1978, pp. 413-417; Butterworth, 1972, cited in Hatch, 1978, pp. 413-417). Studies of adult conversation found that adult-adult conversation is more abstract, making topic definition more difficult. Adults seem to predict direction of conversation better than children (Brunak, Fain, and Villoria, 1976, cited in Hatch, 1978, pp. 413; 424).

Learning theory regarding second language acquisition in adults and children was further enhanced as Selinker inductively hypothesized a cognitive process in second language acquisition, using conversational analysis to advance the interlanguage theory of language transfer.

Conversational Analysis and the Interlanguage Hypothesis

Selinker (1969) introduced the Interlanguage Hypothesis. Conversational analysis was used to focus on language transfer as Israeli Hebraic subjects learned English (p. 67). The researcher theorized that persons adding a second or target language (TL) to their initial native language (NL) utilize an evolving intermediate or interlanguage (IL) with a separate linguistic system (p. 214). Selinker's coinage of "interlanguage", as interim grammar distinct from first language and target language, has taken

precedence over Nemser's (1971) "approximative system" and Corder's (1967) "transitional competence".

Selinker, Adjemain and Tarone had differing views regarding the characteristics of interlanguage. Selinker (1972) coined the term to refer to a single system of interim grammar used by second language learners in their effort to make sense of input and to control output. He viewed interlanguage as a reflection of five cognitive processes utilized in learning a target language:

1.   Language transfer, in which first language "items, rules and subsystems" transfer to the interlanguage. Topic-comment structure, negation of articles or interchange of personal pronouns would be examples of likely transfer for Chinese first language students.

2.   Transfer of training, in which features of the training process are incorporated into the interlanguage. If a teacher overpronounces word endings, unconsciously adding "uhh", children might enunciate "locomotive-uhh" rather than "locomotive". Neglect of early writing instruction could stifle written expression.

3.   Strategies of second language learning, in which elements of interlanguage are a result of the specific approach to the materials being learned. If students strive to memorize each pattern without regard for characteristics of the language, their communication will be limited. A teacher who uses vocabulary expansion frees students for wider word usage.

4.   Strategies for second language communication, in which elements of interlanguage may result from specific ways people learn to communicate with native speakers of the target language. Speakers of ESL may become content whenever they learn enough basic language to communicate, and then fossilize. The ESL speaker ceases bettering communication skills and relies on known forms.

5.   Overgeneralization of the linguistic material of the target language. Semantic features and rules of the target language may be too generally used. A student might discover that "ed" can be added to make past tense verbs and apply the rule to both regular and irregular verbs. (Selinker, 1975, cited in McLaughlin, 1987, pp. 60-63).

Selinker's (1975) notion of the interlanguage hypothesis was extended from adults to children when a French immersion class of seven year olds was studied in an English language school. The children (ten girls and ten boys) used French exclusively with their teacher and classmates after total French

immersion in kindergarten and first grade. French was not used outside class. Selinker observed that the children used three distinct cognitive strategies, namely first language transfer, overgeneralization of French grammar rules, and a simplification of French verb tenses and sentence order (Selinker, 1975, cited in McLaughlin, 1987, p. 62). Thus Selinker's interlanguage theory is consistent with data concerning the interlanguage syndrome (pp. 60-63) noticeable in the ESL classroom.

While Selinker stressed the influence of first language on the emerging interlanguage, Adjemain espoused that first language is rule governed behaviour which operates on the same principle as natural languages. It follows that interlanguage should be analyzed linguistically, as any natural language, to determine Corder's (1973) "transitional competence". Adjemain saw interlanguage as permeable, affected by distortion of overgeneralization and transfer (Adjemain, 1976, cited in McLaughlin, 1987, p. 63).

Tarone agreed with Adjemain that interlanguage is a natural language analyzable by standard linguistic techniques. Learners were credited with a sociolinguistic competence to choose from a set of styles (rather than a single system) to be used in different social contexts (Tarone, 1979, cited in McLaughlin, 1987, pp. 63, 64). (Although English spans a continuum from formal to vernacular, register in Canadian usage does not receive as much stress, as in Indonesian for instance, where language students are advised to choose register based on the interlocutor's style of dress).

In summary, interlanguage was perceived as a set of intermediate grammars. Selinker and Adjemain agreed that first language influenced interlanguage. The two authors differed in that Adjemain espoused interlanguage as a natural language while Selinker held that interlanguage evolves from different cognitive mechanisms than natural language. Both Adjemain and Tarone viewed interlanguages as natural languages, but Tarone stressed the variability of language styles in specific social context (Bialystok and Sharwood-Smith, 1985, cited in McLaughlin, 1987, pp. 64-65). The interlanguage theory led researchers from the product orientation of morpheme studies to a process orientation with a focus on transfer as process.

The effect of first language transfer on developmental paths to second language acquisition was demonstrated by Keller-Cohen when a Japanese child, a Finnish child and a German child each used the same developmental sequence for acquisition of the English interrogative. The Finnish child, however, learned the structure more slowly. This slower pace for the Finnish child was attributed to lack of correspondence between Finnish and English language structures (Keller-Cohen, 1979, cited in McLaughlin, 1987, p. 77). Zobl noted that Spanish and Chinese speaking children acquired English articles differently. Since the Chinese language has no formal articles, the Chinese child used the deitic determiner "this" (this book, this toy) in English. The Spanish speaking child, who had first language articles, did not use the deitic determiner (Zobl, 1982, cited in McLaughlin, 1987, p. 77).

Transformation of ideas regarding language learning, prediction and understanding developed as researchers acted upon the interlanguage concept of transfer. In Huebner's longitudinal study of a Hmong (a language spoken in northern Laos) speaker's acquisition of the English article, the researcher attributed the early usage of _da_ for _the_ to syntactical interlanguage (Huebner, 1979, 1983, cited in McLaughlin, 1987, pp. 70-71). Hmong, as Chinese people, would be reluctant to show their tongues when speaking. In spite of definite evidence of shifting from topic-comment patterns of Hmong to the subject prominent English system, acculturation could have been a definite factor to consider concerning the eventual phonological acquisition of "the". Be that as it may, a definite research trend was developing , shifting from perception of language learning as product to language learning as process with analysis on the phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic and discourse aspects, each needing examination (pp. 80-81).

A major milestone in the usefulness of conversational analysis to TESL came with the publication of a teacher training workbook. Selinker and Gass (1984) capitalized on interlanguage data afforded by conversational analysis and published a teacher training workbook. Aspiring teachers could analyze transcriptions of interlanguage conversations and distinguish student needs regarding morphology, lexicon, phonology, syntax/semantics, and spoken/

written discourse (p. iv). This compilation illustrated that students from
varying language backgrounds have different acquisition and usage
problems. It enabled in-service teachers and teacher trainees to become
conscious of these challenges.

Interlanguage theory suggests that acquisition and usage challenges
are common among second language learners. Language transfer, in
particular, could have a bearing upon the findings in this present research,
which seeks to find ethnic variation between Chinese and Spanish ESL
speakers. Just as Hmong speakers can have cultural as well as linguistic
hurdles during the interlanguage phase, this study seeks to discover some
manifestation of these challenges, as reflected in the tested measures. During
the era when mechanics of interlanguage were receiving scrutiny, the social
facet of language learning was being recognized and investigated through
conversational analysis in politeness studies.

Politeness Studies

These studies reveal ethnic variation, not only in politeness norms, but
in strategies used to convey politeness. In Gu's (1990) observation of Chinese
value of politeness as a moral maxim, indirection plays a vital role. In
contrast, Milan's (1972, 1974, 1975) studies of Puerto Rican Spanish politeness
norms reveal emphasis on age and gender differentiation. Middle Eastern
expressions of politeness vary with the Western expressions in Europe, United
States and New Zealand. These Western expressions vary with each other and
with Japanese norms. Contrasts evidenced in politeness studies show the
possibility of variation between Spanish and Chinese. These contrasts also
implicate the possible variation among other students in the multicultural
classroom and conversational norms of the teacher.

In addressing communicative competence, Paulston stated that social
usage of a language is just as important as learning syntax (Paulston, 1977,
cited in Scarcella and Brunak, 1981, p. 59). Communicative competence,
according to Hymes, encompasses the "knowledge of when, how and to whom"
it is appropriate to use social forms in addition to linguistic forms of a
language (Hymes, 1967, cited in Scarcella and Brunak, 1981, p. 59). Politeness

phenomena studies have demonstrated need for empathic cross-cultural understanding, a pragmatic competence which Brown and Levinson (1978) espoused as a universal need for saving face, either the speaker's or the hearer's (p. 66). This notion, borrowed from Goffman (1967), refers to avoidance of humiliation and embarrassment . Brown and Levinson (1978) classified two types of politeness. **Positive politeness** satisfies the speaker's need for belongingness and approval, while **negative politeness** minimizes the possibility of imposing a face-threatening situation on a listener. Social distance and relative power of the speaker vary the politeness types (pp. 67, 79). They acknowledged that universal comparative social theory encompassing universal principles must provide for culture internal application. They refer to ethos as the affective interactional quality expressive of a cultural norm of groups, not expressive of individuals within those groups (pp. 248, 307).

Gu (1990) of mainland China commented on the culture internal application of politeness theory when he diverged from Brown and Levinson's universal view of politeness as a redress for face threatening acts. Acknowledging that politeness is likely universal, Gu asserted that Brown and Levinson's viewpoints did not really fit China's politeness situation. In his explanation he used modern Chinese (*putonghoa*, common language) (p. 237), the language medium broadly used in China today in the mass media, in school instruction and in Chinese as a foreign language. Gu stated that, since Chinese culture views politeness as a moral maxim, politeness (*limao*, polite appearance) is based on sincerity and balance. That is, polite acts reflect sincerity and thus are balanced with reciprocal behaviour (*huanli*, return politeness). Connotations of *limao* are as follows:

1. Respectfulness. A displays positive appreciation for B's social status and face.

2. Modesty. A denigrates self in contrast with elevating B.

3. Warmth. A enacts kindness, consideration and hospitality to B.

4.   Refinement. A's behaviour with B meets high standards
            (pp. 239, 240, 243).

Gu endorses Leech's Politeness Principle (Leech, 1983, p. 132, cited in Gu, 1990, p. 243) and Leech's normative theory of absolute politeness. Since it considers cost-benefit, optionality and indirectness (Leech, 1983, p. 123, cited in Gu, 1990, pp. 242, 243), it more nearly fits the Chinese cultural pattern. Gu illustrates self-denigration as contrasted with causative appreciation and elevation of the interlocutor in this dialogue between a mainland Chinese (M) and a Singaporean Chinese (S):

M :   *nin guixing ?*
        (Your precious surname ?)

S :   *xiaodi xing Li .*
        (Little brother's surname is Li .)
        nin zunxing ?
        (Your respectable surname ?)

M :   *jianxiang Zhang.*
        (My worthless surname is Zhang.)

(Gu, 1990, p. 246).

Note that each speaker's reference to self is denigrated, while reference to the interlocutor is elevated. It is customary to elevate the other person by asking for their honored name first, rather than boldly giving one's own name first, as English speakers often do in self introduction. These references to denigrated self or elevated other are broadened to include "physical conditions, mental states, properties, values, attitudes, writing, spouse, family, relatives" (pp. 246, 247).

English as a Second Language teachers whose Chinese students refuse to accept compliments on their scholastic work can understand the cultural background of their student's reply, "Not good!" as they voice humility and laugh with embarrassment.

Some examples of self-denigration and other-elevation affect language in the following lexicalizations :

Politeness Sphere	Self-denigration	Other-elevation
Profession :	*beizhi* (humble job)	*zunzhi* (respectable job)
Opinion :	*yujian* (stupid opinion)	*guojian* (great opinion)
Writing :	*zhuozuo* (clumsy work)	*dazuo* (big work)
Wife :	*neizhu* (domestic helper)	*furen* (lady)
School :	*bixiao* (humble school)	*guiaxiao* (precious school)

(Gu, 1990, p. 248).

These styles are tempered compared to feudal times, when self was *nucai* (slave) and master was *daren* (great man). Since 1949 there has been a trend toward the neutralization of the above lexicalizations and younger generations are beginning to use neither denigrative nor elevative style (pp. 238, 248).

The address system of names remains formal in China. The Chinese surname is a non-kin public address term used as an address title, whereas in English the surname is properly used with a title. The Chinese middle-plus-given name is for kin-familial address usage unlike the English language custom in which the given name is also for non-kin public usage. Chinese may be embarrassed when westerners address them by their given name, since Chinese culture reserves this address term for lovers (Gu, 1990, p. 250).

Socioculturally correct invitations in China are not a conversational pair, but several exchanges of talk, necessarily an average of three exchanges. The typical pattern includes :

A : (Inviting.) *mingtian lai chi wanfan .*
(Tomorrow come eat dinner.)

B : (Declining, with reason .) *bu lai (le), tai mafan.*
(Not come, too much trouble [for you].)

A :   (Inviting again , refuting B's reasons,
                    linguistically minimizing cost to self .)
                mafan shenme (ya),
                (trouble nothing)
                cai dou shi xiancheng (de) .
                (dishes are already made.)
        [both conversationalists know this statement is false.]

B :   (Declining again , defending his/her reasons.)
                na yedei shao (wa) .
                (that still cook.)

A :   (Insisting on B's presence , persuading by
                    linguistically minimizing cost to self.)
                ni bu lai women yedei chifan .
                (you not come we all the same have meal.)

B :   (Accepting,   conditionally or unconditionally.)
                hao (ba) jui suiban yidian .
                (All right, just potluck.)

                (Gu, 1990, pp. 252, 253).

The acceptor must not appear greedy and the inviter must verbally minimize cost to himself, thus making it easier for the invited to accept (p. 244). In observing politeness expectancies in China, Gu used a Singaporean. Politeness norms in other locations might also reflect metamorphosis in non-mainland Chinese populations.

An interesting contrast to Gu's observation on politeness strategies in his native China is Milan's (1976) Puerto Rican Spanish research which showed that verbal politeness expressions were conditioned by sex and age (p. 120). This three phase study, done in 1972, 1974 and 1975 targeted nuances of politeness used in response to *muchas gracias* (thank you very much). Three variants of affective meaning were observed and empirically analyzed, namely :

1.   *a la orden*   -- conveyed the most politeness and courtesy.

2.   *no hay de que* -- showed medium politeness.

3.   *de nada*   -- expressed least politeness and most directness.

An elicitor posed as a stranger in the Capitol District of San Juan, Puerto Rico and asked for directions to St. John the Baptist Cathedral only a block away. The elicitor profusely thanked the informant upon receiving the directions,

then recorded the informant's response. Another elicitor nearby, posing as a pollster of public opinion on a political issue, recorded the informant's age and gender.

Age classification was recorded under five categories : (1) under 20, (2) between 20 and 30, (3) between 30 and 40, (4) between 40 and 50 and (5) over 50 (Milan, 1976, pp. 99, 100). Interchanges of age and gender of informant and elicitor among the eight hundred informants in the different phases of the survey generated data for comparison.

Male informants in their 50s responding to the female elicitor, who was under 20, produced the highest usage (100 %) of Variant I, the most polite expression . Male informant politeness to a female elicitor, although high, decreased with the advancing age of the elicitor. Usage of Variant I, the most polite formula, was 80% to an elicitor in her 40s, contrasted with 95% to an elicitor in her 20s (Milan, 1976, p. 114). Second highest politeness index occurred when female interacted with female. Politeness increased as elicitors were older and informants were younger (pp. 117, 118).

Males interacting with males produced the lowest politeness index. Young teenaged males generated a Variant IV , the colloquial *chevere* (Milan, 1976, p. 105), a less polite formula. The colloquialism was used five times in the teenaged male interaction, contributing to the most informal and least polite interchange. Male interaction with male showed an 85% usage of Variant III when age was collapsed making male to male interaction least polite (pp. 106, 114).

Informants over fifty, whether male or female, used Variant III, a low politeness index, if the elicitor of their own gender was under 20. Men did not use the most polite form (Variant I) in this situation and only 5% of the women used it.

Milan's (1976) findings of " sex role differentiation " agreed with findings in ethnographic studies by Steward in Puerto Rican urban and plantation settings (Steward, 1969, pp. 147, 159, 219-223, 378, 384, 441, 442, cited in Milan, 1976, p. 120), as well as by Hoffman in New York City (Hoffman, 1971; pp. 19ff, cited in Milan, 1976, p. 120). Both of these studies show clear

social lines drawn according to gender. Milan attributed age consciousness in the Spanish Puerto Rican culture to an age seniority family structure, which assigns "roles, relationships and responsibilities " (Milan, 1976, pp. 120, 121).

Walters (1979) compared perceptions of politeness in English and Spanish. Essentially equalizing the number of subjects in each gender, Walters compared three groups. These groups included English native speakers, a group of ESL university students from seventeen language backgrounds (including Chinese) and a group of Puerto Rican speakers of Spanish. Each group was instructed to choose the more polite of two sentences (which conveyed a request) in each of thirteen pairs of sentences. The first two groups, which were given English texts, showed no significant gender difference in politeness choices. The Puerto Rican group, who were given Spanish text, however, showed no significant male - female agreement in their perception of polite requests (pp. 288-291, 296). The above data implicates, not only the need for researcher control of age and gender whenever possible, but also for sensitivity in the multicultural classroom.

In further politeness research, Scarcella and Brunak (1981) used Brown and Levinson's standard of positive and negative politeness as they controlled age and gender in a sociolinguistic study of pragmatic competence to analyze English first language speakers and two proficiency levels of Arabic ESL speakers. They sought to determine the effect of status on politeness. Scarcella and Brunak compared native English first language speakers with Arabic speakers of ESL as these subjects addressed persons who were socially of higher rank (superior), equal rank (equal familiar) and lower social rank (subordinate). Researchers sought to determine politeness strategies of adult first language and second language speakers and to identify politeness strategies which adult second language speakers have difficulty acquiring. Arabic first language participants in the study were twenty adult males. Ranging in age from twenty to twenty seven, ten were advanced level English proficiency and ten were beginners. A control group of six native English speaking males enabled researchers to compare English first language speakers and English second language speakers. Subjects

participated in role plays, speaking with a boss, a friend and a subordinate. One role play situation presented was as follows: "You are planning an office party. You invite your boss, the clerk who works under you, and your good friend, a fellow employee. You request that each of your guests come unaccompanied by his wife" (p. 60). The role play plan afforded opportunity for complete conversational interaction from opening to closing and gave the researchers reasonable control of video taped conversation for comparison. Role play yielded dialogue with properties of language appropriateness, that is, variance according to sociolinguistic context.

Arabic first language speakers used negative politeness towards superiors, as did English first language speakers. Striving to prevent limitation of their superior's freedom of action, subjects used hedging, indirectness, pre-sequences to directives, impersonalization and differential address forms. For example :

hedging   (more commonly used in first language than in second language speech).

Native speaker: We are thinking about since most of the guys are gonna be there we could invite you.

Second language speakers lacked semantic knowledge to hedge.

indirectness   (more commonly used in first language).

Native speaker: We were wondering if you wanted to come along.

Native speakers were more direct with equal familiar and subordinate than superior. Second language speakers used declarative rather than embedded imperative statements. For example :

L2 speaker: I would like to invite you to a party.

A higher percentage of native speakers used all of the avenues of negative politeness than did the non-native speakers. Second language speakers were direct in requests to superiors. First language speakers used pre-sequences to directives.

L2 speaker: Don't bring your wife and children.
L1 speaker: I'm sorry you can't bring your wife.

First language speakers showed more directness with equal familiar and subordinates. Non-native speakers, however, differed from first language English speakers by using more negative politeness towards subordinates. Researchers surmised that the Arabic culture creates more social distance from subordinates than does English speaking culture (Scarcella and Brunak, 1981, pp. 60, 71-73).

    Impersonalization (First language speakers impersonalized through use of collective "we" with superiors most often and least often with subordinates).

Native speaker: We're having a little party at my place.

Second language speakers overwhelmingly used familiar "I" and "you".

    Differential address forms ("Mr. Jones" and "Sir" were in common usage with superiors by both groups, but second language speakers needed rule instruction). For example:

    L2 speaker: Hi, Sir.
    (Scarcella and Brunak, 1981, pp. 70, 71)

In positive politeness, the hearer is warmly approached as an in-group friend with appealing personality traits (Brown and Levinson, 1978, p. 6). Conversational strategies to achieve positive politeness include: expressing interest in the hearer, using in-group address terms and slang, using small talk, demonstrating and seeking agreement (Brown and Levinson, 1978, cited in Scarcella and Brunak, 1981, p. 62). Second language performers experience difficulty with appropriate greetings. For example :

    L2 speaker : Hello. Welcome.

"Welcome", a direct translation from Arabic usage, was inappropriate in this context.

First language speakers did not use in-group language, but second language speakers used endearments to lower opposition and emphasize speaker involvement. For example :

    Low level L2 speaker : But friend, I don't want you
                                  to bring your wife.

Slang use was quite prominent among first language speakers, who used it most often with a friend. Non-native speakers, however, used more slang

with the boss and the clerk. Second language speakers extended small talk in openings and closings, perhaps a transfer of Arabic elaborate greetings as politeness formulas (Scarcella and Brunak, 1981, pp. 65, 66). Closings and pre-closings were particularly awkward for Arabic speakers. A few second language speakers used "okay" as a closing signal, whereas first language speakers were resplendent with "all right", "okay", "yeah", and "fine" as closing indicators (p. 66). Limited variations of politeness formulas were present in Arabic ESL speech before students acquired sociolinguistic strategies for proper usage in social context. This situation quite likely exists among ESL students from different cultures as they interact in the multicultural classroom.

Cultural differences between British English and German speakers regarding politeness were salient in role play of twenty four informal everyday situations enacting compliments and requests in each language. German speakers not only intensified their speech for complaints and requests, but also used higher levels of directness. In a complaint concerning a stained blouse, the German speaker would assert that the Interlocutor is personally responsible, declaring that the Interlocutor is bad. For example:

> German speaker: You shouldn't have taken my
> blouse without asking my
>   permission. You have ruined
> my blouse.
> *(Du hättest die Bluse nicht ohne*
> *meine Erlaubnis nehmen sollen.*
> *Du hast meine ganze Bluse ruiniert).*

The British speaker would mildly imply that the Interlocutor is responsible. For example:

> British Speaker :   Terrible, this stain won't come off.
> *(Schrecklich, dieser Fleck wird*
> *wohl nie wieder rausgehn).*
> (House and Kasper, 1981, p. 160).

German requesting style rated a six on a directness scale of one to eight, while British requesting style rated only a three. An example of a query preparatory proposition, level three:

British speaker :   Can you close the window?
German parallel :   *Kannst Du das Fenster zumachen?*

An example of locution-derivable, directly derivable from the semantic meaning :

German speaker :   *Du solltest das Fenster zumachen .*
English parallel: You should close the window.

Although all eight levels were used in both languages, frequency counts showed English speakers used level three 40.8 percent of the time (18 times in forty four requests). German speakers used level six 37.1 percent (23 times in sixty two requests) (House and Kasper, 1981, p. 164).

British cultural milieu did not allow attacking the interlocutor's identity, but this tactic was commonplace in German interaction, reflecting different social norms. Transfer of these intensely direct features in German students speaking English suggests a need for cultural instruction concerning politeness markers alongside syntactic forms (House and Kasper, 1981, pp. 157-158, 163-166, 182-184).

Wolfson (1981) studied compliments in cross-cultural perspective, contrasting Indonesian perception of compliments with American perception of compliments. She states that Indonesian compliments are rather backhanded or non-existent, whereas American culture is resplendent with compliments. Wolfson's generalization, based on ESL data gathered from international students, might well be quite different if a study were done in Indonesia using *bahasa Indonesia*. Sojourners there are usually impressed with indigenous politeness. The broad spectrum of situations in which Americans use compliments can cause embarrassment and misunderstanding in some other cultures (p. 123).

Manes and Wolfson (1981), in participant observation of six hundred and eighty six compliments in American English, determined that American compliments are formulaic in nature. Manes and Wolfson and their students gathered data from subjects who included men and women from a wide spectrum of ages and occupations in eastern United States. In semantic formula, the fact that two-thirds of the compliments analyzed used only five adjectives gives useful information for pedagogues. "Nice", "good",

"beautiful", "pretty" and "great" were prominent. "Like" and "love", as positive verbs used in complimentation, occurred in eighty six percent of compliments using verbs. Speakers rarely used adverbs or nouns. For example:

> Speaker :   You really handled that situation well.
>   Or,
> Speaker :   You're just a whiz at sewing.
>   (pp. 115-118).

Syntactic patterns were found to be even more restrictive than semantic structure. Precisely, a single syntactic pattern composed 53.6 percent of the compliments surveyed, as follows:

> NP (is) (really)   ADJ
>   (looks)
> Your nails look nice.
> That poster is really good.

The following syntactic pattern accounted for an additional 16.1 percent, as follows :

> I (really) (like) NP
>   (love)
> I love your curtains.
> I like your hair.

The following syntactic patterns accounted for 14.9 percent of the compliments :

> PRO is (really) (a) ADJ NP
> This is really a great play.

These frequencies indicate compliments are formulas much like greetings, thanks and goodbyes. These regularities in syntactic patterns simplify instruction in western compliments (pp. 120-123). Syntactically, the majority of compliments are a few basic sentence types. Morphologically, verbs are usually simple tense and adjectives appear in their base forms. Semantically, recurring limited positive adjectives and verbs are repeated (p. 131). Unconscious rules of speaking and speech act patterns vary from culture to culture (p. 123). Compliments, although not consciously recognized by Americans as formulaic, might serve well to affirm cultural solidarity.

Holmes and Brown (1987), who analyzed two hundred compliments among ten New Zealand students, found many parallels between English

speaking New Zealanders and Americans. They observed " pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic failure " (p. 523) as they analyzed compliments collected in unedited sequence. Pragmalinguistic failure happens when subtle cultural norms are not known. An example would be the Indonesian compliment :

Complimenter :	*Njonja sudah gemuk .*
English parallel :	Madame, you have gained weight.
Recipient :	*Aduh !*
English parallel :	Oh my !

In that third world country weight gain is an accomplishment. A westerner, however, would not receive the statement as a compliment. Pragmalinguistic competence involves a knowledge of proper topics for compliments. Both New Zealand and U. S. compliments centered on appearance and ability. Since compliments are often sandwiched between greetings and farewells, Holmes noted that they may serve as conversational transition points (Holmes, 1987, cited in Holmes and Brown, 1987, p. 531). Manes proclaimed compliments as reinforcement of desired behaviours (Manes, 1983, cited in Holmes and Brown, 1987, p. 531), while Wolfson observed their function as "social lubricants" (Wolfson, 1983a, cited in Holmes and Brown, 1987, p. 532). Knowledgeable topics for compliments, smoothly approached, are dependent upon sociopragmatic competence.

Sociopragmatic failure happens when a complimenter reflects insufficient cultural and social values by using inappropriate linguistic strategy within a context. Spanish speakers, for example, would accept a compliment by acknowledging the complimenter's kindness and the receiver's gladness that the complimenter likes the object. *Gracias* or *Muchas gracias* would appear too boisterous, an implication that the receiver found she deserved the compliment (Noble and Lacasa, 1991, p. 30). If an object is intensely admired, the Spanish person may feel obligated to give the object to the person (p. 31). New Zealanders and North Americans with their profuse complimentation, would need to develop sensitivity to Spanish ethnic norms.

Status equals may properly compliment each other on appearance and possessions in U. S. and New Zealand, while upper status to lower status compliments are twice as likely to be in reference to ability or performance.

Personal appearance and materialism are reflected in American compliments (Manes, 1983, p. 101). United States bosses would likely be embarrassed by female employee compliments on appearance, while New Zealand bosses receive these compliments from female employees quite gracefully. Male to male compliments in both cultures would likely attract attention. New Zealanders, though, felt that Americans give far too many compliments (Holmes and Brown, 1987, p. 525), although these two cultures showed many similarities in complimentation. These variations within English speaking cultures could suggest that variation likely exists within other language groups.

Manes observed that speech as a social behaviour will be expressive of general cultural norms and values. Research findings indicate that both New Zealanders and Americans have a positive mindset and show appreciation to each other by use of the compliment. Complimentation might be envisioned as sociolinguistically close to expression of gratitude, since many expressions of thanks include complimentation.

Expression of gratitude is of such high social value in North America that small children are early taught the formalities of expressed gratitude. Eisenstein and Bodman (1986) collected base line data from native English speakers and non-native speakers in the same situation to compare how closely these two subject groups expressed gratitude. A questionnaire was used, citing twenty five situations in which the subject received a present, a favour, reward or service. The formality represented in the situations varied. These formalities required either no expression of appreciation, or short, elaborate expressions, or even yet, an extended expression of thanks. The open ended questionnaire was distributed to fifty six native English speakers, age twelve to eighty two, who were born in northeastern, southeastern, southern, midwestern and western United States. Sixty seven non-native speakers, who were advanced ESL students at college or university, received the questionnaire. They averaged two years' residence in the U.S. Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Russian and Spanish first language subjects were the largest language groups represented. This research was done with the

expectation that advanced level students could successfully express thankfulness.

Rituals were common among native speakers, who also produced long speech act sets when they felt indebted, surprised or overwhelmed. Formal situations did not elicit compliments or expressions of surprise in conjunction with expressed appreciation. Native speakers always responded appropriately, but non-native speakers could not always do so. Russians used more native-like responses, while Japanese, Spanish, Korean and Chinese subjects had neither syntax for fluency nor the formulaic expressions common to native speakers. Eisenstein and Bodman agreed with Thomas, who observed that students make pragmalinguistic errors (knowing the correct communication, but lacking knowledge to make correct utterances) and sociopragmatic failure, in which transfer of social values, rules and belief systems prevents the person from giving appropriate responses (Thomas, 1983, cited in Eisenstein and Bodman, 1986, p. 172). Sociopragmatic limitations, according to Eisenstein and Bodman (1986), were more severe in this study, than were pragmalinguistic errors. (p. 176).

Using contrastive pragmatics, Coulmas (1981) drew parallels between thanks and apologies in English, French, German and Greek, showing common features of expressions of gratitude and apology. The researcher cited several standard expressions of gratitude and apology which had identical appropriate responses, as follows :

Gratitude	Apology
A: Thank you so much.	A: Excuse me, please.
B: That's all right.	B: That's all right.
A: Thanks a lot.	A: I'm sorry.
B: Not at all.	B: Not at all.
A: *Merci Monsieur.*	A: *Excusez moi.*
B: *De rien.*	B: *De rien.*
A: *Merci beaucoup.*	A: *Pardon.*
B: *Pas de quoi.*	B: *Pas de quoi.*
A: *Danke schön.*	A: *Verzeihung.*
B: *Bitte.*	B: *Bitte.*

A:	*Recht herglichen Dank.*		A:	*Ich bitte vielmals um Entschudigung.*
B:	*Aber ich bitte Sie.*		B:	*Aber ich bitte Sie.*
A:	*Danke.*		A:	*Entschuldige.*
B:	*Schön gut.*		B:	*Schön gut.*
A:	*Efcharisto.*		A:	*Me sichorite.*
B:	*Tipote.*		B:	*Tipote.*

The reactive B phrase in both the gratitude and apology situations use formulae for expressions of appreciation (p. 72).

Keeping in mind there are numerous thanks and apology patterns which do not receive identical responses, it serves us well to remember that oftentimes thanks acknowledges indebtedness, as does apology. For instance:

Thanks expressor: I'm so grateful, how can I ever repay you (Coulmas, 1981, p. 73). Or,

Apologizer: I'm sorry. I'll be sure and replace this damaged article.

Perhaps only a few gratitude patterns in English, French, German and Greek, emphasize indebtedness, but *Marathi* and *Hindi* speakers closely link gratitude and indebtedness. Since market place transactions are an even exchange, expressions of thanks are not used. South Asian family members do not express thanks for services mutually rendered because fellow family members are only fulfilling their duty. Fraser observed that American need for apology decreased with familiarity (Fraser, 1981, p. 269, cited in Holmes, 1990, p. 186). New Zealanders, though, apologize more profusely with intimates (Holmes, 1990, p. 186). South Asian speakers always infer indebtedness with expression of thanks, but thanks are rarely expressed (Apte, 1974, pp. 69, 79, cited in Coulmas, 1981, p. 81). Coulmas noted that the northeast Asian Japanese system of expressing gratitude is concretely based on the concept that apology is necessary due to inconvenience the benefactor has suffered.

Japanese *sumimasen* expresses "thank you" or "I am sorry" according to context. Although Spanish gift giving can be precipitated if a friend admires an object (Noble and Lacasa, 1991. p. 31), the gift giving tradition in

Japan is based on repayment of indebtedness for a favour received. Social values are reflected in this expression of gratitude and apology used in social greetings. This Japanese blur between apologies and thanks which westerners might perceive as making gratitude homogeneous with guilt is an example of the need for knowledge of cultural context in polite expressions (Coulmas, 1981, pp. 82, 87, 89). Not only are communicative and social competence necessary for formulaic repetitive Japanese apologies, but these competencies are of prime importance in more varied western apologies, where much beyond lexicon and syntax are shared through intonation.

Gushing for thanks and apologies is socially acceptable in western thought (Edmondson, 1981, p. 279). Spanish expressions of gratitude are not as effusive as English speakers would expect (Noble and Lacasa, 1991, p. 32). Widdowson declared that " a good deal of what we do, linguistically or otherwise, seems not to conform exactly to rules, seems indeed to be a manipulation of rules to suit particular occasions " (Widdowson, 1979, p. 141, cited in Edmondson, 1981, p. 274). Edmondson distinguished between what is said (locutionary acts) and what of significance is done (illocutionary acts) in conversation as the interaction of ongoing discourse develops (Edmondson, 1981, pp. 275, 287). These distinctions suggest the need for conversational analysts to work from the talk itself in understanding the transcription.

Fraser (1981) stated that study of apologies is only in its adolescence (p. 270). An apology, as an effort to rectify a thoughtless previous action of an apologizer, can be enacted using at least nine different strategies. Four direct strategies include :

1. Announcing that you are apologizing.
   " I (hereby) apologize for . . . . "

2. Stating one's obligation to apologize.
   " I must apologize for . . . . "

3. Offering to apologize.
   " I (hereby) offer my apology for . . . . "
   " I would like to offer my apology to you for . . . . "

4. Requesting the hearer to accept an apology.
   " Please accept my apology for . . . . "

" Let me apologize for . . . . "

" I would appreciate it if you would
accept my apology for . . . "

More indirect strategies include :

5. Expressing regret for the offense.
   " I'm (truly/very/so/terribly) sorry for . . . ."
   " I (truly/very much/so .....) regret that I . . . ."

6. Requesting forgiveness for the offense.
   " Please excuse me for . . . . "
   " Pardon me for . . . . "
   " I beg your pardon for . . . . "
   " Forgive me for . . . . "

7. Acknowledging responsibility for the offending act.
   " That was my fault. "
   " Doing that was a dumb thing [for me] to do . "

8. Promising forbearance from a similar offending act.
   " I promise you that that will never happen again . "

9. Offering redress.
   " Please let me pay for the damage I've done "
   (pp. 263-264).

These strategies are often used in combination.

In strategies for response.to apologies, persons can :

1. Deny the necessity of an apology.
   " I understand. There's no need for an apology ".

2. Deny the offense.
   " I really was not upset ".

3. Express gratitude for the speaker's concern.
   " Thanks for your concern " .

4. Reject the apologizer's responsibility for the offense.
   " Well, you couldn't help it " .

Only in very formal situations would the responder say, " I accept your apology " (p. 265) .

Borkin and Rinehart observed that "I'm sorry" is more appropriate for personal injury, whereas the more formal "excuse me", which conveys social distance, is used when social rules are broken (Borkin and Rinehart, 1978, cited in Fraser, 1981, p. 267).

Focusing on the apology, Cohen and Olshtain (1981) sought development of a rating scale for assessing sociolinguistic competence. They used thirty two Hebrew first language speakers and twelve American English first language speakers, in role plays of eight situations which necessitated an apologetic response. Comparative dialogues in ESL , Hebrew and English first language were assessed. Although researchers surmised that their sociolinguistic rating scale was crude at best, several interesting results emerged. More English language speakers expressed apology for "insulting someone at a meeting" (92 percent English first language versus 40 percent Hebrew first language) and " forgetting to take their sons shopping " (92 percent English first language versus 65 percent Hebrew first language). More English speakers offered reparation when "forgetting a meeting with the boss" (native speakers 42 percent versus non-native speakers 10 percent) and "forgetting to take their son shopping" (native speakers 92 percent versus non-native speakers 70 percent). Grammatical competence could have affected these responses since dialogue in Hebrew showed 75 percent offer of reparation (versus ESL speakers 45 percent and English first language dialogue 66 percent) for "backing into someone else's car". In Hebrew dialogue, speakers did not offer an apology for "bumping into a lady because she was in the way" while Hebrew ESL speakers frequently apologized. These apology patterns were also evident in "forgetting a get together with a friend". English as a Second Language speakers also acknowledged responsibility in "forgetting a meeting with the boss" and "insulting someone at a meeting" more often than when conversing in Hebrew (pp. 120, 121). Hebrew dialogue did not evidence expression of intensity of regret as did English first language and ESL dialogue, although Hebrew has a simple intensifier,*uya* (pp. 122-124).

Holmes' (1990) research in New Zealand on a corpus of one hundred eighty three apologies built on previous findings. Apologies were described as politeness strategies useful in strengthening relationships. As such, apologies are "essential social or affective speech acts" which address aspects of the victim's positive face needs, such as the desire to be appreciated (p. 192). This

viewpoint underscored Leech's Politeness Principle, which endorses a role of maintaining " social equilibrium and the friendly relations which. enable us to assume our interlocutors are being cooperative" (Leech, 1983, p. 82, cited in Holmes, 1990, p. 157). Endorsing Goffman's "remedy " (Goffman, 1971, p. 140, cited in Holmes, 1990, p. 159), an apology was viewed as a remedial exchange. Technically, Holmes defined an apology as :

> a speech act addressed to [speaker] B's face needs and intended
> to remedy an offense for which A takes responsibility, and thus
> to restore equilibrium between A and B (where A is the
> apologizer and B is the person offended (Holmes, 1990, p. 159).

Classifying both apologies and compliments as face supportive acts, Holmes declared that the principle purpose of an apology is to remedy an offense and reestablish balance and accord (Edmondson, 1981, pp. 53-80 and Leech, 1983, p. 125, cited in Holmes, 1990, p. 159).

Acknowledging validity in Brown and Levinson's (1978) theory that the seriousness of the offense perpetuates the needed apologetic strategy, Holmes leaned toward Wolfson's (1988) "bulge" theory for a more adequate explanation of generated data. Wolfson theorized that, in social relationships, "two extremes of social distance--minimum and maximum--seem to call forth similar behaviour, while relationships which are more toward the centre show marked differences" (Wolfson, 1988, p. 32, cited in Holmes, 1990, pp. 186, 187). In Holmes' (1990) New Zealand research, intimates received twice the norm of profuse apologies and fewest of simple apologies when ranking was among strangers, friends and intimates (pp. 186, 190). Apologies between equals accounted for 63% of the occurrences. Among the remainder, almost twice as many apologies were to persons of more power than to those with less power (p. 188).

A total of less than ten lexical items evidenced formulaic usage. The top ten lexical items utilized included : apology, apologize, be afraid that, excuse, forgive, sorry and regret. "Sorry" was used in 79% of. the apologies (Holmes, 1990, p. 175). Cohen and Olshtain (1981) likewise observed that university students used "I'm sorry" to replace "I apologize" (p. 124).

Although more studies have been done on compliments and apologies, insults have received some attention. Fraser (1981) addressed the nature of insulting and terms used for insulting. A survey was made of two or more persons in eleven language groups, including German, French, Spanish, Arabic, Farsi, Japanese, Afrikaans, Chinese, Cape Verde, Italian and Hebrew. American insulting terms of donkey, chicken, snake, dog, rat and pig were compared with first language insulting terms of these subjects. All language groups except Japanese (who used "beast") used donkey to denote stupidity. Hebrew and Chinese speakers abstained from naming an animal to represent a physically dirty connotation, but each of the other language group used pig. Most language groups named animals which represented cowardliness, sneakiness and meanness, albeit these animals often varied from the English symbols, as well as from each other (pp. 439, 440).

In cross-cultural dialogue, it is likely that participant cultural perception may interpret a remark as an insult when the speaker intended no ill will. Both Spanish and Chinese converse in close physical proximity, but the Spanish norm of physical contact (Noble and Lacasa, 1991, p. 75) would be against Chinese mores. Teacher awareness of symbols used for insult across the world can prevent or soothe unintentional situations which might develop in the multicultural classroom.

Leech, as well as Brown and Levinson, were likely striving to establish the possibility of universal politeness norms. While Gu and Milan more specifically addressed the politeness norms of Chinese and Spanish speaking populations, the literature acknowledges variance among western expressions of politeness, even within specified language groups. This variance among populations enhances sociolinguistic interests in this present study and suggests the possibility of variance between Chinese and Spanish speaking ESL learners in conversational interaction.

Although there are definite differences between Chinese and Spanish politeness norms, there are also variances of politeness norms within Oriental cultures and within Western cultures, as they are expressed conversationally. Knowledge of the students' culture and of the host culture give background to

the ESL teacher as catalyst in student lives. Conversational analysis can aid the multicultural classroom, since it addresses, not only the words expressed, but also the cultural nuances of the meaning expressed, Although there are similarities across cultures, the cultural nuances of politeness or impoliteness indeed vary. Since politeness communicates respect and consideration for the interlocutor, comparisons of cross-cultural conversational interaction are useful in this present study.

Cross-Cultural Interaction

Cross-cultural interaction has been a focus of research. Gaskill was spurred to study conversational repair between native speakers (NS) and non-native speakers (NNS) after becoming aware of preference for self-repair in native speaker/native speaker conversations (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, 1977, cited in Gaskill, 1980, pp. 125-128). Using four English speaking native speakers and one non-native speaker, an Iranian, taped conversations were analyzed. Other-corrections were rare and were usually elicited by a non-native speaker's word search, an invitation for help. Native speakers used restatements of an incorrect utterance in a confirming manner or as an acknowledgement of understanding (Gaskill, 1980, pp. 129, 137), a face saving correction strategy.

Schwartz (1980) observed that negotiation for meaning is necessary between all conversants, whether they are native speakers or non-native speakers. Seeking to determine how ESL learners repair difficulty in conversational interaction, Schwartz used audio and video tapes of three levels of ESL classmates in free conversation at lunch break. Six subjects in dyads of different language backgrounds were level one, Iranian male and Japanese female; level two, Mexican female and Iranian male; level three, Russian female and female from Taiwan. Conversational analysis was used to determine that students helped each other in negotiation, giving the speaker ample opportunity for self-repair before initiating other-repair. Although native speakers do not usually have this problem, second language learners are apt to be unable to perceive their own errors in syntax, lexicon or phonology. Self correction was not evident in this study. The interlocutor was

more forward with repair in these trouble sources. Repair work was characterized by a definite pedagogical style, using both verbal and extralinguistic processes (pp. 139, 148, 151-152).

Comparison of dyads of native speaker/native speaker, native speaker/ non-native speaker and non-native speaker/non-native speaker showed that non-native speaker/non-native speaker (Spanish/Japanese) dyads negotiate for meaning more than native speaker/native speaker dyads. Although speakers shared common conversational goals, conversation broke down due to linguistic, social or cultural factors. After negotiation, which provided a non-threatening milieu for language skills practice, the conversation could continue. Sociolinguistic variables of ethnicity, native language, status and roles of participants, as well as gender, age, discourse topic and discourse group size emerged as areas ripe for research (Varonis and Gass, 1985, pp. 72, 82, 84, 86-87). Duff (1986) found a salient overall effect for ethnicity in Chinese and Japanese dyadic conversational analysis research (p. 160) which utilized Problem Solving and Debate tasks for quantifying words, turns, words per turn and questions soliciting a response. This present research again utilizes conversational analysis with Chinese and Spanish subjects. Duff's quantifiers, listed above, plus stolen turns are used as possible indicators of ethnicity differences. The above findings support theory that cognitive style, first language, previous educational system and culture are among factors indicating ESL student needs (Schumann, 1978, pp. 163-178; Taborek and Adamowski, 1984, p. 88) . Thus, pedagogues need to be mindful of cultural traits reflected in customs, beliefs, values and interactive means (Saville-Troike, 1979, cited in Trueba and Barnett-Mizrahi, 1979, p. 139).

Sociocultural Background

Schumann put social and psychological distance factors, which are involved in the interaction of second language learning, into perspective (Schumann 1975, cited in Peck, 1978, p. 402). He reiterated cultural adjustment, attitude and motivation, and also empathy as vital factors in degrees of success in second language acquisition (Schumann, 1975, pp. 209-210). The anomic situation of ESL students requires their acceptance of a second culture while

not rejecting their first culture. Simultaneously, they need to consciously experience acceptance in the new culture and language community to foster empathic attitudes and motivation.

As background to the present study, a modification of Duff's (1986) analysis of effect for ethnicity, it is necessary to review literature about culture in general and the two involved culture groups of the study in particular. Sapir asserted, " language does not exist apart from culture, that is from the socially inherited assemblage of practices and beliefs that determines the textures of our lives" (Sapir, 1921, p. 221, cited in Robinett, 1978, p. 147). Language, then, is a reflection of culture. In this present study **culture** will be defined as "a people's way of life: custom, belief, values, means for regulating interaction" with other human beings, as well as interaction "with the supernatural" (Saville-Troike, 1979, p. 139).

Fries declared that learning a second language while immersed in the host culture would help prevent transfer of attitudes and cultural views from first language (Fries, 1945, p. 58, cited in Robinett, 1978, pp. 149-150; Lado, 1957, p. 114). The effective second language teacher, then, must learn salient features of the host culture as well as norms of the student's first culture, language, and educational system in order to become a mediating person. To equip the teacher for this broad understanding, research needs to address a number of sociocultural facets important, although perhaps subconsciously so, to both teacher and students.

East and West

The first essential acknowledgement for the western instructor who has Chinese and Spanish speakers in the classroom would likely be the established cultural differences between East and West. Samovar, Porter and Jain (1981) maintain that space, ideology, appearance, and behaviour are barriers to intercultural communication (p. 4). In a scale of cultural differences, Western versus Asian show the most difference of any cultural groups (p. 31). Northrup contends that East and West have a common starting point (sensory experience). The two philosophies are complementary as West uses a hypothesis and deductive reasoning to form an explanation and the East

seeks to grasp reality in the ascetic factor, rather than seeking an explanation (Northrup, 1959, cited in Smith, 1989, p. 15). Western drive and frankness, which embraces abstract, logical, analytical, and prosaic reasoning is contrasted with Eastern yieldedness and subtlety, which embraces intuitive, concrete, poetic, and holistic reasoning (Northrup, 1959, cited in Glenn, 1983, p. 15). Hesselgrave (1978) contrasted basic cognitive approaches to reality held by the West and China. The West places concepts in central position with concrete relationships next in priority. Psychical experience has the least effect on the western approach to reality. In contrast, China gives central importance to concrete relationships. Concepts rate second and psychical experience third in the Chinese approach to reality (p. 209).

Since the difference between a deductive and inductive reasoning approach can affect both written and conversational communication across cultures, this present research has been designed to address the conversational aspect. Rhetoric, which can be reflective of a person's cultural background, warrants cross-cultural comparison of rhetoric as a possible benefit to pedagogy.

Cultural Rhetorical Organization

Research shows that variation in rhetorical style exists between Chinese and South American students. Both of these styles are different from the direct linear style expected in North American classrooms. This present study uses conversational analysis in an effort to pinpoint how these differences are reflected in conversational interaction. Writing from the stance that English first language speakers use direct linear reasoning, Kaplan conducted a longitudinal study of six hundred subjects in three language groups with the classification of Semitic, Oriental, and Romance. He analyzed reasoning patterns reflected in written ESL rhetoric over a two year period. One hundred twenty nine Semitic (Arabic and Hebraic) students used a progressive parallelism. Oriental students (one hundred Chinese among three hundred eighty one subjects) began reasoning in an unassertive fashion using an indirect circular pattern to establish the main point as a finale. Kun-Yu and Matalene, ESL exchange students to China noted this phenomenon

(Kun-Yu, 1988, p. 378; Matalene, 1985, p. 800) as did Young (1982) in a conversational analysis of the rhetoric of a Chinese businessman (p. 77). Romance language students (sixty six were Spanish South American, nineteen were Spanish/Portuguese Brazilians, out of eighty eight subjects) manifested several digressions in a somewhat linear style. Emphasizing that any one reasoning style is no better or worse than another, Kaplan (1972) made implication of the need for ESL teachers' awareness of these variations of logic among cultures (pp. 248-258).

Later, Norment compared three hundred samples from thirty Spanish and Chinese first language subjects, using Millic's (1969) logical categories of organization and Halliday and Hasan's (1976) cohesive elements of reference, substitution, ellipsis, and lexicon. Chinese and Spanish ESL writers maintained their first language organizational style for composition across narrative and expository modes (Norment, 1984, p. 212). Although it is commonly understood that written language tends to employ a more formal prescriptive grammar and spoken language tends to display a more descriptive mode with idioms and colloquialisms, it is interesting to note the parallel between oral and written reasoning patterns as evidenced by Young, and the carryover of these styles to a second language, as evidenced by Norment. This present study seeks variation in conversational interaction. The quantitative measurements of words, turns, stolen turns and questions could be affected by ethnic rhetorical styles. Since these styles have a static nature, the possibility exists that cultural values could promote their stability, thus propagating pedagogical challenges in classrooms with Chinese and Spanish students.

Comparative Values and Needs

The literature indicates that conscious needs are those elements in life which persons value. Since those value systems help form the warp and weft of specific cultures, it serves us well to address value comparisons. Furnham and Bochner suggested that there is a direct correlation of perceived value differences in a sojourner's original culture and those of the second culture, formulating the degree of challenge involved in cultural adjustment (Furnham and Bochner, 1986, cited in Furnham and Alibhai, 1985, p. 367).

Research data show value contrasts between Chinese, Spanish and North American subjects in regard to individualism and power distance. African and Asian students show more basic security needs of a collective nature, while students of affluent educated industrialized western countries value individual self - actualization. Conversational analysis, such as the present study, can facilitate an in-depth understanding of how these values and needs affect cross-cultural conversational interaction.

Matsumoto (1989) surveyed fifteen cultures, using Hofstede's (1980, 1983) large scale value survey, of four dimensions of cultural variation applicable to emotion studies : namely, power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism and stereotypical masculinity. Hong Kong residents ranked high on power distance and low on individualism, indicating hierarchy and collective group cohesion, minimizing individuality. In this combination of values, expression of negative emotions would threaten interpersonal social structure. These data were supportive of Hofstede's study showing Hong Kong subjects with low uncertainty avoidance but high power distance in a "pragmatic opportunistic value system" (Hofstede, 1982, p. 351). **Chinese familialism** includes patriarchal structure and categorization of persons into the in-group or the out-group as a foundation of social interaction. Collectivist thinking puts group considerations before individual wishes (Hui, 1990, pp. 192, 197).

Matsumoto's (1989) Spanish speaking subjects from Argentina, Chile and Mexico ranked higher than those subjects from Hong Kong on individualism and lower on power distance. Matsumoto concluded that negative emotions may be communicated to express individual freedom with less threat to Spanish subjects' social structures. His study showed the Latin American subjects were high in uncertainty avoidance, as did Hofstede's (1982) study (p. 348). High uncertainty avoidance indicates a perception of life's uncertainties as a continuous threat. Societal networking is thus designed to deal with this fear and expression of resultant emotions are soothed (Matsumoto, 1989. pp. 95-97, 101). Hofstede's study (1982) showed English American (United States and Canadian) cultures low in power distance

and uncertainty avoidance but high in individualism and stereotypical masculinity with value on assertiveness, heroism and achievement (pp. 336, 350).

Furnham and Alibhai sought to determine values of four foreign student groups who were studying in England. They chose as subjects fifty three third world students (from Asia and Africa) and forty eight students from the industrialized world (Europe and Britain). All students had a high level English proficiency and had equal educational credentials. The Rokeach Value Survey, which gives a choice of eighteen terminal values, was administered (Rokeach, 1973, cited in Furnham and Alibhai, 1985, pp. 367ff). The terminal values, which students were to rank in order of personal preference, included : a comfortable life, an exciting life, a sense of accomplishment, a world at peace, a world of beauty, equality, family security, freedom, happiness, inner harmony, mature love, national security, pleasure, salvation, self-respect, social recognition, true friendship and wisdom. British and Europeans were not significantly different from each other. These two groups valued self-actualization and self-esteem (true friendship, mature love and a world of beauty), needs which according to Maslow's hierarchy theory, arise once more basic needs are met.

African and Asian values (a comfortable life and family security) , which are lower on the needs hierarchy, reflected conscious need for physiological and social security. Africans valued a world at peace and a comfortable life, while Asians emphasized a sense of accomplishment and self-respect. British subjects valued inner harmony and self-respect significantly less than the other three groups (Furnham and Alibhai, 1985, pp. 368-372).

Patterson observed that western culture reveres youth, rather than age, the nuclear family rather than the extended one, as well as "economic productivity, efficiency, individual health and happiness." In contrast, eastern culture values age rather than youth. The family group receives consideration before the individual. Productivity and efficiency are not

stressed but cooperation is important (Patterson, 1977, pp. 235-236, cited in Furnham and Alibhai, 1985, p. 372).

Ng, et. al. determined that students from the developed areas of New Zealand, Australasia and Japan shared values of mature love and exciting life while obedience, politeness and national security were valued by students from India, Malaysia and Papua New Guinea (Ng, et. al., 1982, cited in Furnham and Alibhai, 1985, p. 366). In a comparison of Papua New Guineans and Australians the Papua New Guineans prioritized equality, national security and salvation. Australians gave more value to happiness, inner harmony and self-respect. Feather and Hutton, who conducted two studies, surmised that differences in affluence and education in the two societies accounted for value differences (Feather and Hutton, 1973, Feather, 1980, cited in Furnham and Alibhai, 1985, p. 366).

A Rokeach Value Survey which addressed African, East Indian and European nursing students in South Africa produced results which Furnham credited to traditional cultural differences, economic status of their country and individual affluence. Europeans valued friendship and true love while Africans were concerned with equality and peace (Furnham, 1984, cited in Furnham and Alibhai, 1985, p. 367).

Lipset observed that Canadian values are of a conservative, elitist and non- individualistic orientation, close to the values of Britain (Lipset, 1964, cited in Hiller, 1976, pp. 134-137). Twelve years later, however, Hiller (1976) observed that much of Canada's cultural activity, namely athletics and media, as well as educational materials and educational personnel, originate outside Canada, precipitating a shadow society. a cultural diffusion in an immigrant mosaic (pp. 86-89). These differences could stem from personal perception, but implication could be made of rapid cultural change over a short period. The distinction between stereotypical melting pot and mosaic identities was not salient, however, when Mackie and Brinkerhoff (1988) compared ethnic identity perceptions among young people of the Prairie regions of Alberta and Nebraska (p. 10). The second language teacher must necessarily be attuned to unconscious mores, as well as cultural trends. The literature indicates that

unconscious mores reflect conscious needs expressed in values. Since cultural values, as reflection of conscious needs, are culturally embedded, needs must be addressed.

Huizinga states that Thomas and others acknowledged most of the categories of basic needs as early as a generation before Maslow presented the needs hierarchy, but Maslow logically developed them further than before (Thomas, 1924, p. 4, cited in Huizinga, 1970, p. 2). Mental health oriented, the hierarchy of basic needs begins with deficiency needs, those needs which must be met or the deficit will produce psychopathogenic illness. The physiological needs of food, clothing, shelter, sleep and water reflect the most necessary elements for existence. Safety/security needs characterized by sane predictability in daily life, receive more value once physiological needs are met. Belongingness needs, giving and receiving love, are valued once physiological and security needs are met (Huizinga, 1970, pp. 18-22). Esteem needs, that is, respecting others and oneself, can then be valued. Maslow describes esteem needs, the fourth and final need of psychopathogenic nature, as "two subsidiary sets .... first, the desire for strength, for achievement, for adequacy, for mastery and competence, for confidence and freedom. Second, ... the desire for reputation or prestige (.... respect or esteem from other people) .... importance, ... appreciation" (Maslow, 1954, p. 90, cited in Huizinga, 1970, p. 23). The fifth need which goes beyond.the deficit needs is for self-actualization/growth, that is, "the desire to become more and more .... to become everything that one is capable of becoming" (Maslow, 1954, p. 92, cited in Huizinga, 1970, p. 23). Maslow borrowed the term "self-actualization" from Goldstein (1939), a concept Jung termed "individualization" as he critiqued Freud (Huizinga, 1970. p. 22).

Maslow also distinguished the needs to know, to understand and the ascetic needs, which are not routinely assigned to the hierarchy (Huizinga, 1970, pp. 23, 24). Huizinga considered the crux of the needs hierarchy, that once an acknowledged need is met man is always developing yet another desire (Maslow, 1954, p. 69, cited in Huizinga, 1970, p. 26), thus the hierarchy. This tendency can be illustrated by findings that, when blacks and whites

were compared on naval ships, blacks were more satisfied than white counterparts. "Such differences appeared to reflect lower needs reported by black sailors" (Jones, James, Bruni, and Sells, 1977, p. 15, cited in Hui, 1990, p. 187).

Although Maslow evidently considered the needs hierarchy to be universal, Nevis revised this hierarchy quite drastically, due to experience in mainland China. Political and cultural values there produced different conscious need priorities. The most basic need in China appeared to be belongingness (social needs), values which were prioritized above physiological, safety and self-actualization needs. Self-actualization was conceptualized as performing service to one's community and nation (Nevis, 1983, cited in Hui, 1990, p. 189).

Public accountants, according to Slocum and Strawser, put lowest value on esteem needs and highest value on self-actualization and autonomy (Slocum and Strawser, 1972, cited in Hui, 1990, p. 189). Popp, Davis and Herbert used a ten point scale in a survey of MBA students from Australia, Canada, Singapore and the United States. The respondents ranked growth and achievement highest, while recognition and security were less valued needs (Popp, Davis and Herbert, 1986, cited in Hui, 1990, p. 189). Supervision and management personnel in Colombia, Chile, Peru and the United States valued self development and good pay as needed job motivators (Peters and Lippitt, 1978, cited in Hui, 1990, p. 189).

Hwang observed that Chinese most highly value "expressive" or "affective" relationships which provide "nurturance [sic], love, security and belongingness. " These needs are met through dependable, durable family ties (Hwang, 1987, cited in Hui, 1990, p. 197).

Negandhi noted that Taiwan businesses were in-group oriented, preoccupied with their own individual department, rather than having a vision for overall organization. In-group orientation perceived other departments as out-group. Counterparts in American firms in Taiwan had whole organization perspective: a contrast between in-group collectivism and individualism which had evidently attained level five of Maslow's hierarchy

(Negandhi, 1973, cited in Hui, 1990, p. 201). Hui (1990) interpreted Chinese collectivism as centered on family, where the father is chief authority. This pattern supported strong in-group versus out-group loyalties (p.197).

Hui and Villareal (1989) compared forty nine University of Hong Kong Chinese and one hundred sixty United States undergrad students at University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. The Chinese data confirmed collectivists have lower autonomy needs and higher affiliation needs than individualists. These researchers concluded that need for achievement and individualistic competitiveness in the Americans sampled was manifested due to desire for social recognition (p. 321), which is higher on the Maslow hierarchy than belongingness needs.

Hofstede described individualism as "emotional independence" from "groups, organizations or other collectivities" and contrasted individualism with collectivist societies in which a person's loyalty to family provides protection while reducing personal privacy (Hofstede, 1980, cited in Hui, 1988, pp. 18, 19). Hui and Villareal characterized individualism as manifest in persons who rely on self for achievement and survival (Hui and Villareal, 1989, p. 311). Waterman gives individualism four characteristics :

1. " A sense of personal identity " in which a person knows
    himself and his own personal goals and values.

2. " Maslow's self-actualization " in which a person strives to
    be one's best self.

3. Rotter's " internal locus of control " in which a person
    accepts responsibility in life's joy and sorrow.

4. Kohlberg's moral reasoning, in which a person develops
    moral standards and lives accordingly.

(Waterman, 1984, cited in Hui, 1988, p. 18).

The collectivists' viewpoint would maintain that survival is dependent upon the group, whereas individualists would rely on self for achievement and survival (Hui and Villareal, 1989, pp. 311, 321).

In a comparative needs survey of five ancestral groups in high schools on Oahu island of Hawaii, Fenz and Arkoff used the Edwards Personal

Preference Schedule with Caucasian, Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, and part Hawaiian groups (Edwards, 1954, 1959 , cited in Fenz and Arkoff, 1962, p. 71). Caucasians (one hundred forty six subjects) were the most singular with Caucasian males having the highest need for dominance, autonomy, achievement, exhibition and heterosexuality, while having the lowest need for abasement, affiliation, nurture and order (Fenz and Arkoff, 1962, p. 81). Chinese males (one hundred fifty five subjects) had the lowest need for aggression. Compared to Caucasians, they were more deferent and less dominant, less aggressive and more abasive. Chinese were higher than Caucasians in need for nurture, order, and endurance, but lower in autonomy, exhibition and heterosexuality needs (pp. 81-82). Cultural mores can initiate a cautious response, asserting neither a negative nor a positive stance. Values and needs, embedded in the unconscious roots of language and culture, can indeed impact the present research. Elements such as individualism or collectivism, in-group or out-group loyalties and high or low uncertainty avoidance can lend influence upon the conversational variables quantified in this present study. Cultural uncertainty avoidance can be reflected in quick response or an extremely positive or negative response. Hui and Triandis compared response styles of Hispanic and non-Hispanic subjects, seeking cultural variance.

Response Styles

In a study of high school educated U.S. Navy personnel between the ages of 17 and 25, Hui and Triandis state that Hispanic subjects displayed an extreme negative or positive response style in a questionnaire on 5-point or 10-point scales. Of the fifty nine Hispanic subjects, twenty three percent were third generation U. S. citizens and twenty percent were new immigrants. Places of origin included Mexico (forty three percent), Puerto Rico (thirty one percent) and various Latin American or Spanish speaking countries (twenty one percent). Non Hispanic subjects were of old American or British background (fifty six percent), Central European (thirteen percent) and Afro-American eleven percent) (Triandis, Kashima, Hui, Lisansky and Marin, 1982, cited in Hui and Triandis, 1989, p. 301).

Bachman and O'Malley found that blacks were less likely than whites to qualify their responses on Lickert-type scales, thereby choosing an extreme response. Black/white differences could not be explained by educational status, residential location or socioeconomic level (Bachman and O'Malley, 1984, p. 506, cited in Hui and Triandis, 1989, p .291) . Other findings showed that British subjects had a richer vocabulary repertoire, denoting more various levels of subjectivity probability than did Asian subjects (Wright, Phillips, Whalley, Choo, Ng, Tan and Wisudha, 1978, cited in Hui and Triandis, 1989, p. 300). Hui and Triandis sought to determine if extreme response styles are reflected generally in crossethnic differences between groups other than blacks and whites or Britishers and Asians. They further sought to test the instrument by using a five point scale at the Orlando Naval Recruitment station while subjects at San Diego and Great Lakes Recruitment stations were given the finer tuned ten point scale. A questionnaire with 165 items was used.

The researchers stated that "Hispanics tend to use the extreme points of scale more often than non-Hispanic samples do" surmising that cross-ethnic difference in the extreme response scale is generalizable (Hui and Triandis, 1989, p. 306). Actually, the Orlando group, who were given the five point scale, showed a vast difference in response. Non-Hispanics used endpoints only 22 percent of the time while Hispanics used either the 1 or 5 endpoint 52 percent of the time. These data gave an upward tilt to the mean when collapsed with the data from San Diego and Great Lakes, which involved a ten point scale. In those two locations Hispanics used endpoint only 26 percent of the time (due to fewer positive responses) and non-Hispanics followed closely with a 23 percent endpoint response (p. 303).

Hui and Triandis (1989) reasoned that the ten point scale, with more gradations, tempered the extreme Hispanic response (p. 305). Although the researchers' programme had "not found any difference between recruits at these stations" (p. 302), regional cultures could well be considered, just as Plato noted regional differences. Supposing that these recruits likely grew up in the geographic area in which they enlisted, groups in each station came from

distinct cultural areas. In <u>The Nine Nations of North America</u>, Garreau
(1981) distinguished these three areas as Dixie (Orlando) , The Foundry (Great
Lakes) and Mexamerica (San Diego) (map inserts following p. 104). Dixie,
traditionally stagnant, "backward, rural, poor, and racist, enamored of a
glorious past" (p. 130), facing change, might well extinguish hope and dispose
a young person to quit his job rather than meet the challenge of a stringent
boss. Thus, the extreme response syndrome found at Orlando. The
industrialized area of The Foundry, popularly called The American
Manufacturing Belt (White and Edwin, 1955, pp. 33, 34), has long been
accustomed to the heat and regimentation of assembly lines and quality
control (Garreau, 1981, p. 97). Thus, the medial response of persons at Great
Lakes recruiting station. According to Garreau, metropolitan California is
rising to The Foundry area as catalyst in accomplishing the impossible at great
odds as the desert has bloomed and prospered (pp. 211, 218-220). Persons from
this area, then, are apt to logically meet challenges without extreme response.
Thus, the medial response at San Diego. The Hui-Triandis claim to reliability of
an instrument using a ten point scale, as opposed to a five point scale, in all
probability has its merit, but regional cultural attributes also must necessarily
be considered .

Asian cultural norms value the modesty of "self-denigration" (Gu, 1990,
pp. 237, 239) of cautious response, using the middle scale, considering
boisterous response as poor taste (Zax and Takahashi, 1967, cited in Hui and
Triandis, 1989, p. 298). In contrast, Mediterranean cultural norms (which
include non Indian Latin Americans) value an extreme response as an
expression of sincerity. Since the middle scale is considered to be a culturally
disapproved concealment of one's feelings, comparatively strong responses
are the norm for Spanish speaking Latin Americans (Hui and Triandis, 1989,
pp. 296, 298, 301).

An American bride of a Mexican man observed, after their move to
Mexico, that "Mexicans all talk at the same time and at the top of their lungs"
(DeTrevino, 1954, pp. 15, 217, cited in Woods, 1956, p. 33). Garcia (1981)
supported this observation in her description of her family's audio recorded

Christmas get together. She described "norms for family social events in Hispanic communities" as full of overlapping in conversational interchange, voices amplified in volume and pitch, in simultaneous vocal interaction and freely expressed emotion (p. 213). Failure to interrupt may be taken as a listener's lack of interest (Noble and Lacasa, 1991, p. 33).

The world's peoples have an array of variance in values and needs, in spite of certain definite commonalities. The Hispanic viewpoint that enthusiastic response expresses sincerity and the Asian cultural norm, which considers boisterous response in poor taste, could make important contributions to this present conversational analysis study, perhaps in regard to turns and stolen turns in particular. Variance could evolve from diverse cultural needs and values. The present study uses conversational analysis to address differences. Since cultural values and needs are learned during nurture, an examination of mother-child interaction is useful.

Mother-Child Interaction

Of the many possible ways of viewing mother-child interaction, a common one is to examine their language. Infants must learn society's rules and cultural expectations. They must "assimilate social, cognitive, linguistic and contextual information derived from social interaction" (Lindham and Padilla, 1981, p. 27). Initial responsibility for this social interaction rests with the parents. Studies show differing parental attitudes and interactions with very young children. Mothers' country of origin, attitudes and acculturation affect interaction between mother and child. Studies such as this present one can enable us to be conscious of the effects of unconscious parental teaching. Research shows that linguistic training can begin prenatally. According to DeCasper and Spence, extensive prenatal exposure (six minutes per day over a six weeks period) can result in the ability of neonates to distinguish between "novel and familiar speech passages" (De Casper and Spence, 1986, cited in Bahrick and Pickens, 1988, pp. 278, 293).

Researchers suggest that babies are capable of turn taking behaviour as early as three months (Bateson, 1971, Jaffe, Stern and Perry, 1973, cited in Snow, 1976, p. 13). Snow (1976) observed that maternal speech style

encourages turn taking. In a British study of two mothers as they interacted with their babies between the ages of three and eighteen months, mothers used conversational style. They consistently used turn taking format, using tag questions and answering for the infant (pp. 13, 20). Maternal linguistic tutorship, then, may well begin much earlier than commonly suspected.

Using Spanish and English, Bahrick and Pickens (1988) determined that five month old infants could distinguish and classify language membership of speech. After becoming habituated to a passage, infants would give less notice to a new passage in the same language than they would give to the same new passage in a different language. Researchers surmised that most likely the infants detected the more variable stress, rhythm and intonation which English has, in comparison to Spanish (pp. 277, 280, 281, 287-290).

The importance of early linguistic stimulation is suggested by data in an Israeli study of children in five cultural environments. Children who were reared in an institution with minimal verbal stimulation from the caretaker did not speak words until eleven months. Middle and lower class apartment dwellers, Bedouin and Kibbutz children, who received more maternal verbal stimulation, used words much earlier (Greenbaum and Landau, 1977, pp. 255, 265, 266). Assuming that culture provides the direction for socially significant behaviours in which people engage, researchers surmised that adults determine a "meaningful part of the environment of the growing child" (p. 247). As the child grows, maternal teaching styles have their effect.

In a study of Anglo-American, Mexican-American and Chinese-American mothers as they taught their three year old sons a sorting game and a motor-skills game, Steward and Steward (1973) found ethnicity to be "the single best predictor of maternal teaching or child response...." (p. 329). Subjects were forty-two mothers and their three year old sons. Subject divisions included twelve Anglo-American dyads (six middle class and six lower class), twelve Chinese-American dyads (six English speaking and six Chinese speaking) and eighteen Mexican-American dyads (six English speaking, six bilingual and six Spanish speaking). After receiving orientation and a teaching plan in the appropriate language, each mother taught her son a

bean bag toss game (to develop motor skills) and a sorting game (to develop discernment of colour, size and shape).

Chinese-American mothers received accepting responses from their children and used significantly more positive feedback than did the Mexican-American or the Anglo-American mothers. Mexican - American mothers provided more negative feedback than the two other classifications. Bilingual Mexican-American mothers incredibly gave negative feedback to child responses which had reflected acceptance of their teaching. Chinese-American mothers gave more general directions when help was sought, while the Mexican-American mothers' instructions progressed to the next step when their children asked for help. Anglo-American mothers were confusingly specific in their instructions, while fast paced Chinese mothers were selectively specific with instructions and gave enthusiastic feedback when the children solicited help. Chinese speaking mothers used fewer questions and more statements than did the English-speaking Chinese. Slow paced Mexican mothers received much negative feedback from their children. The Spanish speaking mothers used more original instructions. Student requests for help were highest in the Spanish speaking group, with need for laborious clarifications and corrections (Steward and Steward, 1973, pp. 335, 336).

Although each classification of mothers voiced concern for their children's education, each ethnic group voiced a different viewpoint regarding a mother's role in her child's education. Chinese mothers took a proactive stance and regularly gave their preschool children home instruction. The Mexican-American mothers viewed the school's responsibility as education and their own responsibility as motherhood. The Anglo-American mothers viewed teaching as a part of the motherhood role, but were uncertain regarding curriculum (Steward and Steward, 1973, p. 336). Cultural values likely formed mother role expectations.

In another study, cultural influences were distinct as acculturated (third generation immigrant) monolingual Anglo mothers showed a parallel with monolingual first generation Mexican-American mothers. Both groups lacked cognitive flexibility as they used singular viewpoints of either

constitutional or environmental causes of child development. Highly acculturated Mexican-American mothers had more mental flexibility, acknowledging that an interplay of differing factors could eventuate in characteristics of child development. They possessed a biculturality which acknowledged that both their primary culture and their host culture had norms of acceptable behaviour, thus embracing an integrative biculturalism (Gutierrez and Sameroff, 1990, pp. 384, 386, 390-393).

The process of becoming bicultural was apparent as Lin and Fu (1990) compared child-rearing practices of Chinese, immigrant Chinese and Caucasian-American parental attitudes regarding parental control, encouragement of independence, expression of affection and emphasis on achievement. Subjects from metropolitan Taipei and Shin Ju, Taiwan were forty four parents of twenty two boys and twenty two girls. Forty six immigrant Chinese parents of first generation boys (twenty seven) and girls (nineteen) were living in metropolitan Baltimore, Maryland, Washington, D.C. and Richmond, Virginia. The forty eight Caucasian-American parents of twenty two boys and twenty six girls were from Blackburg, Virginia, a university town (pp. 429, 430).

Immigrant Chinese mothers in the United States showed more affection to their children and exerted less parental control, encouragement of independence and emphasis on achievement than did the mothers of Taiwan. Caucasian-American mothers exerted the least parental control and openly expressed more affection to their children than did the two Chinese groups. The immigrant Chinese mothers were evidently beginning to show more affection, and although they exerted more parental control and encouraged more independence and achievement than the Caucasians, their effort was significantly less than that of the Taiwan Chinese. These data suggest effects of acculturization of immigrants as they become bicultural. A follow up study in another generation might determine if monoculturality develops as it did with the Anglo third generation immigrants of the Gutierrez and Sameroff (1990) study.

Working-class first generation immigrant mothers used intense Spanish language teaching vocabulary with their children. One third of their conversation centered on socialization instruction. Lindholm and Padilla used these data to refute Bee, VanEgeren, Streissguth, Nyman and Leckie (1969), as well as Olim, Hess and Shipman (1967), who asserted that working class mothers use a restricted communication code for teaching. Lindholm and Padilla's data upheld Gleason's (1973) "teaching language" perception of mother-child discourse (Lindholm and Padilla, 1981, pp. 287, 291-292).

McConnell reported Freedman's observation that children of Africa, Europe and America tend to be more irritable and active than Asian infants, and Asian children continue in passivity through developmental years. Asian mothers give their children sensory stimulation with a silent gaze which is reciprocated, while Western mothers elicit infant response of gazing, and movement of arms and legs by speaking to their babies (Freedman, 1979, cited in McConnell, 1980, p. 537).

Studies show that the conversational development of the prenatal and neonatal child is contingent upon parental influence. Since unconscious cultural norms concerning communicative interaction are taught quite early, these influences need consideration in this present study, which seeks to determine if ethnic conversational variance exists between Spanish and Chinese subjects in dyadic oral interaction. Differences in teaching styles and attitudes of Chinese and Spanish speakers, as well as Anglo-American mothers, suggest ethnic influences. Data suggest that biculturality and acculturation affect mother-child interaction. These interactions can unconsciously implant conversational norms in the young formative child. These norms can affect conversational interaction as analyzed in this present study. It is likely that the expectations and needs learned during nurture will evolve into classroom expectations.

Student Expectations

Researchers who addressed student expectations in the literature acknowledged the role of culture and first language education as instrumental in the formation of these student expectations. Albert and Triandis observed

that Spanish speaking children expect a warm expressive affectionate teacher, modeled after significant adults in their lives. The children like not only to touch their teacher, but also to impart a goodbye kiss. In turn, they like teacher hugs and gentle touching after a job well done, reflective of a communal cultural nature and their need for personal attention (Albert and Triandis, 1979, p. 183).

Hard working students from Hong Kong school systems expect teacher centered authoritarian classrooms with focus on exam preparation and memorization without teacher expectation of student independent thinking. Since their English language knowledge is reading based, they might have conversational and writing deficits, making for self conscious verbal interaction (Tabourek and Adamowski, 1984, pp. 88-90). Since students from Hong Kong are quiet and do not verbally display critical or independent thinking, a Canadian teacher might reason that they are lacking in creativity, when in fact their cultural background has convinced them that good students listen more than they talk (Ng, 1974, cited in Tabourek and Adamowski, 1984, p. 88).

Thus we can surmise that Spanish speaking ESL students and Chinese speaking ESL students will likely enter the classroom with different expectations of the teacher. The students' image of how they themselves should behave in the classroom will also affect the actions and speech behaviour which the Chinese or Spanish students feel are expected of them. This present research seeks to find some effects of these student expectations as same and cross-cultural dyads of Chinese and Spanish subjects express themselves in prescribed Problem Solving and Debate tasks. Quantitative analysis of subject words, turns, words per turn, stolen turns and questions soliciting a response will be utilized to determine ethnic main effects.

Summary of Relevant Research

Linguists recognized a need for analysis beyond the sentence level as recently as 1935 (Firth, 1935, cited in Coulthard, 1975, p. 73) (Firth, 1957, p. 32). Sociologists spearheaded research with detailed reports i 1955 (Goffman, 1955). Electronic technology aided the analysis of natural spoken language, enabling

researchers to study communicative units within the context of grammatically fragmented natural conversation. Terminology development (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974; Goodwin, 1981; Duff, 1986; Brock, 1985; Freed, 1978; Long and Sato, 1983) enabled classification and quantification of data transcribed from audio and/or video recordings.

Conversational analysis aided the evolvement of pedagogical implications for English as a Second Language. The viewpoint in learning theory which acknowledges that verbal interaction aids syntactical structure acquisition was also strengthened by conversational analysis. The Interlanguage Hypothesis undergirded teacher understanding of .ne language learning process. The need for cross-cultural instruction in addition to linguistic instruction is underscored in politeness studies showing cultural differences. Differences between Eastern and Western philosophies and variance among rhetorical styles of Spanish, Oriental and English language reflects cultural diversity. The English language style is linear and direct. Spanish subjects digress from linear form and the Oriental style is circular. Facets of variation among Caucasians, Latin Americans and Asians were salient in surveys of values and response styles. Caucasians show evidence of individualism and assertiveness with low power distance and value on heroism. Asians manifested a pragmatic collectivist orientation with high power distance and value on a cautious response as well as self-denigration. Conversely, Latin Americans value an extreme response as evidence of sincerity, ranking higher on individualism and lower on power distance than Hong Kong subjects. A comparative needs survey showed male Caucasian need for dominance, while Chinese males showed need for nurture and order with low autonomy needs. Affluence, education and political philosophy showed evidence of affecting the conscious basic needs within a culture's values. These nuances of ethnic variation suggest a need for more in-depth understanding.

Mother-child interactions give initial cultural instruction. Infants can begin language training far earlier than commonly assumed. Studies among Chinese, Caucasian and Spanish mothers show cultural contrasts in maternal

teaching styles as well as in aspects of maternal viewpoints and attitudes during acculturation. Mother-child interactions cover a range from the quiet gaze of Asian mothers to Western mothers' elicitation of practically total physical response from their babies. Scholastically, Spanish speaking children expect a warm responsive teacher while students from Hong Kong expect an authoritative classroom without individual consideration. Students from these backgrounds have contrasting images of ideal student behaviour.

Data concerning variation in politeness norms, rhetorical styles, values and needs, response styles, nurture and student expectations suggest that we have only seen the tip of the iceberg concerning culturally determined language behaviour. Conversational analysis can aid the broadening of understanding as we strive to more precisely refine our knowledge of the intricate shades of diversity in unconscious ethnic viewpoint. The foregoing cultural variances suggest that further conversational analysis of diverse cultures, particularly Spanish and Chinese cultural linguistic backgrounds in this present study, would be of importance to broadening understanding in the multicultural classrooms of Alberta.

Rationale for the Present Study

The present research seeks to find a definite effect for ethnicity between two additional ethnolinguistic cultural groups, Spanish and Chinese speakers. This modification of Duff's (1986) study quantitifies selected measures in quest of main effects for ethnicity. Acknowledging myriad commonalities in humankind's cultures, this study seeks to identify evidence of cultural norms, recognizing ever present individual differences. One or two studies of interethnic communication can not establish truth, but this study seeks to uncover data pertinent to interethnic understanding in order to further effectiveness in the pedagogical task. Since modern methods of conversational analysis are rather new, that newness lends an exploratory characteristic to this present research. Thus, this study also seeks to point the direction for further research. In years to come, as conversational analysis can likely become computerized, studies can have a much broader scope.

CHAPTER THREE
METHOD

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to determine variation between Chinese first language and Spanish first language learners of ESL as revealed by their behaviour in selected conversational tasks. It is hoped that consciousness of sociocultural, ethnolinguistic or affective interactional patterns in these language groups will be helpful in defining further research possibilities as well as facilitating sensitivity in the multicultural classroom. In pursuing this endeavor it is useful to ask, "Are there quantitative or qualitative ethnic variations in dyadic Problem Solving (PS) and Debate (D) conversational interaction between Chinese (CH) first language (L1) and Spanish (S) first language ESL learners? If so, what are possible further research possibilities and pedagogical implications in reference to the sociocultural, ethnolinguistic and affective needs of ESL students in a cross-cultural classroom?" The following hypotheses are stated to address this issue.

Hypotheses

These hypotheses are based on cross-cultural experience and a cross-cultural literature review which points to cultural differences. Given Problem Solving (PS) and Debate (D) tasks in dyadic interaction:

(1)   Regarding ethnicity, there will be significant behavioural differences manifested as

(1a)   Chinese (CH) and Spanish (S) speakers interact differently in the two cultural conditions of same cultural versus cross-cultural tasks because same cultural interaction will likely reflect cultural norms due to Spanish uncertainty avoidance and Chinese value on politeness as a moral maxim.

(1b)   Chinese and Spanish speakers interact differently under the two task type conditions of Problem Solving (PS) and Debate (D). This prediction is made because Chinese maintain a subdued

response and have have a low need for exhibition, while Spanish value an extreme response.

(2) Regarding culture, both Spanish and Chinese subjects will show differences in same and in cross-cultural dyads, regardless of task type or ethnicity of the interlocutor. The Chinese in-group/ out-group orientation precipitated this prediction. Same cultural interaction would likely produce findings closer to the cultural norm.

(3) Regarding task, differences in dependent measures of turns, words per turn, turns stolen and questions soliciting a response will be attributable to task type, either Problem Solving or Debate. This prediction is made, not only to replicate Duff's findings, but also due to the convergent nature of Problem Solving and the divergent nature of Debate.

The three independent variables of culture, task and ethnicity will be compared, using the dependent measures of total subject words, subject words per turn, total subject turns, turns stolen and total questions soliciting a response. This empirical cross-ethnic research is limited to conversational analysis of audio recorded dyadic interaction in Problem Solving and Debate tasks involving two Spanish and two Chinese first language speakers.

Subjects

Two Cantonese Chinese speakers and two Spanish speakers, who were all advanced level ESL students at Mt. Royal College in Calgary, were used as subjects in this study of dyadic conversational analysis. Each subject participated in two tasks as a part of a Spanish/Chinese dyad and also participated in two tasks as a part of a same-language dyad. The four dyads were ethnically arranged as follows:

Figure 1 :   Subject Dyad Pairing

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Dyad 1   - S 1   /   CH 1
Dyad 2   - S 2   /   CH 2
Dyad 3   - S 1   /    S 2
Dyad 4   - CH 1  /   CH 2
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The following variables were controlled, as much as possible, for sociolinguistic uniformity: (1) L1 background, (2) proficiency level, (3) familiarity [all subjects were acquainted as classmates], (4) class standing, and (5) gender. One gender of subjects was chosen because cross-cultural mixed gender choices could have initiated more variables in the study. See **Table 1** : **Subjects' Biodata Form.** All subjects were·undergraduate advanced ESL students of male gender.

Table 1   <u>Subjects' Biodata Form</u>*

SUBJECT CODE	S1	S2	CH1	CH2
COUNTRY	El Salvador	Nicaragua	Hong Kong	Hong Kong
PROFICIENCY LEVEL	advanced	advanced	advanced	advanced
CLASS STANDING	undergrad	undergrad	· undergrad	undergrad
SEX	male	male	male	male

*S-SPANISH   CH-CHINESE

Spanish speaking subjects S1 and S2 had studied English three years and three and one half years, respectively. Their entire study had occurred while they were immersed in Canadian culture. One Spanish subject (S1), age 48, was an immigrant from El Salvador. He had resided in Canada three years and one month. The second Spanish subject (S2), from Nicaragua, was forty one. He had resided in Canada three years and six months.

Cantonese Chinese subjects were both from Hong Kong. The first Chinese subject (CH1), age twenty, had studied English ten years. He had resided in Canada one year and four months. The other Chinese subject (CH2), was twenty two years old. His English language study covered thirteen years and he had resided in Canada four months.

These two language backgrounds were chosen because these two language groups were among the top ten in number of immigrants during 1988 both in Calgary and in Alberta (Alberta Career Development and Employment, Immigration and Settlement Branch, 1989, p. 2). Further impetus for Spanish/Chinese subject choice was cultural difference between the two

groups. Maximum differences in religion, philosophical norms and social attitudes are manifest between groups of eastern and western orientation (Porter and Samovar, 1976, pp. 7, 8). Linguistic differences encompass diversity in writing systems with logographic Chinese representing ideas expressed in a tonal language while Spanish, with a kinship to English, has a phonetically based language using a roman alphabet.

Data Collection

Each subject participated in one Spanish/Chinese dyad plus one Chinese/Chinese dyad or one Spanish/Spanish dyad in Problem Solving (PS) and Debate (D) tasks. The dyads were ethnically arranged as follows :

Figure 2 : Task Assignments to Ethnic Dyads

Dyad 1   S1   / CH1 } PS   Task 1 - Desert Island and
Dyad 2   S2   / CH2 } D   Task 2 - Age and Wisdom

Dyad 3   S1   / S2 } PS   Task 1 - A Sad Story and
Dyad 4   CH1 / CH2 } D   Task 2 - Television

Each of the subjects received both oral and written instructions for the four assigned tasks. Subjects were assured this procedure was not a test for a mark, but a discussion opportunity. Each dyad addressed a sequence of tasks identical to those addressed by the parallel dyad. That is, Spanish 1/Chinese 1 dyad and Spanish 2/Chinese 2 dyad each addressed the Problem Solving Task One, Desert Island, as well as Debate Task Two, Age and Wisdom. Then Spanish 1/Spanish 2 and Chinese 1/Chinese 2 dyads each addressed the Problem Solving Task One, A Sad Story, in addition to Debate Task Two, Television. During each task each dyad was allotted two minutes for reading the instructions. Then each subject dyad was allotted eight minutes for audio recorded conversation. Body language was not analyzed. Total contact time involvement on tasks for each subject was one hour, since the researcher used an automatic timer and identical tasks were done simultaneously in separate rooms without the researcher present. This recording for conversational analysis was done on June 8, 1990, at Mt. Royal College, Calgary.

Task Construction

Tasks which the students could negotiate without intervention of the teacher or researcher were utilized. These tasks encouraged independent

expression and individual thought development in Debate as well as cohesive cooperation and resourcefulness in Problem Solving. Two Problem Solving and two Debate tasks were completed by each subject. Please see **Appendix A. Researcher's Task Booklet** for details.

In Part A, Problem Solving task 1 in the cross-cultural dyads involved collaboration for survival decisions on a "Desert Island" adapted from Sadow (1982, p. 56). Subjects in dyads cooperatively chose a limited number of items from lists of survival gear. Cross-cultural Debate task 2, "Age and Wisdom" was adapted from Pifer and Mutoh (1977, pp. 104-111) and Alexander (1968, pp. 20, 21, 48, 49). This debate required students to defend differing assigned viewpoints: "with age comes wisdom" was argued by Chinese 1 and Spanish 2 while Chinese 2 and Spanish 1 countered their cross-cultural partner with "older is not necessarily wiser". Each cultural group was assigned both a pro and a con stance because filial piety might appear to be stronger in some cultural groups than in others.

In Part B, each subject was conversationally involved with a person of his own ethnic group. Problem Solving task one in this section was "A Sad Story", adapted from Spaventa (1980, p. 89). Subjects sought to determine moral strengths of key fictional persons as they assigned degrees of blame in a chaotic situation. In Debate task two, Spanish 2 and Chinese 1 defended television as the greatest invention of all time, while Spanish 1 and Chinese 2 countered by expounding the evils of TV. This task was adapted from materials in Pifer and Mutoh (1977, pp. 104-111) and Alexander (1968, pp. 10, 11).

These two different types of Problem Solving and Debate tasks were used to give opportunity to analyze different types of subject response, regarding rapid conversational interplay in convergent. Problem Solving in contrast to fewer turns taken in the cognitive interaction of Debate.

Scoring Method

The entire 64 minutes of collective conversation were transcribed. Counts were made and recorded on each subject. Dependent variables included total subject words, total subject turns, words per turn, subject stolen turns and questions soliciting a response at a turn boundary. Question counts

included classification and enumeration of question types. Ethnic group words, turns, words per turn, stolen turns and questions were enumerated. Tabulation was made of words, turns, words per turn, stolen turns and questions generated by each subject when in conversation with a person of his same cultural group and when each subject was in a cross-cultural conversation group. Data regarding independent variables of culture, task and ethnicity and dependent variables (as outlined above) were analyzed according to the two task types, Problem Solving and Debate.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Initially the entire eight minutes of each of the eight dyads were counted and coded. (For **Transcription Coding Key** please see Appendix B). In the word counts, pause fillers such as "uhm", "uhh" and "ehh" were not counted as words. "Uhm", "uhh huhh" and "huh", used as listening indicators, were counted as words. Since CH1 used many word repetitions, perhaps borderline stuttering, false starts and repetitions were negated from counts for all subjects. (For a **Sample Transcription** of both Problem Solving and Debate tasks in same and cross-cultural dialogue, please see **Appendix C**. Full transcription sample is available upon valid request). In preliminary data processing, grids were made, according to ethnicity and task, of total subject words, total subject turns, total subject words per turn, total subject stolen turns and total subject questions soliciting a response at a turn boundary for the first five minutes and compared to the final five minutes of each dyad which had been counted and coded in the same fashion. Grids of preliminary data were compared and the first five minutes (rather than the final five minutes) of each of the eight dyads were chosen and analyzed, since subjects appeared more wordy in those forty minutes. Although Duff had used only a total of forty minutes of transcribed data to address the significance of task, the ANOVA of this present study showed a number of findings in the direction of the hypotheses, but not significantly so in the first five minutes of each of the eight dyads. Thus, it was decided to analyze the entire sixty four minutes of transcription to give a more complete picture of the dyadic interaction in this present study. Counts were tallied for the entire eight minutes of each of the eight dyads. The broader data base provided a clearer picture of dyadic

interaction, which also afforded more significant findings. This orientation more closely resembled findings in the pilot study at the University of Calgary.

Analysis

The sixty four minutes of transcribed data were analyzed using an analysis of variance (ANOVA) with a two (ethnicity: Spanish versus Chinese) by two (culture: same versus cross) by two (tasks: Problem Solving versus Debate), mixed design with ethnicity as the grouping variable and the latter two independent variables as repeated measures . Used as dependent variables for each of five ANOVAs are total subject words, total subject turns, total subject words per turn, total subject stolen turns and total questions soliciting a response. Post hoc analyses (Scheffé) were utilized as needed.

A general difference between Chinese and Spanish cultural norms, displayed in the literature review, would suggest ethnicity differences in specified measures, just as Duff ascertained differences in the Japanese and Chinese comparisons. The five dependent variables in this study were utilized because the literature review presents cultural norms which could be quantified in these selected measures. Total words were utilized with the expectation that this measure would show a graphic comparison between the Chinese student expectation of a learning milieu with limited student expression and the Spanish student expectation of a reciprocal classroom. Sociocultural background, as reflected in eastern and western rhetorical organization, would suggest ethnicity differences in turns and words per turn. Subdued response norms of Chinese, compared to Spanish value on conversational overlap, suggests variance in ethnic stolen turns. The Spanish need for uncertainty avoidance, as well as openness to negative interchange, compared to the silent communion of Asian mother-child communication and

Asian discouragement of negative interaction suggests that ethnic differences exist regarding the dependent variable of questions soliciting a response.

Data tables are included in the results section of this study. These compilations reflect numerous pages of raw data which were utilized for these present analyses. Some scholars might say that raw data would suffice for the comparison in this study with a limited sample size. Raw data, however, would not show the interactions, accurate significances and main effects provided by the mixed ANOVA. Since the interactions are prominent in these findings, raw data or simpler tests would not show implications the mixed ANOVA provided. T-tests and the 1-way or two-way ANOVA could not show the accuracy yielded from the mixed ANOVA with the conservative Scheffé posthoc analyses. The number of variables in this study makes the mixed ANOVA the design choice which enables exploration of the complex interaction across cultures and tasks as utilized in this study. Thus we can fathom that, while raw data can show that there are indeed differences, only the chosen research design can picture the extent of those differences and the interactions among the variables. Raw data would yield a one dimensional stilted picture of the dynamics involved.

Results

The mixed ANOVA produced significant findings in relationship to the dependent measures of total subject turns, words per turn, stolen turns and questions soliciting a response in relationship to the grouping independent variable of ethnicity and repeated measures of culture and task. For total subject words, there are no significant culture, task or ethnic main effects.

Findings in relationship to total subject turns included two significant interactions and a significant main effect. A significant three-way interaction emerged among ethnicity, task and culture. Post hoc comparisons

revealed significant (p<.05) turn taking differences between same versus cross cultural Problem Solving in Spanish (same 59.0, cross 73.5) and even more so for Chinese (same 41.5, cross 73.0) (F=744.20, p<.05). Debate differences are not significant. (See Figure 3 and Tables 4 and 5). A significant two-way interaction between task type and ethnicity is indicated. Specifically, Spanish subjects take more turns on Problem Solving tasks (66.2) compared to Debate (11.75), while the Chinese subjects take comparatively fewer turns in Problem Solving (57.3), but more comparative turns in Debate tasks (18.0) (F=744.20, p< .005). (See Figure 4). There is a significant main effect for task: significantly more mean turns (61.75) are taken in Problem Solving than in Debate tasks (14.88) turns (F = 281.25, p< .001) (See Figure 5).

For the dependent measure of words per turn, there is a significant main effect for task type with a mean of six words per turn in the Problem Solving task and 40.6 words per turn in the Debate task (F=31.64, p<.05). (See Figure 6 and Tables 6 and 7). Similarly, with stolen turns as the dependent measure, there is a significant main effect for task, showing that more turns are stolen in Problem Solving (12.25) than Debate (1.25) (F= 34.27, p<.05). (See Figure 9 and Tables 8 and 9).

There is also a two-way interaction with task by ethnicity for the dependent measure, stolen turns. Spanish tend to steal comparatively fewer turns (10.5) than Chinese (14.0) in Problem Solving tasks while Chinese steal fewer turns (0.5) than Spanish (2.0) in Debate tasks (F=11.06, p<.10). (See Figure 7 and Tables 8 and 9). The final finding for stolen turns is a trend toward an ethnicity main effect with Spanish stealing more turns (9.6) than the Chinese (3.8) (F=8.46, p=.10). (See Figure 8).

Again with questions soliciting a response, a two-way ethnicity and task interaction emerged as Spanish asked more questions in Problem Solving (24.5) than Chinese (13.5), while there is no difference between Spanish (3.0) and Chinese (2.0) in the Debate task (F=12.5, p<.10). (See Figure 10 and Tables 10 and 11). In a main effect for ethnicity for the dependent measure, questions soliciting a response, Spanish tend to ask more questions (13.75) than do the Chinese subjects (7.75) (F=11.08, p<.10). (See Figure 12).

For the dependent measure, total questions soliciting a response, there is also a significant main effect for task with a mean of nineteen questions in Problem Solving and a mean of 2.5 questions soliciting response in Debate (F= 136.13, p<.001). (See Figure 11 and Tables 10 and 11).

Summary of Results

The following differences are statistically significant regarding Chinese and Spanish male subjects:

1. Spanish take fewer turns than Chinese in same cultural Debate. Cross-cultural Problem Solving is essentially the same. Thus, the Spanish sample shows longer Debate turns.

2. Chinese maintain turn taking strata in same and cross-cultural Debate tasks. Thus, the Chinese sample is less affected by tasks.

3. Chinese take comparatively fewer turns in same cultural Problem Solving tasks than do Spanish. Thus, the Chinese sample has longer Problem Solving turns.

4. Spanish take comparatively more turns than Chinese in Problem Solving, but fewer turns in Debate. The Spanish sample, then, reacts more than do Chinese to task type.

5. More turns are taken in Problem Solving than in Debate tasks, but both Spanish and Chinese have more words per turn in Debate than in Problem Solving tasks. Thus, Debate precipitates longer turns.

6. More questions soliciting a response are asked in Problem Solving than in Debate tasks.

7. The Spanish sample tends to ask more overall questions soliciting a response.

8. More turns are stolen in Problem Solving than in Debate tasks. The Spanish sample tends to steal more turns overall than do Chinese.

9. There is a tendency for the Chinese sample to steal more turns in Problem Solving, but for the Spanish sample to steal more turns in Debate.

Figure 3: Three Way Ethnic Interaction Effect
with Total Turns as Dependent Measure
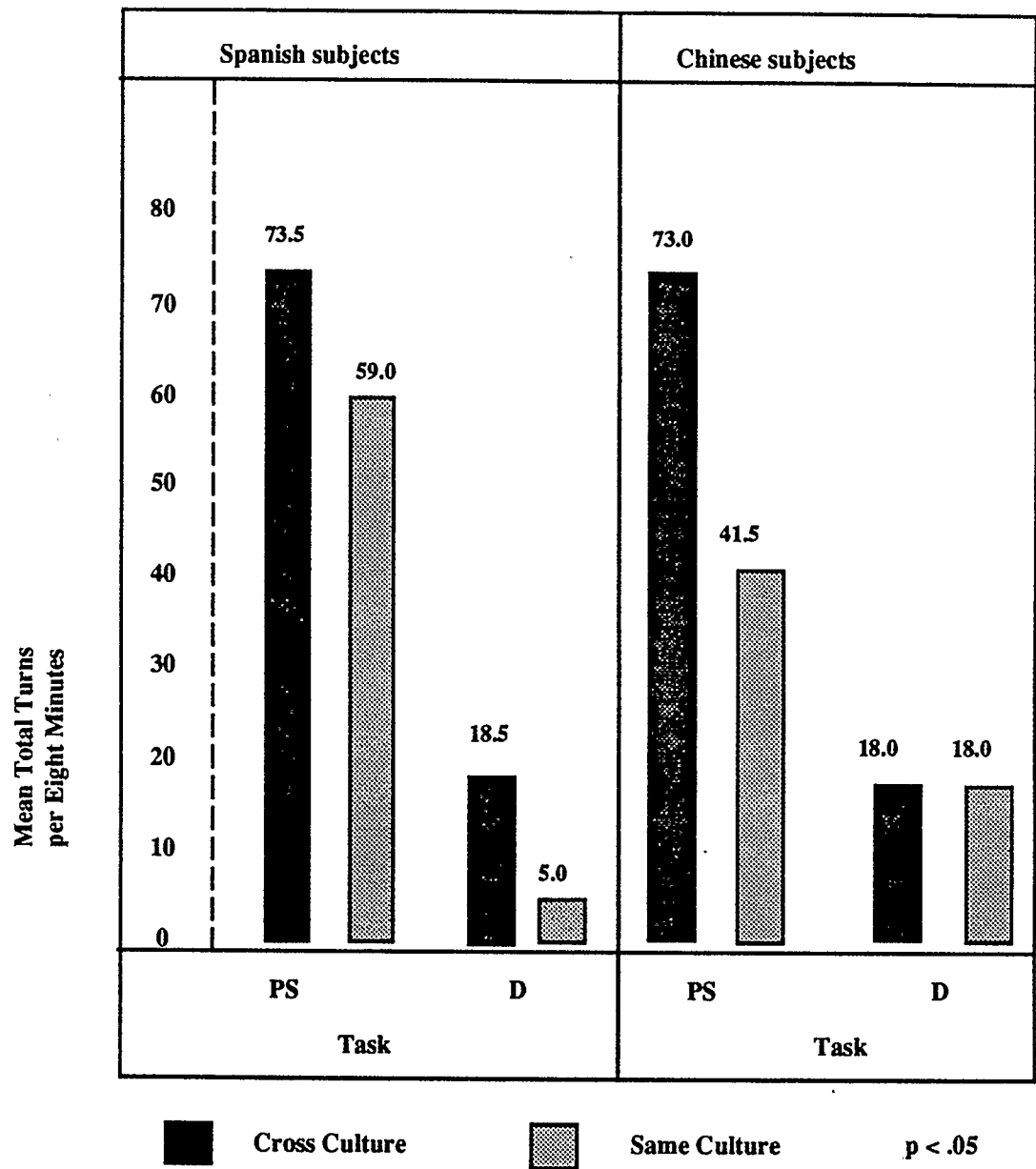
Figure 4: Two Way Interaction Between Task and
Ethnicity with Total Turns as Dependent Measure
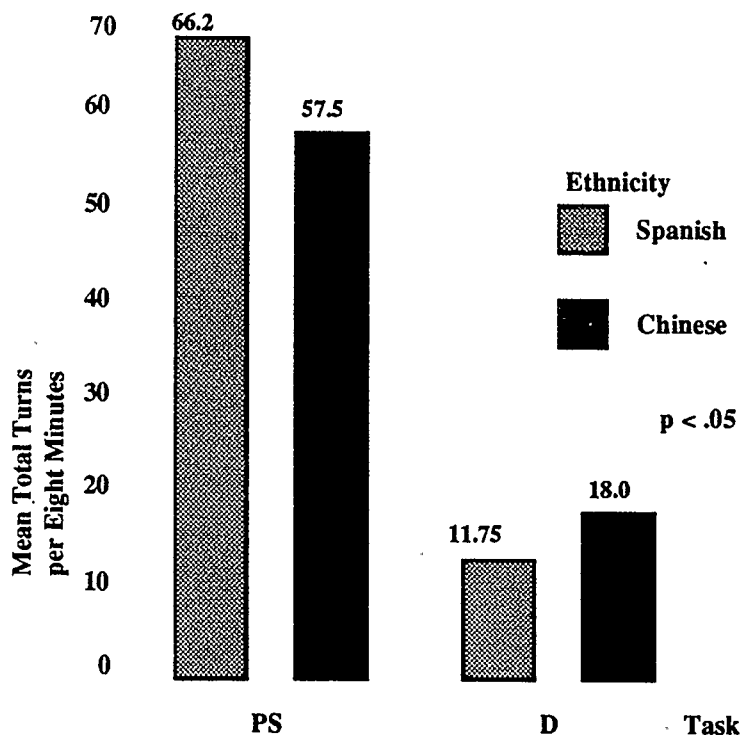
Figure 5: Main Effect for Task with
Total Turns as Dependent Measure
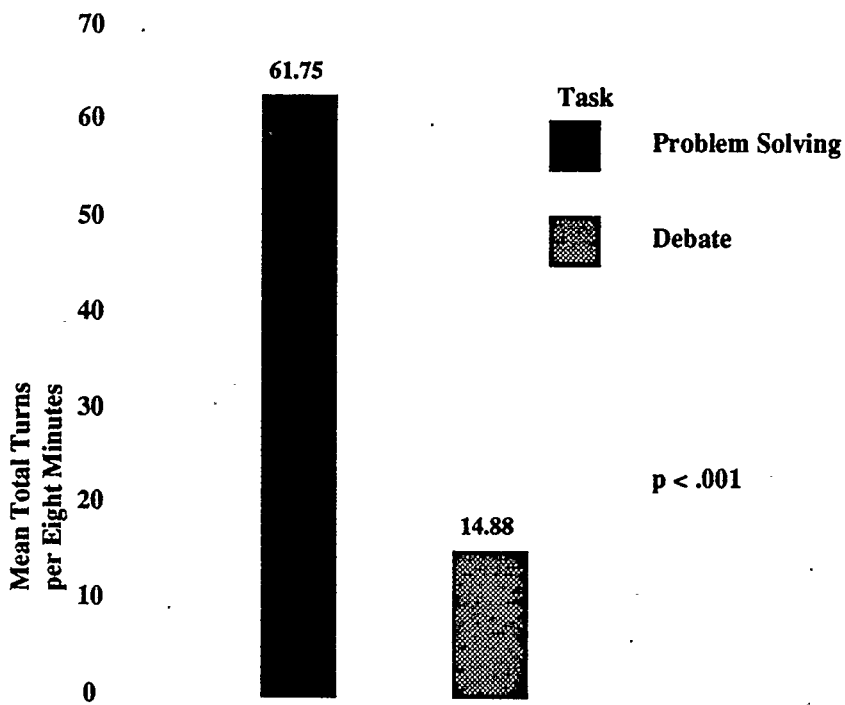
Figure 6: Main Effect for Task with Words
per Turn as Dependent Measure
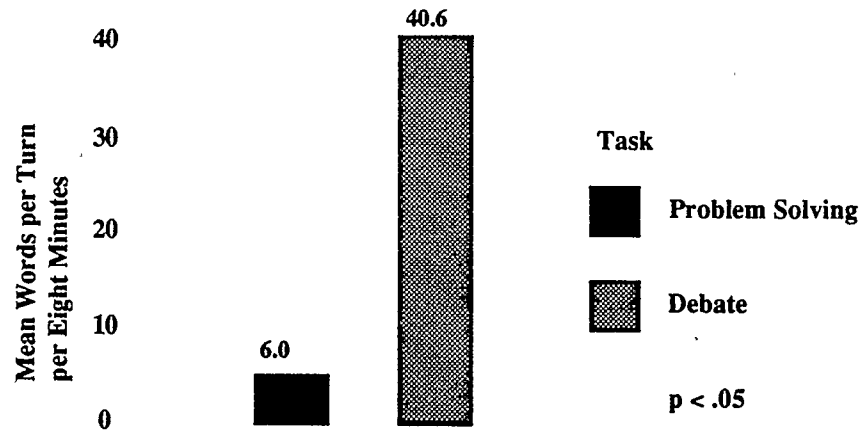
Figure 7: Two Way Interaction between
Task and Ethnicity with
Stolen Turns as Dependent Measure
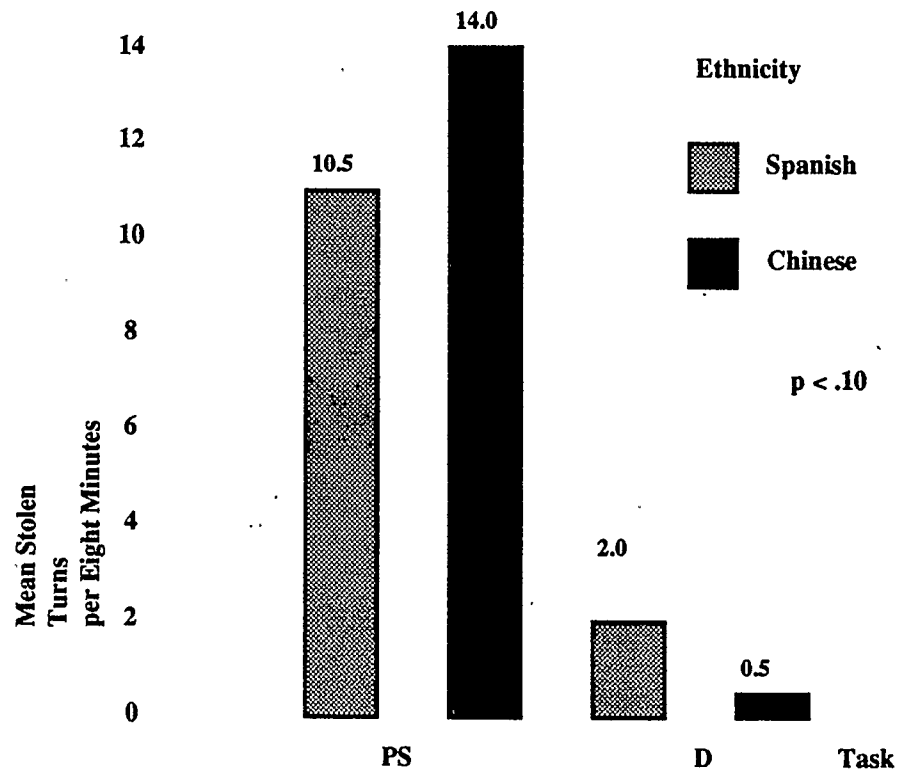
Figure 8: Main Effect for Ethnicity with
Stolen Turns as Dependent Measure
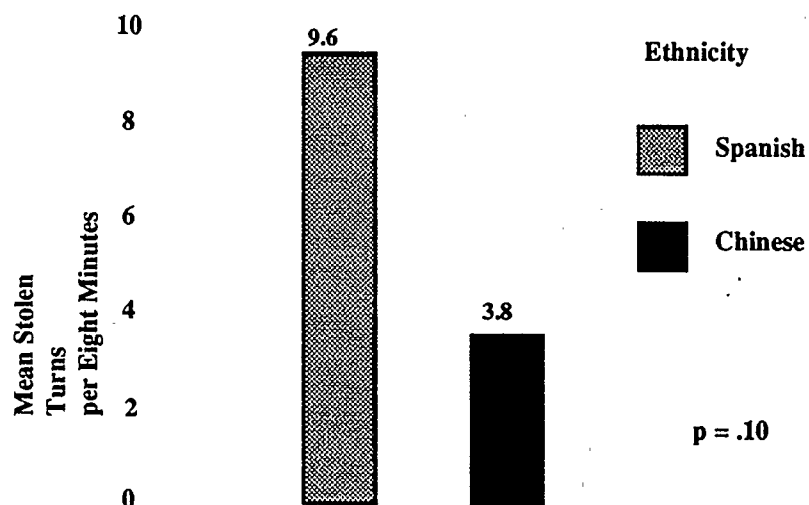
Figure 9: Main Effect for Task with
Stolen Turns as Dependent Measure
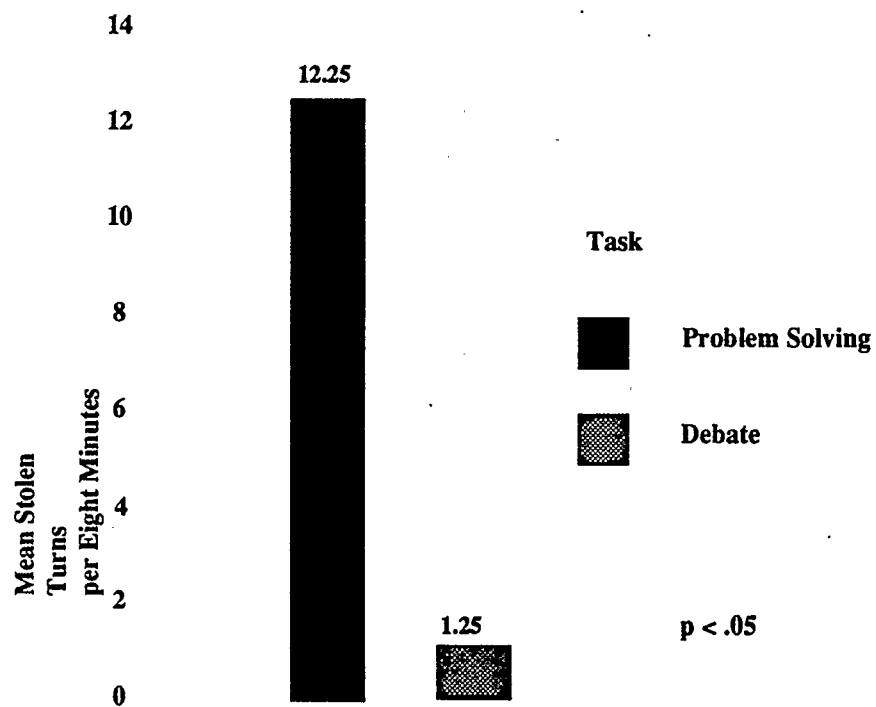
Figure 10: Two Way Interaction between
Task and Ethnicity with Questions
Soliciting Response as Dependent Measure
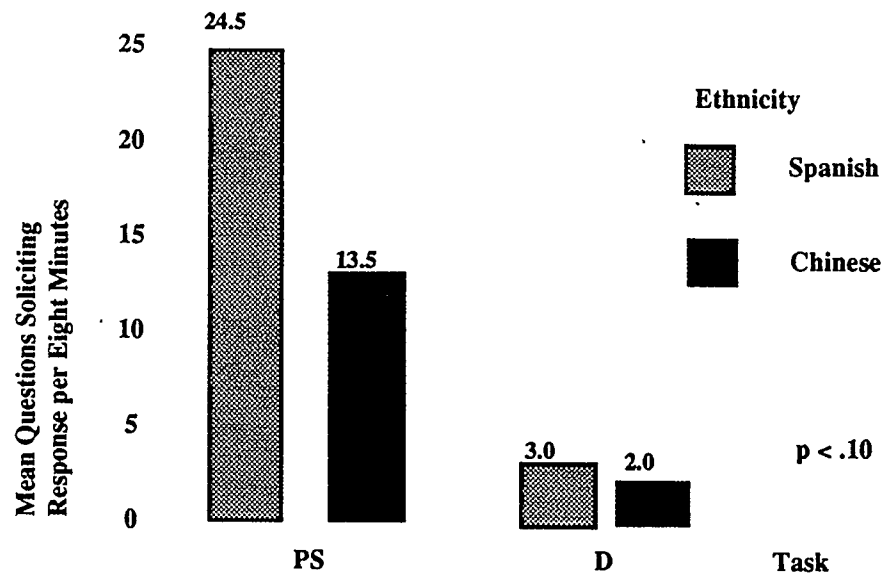
Figure 11: Main Effect for Task with Questions
Soliciting Response as Dependent Measure

Figure 12: Main Effect for Ethnicity with Questions
Soliciting Response as Dependent Measure
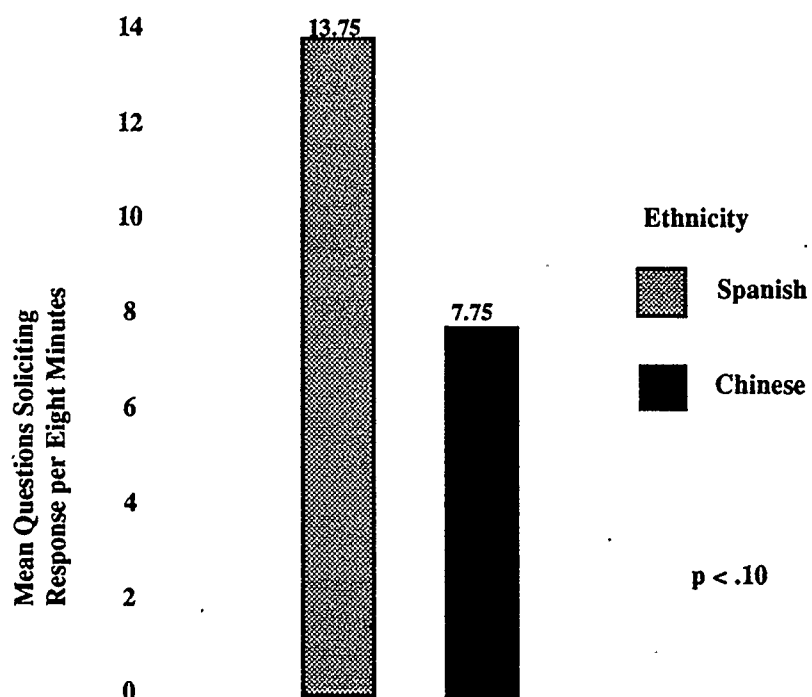
Table 2

Summary of Analysis of Variance due to Culture, Task and Ethnicity for Total Words

Source of Variance	d.f.	M.S.	F	tail prob.
Ethnicity*	1	3,813.06	.34	.61
Culture**	1	105.06	.05	.84
Culture/Ethnicity	1	.56	.00	.98
Task	1	1,350.56	.12	.76
Task/Ethnicity	1	20,808.06	1.78	.31

*   Ethnicity refers to Spanish or Chinese first language.
* * Culture refers to same or cross-culture.

Table 3

Cell Means and Standard Deviations due to Culture, Task and Ethnicity for Total Subject Words

ETHNICITY	Spanish	s.d.	Chinese	s.d.	Marginal
Same Culture					
Problem Solving	409.0	39.5	306.5	6.3	357.75
Debate	382.5	24.7	424.0	182.4	403.25
Cross Culture					
Problem Solving	431.5	64.3	328.0	5.6	379.75
Debate	350.5	28.9	391.5	113.8	371.00
Marginal	393.4		362.5		377.90

Table 4

Summary of Analysis of Variance
due to Culture, Task and Ethnicity
for Total Subject Turns

Source of Variance	d.f.	M.S.	F	tail prob.
Ethnicity*	1	7.56	.03	.8773
Culture**	1	885.06	3.74	.1928
Culture/Ethnicity	1	3.06	.01	.9198
Task	1	8,789.06	28,125.00	.0000
Task/Ethnicity	1	232.56	744.20	.0013
Culture/Task	1	264.06	845.00	.0012
Culture/Task/Ethnicity	1	232.56	744.20	.0013

*   Ethnicity refers to Spanish or Chinese first language.
**   Culture refers to same or cross-culture.

Table 5

Cell Means and Standard Deviations
due to Culture, Task and Ethnicity
for Total Subject Turns

ETHNICITY	Spanish	s.d.	Chinese	s.d.	Marginal
Same Culture					
Problem Solving	59.0	0.0	41.5	0.7	50.25
Debate	5.0	0.0	18.0	0.0	11.50
Cross Culture					
Problem Solving	73.5	14.8	73.0	15.5	73.25
Debate	18.5	16.2	18.0	15.5	18.25
Marginal	39.0		37.6		38.31

Table 6

Summary of Analysis of Variance
due to Culture, Task and Ethnicity
for Words per Turn

Source of Variance	d.f.	M.S.	F	tail prob.
Ethnicity*	1	770.06	4.62	.164
Culture**	1	430.56	2.17	.279
Culture/Ethnicity	1	588.06	2.96	.220
Task	1	4,795.56	31.64	.030
Task/Ethnicity	1	715.56	4.72	.161

* · Ethnicity refers to Spanish or Chinese first language.
* * Culture refers to same or cross-culture.

Table 7

Cell Means and Standard Deviations
due to Culture, Task and Ethnicity
for Words per Turn

ETHNICITY	Spanish	s.d.	Chinese	s.d.	Marginal
Same Culture					
Problem Solving	6.5	0.7	7.0	0.0	6.75
Debate	76.5	4.9	24.0	11.3	50.25
Cross Culture					
Problem Solving	6.0	0.0	4.5	0.7	5.25
Debate	32.0	29.7	30.0	19.8	31.00
Marginal	30.3		16.4		23.31

Table 8

Summary of Analysis of Variance
due to Culture, Task and Ethnicity
for Stolen Turns

Source of Variance	d.f.	M.S.	F	tail prob.
Ethnicity*	1	132.25	8.46	.10
Culture**	1	4.00	.16	.72
Culture/Ethnicity	1	.25	.01	.92
Task	1	4.84	34.27	.02
Task/Ethnicity	1	156.25	11.06	.07
Culture/Task	1	25.00	1.38	.36
Culture/Task/Ethnicity	1	12.25	.68	.49

* Ethnicity refers to Spanish or Chinese first language.
** Culture refers to same or cross-culture.

Table 9

Cell Means and Standard Deviations
due to Culture, Task and Ethnicity
for Stolen Turns

ETHNICITY	Spanish	s.d.	Chinese	s.d.	Marginal
Same Culture					
Problem Solving	17.5	3.5	3.5	0.7	10.50
Debate	1.0	0.0	3.0	0.0	2.00
Cross Culture					
Problem Solving	19.0	5.6	9.0	9.9	14.00
Debate	1.0	1.4	0.0	0.0	00.50
Marginal	9.6		3.9		6.75

Table 10

<u>Summary of Analysis of Variance
due to Culture, Task and Ethnicity
for Questions Soliciting Response</u>

<u>Source of Variance</u>	<u>d.f.</u>	<u>M.S.</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>tail prob.</u>
Ethnicity*	1	144.00	11.08	.07
Culture**	1	25.00	.15	.73
Culture/Ethnicity	1	26.00	.09	.78
Task	1	1,089.00	136.13	.007
Task/Ethnicity	1	100.00	12.50	.07
Culture/Task	1	16.00	.13	.75
Culture/Task/Ethnicity	1	1.00	.01	.93

*   Ethnicity refers to Spanish or Chinese first language.
* *   Culture refers to same or cross-culture.

Table 11

<u>Cell Means and Standard Deviations
due to Culture, Task and Ethnicity
for Questions Soliciting a Response</u>

<u>ETHNICITY</u>	<u>Spanish</u>	<u>s.d.</u>	<u>Chinese</u>	<u>s.d.</u>	<u>Marginal</u>
Same Culture					
Problem Solving	21.5	13.4	12.0	8.5	16.75
Debate	1.5	0.7	3.0	2.8	2.25
Cross Culture					
Problem Solving	27.5	19.1	15.0	1.4	21.25
Debate	4.5	0.7	1.0	1.4	2.75
<u>Marginal</u>	13.8		7.7		10.75

Table 12

Summary of Means on Dependent Measures
According to Independent Variables
of Ethnicity, Task and Culture (Eight dyads)

Dependent Measures

Independent Variables	Total Subject Words	Total Subject Turns	Subject Words per Turn	Stolen Turns	Questions Soliciting a Response
Ethnicity					
Spanish	393.3	39.0	30.33	9.6	13.75
Chinese	362.5	37.6	16.68	3.9	6.50
Culture					
Same	380.5	30.9	28.80	6.3	10.75
Cross	375.3	45.8	18.21	7.3	12.00
Task					
Problem Solving	331.4	61.8	6.20	8.0	19.00
Debate	387.1	14.9	40.80	1.3	2.50

Table 13

Summary for Task Type, Ethnicity
and Dependent Measures

Task	Problem Solving		Debate	
Ethnicity	Spanish	Chinese	Spanish	Chinese
Total Words	409.00	306.50	382.5	424.0
Total Turns	54.00	41.50	5.0	18.0
Subject Words per Turn	6.92	7.38	76.5	24.4
Stolen Turns	17.50	3.50	1.0	3.0
Questions Soliciting Response	21.50	12.00	1.5	3.0

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Summary of Results

Analysis of the data showed support for Hypotheses 1, 2 and 3, which follow.

Given Problem Solving (PS) and Debate (D) tasks in dyadic interaction:

(1)   Regarding ethnicity, there will be significant behavioural differences manifested as

(1a)   Chinese (CH) and Spanish (S) speakers interact differently in the two cultural conditions of same cultural versus cross-cultural conversation.

(1b)   Chinese and Spanish speakers interact differently under the two task conditions of Problem Solving and Debate.

(2)   Regarding culture, both Spanish and Chinese subjects will show differences in same cultural and in cross-cultural dyads, regardless of task type or ethnicity of the interlocutor.

(3)   Regarding task, differences in dependent measures of turns, words per turn, turns stolen and questions soliciting a response will be attributable to task type, either Problem Solving or Debate.

Supported Hypotheses

Hypothesis One

Hypothesis 1a

Regarding ethnicity, Spanish and Chinese speakers interacted quite differently in same and cross-cultural conditions as was evidenced in a significant three-way interaction among culture, task and ethnicity in regard to total turns. Spanish took only 21% of the combined same cultural Debate total turns (5 of 23). Spanish subjects took essentially the same number of Problem Solving and Debate turns as Chinese in cross-cultural dyads. (See Figure 3). Conversely, Chinese interaction maintained an equilibrium in

same and cross-cultural Debate tasks, but manifested a vast difference between same (41.5) and cross=cultural (73.0) Problem Solving turns. These findings are in agreement with Hypothesis 1a. This prediction, regarding differences in same and cross-cultural interaction, was made because of the expectation that the more relaxed interplay of same cultural conversation would more truly reflect the cultural norms in regard to Spanish uncertainty avoidance (Matsumoto, 1989) and the Chinese viewpoint that politeness is a moral maxim (Gu, 1990).

The Chinese in-group/out-group orientation (Hui, 1990; Negandhi, 1973) could predispose a competitive stance in cross-cultural turn taking in Problem Solving tasks, spurred onward to production of more turns by the Spanish individualistic norms for sincere open expression (Hui and Triandis, 1989; Matsumoto, 1989), as well as the less polite male to male interchange for Spanish (Milan, 1976). Another explanation for more cross-cultural turn taking could be the need for repair or negotiation for meaning (Gaskill, 1980; Schwartz, 1980; Varonis and Gass, 1985). Rhetorical organization could affect quantitative turn taking, in that the Chinese circular style could culminate in less same cultural turn taking while the Spanish linear style with digressions (Kaplan, 1972; Kun Yu, 1988; Matalene, 1985; Young, 1982) could account for Spanish having more turns same culturally than do Chinese. Since these groups tend to maintain their cultural rhetorical style in writing (Norment, 1984), it is reasonable to assume these styles would also be maintained in speaking, thus affecting same cultural conversation. Indeed, Duff observed that ethnic interactional tendencies are maintained in both same and cross-cultural conversation (Duff, 1986, p. 169). Turn taking, a capability which is achieved as early as three months (Batson, 1971; Jaffe, Stern, and Perry, 1973; Snow, 1976), is evidently a cultivated cultural speech habit whose style can be deeply ingrained, according to the mother's perception of her role (Steward and Steward, 1973).

Hypothesis 1b

Significant behavioural differences were manifested as Spanish and Chinese speakers interacted differently under the two task type conditions of

Problem Solving and Debate. Not only were differences apparent in the significant three-way interaction among culture, task and ethnicity regarding total turns, but task and ethnicity were also involved in a significant two-way interaction involving total turns. The interactions point to subtleties which impact ethnic interplay as tasks are performed in the cross-cultural classroom.

The three-way interaction data suggest that Spanish react more to task type by taking fewer same cultural turns than cross-cultural turns in Debate tasks, while Chinese maintain a turn-taking equilibrium, whether in same .cultural Problem Solving tasks or cross-cultural Debate tasks. Spanish subjects showed an extreme difference between cross-cultural Problem Solving turns (73.5) and turns taken in same cultural Debate tasks (5.0). At the same time, Chinese show no turn taking variation (18.0) in Debate whether same or cross-cultural, but fewer same cultural Problem Solving turns (41.5) than Spanish (59.0). (See Figure 3).

Chinese show less variance in overall total turns between tasks, as they take 57.3 Problem Solving turns and 18.0 Debate turns compared to the wider variance for Spanish, with 66.2 Problem Solving turns and 11.75 overall Debate turns. Spanish subjects showed significantly more variation with Task type as they took comparatively more turns than Chinese in Problem Solving, but comparatively fewer turns in Debate tasks than did Chinese in a two-way interaction. (See Figure 4). These findings agree with Hypothesis 1b.

Differences were predicted because Chinese maintain a subdued response style (Gu, 1990) and a low need for exhibition (Fenz and Arkoff, 1962) rather than the extreme response (Hui and Triandis, 1989), in this case to task type, common to Spanish ethnicity. The data regarding a two-way interaction between task type and ethnicity, indicate that the Spanish react more to task type, which could fit their pattern for an extreme response (Hui and Triandis , 1989). Chinese subjects do not react as extremely to task type, but maintain an equilibrium typical of their response style (Gu, 1990).

These ethnicity findings are also underscored by trends displayed in two additional two-way interactions and two main effects. In a two-way

interaction involving task and ethnicity regarding stolen turns, as well as a two-way interaction involving questions soliciting a response, ethnic differences are apparent. Chinese tend to steal more convergent Problem Solving turns (14.0) than Spanish (10.5), but Spanish steal more divergent Debate turns (.0) than do Chinese (0.5) (p <.10). (See Figure 7). Spanish, however, steal more overall turns, a further trend which emerged in a main effect for ethnicity. (See Figure 8). This finding parallels Duff's (1986) comparison, which found significantly more Chinese than Japanese turns stolen, a definite effect for ethnicity (p. 165). The Spanish viewpoint that stolen turns prove participant interest in the conversation (Noble and Lacasa, 1991) could precipitate Spanish lead in stolen turns. The collectivist attitude of Chinese could lend to unconscious turn stealing in convergent tasks in which two people are striving to think as one.

The two-way interaction between task and ethnicity implicating questions soliciting a response again shows a trend toward more variance for Spanish subjects. Spanish ask 24.5 questions in Problem Solving tasks compared to 3.0 in Debate, while Chinese have only 13.5 Problem Solving questions and 2.0 Debate questions. (See Figure 10). Further variance emerged in a main effect for ethnicity in which Spanish formulated more questions. (See Figure 12). In a parallel, Duff's (1986) comparison found that Chinese asked more questions than Japanese, an effect for ethnicity (p. 165). Spanish dominance in regard to questions soliciting a response could be expected since Spanish cultural norms do not squelch expression of negative emotions (Hofstede, 1982). Asian culture, however, represses negative expression. Low autonomy needs of Chinese and Chinese value on cooperation (Patterson, 1977) would likely discourage questions. Since Asian culture is most distant from western culture (Samovar, Porter and Jain, 1981), it could be expected that Spanish would ask more questions than Chinese without fear of appearing negative. These findings could be attributed to low uncertainty avoidance in Chinese, as opposed to high uncertainty avoidance in Latin Americans (Hofstede, 1982). Questions soliciting a response leave the interrogator open to an uncertain response. Gudykunst, however, sees the whole negotiation for

meaning process as a quest for uncertainty reduction (Gudykunst, 1985, cited in Sajavaara, 1987, p. 28). Thus, Spanish would use questions in an effort for clarification to overcome uncertainty. In fact, Spanish used 61 percent of the total clarification requests (21 of 34). (See Figure 12). The Gudykunst observation could explain Spanish lead in questions soliciting a response. Chinese are less affected by task type while Spanish tend to ask more questions soliciting a response, whether in Problem Solving or Debate tasks.

Hypothesis Two

Regarding same versus cross-cultural interaction, Spanish and Chinese subjects showed differences in both cultural milieu. This difference is evidenced in the significant three-way interaction which shows Spanish subjects exhibiting more difference in same cultural total turns, between the Problem Solving and Debate tasks. Chinese had a more stable turn taking pattern, especially so in same cultural tasks. In a significant three-way interaction among culture, task and ethnicity in regard to total turns, Spanish took more turns in cross - cultural (73.0) than in same cultural (59.0) Problem Solving tasks. The Chinese had an even more marked difference with a mean of 73.0 cross-cultural turns compared to 41.5 same cultural turns in Problem Solving (See Figure 3). These findings agree with Hypothesis 2.

Although no three-way prediction was made, this finding could be attributed to in-group/out-group orientation of Chinese. In this viewpoint, comparatively aggressive turn taking with the out-group, but collective convergent cooperation with the in-group, would result in generosity in same cultural turn taking. Triandis postulates that collectivist oriented people (such as Chinese) are very "cooperative and helpful" in association with in-group members, but in association with strangers (the out-group) "they tend to be competitive and not helpful" (Triandis, [in press], MS p.42, cited in Hui, 1990, p. 198). In parallel, Duff (1986) also found significant cross and same cultural differences, with Chinese leading Japanese (p. 165).

Hypothesis Three

In regard to task, this study showed significantly more turns, stolen turns and questions soliciting a response in Problem Solving tasks (See

Figures 5, 9 and 11), but significantly more words per turn in Debate tasks. (See Figure 6). Each of these findings agrees with Hypothesis 3. These predictions were made, not only to replicate Duff's (1986) findings on turns, words per turn and questions soliciting a reponse in Problem Solving and Debate tasks, but also because of the convergent nature of Problem Solving as opposed to the divergent nature of Debate. Debate has fewer but longer turns, giving less opportunity for the interplay of stolen turns and questions soliciting a response. These present findings show contrast of task type: short turned Problem Solving as opposed to divergent long turned Debate. The results regarding more turns and more questions in Problem Solving as well as more words per turn in Debate are in keeping with Duff's findings. Although Problem Solving has more quantitative findings than Debate, these data suggest the complementary pedagogical nature of these two task types. The longer Debate turns require more abstract self assertive reasoning. In complement, the shorter turned Problem Solving reasoning has unconscious cooperative turn stealing in addition to questions soliciting a response.

Linguistic factors could affect participation. Since Spanish is a Proto-Indo-European language, an Eastern Romance language, Latin from the Italic branch (Nobel, 1982, p. 26), its kinship to West Germanic English of the Proto-Indo-European languages should make fluency in English more negotiable when contrasted with Sinitic Chinese (p. 30), a different linguistic orientation. Thus we see the possibility of a myriad of subtleties which impact ethnic interplay as tasks are performed in the cross-cultural classroom.

Limitations

The generalizability of the findings of the present research is subject to several limitations. It could be suggested that the sample size could limit generalizability. It must be pointed out, however, that the sample size is not small for this kind of research. Because the transcription and coding of the data are labor intensive, most researchers use only a few subjects. Recall that Duff (1986) had limited subjects for her widely reported and often cited study. Moreover, we must not overlook the usefulness of educational studies, which also use a limited number of subjects. A small sample size can be conducive to

researcher awareness of individual needs and differences, the core concern of effective educators and researchers seeking to understand subjects' behaviour. The near stuttering syndrome of Chinese 1 is a case in point.

Second, the samples are not random. Since subjects needed to be communicative in a teacherless task, it was necessary to seek advanced level subjects who fitted the ethnicity and gender criteria. The classic random sample of fifty was not a real possibility.

Third, it is possible the subjects were not equally prepared for the vocabulary involved in the chosen tasks. Although student vocabulary was not well matched in some situations, subjects used these mismatches to generate teaching/learning situations.

It is wise to keep in mind that fundamental exploratory research is necessary to determine variables needed for focus in larger sample sizes in subsequent research.

Implications for Future Research

The controlled variables of first language, proficiency level, familiarity and gender could be enhanced by control of age and, if it were possible, conditions under which English was studied. Proficiency, rather than length of time English was studied must remain a controlled variable, since more hours are required for Chinese first language students than Spanish first language students, due to linguistic features. Another study using female subjects in these two language groups would be helpful. The addition of English speaking Canadian subjects would add another cultural dimension.

A closer look at task types could be pedagogically helpful. Although Problem Solving tasks generate more quantitative data for conversational analysis, the data in Debate warrants a deeper look. The organization of ideas to be presented in confrontational fashion perhaps requires more strategic abstract reasoning processes than does the congenial interaction of concrete Problem Solving.

Conversational analysis of other contrasting linguistic and cultural groups among Canadian immigrant populations could prove helpful to

educators in multicultural classrooms, since it sheds light upon the complexities of interethnic communications.

Sociological circumstances could affect results. Spanish speakers and Chinese speakers inhabit diverse geographical and cultural areas of the world. Broad categories of Spanish subjects and Chinese subjects might be more minutely defined. Beyond observations that language reflects culture, geographic and political situations have influence upon persons of any one particular language group.

Hofstede's (1982) research, a comprehensive study of fifty countries and three world regions, pointed out some distinct political geographic cultural variances within language groups. Charting an individualism index in correlation with wealth measured in gross national product/capital (GNP), Hofstede charted Canada fifth in individualism (80/90) and third in wealth (375/500) in those nations surveyed. Hong Kong and El Salvador individualism indexes rated (25/90) and (19/90) respectively, with GNP ratings of (120/500) and (12/500), showing El Salvador closer to the bottom of the scale in both individualism and GNP. Only 12 of 50 countries were below El Salvador in GNP. Nicaragua was not shown in the tables (p. 344). A correlation of individualism with GNP could affect results within a language group if subjects were from diverse socioeconomic areas.

In a ranking of stereotypical masculinity, which discloses preference for assertiveness, achievement and material success, Hong Kong ranked 33 on a scale of 48. El Salvador, in contrast, had a feminine stance with a masculinity rank of 14 (Hofstede, 1982, p. 342). A broad range on masculinity among Latin American countries was displayed. Stereotypically categorized feminine countries, with sympathy for a welfare state, cluster as small economically depressed entities. Larger stronger Latin American countries have stereotypically categorized masculine cultural traits (pp. 342, 347, 348). The 16th century European settlement in South America involved cultural mixing of Spanish-Portuguese and native Indian cultures. The feminine Maya and Inca cultures and the masculine Aztec mixed with feminine Mediterranean influences, lending flavour affected by geographical boundaries. The

femininity stereotypical category was reinforced in small geographic countries such as El Salvador and Nicaragua. As larger governmental units, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico and Venezuela developed as Gibson's masculine categorty of countries (Gibson, 1966 , p. 135, cited in Hofstede, 1982, pp. 348, 349).

Hong Kong is higher in individualism and stereotypical masculinity than its flourishing sister, former Crown Colony of Singapore, also with a predominantly Chinese population (Hofstede, 1982, p. 350). These attributes, coupled with low uncertainty avoidance, could produce surprisingly dominant conversationalists. China had not been surveyed. Nevis' observations, however, in mainland China prompted him to drastically revise Maslow's need hierarchy. Workers in China prioritized serving the country's needs, putting belongingness needs before physiological safety and self actualization needs. Self actualization was actually visualized in terms of social service to the nation (Nevis, 1983, cited in Hui, 1990, p. 189).

Thus we see the possibility of definite cultural variances among Asian Chinese speakers and also among Spanish speakers in South America. This present study represents, then, mores of stereotypically feminine Spanish American countries and a stereotypically masculine Hong Kong population. A study using Spanish countries categorized by Hofstede and Gibson as masculine, contrasted with China, would be an interesting essay.

Pedagogical Implications

The reason for educational research is bettering pedagogy for benefit of individual students. The present research implicates several ideas useful in the intermediate and advanced ESL classroom.

Subjects were more wordy in the initial five minutes of discussion than they were in the final five minutes. Shorter, more frequent oral activities might be of benefit in the classroom setting.

Main effect for task, which shows Problem Solving tasks generating more turns, stolen turns and questions than Debate, suggests that more interaction happens in Problem Solving than Debate. Although this conclusion is well and good, it does not necessarily follow that short-turned

Problem Solving is more conducive to second language acquisition than Debate with significantly longer turns. Nunan (1990) voiced the opinion that modern language teaching overly concerns itself with short interactional exchanges in which the learner is expected to produce "one or two utterances at a time" (p. 27). Brown and Yule (1983) assert, "it must be clear that students who are only capable of producing short turns are going to experience a lot of frustration when they try to speak the foreign language" (pp. 19, 20). Long (1990) observes, "the inability to take up long turns in conversation is a feature of many second language speakers, who keep to short turns and appear to be less than collaborative conversational partners" (p. 70).

Nunan (1990) stresses the need for skills in both short and long speaking turns in his listing of skills necessary for oral communication. His list enumerates skills needed for both Problem Solving and Debate. These include : articulation of phonological features; "mastering of stress, rhythm, intonation and fluency"; transactional and interpersonal skills; "management of interaction"; negotiation of meaning; listening skills; ability to recognize and negotiate purposes for conversations; and "using appropriate conversational formulae and fillers" (p. 32) .

Convergent Problem Solving dialogue, with its rapid turn taking, likely involves a different type of reasoning than divergent Debate. Confrontational Debate involves development of argumentative organization, indicative of deeper cognitive reasoning than the interplay of Problem Solving. A qualitative facet not easily observed in quantitative measurement must be credited to Debate. Thus, pedagogy can well employ both Problem Solving and Debate in second language acquisition. Problem Solving tasks generate interaction through rapid turn taking. Chinese and Spanish take essentially the same number of turns in cross-cultural Problem Solving and Debate. Spanish, however, take more turns than Chinese in same cultural Problem Solving. Chinese steal more turns in Problem Solving than do Spanish, while Spanish steal more turns in Debate. Spanish ask more questions in Problem Solving than do Chinese. Although these differences could possibly reflect

different response styles, they could also reflect different learning style preferences between Chinese and Spanish subjects.

Learning Styles

Reid (1987) found a broad spectrum of preferred learning styles among Chinese students from varied geographic backgrounds (p. 98). Spanish speakers preferred tactile and kenesthetic styles while Chinese students' most preferred style was visual (pp. 96, 98). Reid's survey showed group work to be the least favored, a minor or negative, for both United States and international students (p. 97).

Although Reid's data would not encourage group work, these present research data do imply the usefulness of dyads in second language acquisition. Sadow suggests that pair work is the first step in leading students toward group work (Rivers, 1987, p. 34). Davidman demonstrated that learning styles are habitual, rather than genetic attributes and therefore can be modified. (Davidman, 1981, cited in Reid, 1987, p. 100). Fourier(1984) suggested that mature students "learn intuitively to adjust ...."(p. 153). An instructor can stretch learning style experience by introducing new styles as part of a gradually adopted eclectic approach. Instructional modes would wisely begin with those familiar to the student's cultural background and broaden from this familiar base. A teacher must be knowledgeable regarding level of education and career interests in addition to learning style preference. Since teachers have favourite pedagogical styles, bending should not be in the direction of a teacher's favourite style of instruction, but to enhance and broaden the learning experience of students. Gallimore (1985) stressed that the situation of cultural minorities needs to be approached and understood in terms of differences, not deficits (p. 69).

This approach would allow children to maintain family values while successfully learning basic skills. Gallimore (1985) prescribed emphasis on "teacher centered comprehension instruction" coupled with "peer teaching/ learning in independent work" (p. 8). Peer tutoring apparently needed to be gender segregated among Navajos, but mixed genders were acceptable with Hawaiians (p. 12). An educational ideal consists of a mixture of culture and

school practices adapted to local conditions, an interpretation which produces a blend (p. 22). Dyads are a transitional pedagogical tool which can trigger student participation effectively, since each student is obligated to bear her share of the conversational load and it is natural to conversational setting.

Dyads Foster Learning

Second language acquisition can be fostered by judicious use of conversational dyads. Doughty and Pica (1986) found that pair work tasks which required information exchange generated conversational modification in classroom interaction. Both the Doughty and Pica study and Fotos and Ellis found that dyads produced the most modification and negotiation, followed by groups and then teacher-fronted activity (Fotos and Ellis, 1991, p. 620). Long (1989) observed that two-way tasks make meaning exchange necessary. If these tasks are well planned and permit participant preparation time, they allow more negotiation than do unplanned tasks. A fortress of researchers (Doughty and Pica, 1986; Long and Porter, 1985; Pica and Doughty, 1985; Porter, 1986; Rulon and McCreary, 1986) found that student to student interaction produced longer sentences with speech no less grammatical than teacher fronted tasks (Fotos and Ellis, 1991, pp. 609, 610). The most modification happened when all participants were nonnative speakers, who had varying proficiency levels, but different first languages (Doughty and Pica, 1986, pp. 305, 320, 321).

Transcription in the present study shows that students of the same basic level can complement mutual growth in vocabulary, syntax and pronunciation. Following are samples from the transcription which illustrate growth in these three areas:

Vocabulary growth --

S 2 : Fir [st aid   [kit.

CH 2 :   [uhh   [uhh. What's first aid kit?

What is it?

```
S 2 :   It's -- it's contains uhh -- a small sings --
            for examples -- hif you got uhh -- uhh -- If you
                got huurt -- huurt -- or -- or -- jew --
            have a pain
CH 2 : Uhh [  (     )  I see --
S 2 :           [  (      ;
```

Syntax growth --

```
S 1 :   Is -- is not enough -- is not enough guarantee
            to be wisdom.
CH 1 : (       )  I thing that wisdom is uhh come from
            thuh -- from -- from thuh -- older people --
            because  uhh -- some of
S 1 :   But I don't think so because -- ehh -- wisdom ehh
            is --
```

Pronunciation   growth --

Skepticism concerning the possibilities of dyadic pairs stoking the growth of mispronunciation can not be supported in the transcription of the present research.   Mispronunciations during the speech of S2 were later corrected by S2 himself when CH2 was responsible for speaking these same words.

```
S 2 :   From group fie, I choose -- a set of knives, a
            fishing pole, and uhh first I'dit -- I'd  kit --  kit
CH 2 : Knives,  feeshing  poled -- uhh first -- et  kit --
S 2 :   First aid kit.
```

There are, however, vowel and consonant mispronunciations which these two groups could perpetuate. The vowel sounds in seat/sit, pool/pull, carp/cot/cup and the consonant clusters, as well as /z/,/v/ and /h/ consonants are problematic to both of these language groups (Swan and Smith, 1990, pp. 73, 75, 225, 226). Since these and other interchanges are common for diverse language background students coming to ESL, pronunciation review and teacher modelling are important.

Pair work multiplies time for oral practice in class. Since most conversation outside class is one on one, pair work makes a natural conversational situation. Byrne (1987) suggests fostering accuracy work by modelling and whole class practice with key phrases on the board before pair work begins. Time allowance is short for lower level dialogues with immediate feedback (praise) for accurate work. Consistent mistakes can be reviewed. Fluency pairs are less structured (pp. 31-35, 51, 106). Pairs aid development of listening comprehension in natural conversation.

Dyads, then, give opportunity for peer tutoring. Dyads in the same proficiency level can, not only mutually round out peer deficiencies in grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation as illustrated earlier, but unmatched proficiencies can also be complementary as the lower level student generates questions and the upper level student cognitively generates explanations. Dyads foster enrichment in cross-cultural situations.

Cross-cultural Implications

Cross-cultural conversational interaction displays more effervescence. This volatile action is displayed in more overall mean turns generated in cross-cultural interaction, especially in Problem Solving tasks, for each ethnic group. Not only more turns, but more questions were also generated in cross-cultural dyads, rendering an acute accountability to cross-cultural interchange. These findings implicate that helpful conversational practice is gained by both Chinese and Spanish ethnic groups through utilization of cross-cultural dyads. Long's (1983) interaction hypothesis emphasized acquisition through comprehension checks and clarification requests. Swain's (1985) comprehensible output hypothesis was supported by Pica, Holliday, Lewin and Morgenthaler (1989), who found that "pushed output" solicited by clarification requests fostered learning.

In addition to Doughty and Pica's (1986) findings on more modifications in non-native speaker/non-native speaker pairs, Varonis and Gass (1983) found that non-native speakers' discourse allowed for more opportunity in negotiation for meaning. They suggest that non-native speaker/non-native speaker interaction is particularly functional because the non-native

speaker pairing is less threatening than pairing with a native speaker and also because participants are able to receive input they have negotiated (pp. 71, 84, 86, 87). Since Chinese tend to maintain conversational style across tasks, while Spanish are more responsive to task type, cross-cultural performance gives rise to the need for the teacher to have sociolinguistic consciousness.

Teacher as Sociolinguist

Kohn (1980) declared that each class is an experiment in social interaction and that a teacher is the best applied sociolinguist of all. Since ultimate responsibility for language learning rests with the student, it is teacher responsibility to remove all possible inhibitors. Fostering positive student self-image, reducing social and psychological distance between students as well as between students and their community, assisting students to integrate in-class learning with community living and counselling students to "accept the new language and new personality they find developing in themselves as they learn English" (pp. 50, 51) is part of the teacher's role as sociolinguist. Additive and subtractive language has positive or negative effects on the language learner's self image.

In this present study, Chinese subjects from the British Crown Colony of Hong Kong have an acquaintance with English instruction for as long as thirteen years. Spanish speakers have as little as three years' experience with English instruction. Scott espoused that bilingual children develop a special type of cognitive flexibility, termed divergent thinking. Divergent thinking encourages creative possibility thinking. His research showed that bilingual children had a distinct advantage over monolingual children when both languages were respected and of social value (Scott, 1973, cited in Lambert, 1975, pp. 66, 67). Thus, the Chinese subjects in this study likely have an advantage in early English literacy.

In the British Colony of Hong Kong, subjects often begin English study early in their academic experience. English is a respected additive language to complement respected cultural Cantonese. Limited higher education opportunities in Hong Kong encourage the instrumental motivation of early

English study, useful later in a foreign university. Since the early seventies,
Hong Kong Chinese students have studied in Canada rather freely (Wong, 1979,
p. 63). Early experience with English in a democratic British colony could
orient students to English language reasoning patterns and cultural
viewpoints. This background could develop their reasoning power for
divergent Debate tasks in which Chinese had more total words, total turns,
stolen turns and questions soliciting a response than Spanish speaking
subjects in Debate tasks. Yet, Spanish maintained more words per turn in
Debate tasks (S 76.5, CH 24.4). (See Table 13).

Conversely, Spanish subjects in this study have as little as three years
experience with English, which was begun in their fourth or fifth decade of
life as a more or less subtractive language studied in their new Canadian
culture. The threatening political aura in the first culture of these Spanish
subjects, which prompted them to become refugees, likely hampered free
expression. This habitual repressive attitude could hamper free expression in
their new culture and language. Their efforts to learn Canadian English as
refugees necessitates putting aside first language; eclipsing a core identity
symbol. Padilla and Long found that Spanish - American children and
adolescents make better adjustment and are more efficient language learners
if their Spanish culture is kept alive (Padilla and Long, 1969, cited in
Lambert , 1975, p. 75). Peal [Anisfield] and Lambert's (1962) research with
French Canadians and Lambert and Tucker's (1972) research with English
Canadians found that students given second language education early in their
school experience not only advanced in cognitive development, but also had a
charitable attitude toward the other major Canadian culture group
((Lambert and Tucker, 1972, cited in Lambert, 1975, p. 75; Peal [Anisfield] and
Lambert , 1962, cited in Lambert, 1975, p. 75).

Jaramillo (1973) places as much importance upon a teacher's
understanding of cultural differences as knowledge of proper techniques and
possession of excellent materials and curriculum (p. 51). Teachers'
preparation for the multilingual classroom requires cross-cultural sensitivity
training. Cross-cultural differences which are ignored invite

misinterpretation and cumulative "though perhaps unintentional" discrimination (Tannen, 1985, p. 212). Raising consciousness of their own cultural personal beliefs, values, ethnic identity and feelings can be a first step toward teacher understanding of the cultural values of others.

Wyatt -Beynon (1985) found reflective writing as part of a multiethnic education course helpful to statistically significant attitude change in teacher trainees and in-service teachers. This research was based on social psychological findings that : (1) unexamined results of socialization produces negative attitudes; (2) positive attitudes are correlated with well developed empathy and self esteem; (3) compared to a control group, subjects who participated in reflective writing as a part of their multiethnic education course reported development of self awareness and the need for positive actions. Reflective writing helped these teachers and teacher trainees to consciously examine and clarify unconsciously attained social attitudes and to become aware of a need for change (pp. 34, 43, 44, 46, 47).

The recent Citizens' Forum on Canada's Future brought forth some Canadian values in individual expressions on cross-cultural understanding. A grade nine student of Bedford, Nova Scotia bluntly observed in **Young People Speak,** "Everyone should spend more time learning about other cultures and races in Canada. It's a lot harder to hate people when you understand them than when you just see them as different" (Spicer, 1991, p. 10). The Forum report on adults expressed a consciousness that cultural diversity needs maintenance, "however, we must remain Canadian first" (Spicer, 1991, p. 85), as a part of national identity in the midst of cultural diversity.

Facing the unfamiliar by hearing, listening, acting, reflecting and heeding, as new knowledge becomes unconsciously internalized, is at the heart of cultural awareness and that enhancement of self termed "learning" (Barer-Stein, 1988, pp. 71, 72, 80, 88).

Conclusion

The present research was concerned with determining ethnic conversational variation between Chinese first language and Spanish first language learners of ESL. This issue was approached by comparing conversational analyses of Chinese and Spanish male subjects in same cultural and cross-cultural dyads in Problem Solving and Debate tasks. Eight dyads were analyzed in which subjects completed identical tasks. As was hypothesized, ethnic differences were evidenced regarding same versus cross-cultural dyads. In a rich three-way interaction among culture, task and ethnicity Chinese males took more same cultural Debate turns than Spanish males, while Spanish led in same cultural Problem Solving turns. Regarding task type conditions, significant behavioural differences show that Spanish react more to task type than do Chinese. Spanish subjects produce a wide turn taking differentiation between Problem Solving and Debate tasks, while Chinese maintain an equilibrium. Both Chinese and Spanish take more turns in cross-cultural than in same cultural interaction.

In agreement with prediction regarding tasks, significantly more turns, stolen turns and questions soliciting a response were generated in Problem Solving tasks while more words per turn were produced in Debate.

Questions for further research emerge from the present study. Conversational analysis of other contrastive major immigrant ethnic populations could prove pedagogically helpful. Research concerning female subjects in the Spanish and Chinese populations would augment these present findings. A possibility of broader contrasts would be the selection of subjects according to femininity or masculinity of the country of origin, rather than first language alone. China and a larger South American country could be a ripe contrast. Task analysis of Debate versus Problem Solving warrants a deeper look, especially if research could focus on the longer turns and organization needed for confrontational debate.

Since the conversational dyad holds promise for ESL learner development, teacher knowledge of the ethnocultural background of subject

pairings facilitates learning in the multicultural classroom, a mosaic of the human race.

> A man [that is, a person] bleeds, suffers, despairs, not as an American or a Russian, or a Chinese, but in his [or her] innermost being as a member of a single human race. (Adlai Stevenson 1963, cited in Santa Barbara County Board of Education 1972:IV).

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RESEARCHER'S TASK BOOKLET

Part A   Problem Solving   Task One

(Cross-Cultural)

The Desert Island

You are on a ship. It is sinking. There are small rubber boats. You can use these boats to go to safe land. Every person has a place on a boat. The boats can hold only a few things you need. You can see a small desert island in the distance. If your boat gets there safely, you will need things to help you live until you are rescued.

Look at the list of things you have been given. You can take only THREE things from each group. Together you must decide (and agree completely) on which things to take and which things to leave behind.

GROUP 1	GROUP 2	GROUP 3
large flares	pillows	fresh water
matches	sleeping bags	7 - up
flashlights	tent	coffee
oil lamps	blankets	canned juices
oil	sheets	beer
batteries	coats and jackets	tea
can opener	extra clothes	whiskey
utensils		

WE WILL TAKE :

1.	1.	1.
2.	2.	2.
3.	3.	3.

GROUP 4	GROUP 5	GROUP 6
salt	bows and arrows	frozen meat
flour	set of knives	dried fruits
sugar	gun	fresh fruits
yeast	bullets	dried vegetables
dry milk	fishing pole	fresh vegetables
water-	small chairs	canned beans
purification	dishes	dry soup
tablets	first-aid kit	
	ropes	

WE WILL TAKE :

1.	1.	1.
2.	2.	2.
3.	3.	3.

PLEASE USE ALL OF YOUR TIME .

THE RESEARCHER WILL TELL YOU WHEN YOUR TIME IS FINISHED.

NOTE: This material is simplified and modified from Sadow (1982 , p. 56).

Part A   Debate   Task Two

(Cross-Cultural)

Age and Wisdom

STUDENT 1 -- You must hold the view that "Being older does not make a person wiser. Older is not necessarily wiser. There is no connection between how old persons are and how wise they are."

You know that this excuse is often used for making young people obey their parents. Children know what is better for themselves. This excuse is used for forcing young workers to hold lower jobs than older (but not as wise) workers. Your partner thinks that older persons have "the voice of experience". Well, that just isn't enough nowadays.

Think of all the things that young people can teach their elders! Think of the good things that younger people have compared with older people: technology, education, travel. Give examples that show that you are right. You must not agree with your opponent. Take a few moments to gather your thoughts on this subject.

Whenever your partner tells of the strengths (mental, spiritual) that come with age, remind him or her of the many weaknesses that also come with age.

STUDENT 2 -- You must hold the view that "With age comes wisdom. The older a person is, the wiser that person is."

Your partner thinks that your idea is out-dated. He thinks your view is untrue. Your partner does not think older people are wiser.

Think of all the things that young people can learn from older people. Isn't this the reason children should obey their parents? Parents know best. Think of the good things that older people have.They have experience from

life. Give a few examples that show that you are right. You must not agree with your opponent. Take a few moments to gather your thoughts on this subject. Whenever your opponent gives an example of the weakness that comes with age, remind him or her that the weakness is only physical, not mental or spiritual.

NOTE: Material for this task was simplified and adapted from
Pifer and Mutoh (1977, pp. 104-111) and
Alexander (1968, pp. 20, 21, 48, 49).

Part   B   Problem Solving   Task One

(Same Cultural)

A Sad Story

Jim's wife had just walked out on him. She loves another man. Jim rushed out of the home. He rode his bike unsteadily to the bar. He started drinking.

Two hours later, he staggered out of the bar. He got on his bike. He was wobbling from side to side down the street. A car knocked him down. It crushed his leg.

The driver went straight on. The driver did not slow down. The driver was rushing his wife to the hospital. She was having a baby.

Some people finally got Jim to the hospital. He had to wait three hours in the emergency room.

The doctor finally examined him. The doctor cut off the wrong leg. This doctor had been working for over 27 hours. He was a student doctor .

● ●

There are five people in the story.

Talk with your partner. Agree on which of the people was most to blame for what happened. Write that person below on "1." Give the reason why you think this person is most to blame. Agree on who is second most to blame. Write that person's name below on "2." List the reason why. Continue through number five.

List each person in order. List the reason why.

The most guilty person is "1". The least guilty person is number "5". Your decision will be used by insurance people. Lawyers will use your list in deciding this case.

        Person   Reason

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

NOTE :   Material for this task was simplified and adapted from Spaventa (1980, p. 89).

Part B   Debate   Task Two

(Same Cultural)

Television

STUDENT 1 -- You must hold the view that "television is very bad for people and society. It is thus an evil invention."

Your partner does not believe this. He thinks television is very good.

Think of all the problems caused by TV. Give examples that prove that you are right. You must not agree with the other person. Take a few moments. Think about things you can say to show how bad television is.

Your partner will tell something good about TV. You tell why TV is bad. Tell other things people can do which are better than TV. You MUST NOT agree with your partner.

STUDENT 2 -- You must hold the view that "television is the greatest invention of all time." Television is very good. Your partner thinks that television is not useful. He thinks it is a very bad machine. He thinks it hurts people's lives.

Think of all of the good things TV gives people. Give examples that prove you are right. You MUST NOT agree with your partner. Take a few moments. Think about things you can say which tell how good TV is.

Your partner will tell bad things about TV. You tell why TV is good. Show that TV is not the reason for the bad thing. Other things cause the bad things your partner says TV causes. People and society are to blame. TV is only a machine.

PLEASE USE ALL OF YOUR TIME.

The researcher will tell you when your eight minutes is finished.

NOTE: This material is simplified and modified from Pifer and Mutoh (1977, pp. 104-111) and Alexander (1968, pp. 10,11).

APPENDIX B
TRANSCRIPTION CODING KEY

```
                1           2         3     4
                |           |         |     |
   S: Jim is  a  victi -- victim  (        ) (circumstance), [ I  think.
   CH:                                                       [ Yeah
```

1. A dash -- marks a pause.

2. A parenthesis ( ) indicates an utterance not audibly discernible.

3. A word within a parenthesis indicates transcriber difficulty, a possible but not certain hearing of the talk indicated.

4. A bracket open to the right ([ ) which connects the talk of speakers indicates that overlapping talk begins at this point.

NOTE :   These codes are adaptations from Duff (1986, pp. 176-179) and Goodwin (1981, pp. vii, viii).

SAMPLE TRANSCRIPTION OF TASKS

Part A   Problem Solving   Task One

(Cross Cultural)

The Desert Island

S 1 :   [dis group, which one you find? Your choice?

CH 1 :   [(   )

S 1 :   Uh [huh   Tent   [blankets and jacket

CH 1 :   [Uh   [Yeah tents   (   )
            uh sleeping bags -- is better?

S 1 :   Is better?

CH 1 :   Yeah, because aah -- we we can [sleep

S 1 :   [In -- in jacket

CH 1 :   Yeah -- clo -- clothes and jacket.

S 1 :   OK.

CH 1 :   Yeah

S 1 :   Good. Thi Th Thiz [group ?

CH 1 :   [(   )

S 1 :   This [group?

CH 1 :   [(   ) group?

S.1 :   Fresh water?

CH 1 :   Yeah, fresh water.

S 1 :   Ee - canned juices?

·CH 1 :   -- Canned juice? Ees uh -- means dees juice een can?

S 1 :   Yes -- it's in can.

CH 1 :   Buh I think we we cannot use this one -- because we do
            not have [a can opener.

Part A   Debate   Task Two

(Cross-cultural)

Age and Wisdom

CH 1   Eee -- eef there's a two -- two childs -- then there -- maybe I

           give another example -- If there is a child -- and uh -- older --

and   uh older people may be uh -- fifty--fifty years old-- amd dey--I

fing   -- that uh--fif--duh--older people -- must have uh -- must uh

           -- much wisser --much wisser than thuh -- than thuh child --

           Because the child did--didn't know how to think--

           They don't have any experiences?--

S 1 :   Uh. Mm. Y -- You think that -- ehh -- if uh people -- with uh

           age c-c-c can we get a lot experience ?-- If you--if you

           believe-

CH 1:   Umm-

S 1   --Do you believe that?

CH 1 :   Yeah.

S 1 :   When the people -- are getting old --

CH 1 :   Umm

S 1 :   They are getting wisdom

CH 1 :   Uh huh

S 1 :   But I don't think so because -- ehh -- wisdom ehh is -- related

with   thuh--learrning--But-no learning--ehh from the --nothing. We

           have to learrn -- ouu--in the school--we have to learrn--

           systematically --

CH 1 :   Uh hmm

Part B   Problem Solving   Task One

(Same Cultural)

A Sad Story

S 2 :   but -- not only for that -- also because -- maybe -- he -- he

             didn't do nothing -- in order to -- to get -- ehh -- to get his wife

             happy -- or in lawve wi heem. Why -- ehh -- he -- why his wife

left   heem ? Because -- maybe he -- he wasn't a good man.

S 1 :   Yeah, but -- uh -- we don't know nothing about [that

S 2 :   [Yeah but we can

             infer -- we can infer.

S 1 :   Wuh -- ubb -- ubb -- ahh -- eh -- eh -- speaking of inferring --

             we can say -- ehh -- Ji -- Jim -- Jim wife wa -- was -- -- uh -- the

--   guilty for everything because -- she love another man.

S 2 :   Yeah -- we could say that, but you are right when you say Jeem --

S 1 :   Yeh

S 2 :   Jeem is the ferst --

S 1 :   OK

S 2 :   per[son to blame

S 1 :   [but

S 2 :   [(   )

S 1 :   [(   ) ˙NUF ! --

             The second -- the second pe[rson --

S 2 :   [person

Part B   Debate   Task Two

<center>(Same Cultural)</center>
<center>**Television**</center>

CH 2 :   But -- you can't -- get the detail, you know? When you --watch

newspaper, you can get good new -- the

detail1 -- MOREOVER --

CH 1 :   [(   )

CH 2 :   Uh -- you can -- uh -- make your spare time useful -- and

you -- you can reach -- much -- uhh with the newspaper

when you are -- in the (bus) --

CH 1 :   Ah[h --

CH 2 :   [Yeah. Yeah -- But you need to seet down to watch

television.

CH 1 :   -- Hmmm -- I fink uhh -- we can still get uh information

-- because I fink that new -- newspaper and TV there's

different -- because uhh -- TV -- not -- not only just give us

information -- but it also can -- relax -- can -- we

can saw -- we can saw the -- maybe -- varied type of uh --

programme on TV -- not just news -- or information -- but

also thuh -- maybe -- there's some channel there's un about uh --

music --

CH 2 :   Apart from this -- television -- also -- uh -- so out some

programme which is not suitable for the child.

CH 1 :   Ohh -- I fing that -- the TV -- that the programme is -- is not

--   caused by TV, but it -- it is cause uh -- by the

commercial TV station -- that not -- not cause by the --