

**A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY OF TAIWANESE AND  
BRITISH UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' ORAL  
NARRATIVES**

**Thesis submitted for the degree of  
Doctor of Education  
at the University of Leicester**

**By  
Miao-Jen Chang MA (Queen's University of Belfast)  
School of Education  
University of Leicester**

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## ABSTRACT

This cross-cultural study investigates the structural and cultural differences and similarities evident in 13 Mandarin (TM) and 17 English language narratives (TEFL) produced by Taiwanese university EFL students and 17 narratives (BE) produced by British university students. This study also explores how the Taiwanese L2 learners' identities might affect their use of L2 discourse norms within their narratives. The findings show that within the three sets of narratives, past experiences, in general, are recounted in chronological order and the organisation of narratives follows the sequential order defined by Labov (1972). In terms of *orientation*, there is some cultural variance. The TM and TEFL narratives underscore the importance of family values in Taiwanese society and underline the role of teachers in these students' worlds. However, the data shows some variance with Labov's (1972) results in terms of the relationship between *complicating action*, *resolution* and *evaluation*. In terms of *external evaluation*, the British narrators use much more *evaluation* in directly addressing their listeners. In terms of *internal evaluation*, there is significant variance within the three sets of narratives i.e. stress usage, adverb usage, and repetition. The findings suggest that there is no major difference in *tellership* and *tellability* in the three sets of narratives. In terms of learner identity, although some Taiwanese EFL students demonstrate high levels of *integrative motivation*, they have difficulty using L2 discourse norms in their narratives. This is evidenced by their anxiety in relation to their *locus of control*. It is also manifest that their learner identities have changed over a period of time and were constructed in various sites of struggle, and by relations of power, in which they assumed different subject positions.

Keywords: orientation, evaluation, locus of control, tellership, tellability

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# **A Cross-Cultural Study of Taiwanese and British**

## **University Students' Oral Narratives**

### **CHAPTER ONE**

#### **1. Introduction**

This chapter contextualises the study and offers a brief introduction to its basic components. It also underpins the purpose and focus of the study and how it was conducted. Furthermore, it identifies research gaps and underscores the significance of the study to narrative studies. Moreover, it provides a brief overview of the study. In addition, the main research aims are identified at the outset of the study.

#### **1.1 Rationale for the Study**

As a Taiwanese EFL (*English as a Foreign Language*) lecturer, I first became interested in conversational narratives related to cultural groups or discourse communities because many of my students' produced stories in their L2 (second language) conversations which displayed problems at discourse level. When creating their conversational narratives, my students employed an interlanguage. Moreover, they made multiple syntactical and lexical errors in their English language narratives. One possible avenue to explore in relation to my students' English language incompetence is "language transfer" (See Chapter 3 for further discussion). It would seem that in learning a second language, some type of cultural influence, transference or native language influence occurs in the speech of Taiwanese learners when producing discourse in L2. The term *transfer* is generally used to refer to the effect of one language on the learning of another.



Kang (2003) underlines the importance of culture in second language acquisition (SLA). She argues that becoming a competent speaker in a language involves more than internalising its grammar and vocabulary – it requires the ability to produce discourse that is specific to the target language and culture. There are large differences in how meanings are conveyed in different languages and culture. Kang argues that if second language learners do not know how to convey meanings in extended discourse; such as narratives, according to the appropriate cultural norms, they will be limited in fully participating in a language community. This said, it is not the purpose of this study to identify syntactical and lexical errors that may exist in Taiwanese EFL narratives. These issues raised two important questions:

- What makes a “good” language learner?
- Should L2 learners produce discourse that is specific to the *target* language?

Storytelling processes can vary enormously in different cultural groups. Storytelling has been used in most cultures throughout history. Myths and folktales have been analysed by anthropologists and literary theorists due to the persistent features in content and form. Traditional stories, or narratives, are known to have fixed characteristics that persist in the oral literature of numerous cultures. Some scholars have studied cross-cultural differences in narrative structure. For these reasons, I wanted to explore *how* Taiwanese students told stories (*tellership*) and the kinds of stories they told (*tellability*). Put simply, do Taiwanese students tell stories in a different way from students who come from another culture? Furthermore, do they tell different kinds of stories from students who come from a different culture?

Oral narratives have been analysed to explore how people from different cultures decipher their knowledge and experience in culture-specific ways. Also, oral narratives have been investigated to identify what makes a story good. Furthermore, there have been several significant cross-cultural studies exploring Japanese and American mother/child dyads. Other cross-cultural studies have examined the oral narratives told by Japanese preschoolers and adults. In several cross-cultural studies on oral narrative, the researchers used a film (*Pear Stories*) to elicit stories from English, German, Greek, Japanese, and Mayan Indian speakers. Several other researchers employed the use of Mayer's (1969) *Frog, Where Are You?* as a prompt to elicit oral narratives.

Despite the profusion of the above cross-cultural studies, there has been no cross-cultural study conducted into Taiwanese/British narratives. This study aims to fill such a void.

Cortazzi and Jin (2006) have argued that narrative representation of a much wider international range of voices is necessary in comparative education, if we are to be aware of the "global repertoires of conceptions and practices of learning, knowledge of which is essential for both national and international visions of developing education, and to take account of individual and group differences in multicultural contexts" (cited in Trahar, 2006: 28). For this reason, I propose that more cross-cultural narrative research in education in Taiwan is required.

In particular, I argue that there is a need for more narrative research into learner identity. When a language learner asks: “Who am I? How do I relate to the social world? Under what conditions can I speak?”, he or she is seeking to comprehend the complex relationship between identity, language, and learning. It has been argued that SLA theorists have struggled to conceptualise the relationship between the language learner and the social world because they have not developed a comprehensive theory of identity that integrates the language learner and the language learning context. In addition, they have failed to question how relations of power in the social world impact on social interaction between L2 learners and target language speakers. I argue that, instead of focusing on cognitive aspects of learning, it may be more useful to adopt a more holistic approach in exploring potential causes for my students’ inability to produce discourse that is specific to the target language. For example, there has been a new focus in research in the concept of *human agency* in second language acquisition.

It is apparent that there has been a lack of comparative narrative research in Taiwanese education. It is also evident that there has been no narrative research undertaken in Taiwan focusing on learner identity in second language acquisition (SLA). The present study will address these gaps.

## 1.2 Overview of the Study

Prior to the main study, two pilot studies were undertaken. The participants in the main study consisted of Taiwanese and British university students. The Taiwanese participants consisted of 2 male and 10 female students whose ages ranged between 21 to 26 years old. The British participants consisted of 6 male students and 4 female

students. Their ages ranged from 22 to 29 years old. Participants were divided into three groups of non-native speaker and native speaker informants. Group discussions were used as a stratagem for the elicitation of more authentic narratives. Neutral locations were chosen for the data collection. In short, the narratives were collected in a semi-natural setting. Attention was given proper research protocols, the use of transcriptions, categories of analysis, reliability and ethical issues.

My second main research question was related to how the Taiwanese L2 learner identities adopted or did not adopt L2 discourse norms, or native speaker discourse norms. Since I needed on L2 learners' identity as changing over time, I organised follow-up interviews after the students had graduated. Interview questions focused on biographical information: work experience, reasons for learning English, early English language experiences, learning English abroad, and the adoption of native-speaker norms.

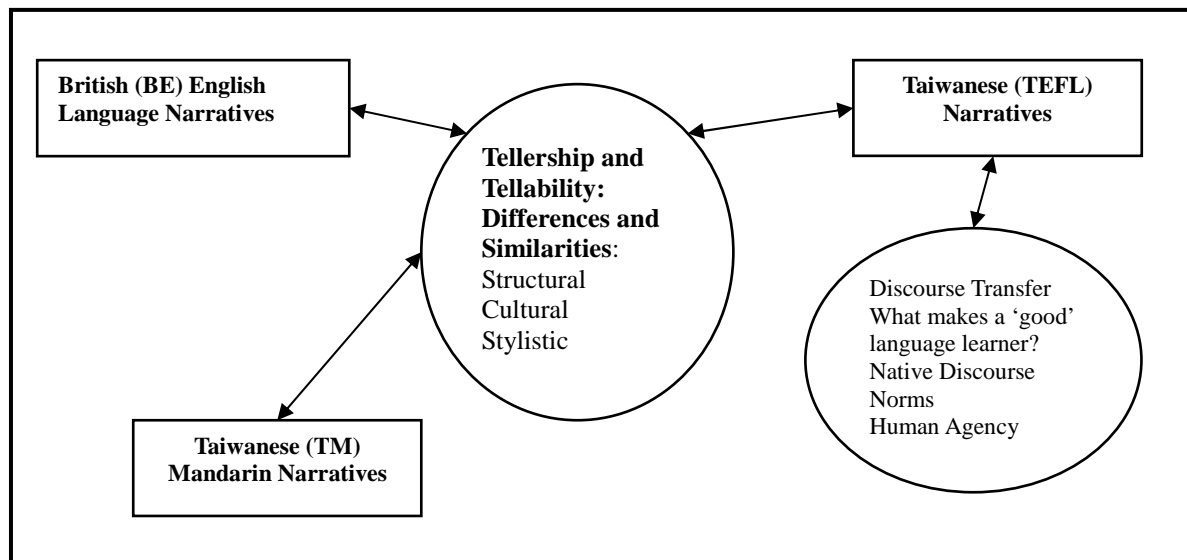
### 1.3 Research Aims

At the beginning of the study, three broad research aims were posed:

- To what extent, are there structural, stylistic and cultural differences between the Taiwanese Mandarin (TM) and Taiwanese English language (TEFL) narratives and the British English language (BE) narratives?
- To what extent, is there evidence of *discourse transfer* between the Taiwanese L1 and L2 narratives?
- To what extent, does human agency affect second language acquisition (SLA)?

The general research aims at the outset of the study and their relationships are illustrated in Figure 1.

**Figure 1: Model of Thematic Structure 1**



## 1.4 Overview of the Study

The current study consists of seven chapters.

Chapter 1 contextualises the study and offers a brief introduction to its basic components. It also underpins the purpose and focus of the study and how it was conducted. Furthermore, it identifies research gaps and underscores the significance of the study to narrative studies. Moreover, it provides a brief synopsis of the literature that validates the study. The main research questions are identified.

. Chapter 2 explores various definitions of narrative and examines key narrative dimensions such as *tellership*, *tellability*, *embeddedness*, *linearity* and *moral stance*. Labov's (1972) model of narrative is used to examine the structural components of the participants' narrative. Attention is also given to the role of *evaluation*, including *external evaluation* and *internal evaluation*. In addition, attention is given to a range

of extensions of Labov's concept of evaluation and criticisms of the evaluation model. Attention is also given to the evaluation model in relation to culture.

Chapter 3 explores the relationship between language and culture, narrative as social practice, a comparison of Asian/Western discourse styles, and important cross-cultural studies on narrative. Attention is also given to language learning in Taiwan, identifying a "good" language learner, and learner identity in second language acquisition (*subjectivity*).

Chapter 4 focuses on research design/methodological questions: the number and the selection of participants, data collection, pilot studies undertaken prior to the main study, procedures, transcriptions, categories of analysis, reliability, and ethical issues.

Chapter 5 presents a discussion on the findings related to narrative structural factors evident in the TM, TEFL, and the BE narratives.

Chapter 6 presents the results related to the Taiwanese participants' disclosure of public self, the functions of laughter in the three sets of narratives, and the TEFL students' learner identities.

Chapter 7 offers a summary of data and interpretations obtained in the current study. A retrospective evaluation of the research and a critical reflection on its limitations is given. In addition, attention is given to how I have answered my original research objectives and questions. Pedagogical implications and potential new directions for further research are discussed.

## 1.5 Summary

This chapter has focused on my rationale for undertaking the study. It has also pointed out the general research aims at the outset of the study. Importantly, research gaps in Taiwanese narrative research in comparative education have been identified and the necessity for a more holistic approach into narrative in second language learning in Taiwan is highlighted.

In the next chapter, I focus on definitions of narrative and various narrative dimensions. Attention is given to the structuralist approach to narratology; namely, that of Labov and Waletzky (1967) and Labov (1972). Discussion is given to Labov's six structuralist components: *abstract*, *orientation*, *complicating action*, *evaluation*, *resolution*, and *coda*. Particular attention is given to the role of *evaluation* in narrative. Since, I need to explore *how* my participants tell their stories and the kinds of stories they tell; I investigate Ochs and Capps' (2001) narrative dimensions of *tellership*, *tellability*, and *moral stance* as an evaluative device in storytelling.

## CHAPTER TWO

### NARRATIVE STRUCTURE AND DIMENSIONS

#### 2. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to build a conceptual framework. As stated in the previous chapter, one of my research aims is explore the structural differences and similarities in the Taiwanese Mandarin (TM) and Taiwanese English language (TEFL) narratives and the British English language (BE) narratives. Consequently, emphasis is given to the importance of narrative, various definitions of narrative, and an examination of key narrative dimensions. Particular attention is given to Labov's (1972) model of narrative. The role of evaluation is highlighted and its cultural significance is discussed. For the purposes of the study, it will be essential to understand the relationship between narrator and audience. Accordingly, attention is given to Ochs and Capps' (2001) framework for analysing how narratives function as part of conversational interactions.

#### 2.1 The Importance of Storytelling/Narrative

What is a story? What is a narrative? Polkinghorne (1997: 3) cites Aristotle's definition of a story as something that has a beginning, middle, and end. Denzin (1989: 37) agrees with this temporal definition, adding that the story must have a logic that is meaningful to the narrator and his or her audience. However, a *narrative* and a *story* do not have exactly the same meaning. O'Sullivan et al. (1994) points out that a story is the irreducible substance of a story (A meets B, something happens, order returns), while narrative is the way the story is related i.e. "*Once upon a time there was a princess.*"



Polanyi (1985) and Ochs (1997) also distinguish between the terms “story” and “narrative” and point out that stories are primarily concerned with past events and are one genre of narratives that include a “hypothetical past, present, future, or generic time and include such genres as plans, science fiction, and narratives of personal experience” (Ochs, 1997: 190). In the current study, I will use the term “narrative” and “story” interchangeably in a narrower way, by restricting its range within past events; that is, the story teller’s past experience.

Odlin (1989: 58) claims that narratives probably constitute a discourse universal. Some types of narratives recur in various cultures. Stories about the creation of the world, a flood, a return of a god or a hero have appeared in an extraordinary number of communities. In many cultures children are introduced to such stories at an early age, and adult listeners are able to recognise and expect patterns of chronology, causality, and narrative tension. For some oral cultures, stories are their primary source of knowledge as their reality is socially constructed through narrative (Goody and Watt, 1968; Scollon and Scollon, 1981; Ong, 1982).

Levi-Strauss (1955, 1964, 1966) describes the abstract elements of meaning that are expressed in myth: semantic contrasts such as *male/female* and *raw/cooked*. Structures of myths can provide basic structures of understanding cultural relations and appear as binary pairs or opposites i.e. what is *raw* is opposed to what is *cooked*. The *raw* can be associated with nature while the *cooked* is associated with culture. So for Levi-Strauss, these oppositions form the basic structure for all ideas and concepts in a culture. The specific characters and events of myths may differ widely but their similarities are based on their structural sameness.

These structuralist approaches to myth share two basic assumptions:

- There are abstract levels on which structures and meanings that are apparently different are in reality the same
- A narrative can be separated from the events that it is about

Minami (2002: 13) defines narrative as “a form of extended discourse in which at least two different events are described so that a variety of relationships between them, such as temporal, causal and contrastive ones become explicit.” Ochs and Capps (2001: 2) argue that narratives are “a way of using language or another symbolic system to imbue life events with temporal and logical order, to demystify them and establish coherence across past, present, and as yet unrealised experience.” Goodwin (1990) utilises the term “story” in a broad way to refer to narratives and other “tellings” in conversation, and including hypothetical stories which concern future events. McClure et al., (1993) underline that telling a story requires the speaker to integrate skills in multiple domains such as social knowledge, cultural values, and the interpretation of his/her thoughts through various events and characters. Tannen (1984) stresses that storytelling reflects social values and cultural practices. According to Ochs (1997), storytelling is a primary means for conveying a worldview; in short, a culture’s way of organising the world and making sense out of it, whilst Bruner (1985) claims that narrative production is a natural mode of thought. Schiff and Noy (2006) point out that when telling a story about their personal past, tellers make use of a wide assortment of shared meanings available through their contact with others, including idioms, themes, artworks, symbols, and stories. In short, what Schutz and Luckmann (1973) call the “social stock of knowledge.”

Miller (1994) underlines that shared meanings are a fundamental aspect of our experience and that they are partly a consequence of growing up in a family, a peer group, a particular time in history, a language community, or a particular culture. Lieblich et al. (1998: 7) points out, “stories are crucial for our communication with others and furnish us with information on the personality and identity of the storyteller and her characters.”

Rimmon-Kenan (1983: 2-3) defines narrative fiction as a “succession of events”. Cohan and Shires (1988: 52-53) claim “the distinguishing feature of narrative is its linear organisation of events.” Toolan (1988:7) asserts “a minimalist definition of narrative might be a perceived sequence of nonrandomly connected events.” It is not surprising that all these definitions are in fundamental agreement as they can be linked to the work of the Russian formalists at the beginning of the twentieth century, and Propp (1928) and Tomashevski (1925) in particular. Propp used linguistic analysis to show what all folktales have in common and how they differ. His work might be described as the *syntax* of the folktale since its basic claim is that all folktales have the same syntagmatic structure, the same sequence of functions or meaningful actions by characters.

In summary, some important insights for the current study have been gained. If narratives constitute a discourse universal, recapitulate past experience, reflect social values and cultural practices, and narrative identity is part person, part situation, and part culture - then narratives should offer us valuable insights into the narrative production of the participants in this cross-cultural study.

For the purposes of the current study, we need to explore how a narrative is structured. Therefore, in the next section, we examine different models of narrative structure.

## 2.2 The Structure of Narrative

As stated in Chapter 1, an important research aim is to investigate potential structural differences between the Taiwanese Mandarin (TM) and Taiwanese English language (TEFL) narratives and the British English language (BE) narratives. Numerous methods exist for analysing narrative structure. Van Dijk (1977, 1980) and Kintsch and van Dijk (1978) analyse the structure of narrative using semantic *macrostructures* and *macrorules*. Minami (2002: 43) asserts that verse/stanza analysis has helped crystallise culturally specific types of cognitive framing. Verse analysis was devised by Hymes (1981, 1990) to interpret Native American narratives. An adaptation of this was later called *stanza analysis* by Gee (1985) in the analysis of children's speeches.

Hymes (1981) demonstrates how Native American myth is enacted in poetic lines and stanzas manifest by grammatical parallelism, recurring words or particles such as “*see*” or “*I say*”, and recurring mathematical patterns or phrases. Chinookan and some other Native American narratives, consist of hierarchial components that construct organised and rhetorically coherent underlying patterns. The most subordinate unit of the narrative is an intonational unit defined as a line. Some intonational units are called verses and have sentence-like contours. Oral narrative is an organisation of lines, thematically grouped into verses, each of which is generally a simple sentence or clause.

Verses, which serve as building blocks of a narrative, are grouped into stanzas which are further developed to form larger units, such as scenes and acts. Hymes (1980: 69-70) gives an example of his model when analysing a narrative about a coyote being shot by arrows. The narrative is divided into five stanzas (A-E), nine verses (a-b-c, d, e-f-g, h, i), and thirty-seven lines. The structure fits the underlying pattern of rhetorical presentation common to Chinookan texts. For reasons of space, I reproduce the first two stanzas.

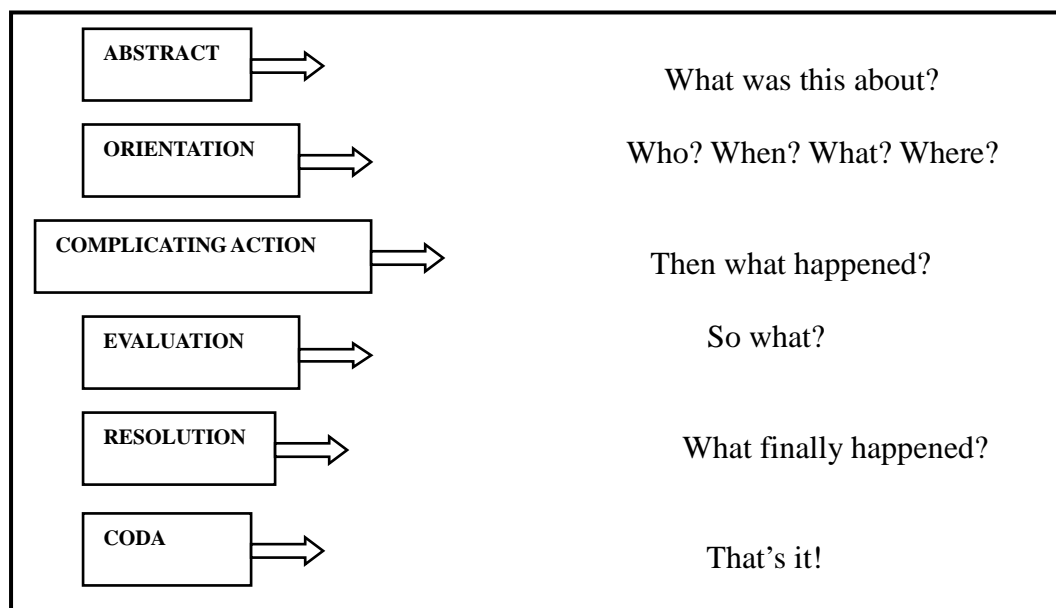
- (A) (a) 1 A long time ago,  
2 maybe fifty years ago,  
3 it attacked them.
- (b) 4 They were staying on the Clackamas river;  
5 one fellow climbed a pine tree,  
6 then she saw them.
- (c) 7 He pulled his arrows out,  
8 he shot her maybe three or four times:  
9 nothing to her,  
10 she bled through her mouth.
- (B) (d) 11 This thing looked like a coyote on the head,  
12 short ears;  
13 teeth like a wild hog's tusks,  
14 long white front claws;  
15 long hind legs,  
16 short front legs.

For the purposes of this study, Labov's model of narrative structure seems to be more appropriate. Labov (1972: 359-360) defines narrative as "one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred" and a minimal narrative as "a sequence of two clauses which are temporally ordered." Labov (1972: 361) gives the following example of a minimal narrative:

- a. I know a boy named Harry
- b. Another boy threw a bottle at him right in the head
- c. And he had to get seven stitches.

Labov's model has been used in education for analysing children's writing (Wilkinson, 1986); in developmental psycho-linguistics (Peterson and McCabe, 1983); conversational stories, (Polanyi, 1985; McCabe and Peterson, 1991); life stories, (Linde, 1993) and stories told by teachers (Cortazzi, 1993). A complete narrative begins with an *abstract* followed by an *orientation*, proceeds to the *complicating action*, is suspended at the focus of *evaluation* before the resolution, concludes with the *resolution*, and returns the listener to the present time with a *coda*. They were answers to a series of underlying questions (See Figure 2).

**Figure 2: Labov's Six Components of Narrative Structure**



The *Abstract* delimits the beginning of the narrative. An *abstract* is a short statement which summarises the whole story or encapsulates the point of the story. There is another function of an abstract that is not mentioned by Labov but is observed by other scholars dealing with conversational storytelling (Robinson, 1981; McCarthy, 1991; Toolan, 2001); namely a “pre-announcement” or a “story preface” (Sacks, 1972).

An abstract contain requests for the extended turn at talk among conversationalists, especially among casual friends. Ochs and Capps (2001: 117-118) point out that some story prefaces are general, such as “*Do you know what?*” or “*Do you want to hear a story?*” while other relate more specifically to the events to be recounted, such as “*Did I tell you what Debbie said about George t’day?*” For example, a story preface in the conversation between two men in Western Samoan village begins “*Do you know the funny thing that happens to me*” is instigated by Tavo who wants to tell the events about the unexplained disappearance of his watch. Tavo addresses his story preface to Fonoti, who has just entered the dwelling. Fonoti’s response, “*What is it?*” gives Tavo the go-ahead to reveal what happened.

Tavo: Do you know the funny thing Fonoti  
That happens to me?  
Fonoti: What is it?  
Tavo: In the night (when) we talked and talked  
(you) I sleep  
only me  
And ((advers.)) someone takes my watch.

Schiffrin (1987: 16) claims that by foreshadowing the evaluative meanings to be conveyed through the events of the story, the preface gives the speaker the access to an extended turn and proposes that listeners refrain from speaking roles temporarily. Such a pre-announcement helps create a conversational space for a story by alerting listeners to what to listen to: something unforgettable or impressive - the evaluative nucleus of the story.

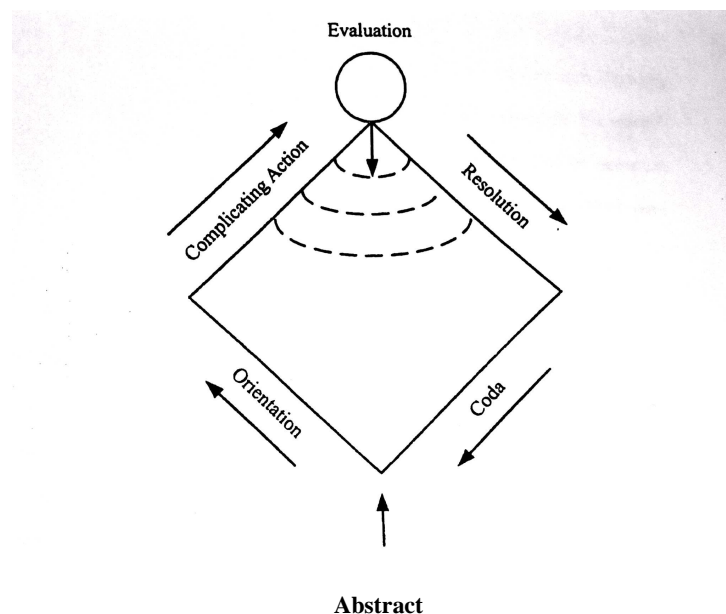
The ***Orientation*** depicts the setting (place and time) and the characters of the story. *Orientation* provides background information that the listener needs in order to understand the circumstances under which the story happens. It orients the listener in terms of the person, place, time, and behavioural situation and sets the stage for the coming of the complicating events. In English language narratives, there are two syntactic properties in the orientation section. Firstly, the orientation section is commonly found to be composed of free clauses in the simple past tense and past progressive. They outline what is going on before the first event of the narrative occurred. Second, the placement of the orientation is sometimes strategically delayed. This displacement performs another function - *evaluative function*, which may create effects of considerable surprise. Van Dijk (1984) claims that the displacement of orientation is actually not always meant to be strategic as Labov claims.

The ***Complicating Action*** advances the plot of the story. Prefaced by the orientation, the *complicating action* is the core of the narrative. The *primary sequence* is the backbone of this section. The main body of the narrative clauses comprises a series of events that make the story happen and thereby set up the main story line. Near the end of the complicating events, there is usually a peak - the climax of the story, at which the greatest tension is built and the outcome is to be decided. After an evaluative suspension, which will be discussed later, the complication is then terminated after the peak by a resolution. It is usually difficult to tell when the complication eventually ends and when the result really begins. The distinction can be made only depending upon informal semantic criteria or by the appearance of *evaluation* that suspends the complicating action.



The *Evaluation* reveals the point of the story by conveying the narrator's emotional assessment and his/her attitude toward the events. It includes references to mental states of characters and the ways the narrator presents information for emotive effect. Labov (1972: 366) suggests that the most important element in a narrative is *evaluation*. The evaluation does not occur in fixed places but weaves in and out of the story constantly and is distributed throughout the whole narrative (See Figure 3).

**Figure 3: Labov's Progression of an Oral Narrative**



However, Labov finds that evaluative commentaries usually come before the result of action or coincide with the result. At the climax of the complicating action, the dramatic tension is built up to the greatest. Then the appearance of evaluative expression causes the suspension of the action, calling the listener's attention to that part of the narrative, and simultaneously it also suspends the listener's attention. After the evaluation comes the result with much greater force, and this enhances the impact of the narrative upon the listeners.

**Result or Resolution** relates to how the story concludes. It is the termination of the series of events. The dramatic tension which the complicating action builds up falls in the resolution section. In a string of narrative clauses, it is hard to tell when the complication comes to an end and when the result begins. Labov and Waletzky (1967: 35) stress that in making the decision, one has to resort to semantic criteria, with the help of the position of evaluation. The location of the evaluation which suspends the events signals the break between complicating and resolving action.

The **Coda** signals the end of the narrative e.g. “*That’s all!*” or “*That’s it!*” Coda may contain general observations or show the effects of the events on the narrator. A coda also bridges the gap between the story world and the real world in which the narration takes place.

In order to give an illustration of how Labov’s model works, I reproduce Labov’s (1972:358-359) narrative entitled “*The Baddest Girl in the Neighborhood*”.

1. Well. One (I think) was with a girl.
2. Like I was a kid, you know,
3. And she was the baddest girl, the baddest girl in the neighbourhood.
4. If you didn’t bring her candy to school, she would punch you in the mouth;
5. and you had to kiss her when she’d tell you.
6. This girl was only about 12 years old, man,
7. but she was a killer.
8. She didn’t take no junk;
9. She whupped all her brothers.
10. And I came to school one day
11. and I didn’t have no money.
12. My ma wouldn’t give me no money.
13. And I played hookies one day,
14. (She) put something on me.
15. I played hookies, man,
16. so I said, you know, I’m not gonna play hookies no more  
‘cause I don’t wanna get a whupping.
17. So I go to school.
18. And this girl says, “Where’s the candy?”
19. I said, “I don’t have it.”

20. She says, powww!
21. So I says to myself, “There’s gonna be times my mother won’t give me money because (we’re) a poor family
22. And I can’t take this all, you know, every time she don’t give me any money.”
23. So I say, “Well, I just gotta fight this girl.
24. She gonna hafta whup me.
25. I hope she don’t whup me.”
26. And I hit the girl: powwww!
27. and I put something on it.
28. I win the fight.
29. That was one of the most important.

First, the narrator gives the listener the *abstract* of the story in clause 1 which discloses the direct relevance of the story; namely, a girl. Subsequently, the narrator introduces the main character, the “baddest” girl in the neighbourhood from clauses 2 to 9. Afterwards, a flashback serves as background information from clauses 10 to 16. That is, clauses 2-16 work as an *orientation*. Clause 17 is a narrative clause and guides us to three complicating events in clauses 19-20. The *complicating action* is then suspended by five *evaluative* clauses 21-25, in which the narrator validates his action which is about to be revealed. The *resolution* appears in clauses 26-28 when the events terminate. Finally, clause 29 works as a *coda* which expresses the narrator’s attitude in closing the story. However, the *abstract* and the *coda* are not as essential as other elements, and they may be missing in a narrative. Johnstone (2001: 639) underlines that not all stories have abstracts or codas.

### 2.3 Examples of Evaluation in Narrative

Evaluations note the subjective and emotional tone of the event (Haden et al, 1997). In Macaulay’s (1991) examination of the discourse features of the Scottish Ayrshire dialect, narratives play the most prominent part in the way that linguistic constructions are used to communicate the complete emotional impact of the events

being remembered. Macaulay uses a narrative as told by a sixty-nine year-old Scottish working-class woman, the daughter of a coalman. Although it is a narrative of personal experience, the experience is her mother's, as retold by her daughter. The narrative was introduced by the abstract: "*He just lay doon on the settee and turned over and that was him gone.*" I reproduce the story here to give the reader a better understanding of temporal organisation and especially the location of the evaluation section which is separated by a long series of less important events.

**Ellen Laidlaw: An Account of her Father's Death**

- a. And it was an exceptionally good afternoon,
- b. and she put him out in a basket chair, sitting at the window ootside in the garden.
- c. She went in on the one bus
- d. and came back on the same bus,  
because the conductress says to her, "Thought you said  
you were going for messages [shopping]", she says.
- e. "So I was."
- f. "Well," she says, "I'm awful glad I'm no waiting on you," she says.
- g. "You coudnae have got much  
because you've got the same bus back."
- h. "Ach well," she says, "I don't like the idea of leaving him too long,"
- i. and she went up the road.
- j. She noticed his basket chair was there,
- k. but he wasnae there.
- l. She never thought anything aboot it,  
because it was too warm.
- m. She thought he'd naturally gone inside,
- n. and when she went in,  
he was lying on the settee.
- o. And she's auld-fashioned, very tidy, very smart.
- p. Everything had to go in its place.
- q. She took off her coat,
- r. hung it up,
- s. put away her shopping bag,
- t. and she says, "It's rather early for wer tea—wer dinner,  
so I'll go and ask him if he wants a coffee."
- u. And she made the coffee,
- v. and she went through
- w. and shook him to ask him if he wanted tea.
- x. And he dropped off the settee in front of her.
- y. And she just...her mind just broke,
- z. and she's never known what it is since.

The orientation is confined to a single clause (a), which establishes the time. The place and the participants are incorporated in the first narrative event of the complicating action, (b), which introduces her mother, her father and the situation: a sick man left alone on the front porch of the house. The action continues to the final resolution (x), the negative evaluation of that resolution (y), and the coda (z) which brings us back to the present with the present perfect clause modified by *since* [that happened]. The analysis is not so straightforward, however, since the sequence of temporal junctures is broken by a series of clauses with extended temporal ranges. This series plainly forms an evaluation section. It deals with the perceptions, thoughts and character of the protagonist. Clause (j) reports the perception of a negative situation. Clauses (k-m) continue in an irrealis mode, reporting misperceptions that prevailed through w, and terminated only with the tragic event (x). Clause (n) is another restricted clause, reporting the situation that continues again through (w) - her father's location on the settee in the living room. There follow the two free clauses (o, p) that describe her mother's general character - material that might have been placed in an orientation section. There can be no doubt that clause (x) is the central point of the narrative, and the evaluation section is separated from it by a long series of less important events (q-v).

Cortazzi (1993) suggests that the *Evaluation Model* is useful for analysing teacher's narratives because the structural elements provide a clear indicator of where a story begins and ends and it emphasises the embedded, social function of the narrative. Specifically, his research analyses teachers' oral accounts of their experiences in the classroom. As Cortazzi (1993: 1) states, "educational investigations, in general, have paid too little attention to teachers' voices." For instance, Cortazzi (1993: 49) offers us an example of a teacher's narrative:

### **Do it on Paper**

- A They are so funny some of the things the children say.
- O I remember in my very first year of teaching – those were the days when they wrote a story on a piece of paper and if it was nicely done they would sit and very carefully write it down in their best book – and I remember having forty-four children in my class and trying to hear reading and give words to somebody else and children coming up to me to say, ‘Where do I do this?’ and I was saying, ‘Do it on paper. Do on paper.’
- C and up comes a child and I say, “Do it on paper.”
- R. and he looks at me very surprised and says, ‘But I want to go to the toilet, Miss.’
- Coda That remains in my mind.
- E We get frustrated at times but we’ve had all sorts of funny things here. I thoroughly enjoy my job and find lots of things I can laugh at.

We can analyse the structure of this narrative by employing the abbreviations A, O, C, R, Coda, and E for the categories of the evaluation model. Each narrative can be analysed as a whole for its content and cultural perspectives. In this example, the abstract gives a general statement about classroom humour from the teacher’s perspective. The orientation identifies a distant time reference and summarises the process for copying out good work, no longer this teacher’s present practice. This is essential backdrop to understand the ‘*Do it on paper*’ remark. The mention of the large class is central, since together with the listed range of activities in progress, it gives a clear picture of rapid and constant teacher-pupil interactions. The teacher’s formula for coping with the queue of children, ‘*Do it on paper*’, and the constant interruptions of the reading enhance the picture of business, later interpreted as frustration. The switch to the narrative present, ‘*up comes the child*’, which is maintained for the subsequent chain of main verbs dramatises the complicating action. The evaluation emphasises the humour and enjoyment of teaching.

Vasquez (2007) also focuses on narrative research related to teachers. Vasquez (2007: 660) offers a narrative in which the primary focus is on the teachers' own thoughts and actions. Sara, a teacher who shows that, in spite of her previous teaching experience, she occasionally feels 'overwhelmed' by attempting to achieve the twofold objectives (i.e. content and language) of the course she was teaching.

### **Sara's Narrative**

- 1 Sara: ..um I probably would do that different again with this group  
2 Camilla: ok  
3 Sara: because I think- I don't know if I rushed them too much maybe or I think they  
4 weren't clear on what they were supposed to do because I kind of said  
5 "paraphrase this" and then I said "but include this"  
6 Camilla: uhhuh  
7 Sara: and they're like "well,  
8 should we do a summary?"  
9 Camilla: [laugh]  
10 Sara: and so I think it wasn't exactly clear what they were  
11 supposed to do  
12 Camilla: mmm  
13 Sara: but most of them did pretty good with it anyway so

Sara's narrative serves to evaluate her own performance in the classroom as well as the performance of her students. Her evaluative comments (line 10: *wasn't exactly clear*; line 13: *did pretty good*), and even her actions (line 4: *I kind of said*), suggest an uncertainty to commit decisively to a strong position. Furthermore, the use of multiple epistemic devices (McEnery and Kifle, 2002) such as *probably*, *maybe*, and *I don't know* highlight Sara's insecurity as a teacher. Such expressions of uncertainty may be allied to Sara's lack of clarity about what to do in her classroom.

## **2.4 External and Internal Evaluation**

According to Labov (1972), there are two evaluative devices used by narrators, according to whether they appear outside or inside the fixed-position narrative clauses - *external* and *internal* evaluation. *External evaluation* involves evaluative devices that step outside the recounting to tell listeners what the point is.

Among these five types, the second, third, and fourth are referred to as *embedded evaluation* (Labov, 1972: 372) as they do not overtly break the flow of the narrative but are embedded into the narrative, and thus preserve dramatic continuity. Importantly, for the purposes of the current study, such categorisations can also be applied in the evaluation of Mandarin narratives. The five subtypes of external evaluation are exemplified below:

1. The narrator stops the narrative and turns to the listener directly to express an evaluation of the event.  
*You know, in case like this, it's clearly that she was likely as not dead.*  
(1967: 39)
2. The narrator expresses his/her evaluation by quoting the sentiment when something occurs to him/her at the moment.  
*I just closed my eyes. I said "O my God, here it is!"*  
(1972: 372)
3. The narrator quotes himself when addressing someone else in the narrative.  
*I say, "Calvin, I'm bust your head for that!"*  
(1972: 372)
4. The narrator introduces a third person to evaluate the antagonist's actions against the narrator.  
*"But that night the manager, Lloyd Burrows, said "You better pack up and get out because that son of a bitch never forgives anything once he gets it in his head."  
 "And I did. I packed up and got out."*  
(1972: 373)
5. Evaluative action is another way that tells what people *did* rather than what they *said*.  
*"I never prayed to God so fast and so hard in my life!...I couldn't touch nuttin. I was shaking' like a leaf."*  
(1972: 373)

In terms of *external evaluation*, the use of *direct speech* is one of the most obvious performance features in a narrative. The narrator plays the role of various characters in the drama, making it more authentic by invoking the words of others. By placing words in the mouth of the characters, the narrator internalises the events within the narrative, and by placing words in the character's mouth, the narrator builds the narrative toward the "desired point" (Tannen, 1982: 8). In general, direct quotation can do more than just repeat the words uttered.



They can be used to dramatise the narrative, capture the original speaker's intent, and portray a speech act, an emotion, or a tone of voice. Therefore at the discourse level, direct speech is an effective evaluative device that can dramatise and highlight the main elements in narratives, and can create a more believable narrative (Mayes, 1990). According to Labov (1972: 378-392), the four subtypes of *internal evaluation* can be identified as:

- ***Intensifiers***: The story teller strengthens or intensifies the events by using gestures, expressive phonology, quantifiers, repetition, ritual utterances, etc.
- ***Comparators***: The story teller contrasts events which *did* occur to those which *did not* occur. (Using auxiliaries, negatives, questions, imperatives, modals, superlatives, comparatives, etc.)
- ***Correlatives***: The story teller brings together two events that actually happened by conjoining them in a single independent clause by using progressives, appended participles, double appositives, etc.
- ***Explicatives***: The story teller expresses and evaluates the incident in clauses separate from the main narrative clauses by using simple (only one clause), complex (a clause is embedded in a clause which is in turn embedded in the main clause) or compound (two clauses are embedded at the same point in the matrix clause) clauses.

Tannen (1989: 29) expands the concept of evaluation and demonstrates how evaluative devices such as quotations and repetition work in oral narratives. She underlines that the concept of evaluation is relevant to any discourse; not just storytelling, because speakers methodically use language in order to express the point of the discourse, “presenting the subject of discourse in a way that shapes how the hearer or reader will view it.”

Tannen (1989: 29) employs the term *involvement strategies* to refer to “a systematic way(s) of using language” to attain “an internal, even emotional connection individuals feel which binds them to other people as well as to places, things, activities, ideas, memories, and words” and points out that some involvement strategies are effective for evaluation in storytelling. Tannen includes the more comprehensive term “exact repetition” to signify the uttering of words in a similar rhythmic pattern; *paraphrasing*, expressing similar ideas in different words; *repetition with variation* as changing questions/statements into statements/question, and *repetition with a single word*; that is, uttering completely different words in the rhythmic pattern of a previous utterance. Peterson and McCabe (1983) identify 21 types of *evaluation* which are categorised as:

- ***Interactive elements*** such as attention-getters
- ***Prosodic devices*** such as onomatopoeia
- ***Rhetorical devices*** such as exclamations and metaphors
- ***Lexical devices*** such as intensifiers
- ***Irrealis modality*** such as expressions of hope and desire
- ***Causal elements*** such as motivations and event results
- ***Internal states***: cognitive and affective states attributed to the protagonists.

Bamberg and Damrad-Frye (1991) employ the term “evaluative commentary” to classify five lexical categories based on the wordless picture book “*Frog Story*” (See Appendix 3 for Mayer’s (1969) *Frog, Where are You* illustrations):

- ***Frames of mind***: in relation to affective or cognitive states
- ***Character speech***: direct or reported speech quoting from or attributing to characters in the story
- ***Hedging devices***: distancing the narrator from the proposition
- ***Negative qualifiers***: such as *not*, *im-* or *un*
- ***Causal connectors***

Chin's (1999) study on Taiwanese oral narratives emulates Lin's (1993) typology to analyse *internal evaluation* in Chinese oral narratives. Lin argues that *internal evaluation* in Labov's subtypes, which focus on classifying English language narratives, are not really suitable when applied to the Chinese language. For example, *correlatives* and *explicatives* are language-specific syntactic elements in English language but they do not exist in the Chinese language and are replaced by different syntactic features. In short, they are inappropriate for analysing Chinese narratives. Lin's Chinese classifications were at three levels: *prosody*, *lexicon* and *syntax*. Lin (1993) points out that Labov's concept of intensifiers play an important role in evaluation by emphasising events or items in a narrative by attracting the listeners and convincing them of the significance of the story. At the *prosody* level, intensification is focused on the narrator's extra stress, loudness or pitch. The lexical level consists of four subtypes: *interjections*, *adjectives*, *adverbs* and *utterance-final particles*. Lin (1993: 67) defines interjections as:

a subset of items that encode the speakers' attitudes and communicative intentions and are context-bound...absolute adjectives express significant qualities that do not permit gradation and hence increase intensity...adverbs are the commonest internal evaluative devices...the final lexical subtype is *utterance-final particles* which are abundant in Mandarin...utterance-final particles are used to express emotions and are regarded as *intensifiers* in the sense that they represent alternatives to neutral linguistic forms.

The syntactic level deploys three levels of construction as evaluative devices: *resultative complements*; *ritual expression*; *metaphors*, *similes*, and *repetition*. The form of resultative complements can be denoted as: VP + de 得 + adjective phrase/verb phrase/clause. It is the non-potential forms that convey *extent* to express intensity.

An *extent* meaning can be inferred from the relationship between the two parts of the construction. In short, “the event or action in the first constituent is done to such an extent that the result is the state expressed by the second constituent” (Lin, 1993: 75).

Ritual expressions are traditionally used at the end of a topic chain to evaluate a situation such as *jiu zhe yang (zi)* 就這樣(子) (*that's it*). In a conversation, this ritual utterance also signals that the teller is to yield the floor, giving an opportunity to other participants to engage in the conversation; thus, the mechanism of “turn-taking” is reactivated. Metaphors and similes involve comparison when speaking, which is defined as “direct expression of evaluation and are bound to occur when we have strong feelings to express.” (Lin, 1993:79)

For the purposes of the present study, I will employ Labov’s and Lin’s model of *external evaluation* while modifying some *internal evaluations*.

*Repetition* intensifies a particular action and suspends the action (Labov, 1972:379). Labov argues that story tellers rely on repetition, dialogue, tense shifts and *ritual expression* to reinforce evaluations and to segment stories into manageable chunks and mark prominent points in the storytelling performance as well as provide keys for narrative organisation.

Norrick (2000: 35) offers an example of conversational storytelling which reveals interesting patterns of repetition. Both tellers laugh at their own stories. Humorous narratives reveal personal feelings and values. Consequently, both contain much evaluative talk. In the following excerpt, Vivian is telling the story of a neighbour who mistook her two sons for twins. One of those sons, Earl, and his wife Alice are Vivian's conversational partners. The humour she finds in the recounted events and her enjoyment of the memory entice Vivian into repeating significant elements of her story during the primary telling. She then repeats two key utterances of her story during the primary telling. Vivian then repeats two pivotal utterances of her story once again to sum up and conclude the topic, after Earl tells a related story of his own two similar looking children. Notice that Vivian is already repeating from Alice's introductory passage, which contains three separate wordings for the same state of affairs, namely: "are they twins?", "they're twins", and "our kids are twins." Thus, there is definitely a formulaic feel to the phrase by the time Vivian repeats it in the second version of the story.

### **Twins**

1. {Alice and Vivian looking at pictures of (grand)children}
2. Alice: people have asked us, "are they twins?"
3. not just once.
4. {to Earl} how often have people asked us
5. if they're twins,
6. if our kids are twins
7. Earl: well
8. Alice: I mean seriously
9. Earl: fairly often
10. Alice: fairly often
11. Earl: more often than I would've imagined
12. yeah, I consider it such a stupid question
13. for me it's=
14. Vivian: =when we moved to Pennsylvania,
15. Delbert and Earl walked to school by some neighbors, and I met that lady  
one day
16. when we were very new
17. and she said,
18. "oh, you're the one with the twins."

19. and I said,
20. “oh no,
21. maybe you mean my boys
22. that are a year and a half apart.”
23. “oh no, they’re twins.”
24. I said, “I have sons a year and a half apart.”
25. “oh no, they’re twins.”
26. I said, “I have sons a year and a half apart.”
27. “ah, well I think they look like twins.”
28. and I could’ve just throttled that woman=
29. Earl: =this was like the guy who said to me,
30. when I said Lilly has just turned three-
31. no, she said,
32. “oh, you mean four.”
33. Vivian: isn’t that charming,
34. Earl: I said,
35. Vivian: when somebody tells the parents what-
36. Earl: “she’s my daughter.
37. she’s three.”
38. Vivian: I could’ve just kicked that woman.
39. “oh no, they’re twins.” {laughing}

## 2.5 Humour as Collaboration

In addition to humorous utterances being used as repetition, humour in its various forms underpins friendship and solidarity through shared experiences while augmenting group rapport (Tannen, 1989). Demonstrations of humour may be uncertain and multifunctional. Certainly, laughter itself is not clear-cut and might indicate a variety of emotions or reactions ranging from ridicule to recognition (Holmes, 2000). The subsequent examples of humour marked by shared laughter in these narratives cover an assortment of topics. Hay (2000) identifies *coping humour* as a face-saving device whereby the speaker and listener use laughter to distance the anxiety or embarrassment intrinsic in the material being narrated. For example:

### **Narrative 1: Female Speaker**

1. By that time I was kind of “Yeah I pretty much must be in labour
2. Cause it hasn’t stopped
3. But you know, I’m still ready to be embarrassed and her just say
4. ‘Oh no, it’s a bad case of bowel trouble’” (*both laugh*)

*Sharing humour* happens when the speaker reveals something about themselves “and lets the audience know them better” (Hay, 2000: 718). This strategy also underpins solidarity. However, within these instances there is a distinction in the type of material that prompts the laughter. In Coates’s (1996: 107) discussion of women’s narratives, she notes that the listeners show their identification with the speaker by laughing when the speaker expresses her inner thoughts. Similarly, in these women’s narratives, as well as laughing at events, speaker and listener often respond to the women sharing their internalized expectations or evaluation of events. For example, in the subsequent narrative, the speaker and listeners laugh about the speaker’s expectations of a ‘mess’.

**Narrative 2: Female Speaker (Birthing Partner)**

1. very often you know like I’ve heard dads say “Oh the mess you know and the blood and guts and everything that comes out – Oh yuck”
2. so I was sort of expecting you know needing galoshes or something (*all laugh*)
3. and you know “is that it?”

In this study, I will analyse the three sets of narratives for evidence of humour being used as collaboration and building solidarity (Martineau, 1972; Norrick, 1993; Devereux and Ginsburg, 2001).

## 2.6 The Evaluation Model and Culture

Narratives present a fundamental means of making sense of human experiences across cultures (Ochs and Capps, 1996). Polanyi (1979: 207) believes oral narratives of personal experience illustrate two core concepts of culture and that narratives are sources of insight into those concepts. The point of a narrative must be “culturally salient material generally agreed upon by members of the producer’s culture to be self-evidently and importantly true” - they are cultural texts.

Newcombe and Reese (2004) examine the socialisation of children's narrative ability across the preschool period, exploring the connection between children's and mothers' narrative style and children's attachment security. The results showed different patterns of narrative use and socialisation as a function of children's attachment security. Specifically, securely attached children and their mothers used more evaluations over time, had a more consistent narrative style, and had more bidirectional influences. That is, children were internalising their mothers' narrative style, especially their use of evaluations, in their independent narrative accounts.

From the above, it is clear that oral narratives of personal experience illustrate core concepts of culture and that narratives are sources of insight into those concepts - they are cultural texts. It is also evident that parental narrative styles influence children's narrative development (See Chapter 3 for further discussion). For the purposes of the study, it is necessary to investigate the relationship between narrator and audience. Accordingly, attention is given to Ochs and Capps' (2001) framework for analysing how narratives function as part of conversational interaction and to other narrative functions.

## 2.7 The Relationship between Narrator and Audience

In order gain deeper insights into the three sets of narratives in the current study, it is crucial to understand the relationship between narrator and audience. In contrast to Labov's (1972) model of narrative structure, Ochs and Capps (2001) developed a framework for analysing a third variable: how narratives function as part of conversational interactions. Telling a story is not a solitary act (Sacks, 1974, 1992; Jefferson, 1978; Goodwin, 1984, 1986; Tannen, 1984; Coates, 1996).



Oral narratives can function (a) to open up *prime* discussion, inviting subsequent responses and narratives; (b) to *sustain* discussion by responding to a topic introduced by another and to continue the talk; (c) to sympathetically *ratify*, or affirm the words and, indeed, the speaking rights, of another (Shuman, 1986); and (d) to *amplify*, or extend, the stories of others.

Polanyi (1981, 1985) shows how “adequate paraphrases” of conversational stories by Americans can be a method of arriving at the most basic statements of their beliefs about the world. She investigates the evolution of evaluation in conversational storytelling and focuses on how the narrator and the listeners negotiate one aspect of *tellability*, where the storyteller evaluates the events of a story taking into consideration their recipients’ responses.

*Tellability* is an important component of Ochs and Capps’ (2001) dimensional model of narrative. They argue that from a dialogic perspective, narrators accomplish social work when they tell narratives in conversations with significant others. They engage interlocutors in (re)interpretation of past, present, or imagined events; they take moral stances; they seek to enact themselves as good and proper people within a moral order; they explore multiple interpretations and possibilities. Georgakopoulou (2006a) and Johnson and Paoletti, (2004) also argue that a dimensional approach can be a useful conceptual structure for the analysis of narratives.

According Ochs and Capps' dimensional model, all narratives can be described in terms of five narrative dimensions each of which is presented as a continuum between a set of poles:

- ***Tellership*** refers to whether there is one primary teller of the narrative or whether there are multiple active co-tellers
- ***Tellability*** refers to both the significance of the narrated experience and the rhetorical style in which it was related
- ***Embeddedness*** refers to how detached or embedded the narrative is in relation to the discourse which surrounds it
- ***Linearity*** refers to the way in which the sequence of events in the narrative is organized (i.e. the events related in a narrative may be presented in a more or less linear fashion)
- ***Moral Stance*** refers to the perspective or framework for interpreting the moral meanings associated with events in the narrative.

Of these five dimensions, moral stance is most relevant to identity. Figure 4 shows, moral stance can range from certain or uncertain, and from more to less stable, in any given narrative. Participants' identities and moral stances toward events (as well as actions carried out by themselves and others) are revealed through evaluation (Poveda, 2004).

**Figure 4: Narrative Dimensions and Possibilities (Ochs and Capps, 2001: 20)**

<i>Dimensions</i>		<i>Possibilities</i>	
Tellership	One active teller	← →	Multiple active tellers
Tellability	High	← →	Low
Embeddedness	Detached	← →	Embedded
Linearity	Closed temporal and causal order	← →	Open temporal and causal order
Moral stance	Certain, constant	← →	Uncertain, fluid

### 2.7.1 Tellership

According to Ochs and Capps (2001: 24), *tellership* refers to “the extent and kind of involvement conversational partners in the actual recounting of a narrative.” Sacks (1974, 1992) and Jefferson (1978) suggest that the story recipients are not merely listeners of the story, but they contribute to and influence the storytelling; thus “co-constructing” the storytelling with the story teller (Duranti, 1986; Jacoby and Ochs, 1995). The listener both passively and actively affects the development of the narrative. As in talk in general, the narrator shows recipient design in building his/her story (Jefferson, 1978: 227). Jefferson investigates how a storytelling situation is established and what sequential position a story has within the conversational frame and finds that stories are *locally occasioned* and sequentially implicative.

Other researchers have demonstrated how each participant supports himself/herself with the narrator as a story recipient who presents himself/herself as an “unknowing participant” (Mandelbaum, 1993); or acts as a story co-teller who presents himself/herself as a “knowing participant” and assists the story teller at various points in the storytelling sequence (Lerner, 1992). Mandelbaum points out five ways in which story recipients display their understanding during the process of storytelling. For instance:

- 1) **Continuers** such as “*Uh huh*” (passive recipientship)
- 2) **Assessments** such as “*Wonderful*” (passive ~ active recipientship)
- 3) **Change-of-state tokens** such as “*Oh*” (active recipientship)
- 4) **Newsmarks** such as “*“Really?”*” (active recipientship)
- 5) **Recipient-initiated repair** such as “*When was it?*” or “*Who is he?*” (active recipientship)

In order to account for the suitability of the telling of the story and to encourage conversationalists to speak further; before the beginning of a narrative, *entrance talk* is initiated. This transitional talk, linking the previous talk and the story proper, shows the relationship between the two, and shows that the story is systematically introduced into turn-by-turn talk. A gambit like “*Did I tell you about?*” can be a minimal entrance talk (an abstract in Labov’s terminology), functioning to proclaim the telling of a story and defer the turn-taking mechanism. There is also transitional talk linking the story proper and the subsequent talk, usually referred to as *exit talk* which serves to re-establish the general state of the talk and re-engage the turn-taking mechanism in conversation. The connection between the story and subsequent talk is negotiated between the teller and the recipient (Jefferson, 1978). Somehow, the exit talk is equal to the *coda* in Labov’s model, bridging the story toward a more general topic. Interlocutors can also be drawn into active co-telling when a storyteller asks for help, even though it is not strictly necessary (Goodwin, 1979). For instance, Oren and his mother have been recollecting an event in which he inadvertently ate a chili pepper in a restaurant. When he asks his mother how old he was when this occurred, his mother relays the question to a previously uninvolved father, who in turn provides an answer (Ochs, 1994: iii). While this appears to be an innocent request for information, his mother immediately challenges her husband’s answer:

Mom: How old was he Don? When that [happened? ((looking to Dad))<sup>1</sup>  
 Dad: [Two  
 Mom: Was he even two?  
 (1.0 pause) ((no noticeable affirmation from Dad))

---

<sup>1</sup> In the subsequent series of conversations, the following transcription symbols are used. Double parentheses denote conduct. A bracket denotes an overlap. Underlining indicates some form of stress or emphasis. A hyphen after a word indicates some or a part of a word indicates a cut-off or self interruption. A dot in parentheses indicates a *micropause*; hearable but not readily measurable, ordinarily less than two tenths of a second. Numbers in parentheses indicate a silence in tenths of a second.

The mother's question suggests that she views herself as the superior authority and her request for help in recalling details of a narrative incident may actually be a facade for enlisting her husband as an active teller. Furthermore, enthusiastic conversational partners occasionally take over the telling of a narrative from its initiator. In some instances, the takeover is invited, as when one interlocutor forwards a story to another to continue (Goodwin, 1986). Taylor (1995: 149-150) illuminates this dynamic in the parent-child narrative interactions wherein the child assigns a parent as his or her "proxy voice". For instance in the excerpt below, Mom encourages Sharon to continue telling her siblings about her new molar, but Sharon designates Mom as her proxy.

Mom: Oh tell them

I bet they don't know the good news

Rhoda: I: do

Sharon: You tell. ((pointing to Mom with both hands))

Another form of active co-telling is the creation of a parallel story episode by a conversational partner. That is, the telling of one narrative motivates other tellings (Goodwin, 1984; Jefferson, 1978, Ryave, 1978; Sacks, 1992). Ryave (1978) and Sacks (1992) point out the significance of "response stories" when a listener constructs a second story parallel to the first story. They show that response stories are constructed to reinforce understanding of the first teller's story and to comment on it. Sacks (1992: 249) claims that the teller of the second story is in some way concerned to produce a recognisably similar story to the first. For example, after Beth commences a story that complains about her mathematic teacher's use of *Oh God*, her mother gives an account of her own experience with blasphemy (Ochs and Capps, 2001: 32).

Mom: I remember once-  
I don't know where it was, somewhere in my church-going  
experience  
I- (0.2 pause) was told that you should never take-  
to say "Oh my God" unless you are really talking to God

Meng (1992: 241) found that German three-to six-year-old children attempted to recruit a conversational partner when initiating a narrative. The German children's developing skills in co-narration are echoed in the narrative interactions of five-year-old Canadian children (Preece, 1985, 1992). In their conversations, these children were active tellers who not only elicited narrative involvement for their own narratives but also contributed to narratives initiated by others.

Kepmen: Hey, who wants to hear a story?  
(Defended another's right to tell)  
Bronwyn: KEPMEN, let...Kepman, let Heather say this...her little tiny one (story)  
(Invited one another to narrate)  
Heather: (to Kepmen) Tell what happened!  
(Repaired one another's perceived errors)  
Heather: D'you know what?  
It (.) um (.) at our house you (0.4 pause)should smell,  
it smelled like poop from the subject tank!  
Bronwyn: No not the "subject tank (.) um (.) um(.) what's it called?  
It's not subject tank (.)um (.) subject (0.3 pause) septic (0.3 pause)  
SEPTIC tank.  
Heather: Well Dad and Mum call it the subject tank.  
Bronwyn: Well, it's not that. It's a SEPTIC TANK, right Mum?  
(Provided elicited information and confirmation)  
Heather: And he um and he um, he always (0.3 pause) hurt things, and everytime,  
what is Angus did to you, Bronwyn?  
Bronwyn: What?  
Heather: What does he always do to you Bronwyn?  
Kepmen: He KICKS her, and one time he even threw her down on the ground.

(Preece, 1992: 285).

### 2.7.2 Tellability

*Tellability* refers to the performative and aesthetic aspect of a story-telling. In short, what story is tellable (Georgakopolou, 2006a). Personal narratives vary in their quality as tellable accounts, that is, in the extent to which they convey a series of reportable events and make a point in a rhetorically effective manner (Labov and Waletzky, 1967). Georgakopoulou (2006b: 96) analyses conversations between young Greek women who are close friends. In terms of identity, her participants adopt different roles such as “advice-giver versus advice-seeker and expert versus novice”. Consequently, the internal hierarchy of the conversationalists is evident in the production of their narratives. This study will investigate the role of advice-giver in the Taiwanese and British narratives. Highly tellable narratives can be retold many times and still appreciated by listeners. For instance, Shuman (1986: 69-70), presents a highly-tellable narrative by an adolescent girl (Stacie), who retells a story she had read in the newspaper to her friend Marie. Although the events are essentially shocking, tellability is related not only to the surprising nature of events but also to the importance of events for particular interlocutors and the way in which events are rhetorically created in a narrative.

Stacie: Oh. I want to tell y'all about something else

This lady, her baby

She had um (.) she had a little girl

She dressed her little girl up

Oh, it was Eastertime

She dressed her little girl up in pretty clothes

So the father could come and take her out

Because the parents were separated

And do you know what she did?

She put the (.) she beat the girl up and started stabbing the little baby and everything

And then she put it in the oven?

Marie: Oh!

### 2.7.3 Embeddedness

Narratives of personal experience vary in terms of their embeddedness in surrounding discourse and social activity. The extent to which a personal narrative is an entity unto itself, separate from prior, concurrent, and subsequent discourse, is related to turn organisation, thematic content, and rhetorical structuring. Extended turn length by a principal teller is a distinguishing feature of many personal narratives (Jefferson, 1978; Goodwin, 1986; Sacks, 1992). For example, prolonged turns are evident in the following exchange between Katharine (accompanied by friends) and Algy (an elderly English man) whose mystifying narrative relates his account about getting a car ride while intoxicated.

Algy: Is it ((tape recorder)) on?

Katherine: Of course it's on let's see

Algy: All right I'll – This is my final thing.

I was (.) had a drink or two

And I was walking back from Newton Abbot to Ashburton

And (.) in the wintertime.

And I was tired. I thought I saw a car coming.

In fact it did come. Slowly overtook me.

I thought I don't know it's got no lights.

Anyhow opened the door jumped in passenger side.

Thought um anything special (in the thing)?

And sat there you see and when we got to a corner great hairy hand comes round

Katharine: Hm.

Algy: moves the steering wheel and on we go

Katharine: ((coughs))

Algy: Then I nodded off (.) went to sleep.

### 2.7. 4 Linearity

The dimension of *linearity* is related to the extent to which narratives of personal experience show events as happening in a single, closed, temporal, and causal path or, alternatively, in diverse, open uncertain paths. Moderately linear narratives depict an



overarching progression of events in which one event temporally comes first or causally leads to a succeeding event:



Shuman (1986: 26-27) presents a ‘fight’ narrative depicting a highly linear sequence of events as a result of Mary calling Joan a whore in front of Joan’s sister.

The excerpt begins with her sister’s response.

Joan: It was me and Mary  
We had a fight and right  
Yesterday  
My sister went over to her  
and she grabbed her  
and she pulled her  
and she say that “You want to fight my sister?”  
She said “Go do it”  
Linda: By your place?  
Joan: So I went over to her  
and then she wants to fight me  
so I walked away.

## 2.7. 5 Moral Stance

This study will investigate the use of moral stance within the three sets of narratives. Ochs and Capps (2001: 45) define moral stance as a “disposition towards what is good or valuable and how one ought to live in the world.” Miller et al. (1996) found that American and Chinese families engage young children in co-telling past experience with approximately the same frequency. Apparently, telling stories with children and also about children in their presence occurs many times in Chinese and American families. Cultural differences are evident in how families cast the children as moral protagonists: the Chinese emphasising the child as a transgressor and the American highlighting the child’s positive qualities. For example, Chung-Chung (C) and his mother (M) are commenting on a slide board in a picture book (Miller at al,

1996: 301). In this excerpt, the mother's moral stance is evident. Her every contribution contains an explicit reference to a rule violation, to the resulting parental censure, or to the inferred self-centeredness of the child. She seems to have adopted a societal voice in a highly consistent mode. The assumption of an authoritative, normative voice helps to create her right to co-tell the story.

1. C: Yes..in the zoo..I..that slide..I didn't let other kids play
2. M: Yes. It was your fault..wasn't it?
3. C: Yes
4. M: Papa was mad at you.
5. C: Yes
6. M: Papa said, "How come you didn't listen to me?"
7. C: What's that? ((looking at another picture))
8. C: (returning to the story after intervening talk) So many kids were playing on the slide..Chung-Chung wanted to play on it..Chung-Chung didn't want other kids to play on it..I want I myself..I myself to play on it..Chung-Chung..so many kids..I didn't get to play on it
9. M: See how selfish you are? Did Papa say you could do this? Papa said you couldn't..right? Didn't Papa tell you..you should share whatever you have with other kids?

## 2.8 Summary

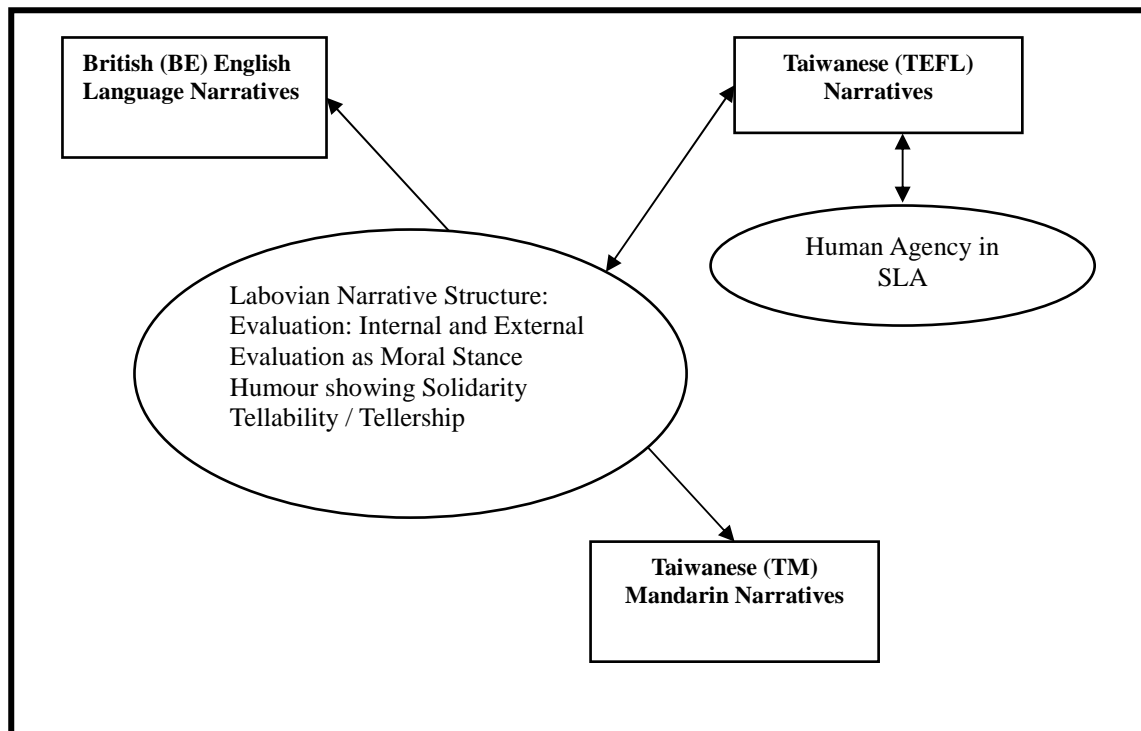
The literature review has provided some important insights for this cross-cultural study. If narratives, as has been argued, are a fundamental means of making sense of human experiences across cultures and constitute a discourse universal, then we can gain valuable cultural insights expressed in Taiwanese and British narratives. For the purposes of the present study, I will use Labov's model of narrative to analyse recurring structures, topics and effects in the narrative corpus. I will employ Labov's and Lin's model of external evaluation while modifying some internal evaluations.

The literature review has also provided important insights into the relationship between the teller and the audience. Hence, I will examine the data for *tellership*, *tellability*, and *moral stance taking* as an evaluative device. Additionally, another useful insight is that humour plays an important role within a narrative (Cortazzi, 1993). Storytellers can show their involvement and evaluation through humour. Accordingly, I will explore the use of humour in the British (BE) and Taiwanese (TM) and (TEFL) narratives. I believe that the study of narrative is central to education. As stated in chapter one, a major research aim is to explore why my students did not use L2 discourse norms in their English language narrative productions. Cortazzi's (1993) study has been particularly helpful because it relates narrative research to education. Specifically, his research analyses teachers' oral accounts of their experiences in the classroom. In other words, it focuses on human agency. I will also focus on human agency by investigating Taiwanese L2 learners' experiences of second language acquisition (SLA) within and outside the classroom. Figure 5 illustrates the evolution of emerging research questions and their relationships as identified in this chapter.

In the next chapter, I will expand my conceptual framework by exploring issues related to the relationship of language and culture; examine some important cross-cultural narrative studies, and narrative research in education. Finally, the main research questions for the study will be identified.

Figure 5 illustrates thematic structure of this chapter.

**Figure 5: Model of Thematic Structure 2**



## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **LANGUAGE/ CULTURE / LEARNER IDENTITY IN SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION (SLA)**

#### **3. Introduction**

This chapter is the second part of my conceptual framework. Attention is given to the relationship between language and culture, narrative as social practice, and a comparison of Asian/Western discourse styles. Furthermore, I identify significant cross-cultural studies on narrative. Research into the notion of a good language learner is discussed. Emphasis is also given to the importance of narrative research in second language acquisition (SLA). Additionally, the importance of learner identity in SLA is underpinned. Finally, the main research questions are identified.

#### **3.1 The Relationship between Language and Culture**

Barthes (1977:79) underscores the importance of narrative in culture:

Narrative is present in myth, legend, fable, tale, novella, epic, history, tragedy, drama, comedy, mime, painting, stained glass windows, cinema, comics, news items, conversations...narrative is international, transhistorical, transcultural: it is simply there, like life itself.

How does a particular language influence the way its speakers perceive the world? In this cross-cultural study, the relationship between language and culture is central to the study of conversational narratives. Geertz (1973: 89) defines culture as a “historically transmitted pattern of meaning embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about attitudes towards life.”

Culture has also been defined as consisting of a set of attitudes, beliefs, customs and values shared by a group of people, communicated from one generation to the next through language or some other means of communication (Super and Harkness, 1980; Fischer and Lazerson, 1984; Matsumoto, 2000). Moreover, in order to understand any culture, one must have direct access to the language. According to Kramsch (1998: 3), the words people utter refer to common experience and reflect their authors' attitudes and beliefs, their point of view that are also those of others. In both cases, language expresses cultural reality.

In this cross-cultural study, two important questions should be asked at the outset: (a) is narrative part of social practice? (b) is language inherently cultural?

### 3.1.1 Narrative as Social Practice

According to Fairclough (1989: vi), language is social practice and not a phenomenon that functions in a vacuum; it is not an 'autonomous construct' but action, both shaping and shaped by "the structures and forces of [the] social institutions within which we live and function" (ibid.). As Klapproth (2004: 4) points out: narrative as social practice both shapes and is reshaped by culture-specific conceptions, that is "by the ideas and beliefs that the members of the culture hold about their world and about the human being's function and place within this world." Underlining the importance of involvement in narrative as social practice, Klapproth (2004: 117) claims that the "narrative act creates a personal involvement in the narrated world" for the narrator and the listener, in addition to the narrative act itself.

Klapproth examines the stories from the Anglo-Western oral tradition and the Australian Aboriginal Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara oral tradition. She explores the differences in form and function and their relationship to socio-cultural practices and worldviews, reviews the role of narrative in the socio-cultural construction of reality, the narrative sharing of worlds and storytelling as communicative interaction, and the structure of narrated worlds and the search for story schemata. She found that the cross-cultural applicability of the analytical categories suggested by these models and discovered that they reflect Anglo-Western value systems and culture-specific conceptualizations.

Minami (2002: 194) points out that Whorf (1956) hypothesised that the particular language one speaks affects the manner in which one perceives and thinks about the world; the Eskimo language is often used as a piece of evidence because it contains more words for snow than English does. Regardless of whether we accept the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis or not, it seems true that language (and narrative in particular) is a vehicle by which we bring our thoughts and meanings into order. That is, culture has a pervasive influence on language; for instance, culture affects pragmatics (the use of apologies, compliments). As Tannen (1989: 12) points out, communicative interaction is not just an issue of two individuals adopting the roles of speaker and listener. To a certain extent, “both speaking and listening include elements of the other.” This notion of “involvement”, Tannen defines as the internal, even emotional connection individuals feel which binds them to other people as well as to places, things, activities, ideas, memories, and words.

The relationship between discourse and culture appears to imply that discourse is the expression of culturally preferred styles of expression and with the discourse being constrained by culturally-agreed upon conventions. For example, Fowler (1977: 125) claims the system of conventions make possible the work of discourse and arrangements of words within the work; that is the “systematic of society transcends and controls the individual, determining verbal patterns he or she can deploy or respond to.” Nida (1998: 29) claims “language and culture are two symbolic systems.”

It is evident that people of different cultures can refer to different things while using the same language forms. For example, when one says *lunch*, a Westerner may be referring to a hamburger or a pizza, but a Chinese person will most probably be referring to steamed bread or rice. As Jiang (2000: 329) affirms, “being culturally loaded, English words and their Chinese translations (or vice versa) are seldom equivalents and often give rise to different associations and images.” Jiang uses three metaphors to underline the inseparability of culture and language: (a) a mirror, (b) an iceberg, (c) a living organism. Jiang conceives language as the *mirror* of culture in the sense that people can see a culture through its language and that language is the visible part of the *iceberg*, with a small part of culture; the greater part, lying beneath the surface, is the invisible aspect of culture. He claims that language and culture is akin to a living organism in the sense that language is the flesh of this living organism and culture is its blood -without culture language would be dead and without language, culture would have no structure. Weaver (1993) also uses an iceberg metaphor to underscore that the major part of culture is the non-observable.



Gieve (1998) suggests a linguistic culture does not necessarily need to have strong links to a particular language or nationality. He believes that a linguistic culture is continually evolving as it can be influenced by social class, educational background and even the individual's own interests. Gieve (1998), Kramsch (1998), Cook (2003) all support the view that language and culture are connected and that the ensuing linguistic cultures are formed by experiences prevalent to a particular group.

In summary, the above section has provided some relevant insights for this study. Firstly, in order to comprehend any culture, one must have direct access to the language. Additionally, when individuals engage in narratives, they do so in a social environment. Moreover, narratives are a vital part of social practice and they mirror the teller's culture, and their participation in that culture. Furthermore, the relationship between discourse and culture appears to entail that discourse is the articulation of culturally favoured styles of expression and with the discourse being controlled by culturally-agreed upon rules. Also, the relationship between culture and language is symbolic (Jiang, 2000; Weaver, 1993) and it is not fixed (Gieve, 1998). In the next section, we explore differences in Asian and Western discourse styles.

### 3.2 Comparison of Asian/Western Discourse Styles

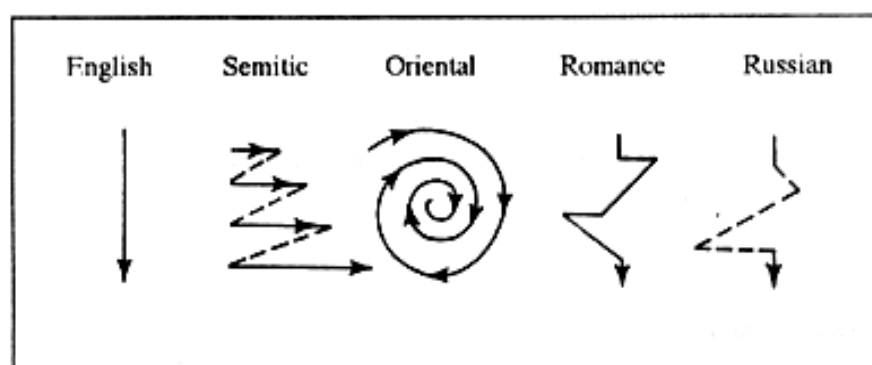
Conversational *indirectness* is a constant cause of interpersonal misunderstanding and it occurs when there is an inconsistency between sentence meaning and speaker meaning. Sanchez-Burks et al (2003: 364) point out *sentence meaning* refers to the semantic meaning of an utterance, and *speaker meaning* refers to what the speaker intends to accomplish with the remark.

Consequently, if the speaker says “this paper is interesting,” but actually intends to communicate to the speaker that the paper has questionable worth, indirectness occurs. In short, indirectness indicates the speaker’s and the listener’s intention to do more than merely transmit the literal or sentence meaning of the words exchanged (Grice, 1968). Indirectness has been shown to differ between cultures (Markus and Kitayama, 1991; Ting-Toomey et al., 1991).

Hall (1983) has claimed that there is more indirectness in high-context cultures where people depend on a wide range of social signals to communicate than in low-context cultures where people depend on few social cues to communicate. Similarly, people from collectivist cultures such as Koreans have been shown to be more indirect than people from individualistic cultures such as Americans (Ambady et al., 1996; Holtgraves, 1997). No doubt this has its basis from collectivists’ tendencies to attend to relational concerns more than individualists (Ting-Toomey et al., 1991).

Kaplan (1966) claims the existence of culture-specific thought patterns. He hypothesised that his Chinese participants revealed an indirect approach in their writing style and their thinking in contrast to the linear approach adopted by his American participants. He further hypothesised that such circuitousness is also reflected in Chinese oral discourse, and is representative of Chinese thought patterns in general. Kaplan argues that English rhetoric is linear (See Figure 6).

**Figure 6: Kaplan's (1966) Cultural Thought Patterns in Inter-cultural Communication**



Although this study focuses on oral narratives, Kaplan's (1966) study on cultural thought patterns is worth investigating as it deals with ideas of *indirectness* and *language interference (negative transfer)*. Mohan and Au-Yeung Lo (1985: 516) point out Kaplan believed deviations from the predictable organisation of English academic discourse could be explained by *interference (or negative transfer)* from the rhetorical organisation of the writer's first language. The notion of transfer relates to how the speaker's dominant language influences another language.

Hinds (1983) is critical of Kaplan's use of written compositions in English gathered from speakers of various languages which do not show us anything about the rhetoric of the first language, since it has now been recognised that at least some errors in the target language are not the result of negative transfer from the first language. Zhang and Sang (1986: 368) point out that in Chinese discourse, narrators "mention the main point very briefly" and tend to emphasise repeated details about "common experiences in shared time and place."

Cortazzi and Jin (2006: 35-37) highlight Chinese preferred rhetorical modes evident in written applications to undertake Master Degree courses at British universities. Cortazzi and Jin argue that these narratives would cause confusion to a western reader. When writing the applications, the Chinese writer needed to create a relevant academic and professional identity and, preferably, a unique voice as a creditable applicant. Some portions of the Chinese self-presentations were unlikely to be found in British self-presentations as British graduates were more likely to focus on the postgraduate admission tutor's expectation that such self-descriptions would establish merit through a narrative based on factual evidence of achievement and were concerned more with how the course would benefit the applicant in his or her professional context. However, East Asian applicants followed a cultural trend of using their narratives to establish their identities as moral persons. Terms such as 'honesty', 'sincerity', 'my sense of responsibility', 'won the respect and trust', 'happiness', 'gives me great pleasure', 'my first dream', 'my odyssey in the world of knowledge' were used in their applications. To the Chinese applicants, such narratives are connected to real life and evidence of past performance which can be shared with strangers. However, a British reader might read this very affirmative personalisation as over-claiming through overstated boasting or poetic irrelevance. Equally, a Chinese reader of a typical British application might question why the expected description of the moral identity of the person is absent.

In summary, Kaplan's notion of thought patterns seems relevant to this study because it is central to understanding that people from different cultures use a basic narrative template based on the preferred rhetorical modes in their native culture. However, his study was based on written texts, not oral narratives.

As one of my main research aims is to explore the stylistic differences between the participants' narratives, I will look at the Taiwanese (TEFL) English language narratives for evidence of language similar to that found in the Cortazzi and Jins' (2006) Chinese MA applicants. In the next section, I explore various studies related to cross-cultural narratives.

### 3.3 Cross-Cultural Studies on Narrative

Narratives and narrative processes can vary enormously in different cultural groups. People "talk differently, about different topics, in different ways, to different people, with different consequences" (Barnlund, 1975: 435). The narrative process can depend on the type of narrative told, how that narrative is told, the individuality of the teller and audience and the relationship between them, where they are, why the narrative is being told, the mood and tone of the telling, and how all of these features usually relate to each other for any particular cultural group (Cortazzi, 1993: 100). Cortazzi also underlines that the same story can vary if one or more of these features change.

Narratives have been used in many cross-cultural comparisons of discourse form (Odlin, 1989: 59). For example, myths and folktales have been analysed by anthropologists and literary theorists due to the persistent features in content and form. For example, creation myths, floods, a return of a god or hero have emerged in a significant amount of cultures. As noted in chapter one, traditional narratives are known to have fixed characteristics that persist in the oral literature of numerous cultures (Levi-Strauss, 1955; Dundes, 1964; Propp, 1968).

Substantial cross-cultural differences have been identified in terms of narrative structure (McCabe, 1996). When telling narratives, Japanese narrators, for example, tend to opt for dispensing with nominal references to entities that they assume to be in the focus of listeners' consciousness (Downing, 1980). On the basis of some of fixed features, scholars have developed *story grammars* and other systems of analysis to comprehend narratives and related forms of discourse (Thorndyke, 1977; Mandler et al., 1980). In story grammars, relations between settings, themes, plots, episodes, and characters are clarified through a sequence of rules. Many of the narratives typified in story grammars show a sequence of events in time, with many of the events being causally related to each other, and a problem at the start of the story is normally not resolved until the conclusion of the story, with the audience being kept in suspense during most of the narrative. Such patterns recur in storytelling in many cultures. However, it is not clear that such recurrences are universal as there are cross-cultural differences in the functions of narrative.

In a cross-cultural study exploring ethnic differences in relation to emotion, Matsumoto (1993) found that in collectivist societies such as Asian and South American cultures, it is important to avoid reflecting negatively upon the group, hence, they are less likely to demonstrate negative effect publicly. In contrast, individualist societies such as Western cultures direct communication is important; hence, they are less likely to mask their negative affect. Hofstede (2001) also defines national groups in terms of individualism versus collectivism. For example, Americans are individualistic because they are focused on self-interest in contrast to Asians who are collectivistic because they are centred on the interests of family and the wider community.

It may be argued that Taiwanese, akin to Japanese, may disclose little of their public self in their conversations. Consequently, there may be differences or similarities in the amount of disclosure shown in the Taiwanese and British narratives. There is a strong historical linkage between Taiwan and Japan. In 1895, Taiwan was ceded to Japan following the Ching dynasty's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War. Japan governed Taiwan with a strict autocracy and an enlightened Confucianism which had a profound influence impact on Taiwanese society.

In relation to identity construction and negotiation, Barnlund (1975) has shown the disclosure of the public self differs greatly between Japanese and Americans. He argues that Japanese are rather repressed, private people who are afraid to reveal for public scrutiny much about their lives. The Japanese prefer carefully regulated and predictable forms of conversations dealing with general topics in a fairly superficial manner, and they rarely have deep, heart-to-heart discussions even with their closest friends or relatives. While the Japanese mask themselves in an atmosphere of secrecy, even when there is nothing to hide, Americans appear to express themselves across a wider variety of topics at a significantly deeper and more personal level. Americans prefer spontaneous and detailed forms of conversation, and when confronted with a major problem, they prefer assertive and expressive forms of defense, while Japanese, in keeping with their more guarded view of the self, prefer passive forms of defense that tend to reduce involvement. As Richards and Sukwiwat (1983: 122) claim, Japanese in terms of topics discussed, converse on a more superficial level, and "they demonstrate unwillingness for verbal intimacy because they choose defensive reactions sooner and in a greater number of topical areas."

This study will examine the amount of public self evident in the Taiwanese TM and TEFL narratives.

Lewin (1936) observes disclosure differences between Americans and Germans, with Americans disclosing more than the Germans but failing to achieve the high level of intimacy evident in the latter nation. A number of studies have related disclosure to cultural variations such as individualism-collectivism (Hofstede, 1980), with some individualist cultures having a wide range of disclosure targets, whereas other (collectivist) cultures are characterized by a smaller but more close circle of interactants (Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey, 1988; Triandis et al., 1993; Wheeler et al., 1989). Greater collectivism in a culture was associated with greater differences between the in-group and out-group in terms of intimacy of communication (Gudykunst and Matsumoto, 1996).

In a study examining conversational turn-taking, Ng et al. (2000) scrutinised conversations in European and Chinese families in New Zealand. The two types of turns varied with cultural individualism/collectivism in both inter- and subcultural comparisons. Single-addressee turns were more common in European (individualistic) than in Chinese (collectivistic) families, and in high (individualistic) than in low (collectivistic) acculturated Chinese families. The reverse was true for multiaddressee turns. Members of Chinese families who were highly acculturated used more single and fewer multiaddressee turns when compared with less highly acculturated members.



In terms of the present study, it seems that from the above that we might predict that a culture which accentuates autonomy and independence (for example, British) will center more on the individual, and that a culture (such as Chinese/Taiwanese) which emphasises interdependence will focus more on kinship relationships in a family-oriented society where in-group relations tend to be very strong. In HC cultures, people tend to draw a greater distinction between outsiders and insiders, so that when they converse, they tend to expect the insider to know what is going on in their mind. Therefore, they talk indirectly about what is going on, giving the listeners all the necessary information except for the crucial piece of information. Conversely, British participants do not live in such a society because individualism takes precedence over group and family matters. Accordingly, it might be predicted that British participants will be less family-oriented, use more linear logic, place emphasis on facts and logical development of ideas, and emphasise spoken verbal messages that are explicitly coded. I consider that even though some of the aforementioned features might be present in Western and Chinese societies, such sweeping generalisations about Chinese and Westerners seem problematical.

In storytelling, joint recall can often give the telling a celebratory function. However, there kinds of collaboration: tellers in some cultures such as the Athabaskan in North America, wait for the audience to anticipate the conclusion and supply it - the listener gives the ending and the meaning - and if the white audience does not or cannot supply this ending, the teller progressively expands the background, while waiting for the audience completion which may never come (Scollon and Scollon, 1981).

Similar teller-audience collaborations among the Kalapalo in central Brazil give listeners the responsibility to put the pieces of the story together and to make evaluations explicit (Basso, 1992). Matsuyama (1983) found a major difference in the Asian and Western storytelling traditions, both of which are governed by basic narrative template rules. According to Matsuyama (1983), Asian stories favour character development, explanations of motives and descriptions of interpersonal relationships, whereas narratives told within a Western tradition are typically centered around plot development and action.

Cortazzi (1993: 105) offers several examples of how narrators from different cultures commence their narrative performance. For example, Dani narrators from Liberia will use the formulaic narrative opening “*Let us listen*”, while Hanga narrators from Ghana will use the formulaic aperture “*I want to tell you a story.*” Some cultures may find another culture’s narrative sequencing irrational. For instance, Sherzer (1987: 305) observes that Kuna narrators from Panama have a tendency to skip from place to place when storytelling.

In a study related to the moral judgments of Americans and Japanese, Azuma (2001) provided participants with a number of circumstances related to moral misbehaviour and asked what extra contextual information they would require to make a moral judgment about the protagonist. In contrast to the Americans, the Japanese regarded additional information about the character’s feelings as essential before making a judgment. As noted in chapter two, I will examine moral stance taking (Ochs and Capps, 2001) as an evaluative device in the Taiwanese and British narratives.

Yu (2005) examines sociolinguistic features of a particular speech act, paying compliments, by comparing and contrasting native Chinese and Native American speakers' performances. By focusing on a relatively understudied speaker group such as the Chinese, typically regarded as having rules of speaking and social norms very different from those of Westerners, Yu examines how in cross-cultural communication, foreign language speakers have to pay close attention to sociolinguistic rules of the target language in addition to structure and discourse rules to meet the needs of linguistic accuracy and fluency. This is due to the fact that such rules play an indispensable role in appropriating the correct use of linguistic forms. Yu explores both the features of distribution of paying compliments, and the functions they may serve in spoken exchanges for native Chinese and American English speakers.

A story schema (the underlying organisational paradigm for stories) seems culturally specific (Minami, 2002). Moreover, a story schema reveals children's competence in using the appropriate linguistic means in a narrative situation (Bamberg, 1987). Some researchers claim that a story schema is culturally and linguistically specific (Kintsch and Greene, 1978; Harris et al. 1988). Kintsch and Greene (1978), presupposing the existence of culture-specific aids to story comprehension and reconstruction, selected a Native American story that was not in agreement with the Western model of a good story. Conducting experiments on American college students, these researchers found that those American students had some trouble in understanding and reconstructing the Native American story. Therefore, it seems that people forget less in stories taken from cultures that are similar to their own than in culturally divergent stories.

If people from different cultures decipher their knowledge and experience into narratives in culture-specific ways, then it seems logical that different cultures have a different outlook on what makes a story good. Using verse/stanza analysis, Minami and McCabe (1991, 1996) scrutinised oral personal narratives told by Japanese elementary school children (aged five to nine) and found three distinctive features: (1) The narratives are extremely concise; (2) they are typically unconnected collections of multiple experiences; and (3) stanzas almost always consist of three verses (which approximately correspond to three simple clauses). These different features are illustrated in a narrative which was told by Yoshi, a seven-year-old Japanese boy who lived both in Japan and in the United States. His extremely succinct injury stories reveal both the three-verse pattern and the presentation of multiple experiences.

### **Yoshi's Monologic Narrative**

#### **Stanza A: [abstract]**

- (a) I fell down,
- (b) I got a big injury here,
- (c) I bumped into a heater,
- (d) I got hurt here,

#### **Stanza B: [Injury in Japan]**

- (e) First, as for this one, you know,  
    'in Japan, you know'  
    When I lived, you know,
- (f) I was dashing "dah, dah, dah,"  
    I tumbled,
- (g) I got hurt

#### **Stanza C: [injury in the United States]**

- (h) And, as for the other one, you know,
- (i) I was playing, you know,  
    I stumbled,  
    I bumped into a heater "bang"
- (j) Then, you know,  
    Form here, it bled "drip, drip"

In Stanza A, Yoshi momentarily talks about his injury in Japan, and then begins to describe another injury he experienced in America in a more detailed manner. It is apparent that this stanza departs from the three-verse pattern but that the stanza functions as an abstract of the two injuries to be described later in Stanzas B and C. According to Minami and McCabe (1991), this inclusion of brief description of one experience is another feature of Japanese children's oral narratives. They argue that the above features mirror the basic characteristics of *haiku*,<sup>1</sup> which also shows three lines of written discourse. Minami (1990) and Minami and McCabe (1991, 1996) suggest that Japanese literacy games may explain both the surprising regularity of verses per stanza and the smooth acquisition of reading by a culture that practices a restricted, ambiguous, oral-style narrative discourse.

Caudill and Schooler (1973) found that American children, aged two-and-a-half and six, used verbal expression to communicate positive as well as negative emotions more frequently than did Japanese children of the corresponding ages. Furthermore, Caudill and Weinstein (1969) found that Japanese middle-class mothers talked far less frequently to their toddlers than did American middle-class mothers. Caudill's cultural transmission model tends to assume that cultural norms affect parental behaviour, which in turn exerts a unidirectional influence on the child. Caudill's model presumes that dissimilarities in the behaviour of children in these two cultures result from cultural differences in their mothers' behavior (Schooler, 1996).

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<sup>1</sup> *Haiku* is a Japanese lyric verse form having three unrhymed lines of five, seven, and five syllables, traditionally invoking an aspect of nature or the seasons.

There are differences in the ways in which parents ascribe their intentions to their children's early utterances. A study of verbal exchanges between Japanese and American mothers and their three-month-old infants (Toda et al., 1990) found that American mothers used more information-oriented speech (fully propositional sentences used in adult conversations) than did Japanese mothers. In contrast to American mothers, Japanese mothers rarely used grammatically complete utterances, and spoke to their young infants in a more affect-salient manner (nonsense words, onomatopoeia and songlike-utterance). With data on oral personal narratives told by Japanese preschoolers and adults, and with verse/stanza analysis (Gee, 1985; Hymes, 1981) and on the Labovian approach, it was discovered that children's and adults' narratives are similar in terms of structure in that they both tend to have three verses per stanza, and that children and adults tend to tell about multiple experiences. Children tend to tell their stories in a sequential style while adults emphasise non-sequential information. Adults' narratives place considerably more weight on background information, such as orientation and evaluation.

In narrative contexts in particular, children's speech is directed and scaffolded by mothers who elicit children's contributions about past experiences. *Scaffolding* means the temporary support which parents or other adults give a child performing a task (Bruner, 1977, 1983). Eisenberg (1985) examines the dialogic nature of conversations of young children with their mothers and identifies three phases of development: (a) dependency on adult participation; (b) the discussion of elements common to many instances of an event, rather than the unique occurrences of a specific event (dependence on a 'script' of the event); and (c) talk about unique occurrences, but difficulty in planning a lengthy discourse.

Hudson (1990, 1993) analyses the role of parent-child conversations in the development of young children's ability to talk about past events. Investigating the effects of maternal elicitation style, she emphasised the influence of repeatedly recounting events on the emergence and development of early autobiographical memory.

In this study, it may be anticipated that the Taiwanese narrators may use formulaic Chinese idioms or "*chengyu*". Most of the idioms are four-character expressions. For example, the *chengyu* (yí) 日(rì) 千(qiān) 秋(qiū) literally translated means "one day, a thousand autumns" and is used to imply rapid change. In Erbaugh's (1990) study, there is no evidence of the Americans using aphorisms or formulaic sayings such as "unable to make head or tail of it." In contrast to the Americans' non-usage of formulaic sayings, the Taiwanese participants used a total of eighteen *chengyus*. Proverbs are a discourse universal (Taylor, 1962) but their role in polite speech varies considerably in different cultures. In many countries, including much of the Middle East and Africa, proverbs and other formulaic utterances are frequently employed as aids in arguing, in complimenting, in expressing condolences, and so forth (Tannen and Oztek, 1981). According to Everaert et al., (1995: 3-4), idioms habitually refer to "a subclass of fixed expressions that are semantically opaque, non-compositional, unanalysable", and "exhibit lexical co-occurrence restrictions that cannot be explained in terms of regular rule-governed syntactic or semantic restrictions."

According to Chafe (1977), cited in Tannen (1993), the process of converting an experience into a verbal act begins with a speaker's individual *schema* (the knowledge an individual brings to the event). Schemata are naturally a product of the speaker's experience living in a given culture. Chafe's (1980) study was somewhat exceptional because it looked at discourse from a rhetorical viewpoint rather than a structural one (Labov, 1972) which was the norm. Using the *Pear Stories* film, Chafe intended to test how much the telling of a simple story could vary from language to language. Chafe and his research team designed a very explicit film to elicit stories from English, German, Greek, Japanese, and Mayan Indian speakers. Basically, the film is a short seven-minute color movie with sound effects but without dialogue and shows a series of simple events (See Appendix 1 for synopsis of plot and Appendix 2 for still images from the movie).

Tannen (1980) analysed American and Greek subjects retelling the film as part of the *Pear Stories* project. By examining how her Greek and American participants organised their retellings of the film, Tannen was able to explore the different sets of expectations they had when they viewed the film and formulated their subsequent comments about it. She found that the Greeks structured their responses around the narrative aspects of the film (*storytelling frame*), whereas the Americans were more likely to comment upon the technical aspects of the film (*film frame*) and their experience as viewers of the film (*film-viewer frame*). It must be said at this point that Chafe's and Tannen's model is problematic.



In a replication of Tannen's study with American speakers and Taiwanese Mandarin speakers, Erbaugh (1990) found that even though both Taiwanese and American subjects employed similar strategies of chronological sequencing in their responses, the Taiwanese subjects' narratives contained more detail and elaboration as well as social and moral interpretation, while the responses of the American subjects tended to contain more personal comments and observations about the film as a film. Erbaugh also throws some doubt on Kaplan's indirect hypothesis. She argues that Mandarin speakers demonstrate the same tendency of following the chronological order as their American counterparts do and "such results completely contradict the indirect hypothesis, the oral-written dichotomy, and the East-West dichotomy (Erbaugh, 1990: 23). Tannen's (1980) Greek participants "told briefer but better stories, reflecting a more oral tradition which values moral interpretations" and from an interpretive perspective, the Taiwanese told "better stories by including more social and psychological interpretations" (Erbaugh, 1990: 27).

Kang (2003) also underscores the correlation between language and culture. She uses Mayer's (1969) *Frog, Where Are You?* a picture prompt widely used for research in narratives (Bamberg, 1987; Hempill et al, 1991; Berman and Slobin, 1994; Boyd and Naucner, 2001) to elicit spoken narratives from Korean and American native English speakers because she claims it offers a reliable cross-cultural comparison of the ways in which the Koreans and American native English speakers perform the same task (See Appendix 3 for examples of illustrations used in Mayer's *Frog, Where Are You?*).

Kang (2003) also investigates how Korean adult EFL learners' narrative discourse in English may deviate from the native English speakers' discourse norms, and how such deviation may be explained by culturally determined discourse strategies in their native language. She argues that becoming a competent speaker in a language involves more than internalising its grammar and vocabulary; it requires the ability to produce discourse that is specific to the target language and culture. Attention will be given to this issue later in this chapter.

Kuntay and Nakamura (1993) claim Turkish and Japanese narrators evade making explicit evaluative comments. Minami and McCabe (1991) and Mullen and Yi (1995) also established that Asians in general appear to restrict their use of explicit evaluations and in expressing emotional states in narrative. Conversely, Bamberg and Damrad-Frye (1991) and Berman and Slobin (1994) find a frequent use of *evaluatives* in the oral narratives of Hebrew-speaking children.

Studies have revealed that stress on emotions is at variance between Asians and Americans (Masuda and Nisbett, 2001; Sanchez-Burks et al., 2003). For instance, in the Sanchez-Burks et al., (2003) study, Koreans and Americans were requested to read transcriptions of conversations between reviewers and employees about work performance evaluations. However, they were not allowed to see the real performance scores in the official evaluations. From these transcriptions, the Koreans were able to better evaluate and reproduce the scores of an employer's true emotions about an employee than were the Americans. Moreover, in an experiment conducted by Masuda and Nisbett (2001), where Japanese and American participants were asked to watch videos of fish, the Japanese perceived emotions in the fish than the Americans.

Cortazzi (1993: 102-108) underlines that the structures and functions of stories vary enormously across cultures, and such variations are a significant part of the global repertoire of narrative meanings. For example, evaluative aspects of narratives can be seen to work so that the evaluation is *in* the narrative (in a wide range of linguistic devices which are part of the story), or somewhere else in non-story talk so that the evaluation is *of* the narrative, or so that the telling itself is implicitly the evaluation of non-story topics through the narrative (Cortazzi and Jin, 2000). The balance between these ways varies widely across cultures. For example, in many Maori stories the evaluation by the teller is relatively inexplicit, compared with stories told by white New Zealanders: among Maoris the story context is enough for a listener to draw conclusions, but may leave a white listener understanding the words but not realising what the story was actually about (Holmes, 1998).

In summary, the literature has shown that narratives and narrative processes can vary enormously in different cultural groups. Moreover, considerable cross-cultural differences have been identified in terms of narrative structure. Also, story grammars tend to recur in storytelling in many cultures. Furthermore, Asian and Western storytelling traditions are governed by the basic narrative template rules. Additionally, people from different cultures translate their knowledge and experience into narratives in culture-specific ways, and different cultures have a different viewpoint on what makes a story good. It also appears that Japanese mothers play a dominant role in the development of their children's narrative skills; that is, Japanese mothers, scaffolding children's narratives support their children's progressive contributions to the narrative task in a variety of ways in accordance with cultural requirements.

### 3.4 Identity and Humour

As noted in Chapter 2, humour plays an important role in evaluation, the creation of solidarity and rapport in conversations. It has also been argued that identity and humour are linked. According to Koestler (1964: 35), humour arises from the perception of a single event “in two self-consistent but habitually incompatible frames of reference.” While this cognitive state lasts, the stimulus “is not merely linked to one associative context, but *bisociated* with two. This cognitive state leads to a release of psychic energy in the form of laughter. Bleedorn (2003: 49) asserts “one’s sense of humour is an important mark of one’s personal identity.” Butler (1997) has argued the performative aspect of gender where individuals are encouraged to act to socially prescribed ideas as to what female and males should act like. Her performative theory, like Goffman’s (1974) performative theory, is germane to other aspects of identity. As Holland et al., (1998: 3) assert “people tell others who they are, but even more important, they tell themselves and then try to act as though they are who they say they are.” Although humour is present in some form in all societies, each society does not exploit it in the same way. Humour can be used in daily conversations for building group solidarity (Martineau, 1972; Norrick, 1993; Devereux and Ginsburg, 2001). Other functions can include developing a sense of intimacy (Jefferson et al., 1987), alliance (Glenn, 1991) or momentary affiliation or rapport (Glenn, 1995), to boast, to challenge, to self-deprecate or to tease. Ho (2002: 201) underlines that sarcasm is a useful way of making evaluations of character. Haiman (1998:19-20) defines sarcasm as a form of verbal aggression. Lee and Katz (1998) claim that sarcasm is caustic in nature and aimed at a particular victim.

In summary, the above literature has revealed that identity occurs in social practice and is mediated and produced by cultures and through socialisation. It has also underlined the performative aspect of humour in storytelling (Goffman, 1974). In addition, humour can build group solidarity. In this study, I will examine the functions of laughter within the three sets of narratives.

As stated earlier, I believe that narratives are central to education. Nystrand (1997) suggests that oral narrative genres can become dialogic resources in classrooms as they simultaneously respond to previous talk and anticipate subsequent narratives. Thus, they can be dialogic in the way that certain questioning patterns are dialogic (Nystrand et al., 2003). Oral narrative genres appear to afford a significant capacity for dialogues among multiple competing, refracting voices and perspectives (Bauman, 1990). These previous studies of oral narrative practices in classrooms suggest that oral narrative genres might be useful for inviting a wide range of students' and teachers' voices and previous experiences into the classroom which might contribute to a "permeable curriculum" (Dyson, 1993).

In the next section, I attempt to establish a framework for narrative research in second language learning (SLA). I will explore research into conceptions of "the good language learner" and highlight the importance of human agency in SLA. We begin by giving a brief overview of English language learning in Taiwan.

### 3.5 English Language Learning in Taiwan

In Taiwanese elementary schools, Mandarin is the official language of instruction. A junior high-school student's main objective is to achieve high scores in the national senior high-school entrance exams. Consequently, the pressure on students from teachers and parents is intense and competition in university entrance exams is even more intense. Taiwan has many universities, both public and private. Traditionally, public schools are viewed as being more prestigious than private schools. Because of the intense pressure placed on students to achieve by parents, many students supplement their regular English language education in cram schools. ESL proficiency is important in gaining access to the global arena of international trade and commerce (Carey, 1998). Students prepare and undertake standardised language tests such as the *General English Proficiency Test* (GEPT) and the *Test of English for International Communication* (TOEIC). Chang (2003) points out that these examinations have become a major burden for teachers as they have to ensure students pass such tests. Consequently, most Taiwanese students incessantly struggle with vocabulary acquisition, English grammar, and their aspiration to develop an accent akin to native English speakers.

#### 3.5.1 The Good Language Learner and SLA

Stern (1983) and Ellis (1985) have recognised that language learners do not exist in idealised, homogenous communities but in complex heterogeneous ones and that such heterogeneity has generally been framed uncritically. Theories of the good language learner have been developed under what conditions he or she will interact with members of the target language community and that the L2 learner's access to the target language community is a function of the learner's motivation.

After the research in pursuit of ‘what a good language learner is’ was started by language educators and applied linguists in North American contexts (Rubin 1975, 1981; Stem 1975), the field of language teaching and learning started to move its attention to the characteristics of a good language learner. Globally, more research into language learner behaviours has focused on the approaches and tactics that learners employ to achieve their learning objectives (Goh, 1997; Liu et al. 1989). Contrastive analysis (Gass, 1996; Lado, 1957; Selinker, 1992) argues that learning a second language is made difficult by interferences from elements in the first language. That is, familiar phonetic, morphemic, and syntactic elements from the first language are transferred by learners into their productions of the second language. In theory, the specific differences between the native language and the target language (as linguistic systems) could be identified, and these differences would predict the kinds of mistakes learners would make. Contrastive analysis proved problematic for second language acquisition because the analysis of differences between languages as systematic wholes did not successfully predict actual difficulties experienced by second language learners as individuals.

In SLA, learners’ identity can be perceived as a result, a predicting factor, or an interactive process. Constructivist approaches regard identities as multiple, dynamic entities developed in the interaction between the individual and the environment. Language is viewed as constitutive of and constituted by language learners’ identities. From a social constructivist perspective, self-identity is (1) multiple; (2) situated in communicative events; (3) a process of negotiation between the individual and social environment; (4) involves the use of discourse (de Fina et al. 2006).

With *subtractive bilingualism*, the second or foreign language (L2) is acquired at the expense of the native language (L1), and target culture (C2) assimilation threatens to replace values and life styles of the native culture (C1). With additive bilingualism, the acquisition or learning of L2 and C2 is not at the expense of L1 and C1 identity. L1 and C1 identity are maintained (Lambert, 1974).

With *productive bilingualism*, the command of the target language and that of the native language positively reinforce each other; deeper understanding and appreciation of the target culture goes hand in hand with deeper understanding and appreciation of the native culture. Thus a vertical transformation of personal growth serves as an alternative to the horizontal transformation along the continuum of target culture assimilation. The characteristics found in productive bilinguals are orientations towards both native culture and target culture: openness, criticalness, incorporation. Productive bilingualism exists among ordinary university students; it is not limited to best learners (Gao, 2002).

Chinese EFL learning context and learning culture are singular entities which deserve particular attention (Young, 1987; Wong, 1988; Jin and Cortazzi, 2002). Young (1987) argues that the teaching of English to speakers of other languages does not happen in a sociocultural void. The culture of the learners derives from the culture of the communities in which they develop, and is predisposed by the roles which members of that community expect learners to take. Wong (1988) examines phonology, morphology, spoken discourse and sociolinguistic competence, and reading.



Several researchers have evaluated non-native-speaker pragmatic usage to native-speaker norms (Gumperz 1982; Blum-Kulka et al. 1989) and examined possible interference from the learner's linguistic background (Gumperz 1982, Blum-Kulka et al. 1989; Kasper and Blum-Kulka 1993). Second language learning is as a mixture of "restructuring and recreating" language forms already known to the learner from the native language experience, in order to meet the requirements of the new language learning experience (Corder, 1981: 93). These processes also refer to the learner's efforts to make the target language serve the purposes of habitual thought as well as to develop new behaviours in a functionally new behavioural activity (Corder, 1981: 99). Restructuring and recreating of language occurs in *interlanguage* (Selinker, 1972) which is a kind of intermediate language produced by L2 learners which reflects transfer or interference from the mother tongue through the linguistic encoding of the meaning. Moreover, it can also refer to the use of strategies applied in the process of learning the mother tongue, which are applied or misapplied in the process of learning the target language.

Chomsky (1957, 1965) distinguishes between *competence*, the knowledge of a language possessed by an idealised native speaker/hearer, and *performance*, the actual use of language in real situations. Consequently, SLA research has tended to focus on an information-processing model of language and communication, and the *conduit metaphor* (Reddy, 1979). Reddy's model assumes that "minds are containers and that language itself is also a container, into which speakers insert meanings that they transmit to listeners, who subsequently unpackage containers, extract the meanings and insert them into their minds" (Dunn and Lantolf, 1998: 424).

Conversely, several researchers (Bourne, 1988, Norton Pierce, 1989; Norton, 2000; Norton and Toohey, 2001) have denounced work in SLA and applied linguistics claiming that it encourages an idealist view of language separated from its social, political, and historical context. They posit that the division created by twentieth-century linguistics between *langue* and *parole* (de Saussure, 1916)<sup>2</sup>, competence and performance, and synchrony and diachrony, have promoted a view of language as an abstract system removed from social, cultural, and historical factors and of language acquisition as a biological, individual process rather than a social one. In the majority of SLA research, learning is viewed as an individual process that occurs in the learner's mind. Much research has focused on identifying the learner's linguistic path of development and positing internal psychological mechanisms to account for this (Dulay et al. 1982). These mechanisms, thought to be universal among learners, are conceptualised, as an inherent, language-specific ability in one strand of research, called *universal grammar* (White, 1990), or as more general learning mechanisms on other cognitive strands (Corder, 1967; Selinker, 1972). Other researchers have focused on the language learner and investigated how learner differences might affect language learning (Gardner, 1985; Wong-Fillmore, 1979). Such research considers these differences as unchanging characteristics i.e., aptitude, motivation, or learning style. These are viewed as potentially influencing the rate or ultimate outcome of learning, but not the developmental path, which supposedly remains universal for all learners. Some researchers have examined social and cultural factors (Schumann, 1978), but have considered these as external to the learner and playing a minor position in language learning.

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<sup>2</sup> *Langue* is the whole system of language that precedes and makes speech possible. A sign is a basic unit of langue. Grammar, spelling, syntax and punctuation are all elements of langue. *Parole* is the real use of the language, the actual utterances. It is an external manifestation of langue. It is the usage of the system, but not the system.

In the 1980s, *interactionist* research focused on the question of how learners' linguistic experience might add to language learning. Krashen (1982) asserts that comprehensible input is the critical variable in language learning (*comprehensible input hypothesis*). Swain (1985) claims that language learners need to produce language to learn (*output hypothesis*). These arguments encouraged researchers to look at learners' interactions with their interlocutors and to show how negotiation of meaning in these interactions play a central role in making input understandable and in providing occasions for productive output (Ellis, 1990; Gass and Madden, 1985; Pica, 1994; Swain, 1985).

Other research has looked at the interaction of learner (non-native speaker) communicative competence with societal issues and the learner's social identity. Becker (1983) and Lantolf (1993) explore the construction of self and identity through a second language, particularly, learners as "human subjects with unique histories, goals, and voices, who actively create and recreate their world and themselves" (Lantolf 1993: 232). In terms of identity, there has been a new focus in research in the concept of *human agency* in second language acquisition (Siegal, 1996; Norton, 1997; McNamara, 1997; Firth and Wagner, 1998). Others have focused on the contextual implications of social identity and SLA (Donato, 1994; Platt and Brooks, 1994), and others have focused on cultural perspective (Kramsch, 1993).

Norton (2000: 4) suggests that SLA theorists have struggled to conceptualise the relationship between the language learner and the social world because they have not developed a comprehensive theory of identity that integrates the language learner and the language learning context. In addition, they have failed to question how relations

of power in the social world impact on social interaction between L2 learners and target language speakers. For example, Gardner and McIntyre (1993: 213) claim that “the major characteristic of the informal context is that it is voluntary. Individuals can either participate or not in the informal acquisition contexts.” Second language theorists have not adequately explored how imbalanced relations of power restrict the opportunities L2 learners have to practice the target language outside the classroom.

Duff and Uchida (1997: 452) point out identities are “co-constructed, negotiated, and transformed on an ongoing basis by means of language.” Heller (1987) has revealed that it is through language that a person negotiates a sense of self within and across different sites at different points in time, and it is through language that a person gains access, or is denied access to powerful social networks that give learners the opportunity to speak. Therefore, language is not considered as a neutral medium but is understood with reference to its social meaning.

Cummins (1996) argues that coercive relations of power, that is the use of power by dominant individuals, groups, or countries is harmful to others and reinforces an unjust separation of societal resources. In contrast, *collaborative relations of power* empower rather than marginalise. It seems that power relations can help or restrain the range of identities that language learners can negotiate in their classrooms and communities. Bourdieu (1977: 652) argues that “at the level of interactions between individuals, speech always owes a major part of its value to the value of the person who utters it.” Bourdieu (1977: 75) suggests that a more developed definition of competence should include the “right to speak” or “the power to impose reception.”

### 3.5.2 Subjectivity (Social Identity)

Weedon (1987: 32) defines *subjectivity* as “the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual, her sense of herself and her ways of understanding her relation to the world.” Weedon (1987: 97) argues that it is the “structures of discourses which determine the discursive constitution of individuals as subjects” and that individuals are both “the *site* and *subjects* of discursive struggle for their identity.”

Siegal (1996) analyses the learner identity of a foreign female student learning Japanese in Japan. Specifically, she observes the conversation with her Japanese professor to demonstrate the dynamic co-construction of identity and sociolinguistic proficiency within conversational interactions. In short, she looks at how a language learner’s conception of her/himself, her/his position in society, and how s(he) views the second language and culture influence a L2 learner’s sociolinguistic competency. Furthermore, she investigates the limitations and resources of the commonplace interactions that a learner participates in that both limit and extend her/his knowledge of a second language. She also highlights the significance of negotiation within conversations as a step towards L2 acquisition, the significance of the learner’s identity within interactions and her/his place within those interactions guided by societal conventions. Siegal claims that like any person involved in social interaction, language learners are concerned with their “face” (Goffman 1967) and “while constructing a ‘face’ within an interaction, learners might experience conflict concerning sociolinguistic appropriateness in their L2” (Siegal, 1996: 256).

Norton (2000) argues that SLA theory needs to develop a conception of identity that is understood with reference to larger and inequitable, social structures which are reproduced in daily social interaction. Norton underscores the role of language as constitutive of, and constituted by, a language learner's identity. Three defining characteristics of subjectivity have been influential in Norton's research (a) the multiple, non-unitary nature of the subject; (b) subjectivity as a site of struggle, and (c) subjectivity as changing over time.

### 3.5.3 Identity as a Non-Unitary Self

Identity as the non-unitary self is envisaged as multiple rather than unitary and decentred rather than centred. In short, we have multiple-selves and our identity is not fixed. Norton (2000: 125) points out the terms *subject* and *subjectivity* imply a different notion of the individual than that related to humanist notions of the individual prevalent in Western philosophy. She points out that humanist and many SLA definitions of the individual assume that every person has an "essential, unique, fixed and coherent core (introvert/extrovert; motivated/unmotivated)", poststructuralism shows the individual (subject) as "diverse, contradictory, dynamic and changing over historical time and social space."

### 3.5.4 Identity in Sites of Struggle

Identity as a "site of struggle" is formed in different social locations which are constructed by relations of power in which the individual assumes different subject positions: teacher, child, feminist, manager, or critic. Here, the subject is not considered as being passive; she or he is thought of as both subject of and subject to relations of power within a particular site, community, and society. In short, the

*subject* has human agency. Therefore, the subject positions that an individual takes up within a particular discourse are open to contestation: while a person may be positioned in a particular way within a given discourse, the person might resist the subject position, or even set up a counter-discourse which positions the person in a powerful rather than marginalised subject position. The concept of identity as a site of struggle is a logical extension of the position that identity is multiple and contradictory. If identity were unitary, fixed and immutable, it could not be subject to change over time and space, or subject to contestation.

### 3.5.5 Identity as Changing over Time

Norton (2000) uses the term “identity” to reference how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future. Siegal (1996: 360) asserts learner “subjectivity can be recreated, it is dynamic. Learners learn the language over time. A learner’s life changes influence his/her subjectivity, language use, and language awareness.” Weedon (1987) argues the political significance of decentring the subject and abandoning the belief in essential subjectivity is that it opens subjectivity to change. Norton (2000: 128) points out the conception as subject to change has important implications for L2 learners respond to and create opportunities to practice English and that it is after a period of time that an L2 learners’ conception of themselves change. For example, one of Norton’s participants, Eva, changed her conception of herself as an immigrant with no right to speak to a conception of herself as a multicultural citizen with the power to impose reception. Norton (1997: 410) assumes that speech, speakers, and social relationships are inseparable. She raises important questions related to under what conditions do

language learners speak, how can we help them to become more communicatively competent and how can we facilitate interaction between language learners and target language speakers. She argues each time language learners speak, “they are not only exchanging information with their interlocutors” but they are also “constantly organising and reorganising a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world.” In short, they are engaged in identity construction and negotiation.

### 3.5.6 Learners’ Investment in Language Learning

Norton Peirce (1995) underscores the importance of *investment* in language learning. What she means by “investment” is the complex dynamic relationship between the learner and the social world. She highlights the human complex emotions and conflicting feelings that learners occasionally experience in language learning. Norton Peirce (1995: 17) notes that “learners will expect or hope to have a good return on their investment, a return that will give them access to hitherto unattainable resources.” She examines the investment of several immigrant women learning English in Canada and found that they sometimes had conflicting feelings about speaking English which appeared to stem from their conflict with identities imposed on them by others. For example, being identified as an immigrant had negative undertones. She explores why learners communicate successfully in some situations and make mistakes and even remain silent in other circumstances and suggests such flaws are caused by relations of power between speakers and that such errors cannot be simply explained by introversion, extroversion, or a lack of motivation.



### 3.5.7 Learners' Anxiety/ Locus of Control/ Motivation

Spolsky (1989: 115) has argued that L2 learners' anxiety is usually focused on listening and speaking skills. On the other hand, Bailey (1983) differentiates between *facilitating* and *debilitating* anxiety and suggests that anxiety is not a permanent disposition of a learner, but is context-dependent. Bailey stresses the relationship between competitiveness and anxiety in producing an unsuccessful or successful self-image. In Krashen's (1982) *Affective Filter Hypothesis*; anxiety, poor self-confidence and low motivation are indicators of a poor language learner. Norton Peirce et al., (1993) suggest the *locus of control* is a useful construct which explains a learner's lack of confidence in their oral skills. Norton (2000: 123) asserts that if learners can control the rate of flow of information in a communicative event, the *locus of control* will be in their favour and they will be more confident about their language skills. In activities that take place in real time; that is when the learner has little time to process information, the learner will have limited time to activate the schemata necessary to decode the utterance. Gardner's (1982) socio-educational model identifies various factors which are interconnected when learning a second language. Gardner's research into motivation was mainly influenced by Mowrer (1950) who claimed that a child's success when learning a first language could be credited to the child's wish to gain identity inside the family unit and then the larger language community. Importantly, for the purposes of the present study, Gardner focused on the foreign language classroom. In terms of language acquisition, his model attempted to interconnect four features of second language acquisition (a) the social and cultural milieu, (b) individual learner differences, (c) the setting or context in which learning takes place and (d) linguistic outcomes.

### 3.5.8 Instrumental and Integrative Motivation

Gardner and Lambert (1972) posit that language learners may have two basic kinds of motivation. They argue that *integrative motivation* is more important in a formal learning environment than *instrumental motivation* (Ellis 1994). While both integrative and instrumental motivations are crucial elements of success, integrative motivation is considered as maintaining enduring success when learning a second language (Taylor et al., 1977). Integrative motivation describes the desire of language learners to attain the language by trying to immerse themselves into the culture of the target language. As Brown (1994: 154) argue, to “identify themselves with and become part of that society.” Brown underlines that learners infrequently select one type of motivation when learning a second language, but rather a mixture of both. Falk (1978) claims that the most successful L2 learners are those who like the people that speak the language, respect the culture and have a wish to become familiar with or even assimilate into the society in which the language is used. Finegan (1999: 568) asserts that “integrative motivation typically underlies successful acquisition of a wide range of registers and a native-like pronunciation.” However, Norton Peirce (1995) argues that instrumental motivation and integrative motivation merely constructs a static learner identity and a singular aspiration of the language learner. It has been argued that desires for recognition, affiliation, and security play a major role in identity (West, 1992). It seems that socially privileged persons are empowered to understand their relationship to the world and their future potential. In short, people’s access to material resources defines the terms on which they will articulate their desires. West claims a person’s identity will shift in accordance with changing social and economic relations.

### 3.6 Identification of Main Research Questions

The literature review has allowed the identification of two specific research questions:

- To what extent, are there structural, stylistic and cultural differences and similarities evident in the TM, TEFL and BE narratives?
- To what extent, do the TEFL learners' identities affect their use of L2 discourse norms, or native speaker discourse norms?

The literature review has also allowed the identification of a series of sub-questions.

- To what degree are the effects of collectivist versus individualist and low-context versus high-context cultures evident in the TM and TEFL narratives?
- To what extent, do the functions of laughter play in the three sets of narratives?
- To what extent, do the Taiwanese disclose their public selves within the narratives?

### 3.7 Summary

In summary, the literature has provided some pertinent insights for this study. In order to understand any culture, one must have direct access to the language. Narratives are a fundamental element of social practice and they echo the teller's culture, and their engagement in that culture. In addition, the relationship between culture and language is symbolic. People from different cultures use a basic narrative template based on the preferred rhetorical modes in their native culture and narratives and narrative processes can be at variance in different cultural groups. They translate their knowledge and experience into narratives in culture-specific ways, have a

different viewpoint on what makes a story good, express their emotions in their narrative productions in diverse ways, commence their narratives in different ways, and make moral judgments in their narratives differently. It has also been shown that in some cultures (Japanese), mothers play a dominant role in the development of their children's narrative skills.

The literature has underlined that a low-context culture which accentuates autonomy and independence (for example, British) will center more on the individual, and that a high-context culture (such as Chinese/Taiwanese) which emphasises interdependence will focus more on kinship relationships in a family-oriented society where in-group relations tend to be very strong. Hence, I will examine if the Taiwanese participants refer to family members and their family environment in their narratives more than the British participants.

The literature has underlined the role of language interference and the use of interlanguage in SLA. It has also revealed why L2 learners achieve varying degrees of expertise in their target language due to their investment in the target language and how their relationship to the target language is socially and historically constructed (Norton, 2000). Particularly useful to the theoretical framework is Siegal's (1996: 256) argument that learners experience conflict concerning sociolinguistic appropriateness in their target language.

Particularly constructive to the study is Norton's (2000) emphasis on the role of language as constitutive of, and constituted by, a language learner's identity. Her three defining characteristics of *subjectivity* (social identity) are also important in that we can explore L2 learner identity in terms of (a) the multiple, non-unitary nature of the subject, (b) subjectivity as a site of struggle, and (c) subjectivity as changing over time. In addition, her notion of *investment* to describe the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language (Norton, 2000) has been useful.

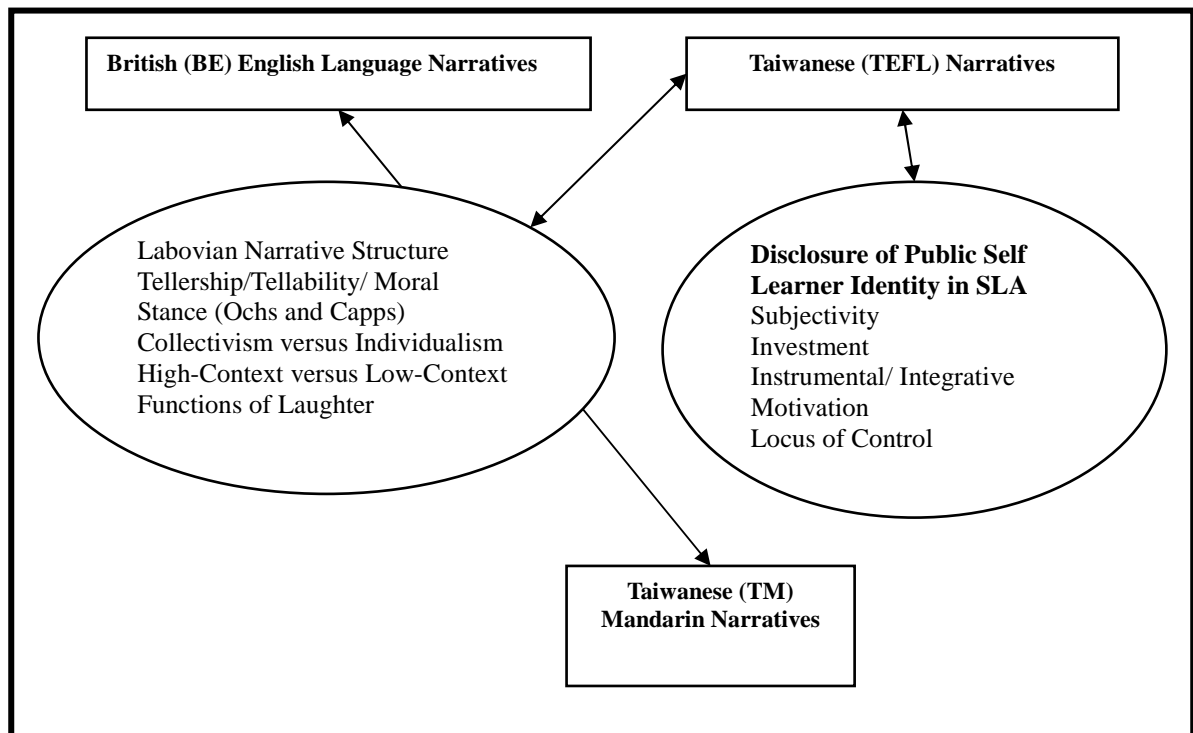
Also constructive to the study are the notions of *instrumental motivation* and *integrative motivation* (Gardner and Lambert, 1972) in offering possible insights into how L2 learner's identities may affect their L2 discourse norms or native speaker discourse norms. Also helpful is the notion of *locus of control* (Norton Peirce et al. 1993) in examining L2 learner identity.

This said, it seems that instead of focusing on the cognitive aspects of learning, it might be more positive to adopt a more holistic approach in exploring potential causes for my students' inability to produce discourse that is specific to the target language. I believe that there should be more emphasis on individual aspects of learning as little consideration has been given to the social nature of self or sociality in learning. Accordingly in this study, I will adopt the position that language learning difficulties are not viewed as being intrinsic to the learner; rather, following a Vygotskian tradition (Vygotsky, 1978), it is seen as socially, culturally, and historically constructed in the interaction the learner has experienced.

In the next chapter, I will discuss issues in constructing a research design and methodology which will allow me to address the above research questions.

Figure 7 summarises the thematic structure developed in this chapter.

**Figure 7: Model of Thematic Structure 3**



## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **RESEARCH DESIGN / METHODOLOGY**

#### **4. Introduction**

In this chapter, I focus on my research design and methodological issues related to the current study. Attention is given to experiments (two pilot studies) and potential methods which may be constructive in the collection of three sets of “natural” data from two different groups of informants who were selected as “opportunity samples” from a British and Taiwanese university. Discussion is also given to interview procedures in collecting data about the TEFL participants’ learner identities. Additionally, consideration is given to participants, protocols, use of transcriptions, categories of analysis, reliability and ethical issues.

#### **4.1 Collecting “Natural” Data**

Cortazzi and Jin (2006: 30) point out that identity of the narrative researcher can be an important issue (assuming face-to-face gathering of data, partly in relation to storytellers’ perceptions of who usually tells what kind of story to whom (and when, where and why) and partly in relation to community speech styles or the ‘ways of speaking’ which affect oral communication of narratives (Hymes, 1974). A major issue in my research design was in relation to the collection of “natural” data. Natural speech data have the advantage of being more authentic. Researchers have supported the use of natural data (Labov, 1982; Saville-Troike, 1982; Wolfson, 1986).

Collecting natural data can be a complex undertaking. ‘Unnatural’ talk transpires only because a researcher has planned for it to do so - it is not natural data. Cameron (2001: 20) points out that this is a “complicated business”; for example, attaining good quality recordings, ethical issues, and the presence of the researcher affecting participants’ behaviour. Labov (1972) refers to this quandary as the *Observer’s Paradox*. If possible, we want to scrutinise how people behave when they believe they are not being observed. One question that comes up in relation to the *Observer’s Paradox* is whether researchers should ever use an interview to produce talk for research purposes. Cameron (2001: 20) observes that some analysts advocate a natural approach; we should focus on “naturally occurring talk: talk that would have happened anyway, whether or not the researcher was around to record it.” According to Cameron, there is only so much one can do about the *Observer’s Paradox* i.e., the presence of a tape recorder can have an intimidating influence on monitored informants, and thus restrict the flow of their natural speech. Cameron sees it as an ultimately unsolvable dilemma except by means that are unethical i.e., recording without the informant’s awareness and approval but insists that it is “counter-productive to fixate on it to the exclusion of all else” (Cameron, 2001: 24).

I hoped to resolve at least some of the above issues by adopting a group discussion approach. One-to-one interviews are not natural speech events because the researcher’s presence may affect participants’ behaviour. In regard to potential problems in the collection of narratives produced by Mandarin L1 speakers, it is worth noting that cross-cultural knowledge is a necessity for the researcher. Anderson (1998: 195) underlines that cross-cultural interviewing is a difficult undertaking. For example, Chinese respondents



usually insist on receiving questions days beforehand, most likely so that they can contemplate their answers and not be put in an embarrassing position of losing “face”. Likewise, my Taiwanese respondents might be concerned over issues of “face”, and especially when telling their narratives in English. Hence, I rejected the idea of a formal “interview” strategy.

Another problematic issue was that Taiwanese students, akin to Chinese students, tend to be rather passive. Pierson (1996) points out Chinese students tend to have a passive, receptive approach to knowledge, over-reliance on the teacher, and a lack of critical engagement. Although I was not a teacher at the university where I conducted the data-collection, I was concerned that I might be “perceived” as a teacher, especially as I had visited other Taiwanese universities in the past and had been mistaken for a member of the faculty. Therefore, I had to ensure that I projected an image of myself as a “researcher” to my participants rather than a teacher in order to obtain better quality data.

## 4.2 Pilot Studies

Prior to my main data collection, I conducted two pilot studies. Originally, I had intended to use a fixed theme to collect data in order to avoid extreme divergence in the content of the narrative, so it was necessary to conduct these pilot studies to see if a fixed topic approach was the best way to elicit narratives. In my main study, I decided to let the topic develop “naturally” within the conversations. Selecting one topic and asking Mandarin-speaking students to tell their accounts in the English language and then repeat them in Mandarin raised problems of potential boredom and data quality. In the first pilot

study, I conducted informal interviews with eight Taiwanese EFL university students individually in their “home-room” teacher’s office. In fact, the choice of venue for conducting the interviews was suggested by the home-room teacher who was the same individual who had acted as a gatekeeper for the study. In short, students told stories based on their own personal experiences in answer to the same question in an interview setting. After the interviews, some students expressed some concern about using their home-room teacher’s office and were obviously a little anxious. It was clear that I would have to select a different venue for the data collection in the main study in order to collect better quality data.

Influential to the choice of a fixed topic was Linde’s (1993) study which underlines the importance of life stories in narrative, Miller et al’s (1990) study which highlights the significance of personal stories in narrative and Bruner’s (1987) study which concentrates on the autobiographical nature of narrative. As a result, I decided to ask each student to tell his/her story using the English language in response to the given topic; namely, “*An Unforgettable Learning Experience in Life*”.

In order to avoid other potential problems such as influencing the development of the narrative, students gave solo accounts, and I, the interviewer, limited my own responses by using verbal prompts such as “*hmm*” to confirm “listenership” (Chin, 1999). Only when it was absolutely necessary to elucidate some potential misunderstanding in the content of the narrative was direct questioning initiated. So, sometimes I adopted the role of an interlocutor as well as interviewer. Significantly, I found that my data was not like

naturally occurring data due to the limited interaction between the students and myself. Clearly, this was an unsatisfactory result as my primary objective was to stimulate “natural” conversations.

With the intention to improve this weakness in eliciting narrative data, I conducted a second pilot study during November and December in 2005 in the UK. Whilst undertaking my second pilot study, I decided to collect data from Taiwanese postgraduate students at a British university. Six Taiwanese postgraduate students agreed to participate in the pilot study. Participants were divided into two groups of three and labelled *Group A* and *Group B*. All the participants were friends or classmates who had known each other for a six month to eighteen month period. The meetings took place in a natural milieu and not in a special research environment such as a laboratory setting or a formal interview setting. Therefore, I arranged group meetings at the participants’ homes or their student common rooms. I obtained permission from all of my participants to tape their conversations before commencing each discussion.

In order to collect more “natural” data in conversational discourse, I did not explain my research purpose in detail to the participants, supposing that they might become unnecessarily conscious of what they might say in their accounts. They were required to speak both in the Mandarin and the English language on different themes and at different times. For example, they gave their accounts in Mandarin on the topic of *New Year Celebrations* at the first meeting. A week later, another meeting was arranged when the participants were asked to discuss the theme of *Travelling Abroad* using the English

language. Moreover, it was evident that these topics encouraged storytelling. On this occasion, I decided to minimise my role as an interviewer by becoming more involved in the conversations in order to elicit more natural data.

However, when conducting the *Group B* Mandarin conversations I had to leave the room urgently, and I discovered when I returned that my participants were still engaged in conversation despite my absence. Furthermore, a participant who had not previously made any contribution to the conversation then decided to do so. Consequently, I then realised that my involvement might have had a negative influence on the data gathering process. Therefore, I initiated a post-group discussion with individuals in order to discover their preference on the topics, and, especially, the degree of my involvement in their conversation. In consideration of the participants' expressed opinions, I then decided that the best method to gather more "natural" data from conversations was not to use any prompt whatsoever, but to allow my participants' conversations to evolve "naturally". In my main study, I informed the participants that they would be expected to engage in a group conversation without the use of a prompt and that I expected them to develop their storytelling production as naturally as possible. As for my involvement, four participants thought that my presence had not made any significant difference, although two participants did mention that my presence had made them feel a little nervous. Therefore, I concluded that it would be best to limit my contribution in the main study data collection.

Another useful insight which I gained from my experiments in the second pilot study was the question of whether a native English speaker should be present during the main study data collection during the TEFL L2 conversations. Previously, I had not asked a native English speaker to participate in my pilot studies. However, it appeared to me that in informal conversations with native English speakers, my Taiwanese friends tended to make an extra effort in producing English language narratives. Of course, this did not necessarily imply that they produced “better” narratives, but I thought the fact that making the “extra effort” would in some way enhance their narrative production.

For this reason, I decided to ask an English native speaker to be present during the main study English L2 data collection. Unfortunately in the Taiwanese university where the data collection was conducted, most of the English native speakers available were teachers from the Department of Applied English Language (AEL). Even though the majority of the teachers may seemingly appear to be approachable, their presence may in fact have been rather intimidating to some students. However, Taiwanese students have always enjoyed developing their English language conversation skills when talking to international transfer students from the Taiwanese university’s sister-school in America. Therefore, I decided to ask one of the visiting international female transfer students to act as my facilitator in the English L2 group discussions. Doing so not only might overcome the problem of possible “teacher intimidation” but also would give my participants the opportunity to engage in a conversation with someone who was in their own age group. In short, the presence of an international transfer student might enhance the Taiwanese L2 learners’ narrative performance in English.

Although I did not actually adopt a focus group strategy in my final data collection, several features of the focus group approach were highly influential. For example, in my pursuit of more natural data and also in my intention to evade the problem of potential researcher/teacher impact on participants, I utilised group discussions as a stratagem for the elicitation of more authentic narratives. Akin to focus groups, group discussions reduce the influence of the interviewer on the research subjects by tilting the balance of power toward the group. Such an approach emphasises the collective rather than the individual and underlines free expression of ideas, encouraging each member of the group to speak up (Frey and Fontana, 1993).

Similar to a focus group, the main advantage of group discussions is that they pay particular attention to the benefits of interaction and group dynamics, compared to an individual interview (Krueger and Casey, 2000). Therefore, participants can influence and are influenced by others as each narrator in the group ventilates his/her experience, he or she will also encourage others to ventilate theirs. Likewise, group discussions can generate data with relatively little direct input from the researcher in comparison to other interviewing strategies (Morgan, 1988: 21). Moreover, according to Krueger and Casey (2000: 9), it is crucial that narrators should feel comfortable and the environment must be “permissive” and “non-judgemental”. By establishing good rapport with my participants prior to the data collection and conducting the discussions in a comfortable and secure environment, narratives should emerge from a “normal” context.

### 4.3 Participants

In the main study, two different groups of participants were selected as “opportunity samples” from a British and a Taiwanese university. 12 Taiwanese and 10 British students participated in the study. The Taiwanese groups consisted of 2 male and 10 female participants. I really wanted to recruit more Taiwanese male participants but this proved to be a challenging task. The main reason for this failure to recruit male students was that only female students lived on campus and the male students were reluctant to participate in the study after class hours as many of them lived quite far from the campus. Another reason is due to the fact that 90% of the EFL student population in the university consisted of females.

Participants were divided into three groups of non-native speaker and native speaker informants because I considered the minimum number of conversationalists within each group should be three in order to generate more conversation. The Taiwanese university EFL students were chosen on the basis that they had received at least six years of formal, compulsory English language education in high-school and had passed a formal English language proficiency test at the university. The participants in the groups were classmates, friends, roommates, or acquaintances. The decision to select participants who are friends and classmates was vital as I wanted my participants to feel more relaxed so that they might produce narratives within “natural” conversations.

For reasons of confidentiality, each participant was given a different name and coded using a capital letter. The Taiwanese participants consisted of 2 male and 10 female students whose ages ranged between 21 to 26 years old. The British participants consisted of 6 male students and 4 female students. Their ages ranged from 22 to 29 years old. Tables 1 and 2 identify the various groups, dates, numbers of participants, location, length of recordings and the number of stories in the data collection.

**Table 1: Dates, Number of Participants/ Location/ Length of Recordings of Taiwanese Students' English and Mandarin Narratives**

Group	Date	Gender	Location	Length of Recordings	Stories
1	September 2006	5 female	Common Room	English 105 mins.	1-6
				Mandarin 120 mins.	1-8
2	October 2006	2 male 1 female	Common Room	English: 50 mins.	7-9
				Mandarin: 60 mins.	9-10
3	September 2006	4 female	Common Room	English: 90 mins.	10-17
				Mandarin: 100 mins.	11-13

**Table 2: Dates, Number of Participants/Location/Length of Recordings of British Narratives**

Group	Date	Gender	Location	Length of Recordings	Stories
1	December 2006	3 males	Common Room	120 mins.	1-6
2	December 2006	2 male 2 female	Common Room	95 mins.	7-13
3	December 2006	1 male 2 female	Common Room	60 mins.	14-17



#### 4.4 Procedures

After conducting the first pilot study, it had been clearly apparent that I had difficulty in getting the eight participants to interact with each other. Therefore, I had to give major consideration to this problem in the data collection procedures. Neutral locations can be helpful for avoiding either negative or positive associations with a particular site or building (Powell and Single, 1996). Consequently, I invited the Taiwanese participants to a common room in their university in Taiwan and invited the British participants to my own accommodation, where a common room was booked in order to ensure privacy during the conversations. In brief, the narratives were collected in a semi-natural setting. Krueger and Casey (2000: 104) recommend eating together to promote conversation and communication within the group. Therefore, I provided a selection of refreshments and soft drinks placed on a table to be enjoyed during the data collection.

Kang (2003: 134) claims that when her Korean participants narrated in English first, they produced considerably shorter narratives which lacked sufficient content. As I was interested in Taiwanese EFL participants' 'best' storytelling performance in English, the Mandarin conversations were collected one week prior to collecting their English conversations. However, when collecting the Taiwanese English narratives, the presence of an English speaking international transfer student seemed advantageous as it might enhance the conversational performance of the Taiwanese participants. In other words, many Taiwanese EFL students take every opportunity to speak to native English speakers in order to enhance their English language speaking skills. From the experiments I had conducted in the pilot studies in adopting the role of an "interviewer", I decided to

assume the role “moderator”. To sum up, I had learnt from the mistakes that I had made in the pilot studies and opted to use research methods which would be more successful in encouraging my participants to produce narratives in their normal conversations.

Additionally, I used a tape recorder for my data collection and ensured that the microphones and the recorder were set up prior to the data collection. Significantly, I ensured that they were visible to all of the participants and that they did not affect the conversational nature of the discussion. Although Howe and Lewis (1993) insist that members of a group should introduce themselves when speaking for the first time, I rejected such an approach as all of my participants were close friends. Moreover, use of extensive note taking was made in order to facilitate my data analysis. For example, observation notes were made on my participants’ non-verbal gestures. I recorded all the conversations in the form of detailed notes and tape recordings. I employed a form of shorthand when taking notes so the note-taking procedures did not affect the participants. In short, they were able to ignore my note-taking.

My second main research question was related to how the Taiwanese L2 learner identities adopted or did not adopt L2 discourse norms, or native speaker discourse norms. Norton’s (2000) third characteristic of *subjectivity* focuses on L2 learners’ identity as changing over time. Therefore, I needed to organise follow-up interviews in 2008 after these students had graduated. Consequently, I asked the Taiwanese participants to provide me with contact information to ensure I could keep regular contact with them and told them that I would conduct follow-up interviews after they had graduated. Later, in the

follow-up interviews, I made extensive notes about recent changes in their lives that might affect their learner identities. The duration of each meeting was approximately one hour. Several participants lived quite close to the university so it was relatively easy to interview them in the same location where the first data collection took place. However, several participants now lived quite far away so I needed to arrange meetings in a series of alternate locations such as their homes or quiet public spaces. The environment of the interview sessions was chosen to help to reduce the power differentials associated with the more formal EFL classroom. In other words, the setting was a relatively egalitarian one. This would, I believe, have a significant impact on the comfort levels of each participant. I also needed to explore the L2 learners' *instrumental* and *integrative* motivations, their investment in the target language, and how their relationship to the target language was socially and historically constructed. Interview questions focused on biographical information, work experience, reasons for learning English, early English language experiences, learning English abroad, and the adoption of native-speaker norms. For example:

- Why did you want to learn English?
- How did you try to improve your English language skills?
- Did you practice your English conversational skills with your foreign teachers?
- What about your employment history?
- Did you have much opportunity to speak English at work?
- Do you think it is important to speak English like a native English-speaker?

As noted earlier, Chinese respondents usually insist on receiving questions days beforehand, most likely so that they can contemplate their answers and not be put in an embarrassing position regarding 'face'. In contrast, Western culture relies on spontaneity

to reveal underlying views; in China such an approach simply does not work. Hence, I emailed my Taiwanese participants a list of the above questions prior to the interview. I also needed to examine L2 learners' *locus of control* (Norton Peirce et al., 1993) as it is a useful construct which explains a learner's lack of confidence in their oral skills. Norton (2000: 123) has claimed that if learners can control the rate of flow of information in a communicative event, the *locus of control* will be in their favour and they will be relatively more confident about their language skills than in communicative events in which the *locus of control* is not in their favour. In addition, I also needed to explore power differences between the language learner and the target language speaker.

I also wanted to explore to what extent humour was used as collaboration within the three sets of narratives and if there was any divergence in the use of humour between the British and Taiwanese narratives. Therefore, I was also careful to note the occasions of laughter in order to identify the various functions of laughter (Martineau, 1972; Jefferson et al., 1987; Glenn, 1991, 1995; Devereux and Ginsburg, 2001) evident in the three sets of narratives.

Yin (2003) argues that the goal of reliability is to minimise the errors and biases in a study. *Categorisation* should be applied in a standardised way; that is, every researcher must classify in the same way; namely, "inter-rater reliability." The standard method is to give the same data to a number of analysts (or raters) and ask them to analyse it according to an agreed set of categories; thus, their reports are examined and any differences are then discussed and resolved. In order to assure reliability in my Mandarin

and English language coding, two Taiwanese colleagues and an English-speaking native, who is a professor in a Taiwanese university, were invited to check the coding of my participants' narratives. As the professor and my two colleagues are full-time educators, I had some difficulty in arranging meetings during weekdays, so I had to arrange meetings at weekends over a period of two months to meticulously analyse a sample of the data.

#### 4.5 Transcription and Categories of Analysis

Denzin and Lincoln (2000: 829) have argued that tapes and transcripts are a public record, available to the scientific community which can be replayed and be improved. In the current study, I used a tape recorder as the means for data collection. Basically, the information collected from the group conversation is raw data. First, my task was to listen to the tapes carefully and then transcribe the narratives (See Appendix 4 for list of transcription symbols). Doing so provided a record to facilitate data analysis. The data was divided into clauses. Berman and Slobin (1994: 657) define a clause as "any unit that contains a grammatical unit containing a predicate which "expresses a single situation, activity, event, or state". Chang (2003:103) points out that "their definition of clause is applicable to Mandarin Chinese sentence construction in general, so their clausing rules were used to code the data." Hence, both Mandarin and English data were transcribed accordingly. In my pilot studies, a major problem that had to be resolved was distinguishing 'narrative' from 'non-narrative' talk. The minimum demarcation was evidence of an *abstract*, an *orientation* or *evaluative* components are usually used at the commencement of a narrative.

Several scholars have noted the theoretical implications of different methods of transcription (Ochs, 1979; Hymes, 1981; Tedlock, 1983). Chafe (1980) uses three criteria to decide line boundaries: *intonational*, *hesitational* and *syntactic*. In English discourse, either a rising pitch or a decrease in pitch is the intonational indicator for the end of a line of discourse. A small hesitation or pause is the second indication of conclusion. Syntactically, a unit consists of a single case frame, or a verb and its associated noun phrases. All three factors do not need be present, nor does the presence of a single factor determine a unit. These criteria can be described as “spurts of consciousness” (Chafe, 1980: 14). Others have described these units of spontaneous speech as “information units” (Halliday, 1967), “information blocks” (Grimes, 1975), and “tone units” (Crystal, 1975). Therefore, I decided to use a combination of the aforementioned criteria to distinguish clauses. From my pilot studies, I found the rate of speech varied between speaker to speaker so I had to maintain some kind of uniformity i.e., longer pauses could be indicated with symbols such as (...) in the main study’s transcriptions.

Silverman (2001:164) stresses that the preparation of transcripts is not simply a technological detail preceding the analysis - the production and use of transcripts is essentially a “research activity”. Features like pauses and overlaps are significant. Sacks (1992) regards such crucial details as being akin to being able to read somebody else’s mind. In my previous pilot studies, I had employed the transcription symbols adapted from Tannen (1989) and Chin (1999). Hence, I decided to make use of such symbolisation in my main study. To see the three sets of transcriptions, see Appendix 6.

Also, in order to help the readers' understanding, Mandarin narratives were then transcribed into the *Romanised Pinyin* (a phonemic notation and transcription format to Roman script) for Standard Mandarin. Initially, each line in the given accounts was transcribed using Chinese characters, second lines were then transcribed using Pinyin, and the third lines were transcribed using English translations. Subsequently, I analysed features of the narratives that would enable the research questions to be addressed. This included analysis according to Labov's six structural components: *abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, result, and coda*.

#### 4.6 Ethical Issues

It is crucial that permission to carry out an investigation must always be sought at an early stage. Hart and Bond (1995: 198-201) provide different types of protocols for researchers which inform participants of the purpose of the research and to understand their rights. As Anderson (1998: 26) points out "ethical responsibility begins with the individual researcher and the researcher is the main determinant of ethical standards." For instance, the researcher must gain informed consent to do research. Accordingly, my participants signed informed consent forms. The informed consent document provided possible participants a description of the study, nature of participation, rationale of the study, length of the research, potential risks, possible benefits, assurances regarding confidentiality, right to withdraw without penalty, and opportunities for participants to have questions or concerns regarding the research addressed (See Appendix 5).

I applied the same ethical safeguards to my British participants. As noted earlier, I had gained access to the Taiwanese university through a gate-keeper. The gatekeeper introduced me to the Chairman of the Taiwanese university's Applied English Language Department. Prior to the data collection, I had established good rapport with the AEL staff and my chosen participants. Subsequently, after arranging a meeting with the Chairman, permission was granted to undertake a pilot study and the main study. Furthermore, I discussed the nature of my research and assured the Chairman that the proper ethical procedures would be implemented. For example, the participants would participate in a voluntary way and be free from any coercion, they would be informed of their right to refuse to participate or withdraw from the study at any time without prejudice, and any published documents referring to data collected from the students would protect the confidentiality of the participants. I also arranged informal meetings with the Taiwanese participants and instructed them as to the nature of the research and reassured them that sensitive personal material and confidentiality would be given proper consideration, and even omitted if necessary. Likewise, I instructed my British participants about the nature of my research and ensured them of total confidentiality. In addition, I permitted them access to the transcripts in order to have any parts that they objected to be removed. It was obvious from the pilot study, that the gatekeeper's choice of venue for the data-collection was a mistake in terms of collecting good data, so I decided to conduct the data collection in a less formal setting such as a students' common room on campus.



## 4.7 Summary

In this chapter, I identified my research design as being a quasi-experiment which produces narrative data to which I apply objective analysis. Firstly, I focused on problems in relation to collecting “natural” data. Then, I discussed the significance of group discussions, pilot studies, participants and procedures, reliability and ethical issues in relation to my research design.

In chapter 5, I turn to the data analysis and present the findings on the structural, stylistic, and cultural differences between the British narratives, the Taiwanese Mandarin narratives, and the Taiwanese English language narratives. Findings in relation to narrative beginnings, orientation, complicating action, external and internal evaluation, and the conclusion of the narratives are identified and discussed. I will discuss the findings related to learner identity in chapter 6. In short, what is the learner’s investment in the target language and how the learner’s relationship to the target language is socially and historically constructed.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### FINDINGS RELATED TO NARRATIVE STRUCTURE

#### 5. Introduction

In this chapter, I identify and discuss the findings related to the differences and similarities in structural components apparent in the TM (13), TEFL (17) and BE (17) narratives. Findings in relation to uses of an *abstract*, *orientation*, *complicating action*, *external evaluation*, *internal evaluation*, *resolution* and *coda* are also identified and discussed. Findings in relation to *tellership* and *tellability* (Labov, 1972; Ochs and Capps, 2001) are discussed. Findings in relation to moral stance taking as an evaluative device (Ochs and Capps, 2001) are also discussed. We begin with Labov's notion of an *abstract*.

#### 5.1 Abstract

As noted earlier, an *abstract* is a short statement which summarises the whole narrative or encapsulates the point of the narrative (Labov, 1972). For example, it may contain requests for the extended turn at talk among conversationalists, especially among casual friends. Labov suggests that an abstract and coda are not essential in a narrative. It is evident in the data that such components are optional. As we shall see, 5 TM narratives start by using an abstract, 3 TEFL narratives begin with an abstract and similarly, 6 BE narratives use an abstract in commencing a narrative. First, let us consider how an abstract is used in the TM 2 narrative. Narrator S establishes her story by making a short statement about how her grandmother died as a result of an earthquake and that because the grandchildren were not emotionally close to their grandmother, narrator S never mourned her grandmother's death. Sympathetically, listeners B and G

simultaneously respond by using the expression “*ahhh*”. This suggests that the content of the narrative is really “worth telling” (Labov, 1972). The summary provides the gist of the narrative and creates a sense of expectation in the listeners as the narrator unfolds the rest of the narrative.

**TM 2: My Grandmother’s Death**

1. S: <acc 我奶奶在地震時死掉了 acc>  
           <acc wo nainai zai di jen shi si diao le acc>  
           <acc my grandmother died during the earthquake acc>
2. 但是我們四個小孩都和我奶奶不親  
       dan shi wo men si ge xiao hai dou han wo nainai bu chin  
       but four children (the four of us) were not close (to our) grandmother
3. 我奶奶過世 <P 我沒有掉一滴眼淚 P>  
       wo nainai guo shi <P wo dou mei you diao yi di yan lei P>  
       (when) my grandmother passed away <P I didn’t drop any tear P>
4. B + G: <P 啊 P>  
           <P ahhh P>  
           <P ahhh P>

Likewise in TEFL 7, narrator D initiates his narrative by making the short statement “*I had a car accident*” to attract the listeners’ interest. Surprised, listener M repeats the narrator’s utterance by transforming the statement into the question “*You had a car accident?*” In short, the abstract introduces the event (*a car accident*) and subsequently provides the gist of the story and how the car accident happens.

**TEFL 7: A Car Accident**

1. D: <acc I had a car accident acc>
2. M: you had a car accident?
3. D: yah..and..erh..I remember just a few weeks ago
4.     I went to university

Similarly in the BE 1 narrative, narrator R makes a brief statement stating that he is studying social anthropology and Indian culture.

### **BE 1: Culture Shock**

1. R: I'm studying social anthropology...Indian culture
2. religion is related...to my research...Hinduism especially
3. an Indian student told me...that when he first came here...Leicester
4. that everything was <F **REALLY NEW** F> for him..errh
5. everything was completely different to him
6. he was surprised to see so many..erm...<F **INDIAN** F>-looking people
7. and to find that the British-born Indians had a...erm...<F **DIFFERENT** F> point of view from him
8. like..uh..they have lost touch ...
9. <F **LOST TOUCH** F> with..their culture

In summary, it would seem to be the case that the amount of abstract use is similar in the three sets of narratives, and they each support Labov's (1972) definition of an abstract.

## 5.2 Orientation

The *orientation* orients the listener in terms of the person, place, time, the behavioural situation, and sets the stage for the coming of the complicating events. Overall, it is evident that there is a similar use of orientation at the beginning of the three sets of narratives i.e., TM, (8); TEFL, (12); BE, (11). For example in TM 5, narrator B mentions a woman at the beginning of the narrative:

### **TM 5: A Spiritual Presence**

1. B: 我高二的時候 參加一個活動  
wo kao er de shi hou tzan jia yi ge huo dong  
I attended an activity when I was in the second year of senior high school
2. 認識一個阿姨  
ren shi yi ge a yi  
(I) knew an auntie
3. 我都叫她薛姐  
wo dou jiao ta Shue jie  
I usually called her Shue sister

In TEFL 10, when narrator E goes to America and resides with her home-stay family, she starts her story by introducing the host, and then introduces the main character, the family's pet dog.

**TEFL 10 : *Sit and Smile!***

1. E: my host is a <F PROFESSOR F>
2. he taught speech..and errh..and conversation..how to persuade someone
3. I live with..I live with them
4. I..I feel very interesting because they have..they have raised a dog

Similarly in BE 7, the narrator gives the listeners descriptive information as background: where they watch the football game, and the people who they watch it with.

**BE 7: *Experiencing the 2006 World Cup Final in Venice***

1. A: <acc we sat as we were watching the football acc>
2. <acc we were sat outside a pizza take-away joint at the end of the street on a bench..watching the football through the window acc>
3. <acc on the telly behind the counter..with the patron...the patron and his friends..leaning against the rail..next to the main road acc>

In the data, it seems that orientation has no fixed position. This may be due to the fact that the narrator may not always be aware of important information at first; it is only when the story is under way that the narrator makes a connection between a prior circumstance and the narrative events (Ochs, 1997: 196). For instance, descriptive information may be simply forgotten and later evoked by relevant events. In TM 1: *The 921 Earthquake*, narrator S mentions an earthquake tragedy which occurred in her hometown at the end of her story, not at the beginning. She mentions the damage to her school, and then informs her listeners that the tragedy occurred when she was a third year junior high school student.

**TM 1: *The 921 Earthquake*** [Omitted Clauses]

43. S: 我記得我那時候我是國..國三了  
wo ji de won a shi hao wo shi guo..guo san le  
I remember that I was in the third year of my junior high school then
44. 然後那時候學校也是很嚴重 <F 非常非常得嚴重 F>  
ran hou na shi hou xue xiao ye shi hen yan chong <F **FEICHANG**  
**FEICHANG** F> de yan chong  
then.. the school was very seriously.. <F **REALLY REALLY** F>seriously  
(damaged)
45. 簡直是<F 面目全非 F>了  
jian zhi shi <F **MIAN-MU-CHUAN-FEI** F> le  
(it had) almost <F **CHANGED EVERYTHING BEYOND RECOGNITION** F>

Another reason may be related to the interaction between the narrator and listeners. For example, listeners might ask more descriptive information during the narratives. In TEFL 4, narrator B describes how her home-room teacher took good care of her. Listener G interacts by asking the question “like good mother?” and narrator B provides additional information confirming the maternal nature of her teacher and the age of her teacher.

**TEFL 4: *My Home-Room Teacher***

48. B: she..she really cared us a lot  
49. and she love us  
50. G: like good mother?  
51. B: yes..just like my mother  
52. she is really young about thirty-two or thirty four years at that time

Similar examples are apparent in the BE narratives. For instance in BE 14, narrator T tells her listeners that she has failed her A-Level examination and that her father preferred her to get a job and study for her A-Level in evening classes. However, she decides to return to school as a sixth-form student for another year and retake her A-Level. Then, she describes what subject she is taking, how she enjoys her life there, and mentions preconceptions about failed GCSE students who had to retake examinations. Before the

end of her narrative, she mentions a girl who returns to college to underline students may return to sixth-form college for multiple reasons.

**BE 14: Retaking A-Levels**

52. T: <acc one girl was staying on because her family had gone to Australia acc>

53. <acc and she couldn't join them yet acc>

54. <acc so she would just stay around in sixth-form college for another year acc>

As stated earlier, the *orientation* orients the listener in terms of characters within a narrative. It is evident that there are similarities and differences within the three sets of narratives in relation to characters. For instance, in the TM narratives, (11 out of 13) there are multiple references to family members (grandmother, parents, siblings, daughter-in-law, son, aunt), and characters related to school (teachers, classmates). Likewise, in the TEFL narratives (11 out of 17) focus on family members, teachers and classmates. However, there is slight variance in the BE narratives: 6 narratives (out of 17) mention family members, but only two refer to teachers and classmates. *Orientation* also orients the listener in terms of “place”. The significance of *location* within the narratives may suggest some diversity when speaking in L2. For example in the TM narratives, there are several references made to home, a school, a hotel, the Ministry of Education, a winery, a family support centre, and Germany. However, in the TEFL English narratives, reference is made to cram schools (4 narratives), a university, America, the location of their “*home-stay*” family, and American shopping malls. In the BE narratives, there is a greater diversity of location terms i.e., Leicester, Nigeria, London, Northern Ireland, Italy, Venice, Paris, a university, a pub, a take-away, a church, and a factory are cited. This finding may imply that the British students have travelled more. These stories underline the tellability of the narratives. They show the importance of the narrated experience and

the rhetorical style in which the stories are recounted. It seems that most Taiwanese students' life experience is centred in a family or a school milieu as they constantly demonstrate a preoccupation with family relationships within educational settings. For example, mention of "*home-stay*" parents and family are recurrent themes in the TEFL narratives. In the TM narratives, family characters (11 narratives), teachers, and classmates (8 narratives) are the most prevalent characters mentioned. Likewise in the TEFL narratives, mention of similar characters is also recurrent. The concept of "*home*" is a recurrent theme in the TM narratives (9), whilst educational settings such as *cram schools* (25) and *schools* (26) are the most frequent examples of location in their TEFL narratives (See Table 3).

**Table 3: References to Family/Relatives/Teachers/ Schools**

	TM Narratives	TEFL Narratives	BE Narratives
Home	9	28	3
Parents	3	2	4
Father	18	7	2
Mother	13	18	18
Sister	2	2	2
Brother	8	4	2
Grandmother	17	0	2
Aunt	2	0	1
Classmate/s	4	11	0
Child/Children	11	15	11
Daughter-in-law	5	0	0
Son	3	0	0
Family	6	4	12
Daughter	2	0	2
Roommate/s	2	5	0
Boy/Girl/Friend	5	15	8
Teacher	6	46	0
School	9	26	0
Cram School	0	25	0
University	3	11	6



The use of terms such as “*home*” seems to reflect the importance of family values in Taiwanese society, and multiple references to teachers seem to highlight the role of teachers in these students’ worlds. Such preoccupation with family relationships may also indicate their membership of a collectivist society (Hofstede, 1980; Scollon and Scollon, 1981; Ramanathan and Atkinson, 1999). *Orientation* also orients listeners in terms of time. The frequency of time references is quite low but is similar within the three sets of narratives. In fact, 5 TM (38%), 8 TEFL (47%) 9 BE (53%) narratives do not make any references to time whatsoever. The low frequency of time references within the TEFL narratives may be explained by the fact that 4 narrators and interlocutors experienced a shared temporal experience when they visited America together and this is reflected in the content of several of their narratives i.e., TEFL 10 (*Sit and Smile!*), TEFL 12 (*Can You Speak Chinese?*), TEFL 13 (*Spring Break in America*), TEFL 14 (*Handsome but Married*), TEFL 15 (*Yummy but too Salty*), TEFL 16 (*A Princess in the U.S.A.*) and TEFL 17 (*Shopping in America*). In the three sets of narratives, past experiences, in general, are recounted in chronological order.

### 5.3 Complicating Action

The *complicating action* is the central part of the main storyline. It is composed of a series of temporally ordered events that form the skeleton of the narrative. The complicating action and the resolution are arranged into a chain in which one event leads to another consecutively. The frequency of the complicating action within the three sets of narratives is TM (89), TEFL (115) and BE (75).

The data shows some variance with Labov's (1972) study in terms of the relationship between complicating action, resolution and evaluation. Labov (1972) claims that most English narratives in his study contained an evaluative section located at the juncture between the complicating action and the result highlighting that the complicating action has reached a maximum. In the data, evaluation embedded between the complicating action and the result is used less than after the resolution. That is, in most of the narratives, the narrator gives his/her evaluation after the resolution rather than before resolution (See Table 4). A detailed discussion on this issue will be offered in the section on external evaluation.

**Table 4: Position of External Evaluation**

Positions of Evaluation	TM		TEFL		BE	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
After Orientation	14	17%	19	17%	43	37%
Embedded in Complication	25	31%	48	43%	30	26%
Before Resolution	9	11%	12	11%	19	16%
After Resolution	33	41%	32	29%	24	21%

## 5.4 External Evaluation

*External evaluation* is classified into five subtypes. In the first subtype, the narrator stops the narrative and addresses the listeners directly, expressing an evaluation of the event. There are 70 examples of this subtype in the TM narratives, 109 examples in the TEFL narratives, and 193 examples within the BE narratives. It is evident that the frequency of this subtype is much higher in the BE narratives. This subtype is exemplified in TM 1 when narrator S describes houses collapsing, a winery, and people

being buried alive. She states that when the earthquake occurred that her father was fortunately at home (the earthquake occurred after midnight), and then stopping her narrative, she expresses a direct evaluation of the event to the listeners, and then reflects that her mother would have found it impossible to look after her four children during the earthquake (without the presence of her father).

**TM 1: The 921 Earthquake**

23. S: <acc 還好我爸爸在家 acc>  
<acc hai hao wo baba zai yia acc>  
<acc fortunately my father was at home acc>  
24. <acc 因為我們家四個小孩子嘛acc>  
<acc yin wei wo men jia si ge xiao haizi ma acc>  
<acc because four of us were children acc>  
25. <acc 然後我媽一個女人怎麼帶四個小孩 acc>  
<acc ren hao wo ma yi ge nu ren ze mo dai sh ge xiao haizi acc>  
<acc then how could my mum take care of four children acc>

In TEFL 15, narrator V mentions her experience of living with her American home-stay parents. She describes the visit of her Taiwanese friend, Emma, to her home-stay. The home-stay mother cooks soup for both of them. Then the narrator stops the event and tells her listeners directly that she thought the soup was too salty for her taste.

**TEFL 15: Yummy but too Salty**

20. V: and one day she came to visit me  
21. my home mother erm..boiled some soup..boiled some soup  
22. and...it's <F **REALLY VERY SALTY** F>

In BE 12, narrator F describes his romantic trip to Paris with his girlfriend on Bastille Day. When he states they went to the Champs Elysee, he does not continue his story but expresses his personal point of view (they were both bored). After this evaluation, he continues the complicating action in line 48. Then, he embeds the

evaluation again in lines 49-50. Again, he uses another complicating action when he states that they decided to watch the Bastille Day pyrotechnic display. Then, he makes an immediate evaluation of the firework display.

**BE 12: Bastille Day in Paris**

46. F: no...we went to the Champs Elysees  
 47. and urhh...we were..**<F BORED F>** that morning  
 48. they had these jet airplanes flying over..tanks coming up the Champs  
     Elysees..urh..to the...to the Arc De Triomphe  
 49. **<F BORING..BORING..BORING F>**  
 50. we were bored and we went back and so...and urh  
 51. we thought..we just decided.. at the last moment to go to the Bastille fireworks  
 52. **<F AHH...it was AMAZING F>**

In terms of the second subtype (addressing the narrator himself/herself), the narrator employs evaluation by explicating spontaneous thoughts. This subtype is related to direct speech and presentation of self. Tannen (1989) claims that narrators often report their own thoughts as dialogues. In the data, the frequency of this subtype within the three sets of narratives is TM (15), TEFL (24) and BE (0). Let us consider TM 11(*The Winning Ticket*). For example, narrator E recounts her experience of when she had an opportunity to claim the prize money from a winning lottery ticket. She had worked as a volunteer at a family support centre during her summer vacation. One of her duties was to examine the invoice numbers on lottery tickets. She discovered a winning ticket to the value of £3,300. This presented her with a moralistic dilemma so she had to make several ethical evaluations. She tells herself “*I could take it away as my own one because no one saw it*” (line 5). Although she does not ultimately pilfer the ticket, in that brief hesitant moment, she asks herself a second time whether she should “*take it or not*” (line 9). This narrative illustrates the importance of Ochs and Capps’ (2001) notion of *moral stance* as an evaluation device. Ochs and Capps claim that when narrators take moral stances, they

seek to enact themselves as good and proper people within a moral order. Poveda (2004) also points out that teller's identities and moral stances toward events, as well as actions carried out by themselves and others are revealed through evaluation.

**TM 11: The Winning Ticket**

5. E: 那時候就是::我在想 <Q 我可以自己拿下來 因為都沒有人看到 Q>  
       na shi hou jiu shi::wo zai xiang <Q wo ke yi zi ji na shi alai yin wei dou mei  
       you ren kan dao Q>  
       at the moment ::I was thinking <Q I could take it away as my own one because  
       no one saw it Q>
6. <acc 可是我沒有那樣做 acc>  
       <acc ke shi wo mei you na yang zou acc>  
       <acc but I did not do it acc>
7. T: 你那時候有考慮很久嗎?  
       ni na shi hou you kao lu hen jiu ma?  
       did you consider (doing it) for a long time?
8. E: 就是還蠻驚訝的  
       jia shi hai man jing ya de  
       (I was) very surprised
9. 然後在想 <Q 到底要不要拿走 Q>  
       ran hou zai xiang <Q dao di yao bu yao na zou Q>  
       then (I was) thinking <Q to take it or not Q>
10. 不過一下子就醒過來了  
       bu guo yi xia zi jiu shing guo lai le  
       but (I) woke up in a short time (soon came to my senses)
11. 然後說 <Q 算了還是給他們吧 Q>  
       ran hou shuo <Q suan le hai shi huan gei ta men ba Q>  
       I told (myself) <Q forget about it just return it to them Q>

In TEFL 6, narrator G mentions her cram school teacher who is really kind to her so she presents herself as a diligent student who wants to achieve better academic grades.

**TEFL 6: An English Language Learning Experience**

11. G: the teacher is nice to me and I don't want to behind the other classmates  
 12 I told myself<Q I want to study hard and get great scores Q>

In terms of the third subtype, the narrator quotes himself/herself as addressing someone else. The frequency of the third subtype is low (TM: 19, TEFL: 7, BE: 10). For example, in TM 6, narrator S mentions the break-up of her relationship with an unfaithful boyfriend.

**TM 6: My Puppy Love**

4. S: 他有跟我討論  
ta you gen wo tao lun  
he even discussed (her) with me
5. 我就說 <Q 喔好那既然這樣子我們就**分開**那你就去追那個女孩子這樣 Q>  
wo jiu shuo <Q Wo hao ha ji ran zhe yang zi wo men jiu **FEN KAO** na ni jiu  
chui zhui na ge nu hai zi zhe yang Q>  
I just said <Q Ok since (you have decided that) then we should **BREAK UP** and  
you just go to develop a relationship with that girl Q>

In TEFL 16, narrator C states that she was treated like a princess while she visited America. She then proceeds to give an account of trying to buy lipstick in America.

**TEFL 16: A Princess in the U.S.A.**

38. C: when I went to look for lipstick..to a shop that sells limited action products  
39. and errh..it doesn't sell in Taiwan  
40. (I) asked home mama <Q can I buy more in another place? Q>

In BE 11, narrator M relates his experience of being bitten by mosquitoes when on holiday. The excerpt prior to this is part of the complicating action; namely, he mentions being bitten by mosquitoes and taking several forms of medication which fail to alleviate his suffering. As a last resort, he decides to consult a local Greek doctor. By quoting what he says to the doctor's receptionist, he reaffirms that he is in great pain (lines 24-26). After he is informed that the cost of the doctor's fee and medical treatment will be expensive, he decides not to consult the doctor. He reiterates what he said to the doctor's

receptionist by expressing his evaluation of the cost of the consultation and the medication (lines 29-31).

**BE 11: Fear of Insects**

24. M: when I went to the local Greek doctor in Corfu

25. I said <Q could I make an appointment? Q>

26. <Q I am in great pain here Q>

29. and I said <Q I'll suffer in pain and go back to England Q>

30. <F **BEFORE** F> I pay some Greek doctor 55 Euro to see him Q>

31. <Q and another 20 Euro for <F **SOME TABLETS** F> that I can get in Leicester  
for about two pounds fifty Q>

In terms of the fourth subtype, the narrator introduces a third person to evaluate the events as “*embedded*” evaluation. The findings show that there are 53 examples of this subtype within the TM narratives, 34 examples within the TEFL narratives, and 38 examples within the BE narratives. For example in TM 6, narrator S states that she was extremely introverted as a young child and that her self-esteem was low but it has now improved after meeting her new boyfriend. The narrator reports her boyfriend’s reassuring words of advice (line 23).

**TM 6: My Puppy Love**

19. S: 甚麼都不會

she mo dou bu hui

(I thought I was) not able to do anything

20. 就一個人 <F **靜靜得** F> 這樣子

jiu yi ge ren <F **JIN JIN DE** F> zhe yang zi

(I was always) <F **QUIET** F>

21. 然後是<F **他** F>

ran hou..shi <F **TA** F>

then..(it) was <F **HE** F>

22. 就是把我從那個..那種情況拉出來的

jiu shi ba wo tzong na ge ching cong la chu lai de

(it was he who) changed my outlook

23. 他告訴我 <Q 妳要有自信 Q>

ta gao shu wo <Q ni yao you zi shin Q>

he told me <Q you have to be confident Q>

In TEFL 7, narrator K's senior high school history teacher adopts a clever strategy to help students remember historical dates.

**TEFL 7: Teaching Strategy**

26. K: so...the teacher told us  
27. <Q it's very easy...just simply...simply think this draft was called five-five  
28. you can remember the date  
29. yes...so simple five times five is twenty-five  
30. so the day...so the day of the constitution's birthday  
31. was ours...R.O.C. year 25 Q>

In BE 5, narrator H recalls a Chinese student's opinion about marriage. He then mentions what the Chinese student says to evaluate the event.

**BE 5: Family Loyalties**

5. H: he <F **SURPRISED** F> me  
6. he said <Q I will marry a girlfriend who I will probably **LOVE**  
7. but my mother <F **MUST** F> like her  
8. my mother must like her  
9. if my mother...if my mother..does <F **NOT** F> like her  
10. I'm <F **NOT** F> going to marry her  
11. because we <F **HAVE** F> to live together when my mother gets old  
12. and I don't want to get into any trouble Q>

The final subtype of external evaluation is the evaluative action that tells what people *do*, rather than what they actually *say*. The dramatic effect created by an evaluative action is apparent in the following narrative. In the data, only one example is found within the three sets of narratives. For example in BE 16, in the *complicating action*, the narrator describes her ordeal when making her first presentation. She is so distressed that she faints. In these utterances, she uses a shift from "I" to "you" to involve the listener in her narrative. Then, she employs the first subtype of evaluation, addressing the listeners of her evaluation directly (lines 22-26). Then, after the complicating action, she faints (line 27). Before she discloses how she resolved her dilemma, she shifts the



spotlight to her audience. Her description of her audience's indifferent behavior highlights the tension and suspends the main event (line 30).

**BE 16: Making Presentations**

22. T: no.. it's like that...erm...<F **AUTO-FLIGHT** F> response

23. it's like the thing you used to use when...uh....you were going to get attacked by a  
<F **RHINOCEROS** F>...or something

24. and you're trying to tell yourself to calm down

25. and ..it's all going to be okay...erm

26. but it didn't work

27. and @ I **FAINTED** @ [Laughter]

28. and you've got all the members of your department there

29. and I just kind of <F **SANK** F> to the ground

30. and...everybody just <F **SAT** F> there <F **LOOKING** F>

Overall, the findings show that the use of evaluation is both abundant and diverse. Moreover, the location of the evaluation within the narrative is mainly influenced by the content of the narrative. In terms of external evaluative strategies, it is clear that they play a significant role within the three sets of narratives. Moreover, the frequency distribution of external evaluation shows that the narrators are listener-oriented in constructing their narratives by showing concern for their listeners, and also by keeping track of the points recounted in the events. It is also clear that the BE narrators use much more evaluation in the first subtype (See Table 5).

**Table 5: Distribution of Subtypes (External Evaluation)**

Subtype	TM		TEFL		BE	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
1 <sup>st</sup> type Addressing the listeners directly	70	45%	109	62%	193	78%
2 <sup>nd</sup> type Addressing the narrator himself/herself	15	10%	24	14%	0	0%
3 <sup>rd</sup> type The narrator quoting himself/herself as addressing someone else	19	12%	7	4%	10	4%
4 <sup>th</sup> type The narrator introduces a third person to evaluate the event	53	33%	34	19%	38	15%
5 <sup>th</sup> type Evaluative action when the narrator tells what people did, rather than what they said	0	0%	0	0%	1	1%

Two other findings are noteworthy. Firstly, there is variance in the first subtype usage (addressing their listeners directly) between the TM (70 examples, 45%) and the TEFL (109 examples, 62%) narratives. It would have been expected that the TM narrators from a high-context communication culture which underscores the importance of family and camaraderie in conversations would have directly addressed their listeners

much more. This variance may be explained by the fact that a native English speaker (exchange student) acted as a facilitator in the TEFL group conversations. Taiwan is not an English language environment and many EFL students relish the opportunity to interact with a native English language speaker outside the EFL classroom. As a result, they may have addressed their listeners much more than when conversing in Mandarin. Secondly, the frequency (53 times, 33%) of the fourth subtype (introducing a third person to evaluate the event) may be due to three particular TM narrators' individual style of storytelling, as most exemplars of the fourth subtype are found in their narratives.

In terms of the position of external evaluation, there are some similarities and differences which are worth highlighting (See Table 4, p.116). For instance in the three sets of narratives, there are multiple examples of evaluations embedded between the complicating actions (TM: 25, TEFL: 48, BE: 30). These narrators, after the main plot is revealed, emphasize their impressions or feelings toward the whole events and the impact of the events on them. In contrast, some British narrators prefer to use evaluation after an orientation (BE: 43). These narrators prefer to express their evaluations after they provide descriptive information.

## 5.5 Internal Evaluation

Stress is a significant factor in internal evaluation. Extra stress signifies intensification of emotion (denoted by capital letters in the transcriptions). 88 examples of stress can be found in the TM narratives, 229 examples in the TEFL narratives, and 427 examples in the BE narratives. This finding seems to give credence to Chan's (1992)

claim that an Asian communication style tends to be emotionally controlled; whereas, a Western communication style tends to be emotionally expressive. In addition, the variance of adverb usage is considerable. For instance, in the TM narratives, 529 adverbs are evident while 275 examples appear in the TEFL narratives. On the other hand, the British narrators and interlocutors employ a similar number of adverbs to the TEFL narrators and interlocutors. For example, 252 exemplars of adverbs are found in the BE narratives. As revealed in Lin's (1993) study, adverb usage is the most recurrent internal evaluative device. This is evidenced in the TM narratives, i.e., *hen* 很 (very), *fei chang* 非常 (very), *tai* 太 (too), *man* 蠻 (quite/ very), *xiang dong* 相當 (quite), *dang ran* 當然 (of course), *yi ding* 一定 (certainly), *jing ran* 竟然 (to (my) surprise), *yi jing* 已經 (already), *jiu* 就 (nearby/ only/ solely/ right away), *cai* 才 (just), *hai* 還 (still/ yet), and *ye* 也 (also). It is clear that the TEFL narrators and interlocutors employ many more adverbs in their native language when storytelling. It is common for the narrator to use more than one adverb in one clause as intensifiers in order to describe the situation in the TM narratives. For example, narrator S uses the adverbs *ye* 也 (also) and *cai* 才 (just) to describe events.

#### **TM 1 The 921 Earthquake**

8. S: < F 我們也是出來才知道啊 F>  
 <F wo me ye shi chu lai cai zhi dao a F>  
 <F we also didn't know until we just came out F>

And yet again in TM 9, narrator D uses four adverbs: *keneng* 可能 (maybe), *tai* 太 (too), *cai* 才 (just), and *hen* 很 (very) to explain his medical history.

#### **TM 9: Chronic Health Problems since Childhood**

66. D: 可能吃太多藥了 才讓身體很不好  
keneng chi tai dou yao le cai ran sheng ti hen bu hao  
maybe (I) just took too much medicine so (I) actually became very weak

The findings concur with Lin's (1993), Chin's (1999), and Kang's (2003) results which show that their Chinese and Korean participants used a large amount of adverb usage in their native languages. The Taiwanese narrators' high frequency of adverb usage may imply they are influenced by culturally determined strategies in their native language. Moreover, the use of *utterance-final particles* is abundant within the TM narratives. They are used as a linguistic resource to make evaluations, and to express interpersonal meanings. They are language-specific. As such, they are modes of encoding evaluative meanings which are not found in the English language. 176 exemplars of utterance-final particles are evident in 13 TM narratives with an average of 13.5 exemplars in each narrative. The most common examples used are *le* 了 (34%), *a* 啊 (24%), and *wo* 喔 (11%), and *la* 啦 (10%). Others include *ba* 吧, *ma* 嘛, *ne* 呢, *ya* 呀 and *ye* 耶. Sentence-final particles play an integral part in natural conversations in Mandarin. Li and Thompson (1981:317) point out that in traditional Chinese grammar; sentence-final particles are regarded as "mood words". This suggests that the function of sentence-final particles relates to the conversational context in various ways to the utterance to which they are attached and to indicate how this utterance is to be taken by the listener. That is, they are used to denote the attitude of the speaker. These particles are single syllables with neutral tones that are added to the end of a sentence to signal the speaker's propositional attitude; such as to illuminate, communicate, call for attention, involvement, surprise, politeness, agreement, or uncertainty. However, the actual utterance meanings of the particles may be different from what might have been proposed before, due to different contextual factors.

*Final particles* in Mandarin do not have a clear grammatical function because even if they are omitted, they will not make the sentence ungrammatical. Their semantic and pragmatic functions are sometimes vague and linguists have not been able to arrive at a consensus as to the exact functions of some of the particles. Chu (1998:154) indicates that the sentence particle *le* 了 generally involves the meaning of a “change of state” and provides the function of a “discourse-final particle.” This change of state results in what Li and Thompson (1981: 240-289) describe as a “currently relevant state”. Thus, a state of affairs has special current relevance which relates to some particular situation. If there is no particular situation mentioned, the sentence using *le* is relevant to *now*. If the situation is clearly referred to, then *le* is relevant to that particular situation. As a result, “relevance” is really a matter of the context in which the *le* sentence occurs. For example in TM 3, the utterance particle *le* depicts the narrator’s change of mental state. When her grandmother dies, her family insists on her kneeling down to pray to her grandmother’s spirit. Because she has converted to Christianity, she refuses to kneel. However, she feels guilty and has several nightmares about her grandmother. Hence, she is concerned that her grandmother may not have forgiven her. The listener asks the narrator if she still dreams of her grandmother and whether she is still apprehensive. In this context, the utterance particle implies a mental state which has significant relevance to the core meaning of the narrative; namely, religious issues can cause family conflict.

**TM 3: My Grandma**

28. M: 我會覺得她一直很不諒解我  
       wo hui jue de ta yi zhi hen bu liang jie wo  
       I thought that she still had not forgiven me
29. S: 現在還有嗎?  
       shiao zai hai you ma?  
       do you still dream (of her) now?

30. M: 最近比較少了  
zui jin bi jiao shao le  
recently (the dreams) have become sporadic

Likewise in TM 7, the utterance particle *le* serves as an interjection and functions similar to a minor clause in English. The narrator uses *can le* (miserable) to express her teacher's emotional response to a forthcoming disaster. Yet again, the state of affairs is relevant to the situation because it implies that some action needs to be taken.

**TM 7: A Ghostly Encounter**

19. B: 然後他想說 喔慘了  
ran hou ta xiang shuo wo can le  
then he thought (what a) miserable (situation)

Although there are no *final utterance* particles in the English language, there are some words which are similar to sentence final particles. However, they are usually employed in colloquial speech. In short, they are “filler” words inserted into oral speech akin to the term “y’know” which is typically used either at the beginning of a sentence when either stating a fact or opinion, or to begin a question. Such filler words are part of non-fluency features in conversation. “Y’know” is also used at the end of a sentence when looking for confirmation that the listener understands or agrees with the statement.

For example:

**BE 4: Polygamy**

3. S: and they chose a few case studies...y’know

In addition, several Taiwanese narrators and interlocutors use such informal utterances in their L2 narratives. For example:

**TEFL 3 (Over-Protective Mothers)**

8. B: <acc but you are an <F ADULT F> now..adult..y’know  
25. L: I think she protects me so well..y’know

54. M: @ you are not a robot...<F **ROBOT...UGH..UGH..UGH** F>..y' know @

Likewise, in **TEFL 4 (My Home-Room Teacher)**

20. B: she wa::nt..she want every student to attend the study in night..y'know?

39. B: because I don't have bike..and ..y'know

56. B: I almost cry out..yes..y'know

73. B: One day when I..when I was playing small drum..y'know

Again, in **TEFL 5 (My English Teacher)**

18. S: because I got zero..I told myself that I could not be <F **DEFEATED** F>..y'know

*Repetition* as a component of narrative structure includes words, phrases, clauses, paraphrasing, or the repetition of a meaning. Among various evaluative devices, the narrator frequently uses repetition to evaluate the important events of the story (Labov, 1972; Tannen, 1984, 1989; Polanyi, 1985; Norrick, 2000). These researchers claim that repetition, including rephrasing the description of central events, clarifies the point of the story, heightens the dramatic effect of telling, and also helps the story recipient's comprehension of the story. In the data, the high frequency of repetition within the TM narratives in comparison to the BE narratives is noteworthy. For example, 155 examples of repetition are apparent in the TM narratives, 54 examples are found within the TEFL narratives, and 67 examples are found in the BE narratives. Repetition works as an evaluation which suspends the narrative action. This is evidenced in TM 7. Narrator B gives an account of her former teacher's alleged encounter with a ghost. She repeats a narrative clause (lines 3 and 4) to emphasize that her teacher really had experienced a ghostly encounter. When the teacher enters a hotel room, he feels intensely cold. The narrator repeats the word "cold" (lines 7 and 8). The speaker highlights the point and suspends the narrative action by repeating *ta zhi dao* (*he knew*) four times (lines 13-16). She uses the phrase "*ta jiu zhi dao le*", the adverb *jiu* (right away), and the final-sentence



particle *le*. She especially emphasises the verb *zhi dao* (knew) to inform her listeners that her teacher already knew what had happened. She also suspends the narrative action and increases the listeners' curiosity.

**TM 7: A Ghostly Encounter** [Omitted Clauses]

1. B: 喔! 就是我說的蔡老師啊  
oh! jiu shi wo shuo de cai lao shi a  
oh! (it was) I meant teacher Cai
2. 然後他說 他告訴我 因為我把這件事情告訴他了  
ran hou ta shuo ta gao su wo yi wei wo ba zhe jian shi chin gao su ta le  
then he said.. he told me..because I told him about it
3. 然後他就說 他有遇到過  
ran hou ta jiu shuo ta you yu dao guo  
then he just said that he once encountered
4. 他真的有遇到過  
ta jen de you yu dao guo  
he did encounter (a ghost/spirit)
5. 他出差  
ta chu chai  
he (used to) go on a mission (act as a representative of)
6. 然後在外面的飯店住啊  
ran hou zai wai mian de fa dian zhu a  
then he had to live in a hotel
7. 然後他覺得好冷啊  
ran hou ta jue de hao leng a  
(in the hotel) he felt (he was) really cold
8. 怎麼那麼冷  
ze mo na mo leng  
(he was) really cold
13. B: 他..他就<F 知道 F>了  
ta.. ta jiu <F **ZHI DAO** F>le  
he..he <F **KNEW** F> right away
14. 他知道..  
ta zhi dao  
he knew
15. 他知道  
ta zhi dao  
he knew
16. 他知道了  
ta zhi dao le  
he already knew

The use of repetition to heighten the dramatic effect of a narrative performance is clearly apparent in the narrative BE 13 (*My Very Special Christmas*). Narrator F gives an account of a particular Christmas memory. Note how he dominates the floor. He prefaces his story by telling his listeners that he has one special memory about Christmas (line 1). He then proceeds to give a nostalgic account of a singular Christmas morning he shared with his mother. In brief, both of them mistakenly leave home too early to go to the first Christmas Mass. It is an extremely cold morning so they seek refuge (line 110) before the church opens. Narrator F has the feeling that he and his mother are really present at the birth of Jesus in a manger outside the church (line 95) because of the presence of statues (line 96). This narrative consists of 112 clauses but the narrator succeeds in maintaining his audience's attention by repeatedly telling his listeners that the event is a very unique memory in his life (lines 8, 35, 82, 97, 98, and 101). This finding supports Bartelt's (1983) result that repetition is employed to express strong feelings in storytelling. In fact, there are only 6 interruptions in the whole narrative. Listener C confirms the narrative as a competent performance (line 94: *what an amazing story*). Narrator F employs humour to signal the end of the narrative (lines 110-111). In hushed tones, he drolly whispers "alone with Jesus, Mary and Joseph, and the sheep" (line 111).

**BE 13: My Very Special Christmas** [Omitted Clauses]

1. F: I have one special memory about <F **CHRISTMAS** F>
8. and I have always had this special memory of ..errh..my mother..my mother
35. so I remember that this is a very <F **SPECIAL** F> thing in my memory
82. it was a <F **SPECIAL** F> memory acc>
94. C: what an <F **AMAZING STORY** F>
95. F: just my mother and I::being present at the birth of Jesus in a manger outside the church
96. y'see..even though we knew they were only statues
97. but it just gave me this special feeling
98. this special notion that we were close to Jesus that morning
101. <P we had this really special feeling P>

103. <P we had this unique feeling of being close or present at the birth of Jesus P>  
 111. that's the <P one P> really special memory I have of Christmas<P in my life P>  
 110. so we had to stand outside the church in the <F **FREEZING COLD** F> for one  
 and a half hours before the church opened  
 111. <P so for one and a half hours we were alone with Jesus and Mary and Joseph and  
 the sheep P>

The use of repetition in several TM narratives seems to challenge the notion that Asians, in general, appear to limit their use of explicit evaluations in expressing emotional states in narrative (Minami and McCabe, 1991; Mullen and Yi, 1995; Masuda and Nisbett, 2001; Sanchez-Burks et al., 2003) Repetition used to express emotions also challenges Chan's (1992) claim that the Asian communication style is "emotionally" controlled.

The data shows that there are examples of non-fluency features (hesitation, self repairs, repetition, pauses) which characterise spontaneous conversations. Some narrators and interlocutors use pauses or fillers in order to choose the right word. These pauses can be vocalised usually by making a vowel sound or repetition i.e., *errhh*, *I..I..I*.

### **TEFL 9: Cram School**

1. D: I went to..went to cram school for passing the..graduate school test
2. so..so I went to cram school..for getting higher grades
3. yah..and errh..after...after..after..I finish all the courses in the cram school
4. I went to..I went to test join the test..and errh
5. after all the test.. I finish...I..I..I..totally joined ten school tests
6. and errhh..finally..I passed three university
7. and errh..my cram school is..was very happy about my result and they publish.

Repetition is used in the following BE narrative as an evaluative device to underscore the humour of the narrative:

**BE 10: My Italian Mathematics Programmer**

1. A: we used to have an Italian mathematics programmer
2. and uh..and.. he would look at you.. and say in Italian
3. <Q IL LATO SCURO Q>
4. which means <@ **YOU DON'T KNOW THE POWER OF THE DARK SIDE** @ [Everyone Laughs]
- 5 you don't realize that these..that **THESE** ..phrases we have
6. <Q **YOU DON'T KNOW THE POWER OF THE DARK SIDE** Q>
7. which is all very well
8. < acc if you are <F **JAMES EARL JONES** F>
9. or if you are someone who has seen Star Wars in English acc>
10. but..for an Italian to come out with this phrase in Italian
11. <F IL LATO SCURO F>... sounds <F MENACING F>
12. @ it sounds even <F **MORE MENACING** F> in Italian than it <F **DOES** F> in English @ [Everyone laughs]

Likewise, repetition is used in the following BE narrative as an evaluative device to underscore the dramatic content of the narrator's visit to Paris.

**BE 12: Bastille Day in Paris** [Omitted Clauses]

1. F: we went to Paris
2. everyday we walked for ten miles through Paris
12. the first one was <F INCREDIBLE F>
25. I'm telling you...it was..it was <F INCREDIBLE F>
37. it was building up to an <F INCREDIBLE F> crescendo
43. it's <F UNBELIEVABLE F>
52. <F **AHH...it was AMAZING** F>
72. it was just..<F **ABSOLUTELY.. ABSOLUTELY..TOTALLY FREAKING AMAZING** F>

## 5.6 Narrative Endings

It is apparent that there are three ways in which the narratives end (See Table 6). Firstly, two TM, one TEFL and four BE narratives finish with a coda. Secondly, most narratives use an evaluation as a coda [TM: 8 out of 13 (62%), TEFL: 12 (71%), BE: 13

(76%)). However, three of the TM narratives (23%) and four of the TEFL narratives (25%) terminate without a coda. Instead, they use a resolution to conclude the narratives.

**Table 6: Conclusion Functions used in the Narratives**

Conclusion Functions	TM	TEFL	BE
Coda	2 (15%)	1 (5%)	4 (24%)
Coda + Evaluation	8 (62%)	12 (71%)	13 (76%)
Resolution	3 (23%)	4 (24%)	0 (0%)

Coda occurring at the end of a story signals a narrative is completed. For example, in TM 4 (*Conflict over Religion*, narrator S mentions her father and younger brother's conflict about going to church. Listener B asks if the narrator goes to church. Narrator S answers that she does not have a strong desire to go there and gives other participants the floor by saying “suo yi jiu zhe yang” (*so that's it*).

**TM 4: Conflict over Religion**

26. B: 那妳也去教堂嗎?  
na ni ye qu jiao tang ma?  
do you also go to church?
27. S: 我沒有很強烈的欲望要去  
wo mei you hen chiang lie de yu wang yao qu  
I don't have a strong desire to go (there)
28. <F 所以就這樣 F>  
<F suo yi jiu zhe yang F>  
<F so that's it F>

In TEFL 11, the narrator signals the end of her story by a marker with the help of a gesture, spreading her forefinger and middle finger into a V shape; a non-verbal signal of completion. Such a symbolic gesture is extremely popular among young Taiwanese people. Most of the time, the exclamation “yeah!” and the V finger shape are made

together. Such a positive use of “yeah!” suggests that the narrator has decided to terminate her narrative and informs the listeners that it has ended.

**TEFL 11: Experiences in America**

87. T I think..< F **NOT** F> the special behavior  
88. not the special..everyone is the same  
89. <P yeah! P>

Labov (1972: 365) claims some codas are “particularly skilful” and are disconnected from the main narrative. The “disjunctive” codas push away and seal off the narrative events, bridging the temporal gap between the storyworld and the real world. That is, the time reference of discourse has been shifted from the time when the story happened to the present; so the time shift is also at the end of the narrative. This is evidenced in BE 16. Narrator T, after telling how she deals with the main event (she fainted when making her first presentation), then tells how she solved the problem, and then examines her past and potential future.

**BE 16: Making Presentations**

121. T: yeah...to a certain extent that you’ve got...y’know  
122. I’ve done it ten times now  
123. and I’ve <P **SURVIVED** P> each time  
124. @ so it will probably be all right after this one @ [Laughter]

*Resolution* is used to explain the outcome in the story and is the termination of a series of events. Labov (1972) admits that it is difficult to tell when a narrative event terminates. The distinction in resolution has to be made not only by resorting to semantic criteria, but also by the appearance of the evaluation that suspends the complicating action. However, there is another factor which Labov fails to mention but exists in the data: *discourse markers*. Discourse markers are especially prevalent in the TM narratives.

They show a structural relationship by organising and managing stretches of discourse. In the data, they are found to signal beginnings and endings. For example in TM 7, the narrator repeats a resolution twice. *Na* 那, the utterance-initial particle and discourse marker *hou lai* 後來 (*then*) in line 23 indicate a temporal conjunctive relationship, separating what follows from the preceding piece of discourse. Subsequently, another discourse marker *jie guo* 結果 (*consequently*) shows the outcome of her high-school teacher's ghostly encounter when his body immediately became warmer (line 25). Then in line 35, the narrator reiterates her teacher's situation and ends her narrative by using the discourse marker *ran hou* 然後 (*then*) and reconfirms the outcome of the narrative.

**TM 7: A Ghostly Encounter** [Omitted Clauses]

23. B: 那後來..後來..冷到沒辦法啊  
       na..hou lai..hou lai neng dao mei bian fa a  
       na..then..then..(he was) cold and (he could do) nothing
24. 他就把所有的神明 他所信的所有的神明 都請來  
       ta jiu ba suo you de shen ming ta suo xin de suo you de shen ming dou ching lai  
       he invoked all the gods.. all the gods that he believed in
25. 結果他的身體一下子就都熱起來了  
       jie guo ta de shen ti yi shia zi jiu dou re chi lai le  
       consequently his body immediately became warmer
34. J: 後來他就熱起來了  
       hou lai ta jiu re chi lai le  
       then he just (felt his body becoming) warmer
35. B: 對..然後..就..就 就好了  
       duei..ran hou..jin jin jiu hao le  
       yes..then..(he) just..just (felt) well

Another finding relates to interlocutors supporting the point of the narrative at the narrative's conclusion (See Table 7).

**Table 7: Interlocutors' Support at Conclusion of Narrative**

	TM	TEFL	BE
Support at Conclusion	8 (62%)	4 (25%)	3 (18%)

In the TM narratives, the Taiwanese interlocutors adopt an important role at the narrative's finale as they tend to support the point that the narrators finally make. However, the frequency of British interlocutors making such consenting conclusions (3 out of 17 narratives: 18%) is much less than given by the TM listeners (8 out of 13 narratives: 62%). Such deviation may imply a cultural difference between the Taiwanese and British listeners in terminating their narratives. Specifically, in collectivist societies, such as Asian, according to Matsumoto (1993), it is important to avoid reflecting negatively upon the group. Therefore, they are less likely to demonstrate negative effects publicly. For example, in TM 8 (*Guardian Angel or Spiritual Witness?*), after a discussion on ghostly encounters, narrator S mentions that it is difficult to explain such supernatural phenomena from a scientific perspective. She illustrates her point by giving an account of her senior-high teacher's encounter with a "spiritual witness" or a guardian angel. At the conclusion of the story, interlocutor B suggests that the spiritual witness will protect her from being haunted by evil spirits, but interlocutor J disagrees with her, and advises that the spiritual witness cannot protect her. Narrator S concurs with interlocutor J by repeating the term *dui* (right/yes) three times (line 41). Subsequently, interlocutor J argues that a spiritual witness is akin to an observer who records all the events of one's life. Finally, interlocutor B and narrator S agree with interlocutor J by repeating the utterance *dui* (right/yes) three times (line 44).

**TM 8: *Guardian Angel or Spiritual Witness?***

37. J: 它沒辦法保護你們  
ta mei bian fa bao hu ni men  
it can't protect you
38. 因為如果你是做壞事的  
yin weir u guo ni shi zou huai shi de  
because if you do something evil



39. 它沒辦法 它只是..我不知道  
ta mei bian fa ta zhi shi wo..bu zhi dao  
it can't..it just..I don't know
40. 我假設它只是做記錄的  
wo jia she ta zhi shi zou ji lu de  
I presume it (the spiritual witness) only takes a record
41. S: 對對對  
dui dui dui  
right right right
42. J: 但是好事壞事還是你自己去做  
dan shi hao shi huai shi hai shi ni zi ji qu zou  
but it's you (who have ) done all those good and bad things
43. 自己去做那些事情  
zi ji qu zou na shie shi chin  
you did them yourself
44. B + S: 對對對  
dui dui dui  
right right right

In TEFL 8, narrator D describes his experience of a collision with a car when he was riding his motorbike. Later, the police deem the car driver to be at fault. The car driver agrees to pay for medical expenses, and also offers the narrator an extra NT\$5,000 to repair his motorbike. The police encourage them to arrive at an agreement so that the case will not be brought to court. The narrator agrees to accept the money. Listener M asks the narrator if he was angry with the police officer's advice. The narrator thinks that it is acceptable to take the police officer's advice. However, the moderator, an English native speaker, argues strongly about the ethical and moral implications of the whole incident. It is impossible to know whether the narrator fully agrees with the moderator's opinion of the event, or if his agreement is merely an attempt to be polite. We can accept, that based on the superficial evidence that he agrees with the moderator. But in fact, the narrator might not have actually agreed with the moderator's opinion. In line 60, the narrator argues that he was not seriously injured. From lines 63 to 65, he states that he does not

want to waste time in bringing the case to court, and that he wants to do something more important. This implies that the car accident was not a serious event. The moderator expresses a strong personal point of view (lines 77-82). When the narrator uses the coda; there is a two second pause (line 83) before he states “I agree with you” in a soft and deliberate tone. The question of whether or not this truly denotes agreement is a moot point.

**TEFL 8: A Car Accident**

55. M: did the police take him to the police station?  
56. D: yah..the police hope I can..just take the money..and errh..just forget the case  
57. M: didn't that make you angry?  
58. D: no...because  
59. Mod: <acc but you could have been <F **SERIOUSLY INJURED** F> acc>  
60. D: but..actually..I didn't have a serious injury  
61. Mod: I know...but you <F **COULD HAVE BEEN** F>  
62. D: yah..I might be  
63. but I...at that time I just want to go to my dormitory immediately  
64. because I have something to do  
65. I don't want to waste too much time here  
66. Mod: so..<F **WHAT ARE YOU SAYING?** F>  
67. that in Taiwan if someone gets seriously injured by an irresponsible driver  
68. they try to..<F **ESCAPE ?** F>  
69. D the guy pay me some actual money to fix my motorbike  
70. and errh..so..for checking my  
71. M: how do you know the money is enough?  
72. maybe expensive to fix your motorbike  
73. D: yah..because I don't have any experience before  
74. so..I just charge him...<F **FIVE** F> thousand dollars  
75. I think it's not very serious  
76. so I think five thousand dollars is enough  
77. Mod: so it seems that negligent drivers in Taiwan seem to go unpunished?  
78. <acc in my country such drivers would be <F **FINED** F>  
79. maybe even lose their driving license or even <F **JAILED** F> acc>  
80. <acc what about <F **INSURANCE?** F>  
81. what happens if they were <F **DRUNK?** F>  
82. this situation is <F **RIDICULOUS** F> acc>  
83. D: hmm...yeah...(2)  
84. <P I agree with you P> [muted response]

As noted in chapter three, Cortazzi and Jin (2006: 35-37) highlight Chinese preferred rhetorical modes evident in written applications to undertake Master Degree courses at British universities. When writing the applications, the Chinese applicants followed a cultural trend of using their narratives to establish their identities as moral persons. The data shows that there is no evidence of Taiwanese students using such cultural trends in their spoken narratives. However, as many my students have asked me to edit their written formal applications for university courses and job positions, I have constantly discovered evidence of such cultural trends in the past.

### 5.7 Interaction between Narrator and Listeners

It is manifest that listeners play an important role in determining the amount of a narrative. Sometimes, they will interrupt the process of narration, ask questions to clarify unclear details, give comments or even predict what the narrator is going to say. Moreover, they can co-construct the narrative with the narrator (Sacks, 1974, 1992; Jefferson, 1978). Do the TM and the TEFL listeners ask for more contextualising detail more or less often than in the BE data? The findings show that they do ask questions seeking more contextual detail than in the BE narratives: [TM: 55, TEFL: 99, BE: 29]. This finding does not seem to concur with the notion that in high context societies, speakers are required to provide less contextualising information (See Table 8). However on closer analysis, it is apparent that one individual is responsible for the high frequency of seeking more contextual information (12 times in the TM and 48 times in the TEFL narratives). Overall, this individual is responsible for 39% of such enquiries. Nevertheless, taking her requests for more contextual information into account, it is still manifest that

the Taiwanese listeners ask for considerably more contextualising information than the British listeners (29).

**Table 8: Listeners Asking for Information**

	TM Narratives	TEFL Narratives	BE Narratives
Listeners asking for Contextualising Information	Frequency	Frequency	Frequency
	55	99	29

For example in TM 12 (*Rice Worms and Lazy Civil Servants*), narrator E recalls that her brother served as a soldier in the Ministry of Education where the clerks have “cushy jobs” (lines 1-8). Surprised, listener T exclaims ‘Oh my goodness’ (line 9) and listener C is curious about the time when the public officials leave their office (line 10). Narrator E then supplies more background information (lines 11 to 13). This narrative is also a good example of moral stance taking as an evaluative device (Ochs and Capps, 2001). The narrator adopts a moral stance in her critique of civil servants as being too lazy when they take extended lunch hours.

**TM 12: Rice Worms and Lazy Civil Servants**

9. T: <P 天啊 P>  
       <P tian a P>  
       <P Oh my goodness P>
10. C: 那他們幾點下班?  
       na ta men ji dian xia ban?  
       what time did they (usually) leave their office?
11. E: 下班的話就看工作情況  
       xia ban de hua jiu kan gong zuo chi kuan  
       it depended on the job
12. 如果有事的話 就等到七點  
       ru guo you shi de hua jiu deng dao chi dian  
       if (they were) busy then (they) worked until 7 p.m.
13. 要不然就五點下班這樣子  
       yao bu ran jiu wu dian xia ban zhe yang zi  
       or (they) just left at 5 p.m.

There is also a proliferation of examples showing listeners seeking more detail about events within the TEFL narratives. For example in TEFL 8, when narrator D describes his motorbike accident, listener K is curious about the details of the event.

**TEFL 8: A Car Accident**

31. K: you thought he was going to turn left?  
32. D: yah..so I turned my right turn  
33. and thought I won't hit him  
34. but he....he change..he turn..he turned the right turn  
35. and he hit me..<F **DIRECTLY** F>  
36. at that moment..I fall..I fell down from my motorbike  
37. I felt really <F **PAINFUL** F>  
38. K: were you wearing a helmet?  
39. D: yah..I wear a helmet

Yet again in BE 4 (*Polygamy*), we have evidence of listeners seeking more detail about events. Earlier in the narrative, narrator S discussed his journalistic experience of working in Nigeria. The topic of polygamy in Nigeria emerged in his narrative. He humorously describes a Nigerian general who had many children. Seeking more detailed information, Listener R asks “How many?” (line 25). Narrator S then provides more information to listeners R and H (lines 26, 50, 51, 53, 55, 56).

**BE 4: Polygamy**

25. R: How many?  
26. S: @ the general had <F **ELEVEN** F>from <F **ONE** F> woman@  
49. H: the <F **OFFICIAL** F> wives accept this?  
50. S: the official wives..in most cases don't know  
51. but they <F **SUSPECT** F>  
52. H: <F **YEAH** F> but..if the guy has..say ..an argument with his unofficial second wife...and refuses to support her  
53. S: <F **YEAH** F>  
54. H: does..she..urh..have any recourse to the government.. or legal system...to claim money...financial support?  
55. S: <F **ABSOLUTELY NOT** F>  
56. <acc nobody has any **RECOURSE** in Nigeria acc>

In terms of tellership, there are many examples of response stories in the data (Ryave, 1978; Sacks, 1992). For example, TM 2 (*My Grandmother's Death*) is a response story to TM 1 (*The 921 Earthquake*); TEFL 3 (*Over-Protective Mothers*) is a response story to TEFL 2 (*No One Likes Me*); BE 2 (*Chinese Taboos*) is a response story to BE 1 (*Culture Shock*); BE 3 (*Sharian Law*) is a response story to BE 2 (*Chinese Taboos*). Likewise, BE 5 (*Family Loyalties*) is a response story to BE 4 (*Polygamy*). This finding supports Sacks (1992) claim that when constructing a response story, the listener reinforces understanding of the first teller's story and comments on it.

As noted in chapter 2, some speakers and listeners adopt different roles such as “advice-giver” (Georgakopoulou 2006b). The findings (See Table 9) show that the frequency of Taiwanese speakers and listeners (TM: 31%: TEFL: 41%) adopting the role of advice-giver is much higher than the British speakers and listeners (12%).

**Table 9: Proportion of Narratives in which Listeners Respond by Giving Advice**

<b>Total Number of Narratives</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
<b>TM Narratives (13)</b>	4 (31%)
<b>TEFL Narratives (17)</b>	7 (41%)
<b>BE Narratives (17)</b>	2 (12%)

The hierarchy of one particular conversationalist is evident in TEFL 3 (*Over-Protective Mothers*). Listener B gives advice on the importance of child-parent communication and child independence (lines 46-48 and 52). She advises her anxious classmate to discuss her problems with her father (line 86) and then advises her that she should not regard her parents as being in total control of her life (lines 92-99). This

narrative is also a good example of moral stance taking (Ochs and Capps, 2001). Listener

B adopts a moral stance in her critique of narrator L's parents (Lines 95-98).

**TEFL 3 (Over-Protective Mothers)** [Omitted Clauses]

1. L: I want to talk about my mother
2. she doesn't always like me to go out with a boy
3. she think a girl should stay at home [Everyone laughs]
46. B: <F **CHILDREN** F> need to..to..how to..<F **HOW TO TALK** F> acc>
47. how to F **COMMUNICATE** F> with their parents because they are..they are..they grown-up
48. and they..they should be independent..not always dependent on their parents or older brothers..sisters
52. but children not..children can't always follow indication from their parents
86. I think you should discuss with your father @ [Everyone laughs]
92. maybe..you three will sit and discuss the..errh
93. <acc you are an adult now
94. you have to deal a lot of things by yourself acc>
95. and erhh..they are <F **NOT YOUR MASTER** F>
96. they are...<F **JUST YOUR PARENTS** F>
97. <acc they can't **CONTROL** your life acc>
98. and they can't control..your destiny..control <F **EVERYTHING** F>
99. so you should to learn how to <F **COMMUNICATE** F> with your parents acc>

Although this finding shows a greater frequency in the adoption of the role of advice-giver between the Taiwanese and British speakers and listeners, this variation may be easily explained by the fact that the Taiwanese students are much closer friends as they share accommodations on campus and share their daily lives much more than the British students. Moreover, most of the advice-giving was offered by Taiwanese listener B, a "class leader" so she may have felt it was her special role to give advice to her classmates. In the British university system, there is no equivalent to a "class leader". Indeed, she may have been performing her "enactment of self" in terms of showing how much authority or dominance she held within the group of conversationalists (Scollon and Scollon 1981). The findings suggest some differences in the role of advice-giver between the Taiwanese and British narrators. For example, in BE 8 (*Photographic*

*Memories of Venice*), listener AM (line 30) and listener A (line 62) offer advice on holiday activities.

**BE 8 Photographic Memories of Venice** [Omitted Clauses]

30. AM: when you go to Venice you <F **HAVE** F> to buy a mask..<F **MASKS** F>

62. A: there's plenty to see in Venice even if you don't see

The two solitary examples of advice given by British listeners seem rather shallow compared to the more personal advice offered by the Taiwanese listeners. Although we may be tempted to conclude that the frequency of Taiwanese listeners adopting the role of advice-giver underscores their membership of a high-context society which stresses closer personal relationships, the data do not support such a conclusion. The variance in the findings between the TM and TEFL narratives may be explained by the presence of the native English speaker. As stated in chapter 4, it was hoped that the inclusion of a native English speaker might have promoted greater narrative production from the EFL students, and perhaps greater use of L2 discourse norms. Taiwanese L2 learners have a limited exposure to English L2 communities and most tend to be passive in the presence of native English speakers. Nevertheless, some are extremely keen to practice their L2 skills with foreigners as much as possible. The decision to use a native English speaker in the TEFL groups seems to have had a positive influence.



## 5.8 Summary

In summary, it seems that within the three sets of narratives, past experiences, in general, are recounted in chronological order, and the organisation of stories follows the sequencing defined by Labov (1972): abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution, and coda. It would also seem to be the case that the amount of abstract use is similar in the three sets of narratives, and they each support Labov's (1972) definition of an abstract.

Overall, it is evident that there is a similar use of orientation at the beginning of the three sets of narratives and that orientation has no actual fixed position. It is also clear that there are similarities and differences within the three sets of narratives in relation to characterisation, and that within the BE narratives, there is a greater diversity of location, educational settings, and characters mentioned.

The data shows some variance with Labov's (1972) study in terms of the relationship between complicating action, resolution and evaluation. Generally, the findings demonstrate that the use of evaluation is both abundant and diverse. In terms of external evaluative strategies, it is clear the BE narrators use much more evaluation in addressing the listeners directly. In terms of narrators making an evaluation before a resolution and after a resolution, the results reveal a similar variance in the three sets of narratives. In terms of internal evaluation, the variance of adverb usage is considerable. Moreover, the use of *utterance-final particles* is abundant within the TM narratives.

Another finding is that repetition is frequently used to heighten the dramatic emotional effect of a narrative performance within the three sets of narratives. An additional finding is that interlocutors support the point of the narrative at the narrative's conclusion. The findings also reveal that in the TM and TEFL narratives, listeners ask questions seeking more contextual detail than in the BE narratives. It is also evident that some British and Taiwanese narrators use moral stance taking as an evaluation device (Ochs and Capps, 2001). The data also shows that, rhetorically, there is little evidence of Kaplan's (1966) notion of *indirectness*. The Taiwanese students tell their stories in a linear fashion akin to the British students.

In Chapter 6, attention is given to the findings related to the disclosure of public self in the Taiwanese narratives. Attention is also given to the findings related to humour as collaboration in narrative construction and the similarities and differences in functions of laughter. Finally, findings related to learner identity are identified.

## CHAPTER SIX

### PUBLIC SELF, LAUGHTER, AND LEARNER IDENTITY

#### 6. Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the findings related to the disclosure of public self (Barnlund, 1975; Richards and Sukwiwat, 1983) in the TM and TEFL narratives. Attention is also given to the findings related to the functions of laughter within the three sets of narratives. Subsequently, I discuss the findings related to what extent the twelve EFL participants' learner identities may possibly affect their use of L2 discourse norms in their English language narrative productions. Specifically, I discuss how their relationship to the target language is socially and historically constructed (Norton, 2000). The transcripts of the complete interviews are included in Appendix 7.

#### 6.1 Disclosure of Public Self

The findings show variance with Barnlund's (1975) and Richards and Sukwiwats' (1983) claims that Asians do not express their public selves as much as Westerners (See Table 10). On the contrary, the findings show that the Taiwanese narrators and interlocutors do demonstrate verbal intimacy and express their public selves.

**Table 10: Disclosure of Public Self**

	Frequency
TM Narratives	31 (33%)
TEFL Narratives	32 (34%)
BE Narratives	31 (33%)

For example, the frequency of public self disclosure is almost identical within the three sets of narratives (TM: 31, TEFL: 32, BE: 31). I offer three narratives which are examples of stories about trouble or problems that the teller is experiencing. Norrick (2000: 145) defines this type of conversational talk as “trouble talk.” For example, in TM 6, narrator S reveals her public self in disclosing the fact that she cried when her unfaithful boyfriend informed her that he was having an affair with another girl (lines 39 and 40).

**TM 6: My Puppy Love**

38. S: <F 有有 F> 其實我後來 嗯 其實當他跟我講的當天  
           <F YOU YOU F> chi shi wo hou lai en chi shi dang ta gen wo jiang de dang tian  
           <F YES YES F> in fact I finally..erhh...the day when he told me the truth
39. 我 <P 哭 P>  
       wo <P ku P>  
       I <P cried P>
40. 我 <P 狂哭 真的狂哭 P>  
       wo <P kuang ku..zhen de kuang ku P>  
       I <P cried intensely.. really cried intensely P>

In TEFL 2, narrator G discloses her public self when she gives a highly intimate account of being discriminated against when she was at high-school. She evidently describes feeling “upset, nervous, and frustrated” (65-66). She describes how she felt mistrustful (line 78) and how hurt she felt (line 80). It is evident that she is not communicating with her listeners on a superficial level and she is certainly not being defensive (Barnlund, 1975).

**TEFL 2: Nobody Likes Me**

65. G: very upset::
66. and I just get very nervous:: and frustrated
78. I could not open my mind:: or trust teacher for a long time
80. I think everyone want to < F HURT F> me..use me.. tease me acc>

Likewise, the British narrators are extremely capable of disclosing their public selves to their listeners. For example in BE 16, narrator T discloses her public self when she recounts an embarrassing experience (line 3). She reports her sense of alarm at making presentations (line 17) and that she is still “terrified” of making presentations (line 116).

**BE 16: Making Presentations**

3. T: it was very <P embarrassing P>

17. @ I was <F **TERRIFIED** F> out of my mind @ [Laughter]

116. and yeah...I'm <F **STILL** F> terrified...before I give a lecture

Although the data shows that the Taiwanese students' disclosure of public self is similar to the British students, the sample is very small so we cannot claim that Barnlund's (1975) and Richards and Sukwiwats' (1983) findings are inaccurate.

## 6.2 Functions of Laughter

The findings show that laughter itself is not clear-cut and indicates a variety of emotions or reactions (Holmes, 2000). The findings (See Table 11) suggest that the overall frequency of laughter is higher in the combined Taiwanese narratives (TM: 17; TEFL: 55) than in the BE narratives (34). The variance in the TM narratives may be explained by the serious content of the narratives: death, tragedy, spiritual presences etc. In addition, when we look at the different functions of laughter, there is variance. For example, the most common functions evident in the TM narratives are teasing, (10) and sarcasm (5). In the TEFL narratives, the three most common functions are teasing (37) and self-deprecation (5) and intimacy (5). However in the BE narratives, the most common functions evident are teasing (14) and sarcasm (11). So, it is evidently apparent that teasing is the most common function of laughter within the three sets of narratives. It

is not surprising that there is no evidence of self-deprecation within the TM narratives as many of these narratives recounts personal tragedies and spiritual issues. Although the data reveals that the amount of intimacy exhibited in the TM (3) and TEFL (5) narratives is much higher than the BE narratives (1), we cannot presume that British students are less intimate in their storytelling. This variance may be explained by the fact that the Taiwanese students were all close friends and classmates, and some even shared a dormitory on campus; whereas, the British students were not close friends and lived in separate university apartments. The data also reveals that Taiwanese (3) and British students used mimicry (3) to the same extent. In summary, it is clear that some functions of laughter build a sense of solidarity in the three sets of narratives (Martineau, 1972; Norrick, 1993; Devereux and Ginsburg, 2001).

**Table 11: Differences in Functions of Laughter**

<b>Humour</b>	<b>TM Narratives</b>	<b>TEFL Narratives</b>	<b>BE Narratives</b>
<b>Frequency of Laughter</b>	17	55	34
<b>Teasing</b>	10	37	14
<b>Self-deprecation</b>	0	5	5
<b>Intimacy</b>	2	5	1
<b>Boasting</b>	0	2	0
<b>Sarcasm</b>	5	4	11
<b>Mimicry</b>	0	2	3

### 6.2.1 Teasing

Teasing is apparent in TM 2 (*My Grandmother's Death*). For example, narrator S describes a dream in which her deceased grandmother tells her she wants become her daughter-in-law in a future life (line 19). Listeners B and J react by laughing hilariously for more than eight seconds (line 20). At this point, the conversation develops into fantasy talk and repartee. Between lines 21 and 22, narrator S continues this banter and informs her listeners that she had already made a pact with her grandmother and it was a confirmed deal. Lightheartedly, listener B enquires if narrator S will become her grandmother's daughter-in-law or if her grandmother will become her daughter-in-law (line 23). Her response 她做我媳婦 *ta zuo wo shifu* (*she will become my daughter-in-law*) causes another episode of extended laughter (line 24). Another occurrence of laughter arises when listener B asks when this will happen (line 25). In jest, narrator S teasingly confirms that her grandmother would become her daughter-in-law in the next life (line 26). In line 27, listener B mischievously suggests to narrator S 媽咪呀 妳以後妳兒子長大 哈哈 看一下 *mami ya ni yi hou ni er zi chang da haha kan yi xiao* (*oh mother you when your son grows up (you should) have a look at her*).

#### **TM 2: My Grandmother's Death**

19. S: <acc 她跟我說什麼 下輩子要做我的媳婦 acc>  
<acc ta gen wo shuo she mo xiao bei zi yao zuo wo de shi fu acc>  
<acc she said something like that (she) wanted to be my daughter-in-law acc>  
20. B + J: **[Extended Loud Laughter for more than 8 seconds]**  
21. S: 她都跟我預約好了  
ta dou gen wo yu yue hao le  
she (has) made (a) pact with me already  
22. 然後我說 <Q 好 一言為定 Q>  
ran hou wo shuo <Q hao..yi-yin-wei-ding Q>  
then I said <Q ok..(its) a deal Q>

23. B: <acc 是妳做她媳婦 還是她做妳媳婦? acc>  
 <acc shi ni zuo ta shifu hai shi ta zuo ni shifu? acc>  
 <acc will you become her daughter-in-law or will she become your daughter-in-law? acc>
24. S: 她做我媳婦  
 ta zuo wo shifu  
 she will become my daughter-in-law **[Extended Loud Laughter]**
25. B: @ 下輩子是她的下輩子囉 還是你的下輩子?@  
 @ xiao bei zi shi ta de xiao bei zi lo hai shi ni de xiao bei zi?@  
 @ is it (during) her next life or your next life? @
26. S: <P 她跟我說她下輩子要當我的媳婦 P>  
 <P ta gen wo shuo ta xiao bei zi yao dang wo de shifu P>  
 <P she said to me that she will become my daughter-in-law in her next life P>
27. B: <F 媽咪呀 F> @ 妳以後..妳兒子長大 哈哈 看一下.@  
 <F MAMI YA F>.. @ ni yi hou ni er zi chang da haha kan yi xiao @  
 <F OH MOTHER F> @ you..when your son grows up (you should) have a look at (her)@ **[Laughter]**

Another example of teasing is evident in the response story TEFL 3 (*Over-Protective Mothers*). Listener B complains about narrator L's over-protective mother not giving her sufficient freedom (lines 62-64). Narrator L seems to suggest that university students should have more independence. Showing support, listener G (line 67) teasingly asks if narrator L has ever fought with her mother. Listener B teases narrator L by lightheartedly suggesting that she should kill her mother (line 68).

### **TEFL 3: Over-Protective Mothers**

62. B: <acc you don't have free time? acc>  
 63. <acc you don't have free action? acc>  
 64. <acc you don't have free choice? acc>  
 65. L: for students who enter university  
 66. B: but you know..you are..<F YOU ARE F>  
 67. G: @ have you ever <F FIGHT? F> @ **[Everyone laughs]**  
 68. B: @ <F KILL..KILL F>@ **[Laughing]**



Teasing is also apparent in BE 4 (*Polygamy*). Earlier in his narrative, narrator S discussed the rights of women. He then proceeds to talk about women's rights in Nigeria. Apparently, the Nigerian government had decreed that each family should have no more than four children. He teasingly tells listener R that the Nigerian general who initially suggested this decree had "eleven children from one woman" (line 26).

#### **BE 4: Polygamy**

18. S: because my Nigerian friend didn't actually see it as a legal issue  
 19. he didn't think that you could <F **LEGISLATE** F> that...y'know..errh  
 20. < acc the interesting thing was that the general who originally suggested that  
 families should be restricted to four children  
 21. actually had only <F **FOUR** F> children  
 22. but after he resigned  
 23. another general took over acc>  
 24. @ guess how <F **MANY** F> the general had?@ [**Laughter**]  
 25. R: How many?  
 26. S: @ the general had <F **ELEVEN** F>from <F **ONE** F> woman @  
[**Everyone laughs**]

### 6.2.2 Sarcasm

When we add the combined examples of sarcasm evident in the TM and TEFL narratives (9), there is little difference of sarcasm usage in the BE narratives (11). The use of sarcasm is evident in TM 12 (*Rice Worms and Lazy Civil Servants*). Earlier in her narrative, narrator E states that her brother worked in the Taiwanese Ministry of Education. She then complains about the civil servants taking extended lunch hours and being able to get free lunches. Despite taking such extended lunch hours, the civil servants sometimes left work at five o'clock (line 13). Sarcastically, listener T remarks that such behaviour is "hard to believe" (line 14).

#### **TM 12: Rice Worms and Lazy Civil Servants**

10. C: 那他們幾點下班?  
 na ta men ji dian xia ban?  
 what time did they (usually) leave their office?

11. E: 下班的話就看工作情況  
xia ban de hua jiu kan gong zuo chi kuan  
it depended on the job
12. 如果有事的話 就等到七點  
ru guo you shi de hua jiu deng dao chi dian  
if (they were) busy then (they) worked until 7 p.m.
13. 要不然就五點下班這樣子  
yao bu ran jiu wu dian xia ban zhe yang zi  
or (they) just left at 5 p.m.
14. T: @ 難以置信 @  
@ nai yi zhi shin @  
@ hard to believe @ [Laughter]

In BE 8, a British student couple share their photographic holiday memories of their trip to Venice. Sarcasm is evident when narrator A visits St. Mark's Square in Venice (lines 1-3). He implies that holidaying in Venice is expensive by sarcastically making two acerbic remarks that "*the birds are extra*" (line 5) and "*you had to pay for the birds*" (line 6). In fact, his sarcastic humour continues when he comments that there are "*some real people in Venice*" implying that there are too many tourists in Venice (line 49). Then, listener F sarcastically asks "*so these people really do exist?*" (line 52).

**BE 8: Photographic Memories of Venice** [Omitted Clauses]

1. A: I took this one of a mural in Venice because it looks like murals at home
2. it went on for another fifty yards..consisting entirely of pastiches of Renaissance and pre-Renaissance artworks
3. it was an <F **EXTRAORDINARY** F> thing
4. AM: that's Saint Mark's Square [points to another photo]
5. A: birds are <F **EXTRA** F>
6. @ you had to < F **PAY** F> for the birds...yeah@ [Laughter]
49. A: there are <F **SOME** F> real people in Venice as well
50. we went out looking for them...like all foreign tourists
51. we tried to find the bits where the ordinary Venetians live
52. F: @ so...these people **REALLY** do **EXIST?** @ [Laughter]

### 6.3 TEFL Learner Identities

It is clear that identity and language learning has a strong linkage. One of the main research questions of the present study has been to analyse social identity and language learning. I have attempted to highlight the relationship between the Taiwanese L2 learners and the learning context. In this study, I argue that every time language learners speak, they are not only sharing knowledge with their listeners but also continually constructing and reconstructing their identities in the social world. On close examination of the TEFL narratives and the responses in the interviews, it is clear that all the TEFL participants made multiple syntactical and lexical errors. A probable reason for such errors may be due to transference from their native language (Mandarin) to the target language. However, the identification of such errors is not the purpose of this study. As noted earlier, I intended to explore to what extent the twelve TEFL learner identities may possibly affect their use of L2 discourse norms (See Table 12). For reasons of confidentiality, each participant's real name has been encoded and given a capital letter. Specifically, I discuss how their relationship to the target language is socially and historically constructed (Norton, 2000). Particular attention is given to Norton's three defining characteristics of *subjectivity*: (a) the *multiple, non-unitary* nature of the subject, (b) *subjectivity* as a site of struggle, and (c) *subjectivity* as changing over time. Discussion is also given to how the students' *instrumental motivation* and *integrative motivation* (Gardner and Lambert, 1972), lack of confidence, anxiety and low motivation (Krashen, 1982), and the notion of *locus of control* (Norton Peirce et al., 1993) may affect their adoption of L2 discourse norms in their narrative production.

**Table 12: Factors Related to TEFL Learners' L2 Discourse Norms**

<b>Name</b>	<b>First Time Learning English</b>	<b>Integrative Motivation</b>	<b>Locus of Control</b>	<b>Opportunities Taken to Speak to Anglophones</b>	<b>Level of Anxiety</b>
<b>Kevin</b>	Elementary /Cram school	high	strong	many	low
<b>Vicky</b>	Kindergarten/Cram school	low	weak	few	high
<b>Daniel</b>	Junior high/Cram school	high	strong	many	low
<b>Martina</b>	Junior high	low	weak	few	low
<b>Bonny</b>	Junior high	high	weak	many	low
<b>Sharon</b>	Elementary/Cram school	low	weak	many	low
<b>Grace</b>	Junior high/Cram school	high	weak	few	low
<b>Jamie</b>	Junior high	low	weak	few	high
<b>Lucy</b>	Elementary/Cram school	low	weak	few	low
<b>Claire</b>	Elementary/Cram school	low	weak	few	low
<b>Eva</b>	Elementary/Cram school	low	weak	few	high
<b>Teresa</b>	Elementary/Cram school	high	strong	many	low

### 6.3.1 Kevin (K)

Kevin is the narrator in the TEFL 7: *Teaching Strategy* narrative and a listener in the TEFL 8: *Car Accident* and TEFL 9: *Cram School* narratives. When I first met Kevin, I was impressed by his extrovert nature, sense of humour, and his enthusiasm for learning English. Since the first data collection, Kevin has now graduated but continues to show strong interest in learning English. Since leaving university, Kevin had to withdraw from his military training (most Taiwanese males are conscripted into the army after university). During this interval, he changed his “dream” of becoming an English language teacher to becoming an air-traffic controller in the Taiwanese Air Force. Sadly, after completing the medical examination, he was informed that he was suffering from *Hodgkin’s Disease*, a type of cancer. Consequently, Kevin had to undergo chemotherapy treatment.<sup>1</sup> Kevin’s early investment (Norton, 2000) in English language learning was due to parental influence. His statement “my parents were worried that if I didn’t learn English earlier, my English ability might be behind other students” must be understood in terms of a Taiwanese educational system which encourages elementary school students to undertake extra English lessons in preparation for junior high-school admission. In Taiwan, being accepted by a highly reputable high-school is the first step towards being accepted by a highly reputable national university. His desire to learn English well is demonstrated by his criticism of some English language conversation text books. They were “too easy too simple to develop real conversational skills.” In addition, he organised a special “English” time every night in his dormitory when he and his roommates practiced their English speaking skills. Kevin’s investment in English must be understood

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<sup>1</sup> For ethical reasons, I contacted Kevin by phone to ensure that he had recovered enough to engage in a short interview. He informed me that he had made a remarkable recovery and that he was looking forward to the interview. In fact, he was acting as a caretaker to his sick uncle.

in terms of his *instrumental motivation* and *integrative motivation* (Gardner and Lambert 1972). Kevin's main aspirations were to be an English teacher or an air-traffic controller (*instrumental motivation*) and to share his love of the English language with others (*integrative motivation*). His response "I think it is important to speak English like a native-speaker - otherwise why shall we learn it?" demonstrates his integrative approach to English language and his fondness for the target language. His efforts to assimilate into the target language's culture is reflected in his witty references to the American TV series *Star Trek*: "English is the final frontier - these EFL students are on a continuing mission to seek out new English vocabularies to explore strange new worlds - to boldly go where no EFL student has gone before." Kevin's integrative approach is further underlined when he took every opportunity to speak to his foreign teachers and conversed about American and British culture with them. Moreover, he attempted to develop friendships with them. As a result, the power difference between him as a language learner became lesser and thus generated greater interaction with his ESL teachers. Falk (1978) claims that the most successful L2 learners are those who like the people that speak the language, respect the culture and have a wish to become familiar with or even assimilate into the society in which the language is used. The influence of American culture is also reflected in his comment: "Not surprisingly we are raised up by Americans - national defense finance so it's far beyond imagination that we have not only to learn good English but learn it well." Kevin suggests he might pursue a postgraduate course and perhaps immigrate to America and become a member of an English-speaking community. In terms of identity as the *non-unitary self* where identity is envisaged as multiple, Kevin's identity shifted between an AEL university newspaper editor, an assistant in a language

centre, a cram school teacher, a host/tour guide and a worker in McDonald's when he went to America. All these identities were constructed in various sites of struggle which were constructed by relations of power in which he assumed different subject positions. His conception of himself as a language learner changed over time as he developed more social networks with anglophones in McDonald's, the army, Taiwanese English-speaking doctors anglophone patients, and as a public speaker in a Christian church. In terms of *locus of control* (Norton Peirce et al., 1993), Kevin felt confident enough to control the rate of flow of information in communicative events with native English speakers. Overall, Kevin's learner identity shows that he has high motivation and self-confidence in learning a second language.

### 6.3.2 Vicky (V)

Vicky has now graduated and is an English language teacher in a cram school. She was the narrator in TEFL 13: *Spring Break in America*, TEFL 14: *Handsome but Married* and the TEFL 15: *Yummy but too Salty* narratives. Vicky's English language learning began in kindergarten and continued when her mother sent her to a cram school. In contrast to Kevin's dedication to language learning, Vicky's early commitment to English language learning was not impressive. In fact, she had been expelled from her first university for being an irresponsible student. Moreover, she had violated the expectations of her parents and vividly describes the time when she received the letter informing her of her expulsion from university and how her father was extremely disappointed. She tells how her parents finally realised she was not a diligent student: "I didn't study - didn't go to classes so I didn't do well on my English exams - I cried almost every day." No wonder then that Vicky showed lack of confidence, anxiety and low motivation

(Krashen, 1982). Moreover, her anxiety became more intense when her father became increasingly irate. However, he encouraged her to take a transfer exam and told her that she had “a talent for language learning.” Nevertheless, she responded positively to her father’s encouragement: “It let me know how deep they love me - now I know the only way to pay them back is do my best on every thing and get a good steady job so they won’t worry about me anymore.” Vicky’s instrumental motivation is evident when she states: “I wanted to go to America to improve my English skills” and “to find a good job in Taiwan.” Her integrative motivation is apparent when she declares an “English-speaking company in Taiwan is the top choice for me” and in her decision to go to Wisconsin. The employees in the cram school where she worked structured the social relations of power in the workplace. Accordingly, Vicky assumed different subject positions in the cram school, a site of struggle, where she experienced various problems with the students’ parents. She states she was “under stress from the parents, especially their mothers” and also with an arrogant colleague who thought she was “the best teacher.” In contrast to Kevin’s multiple identity roles, Vicky’s roles were limited to being a cram school teacher and a private tutor. In relation to her learner identity changing over a period of time, she redefined her learner identity by adopting a more responsible attitude toward her studies as she did not want to disappoint her father again. In terms of *locus of control*, it is evident that when Vicky communicated with her anglophone teachers, she was not able to control the rate of flow of information. As a result, the power difference between her and them became greater, and thus decreased interaction with them. As Vicky states, “I am very afraid that I only can listen to foreigners and cannot speak to them because they speak too fast.” Overall, her English



speaking skills seems to be affected by her lack of confidence and levels of anxiety (Krashen, 1982).

### 6.3.3 Martina (M)

In the TEFL 8: *A Car Accident* and TEFL 9: *Cram School* narratives Martina played the role of a listener. She has now graduated and is working as a dental nurse. Her English language learning began at junior-high school. Later, she realised that she needed to develop her English language skills in order to obtain work as a dental nurse. Therefore, her instrumental motivation for learning English was for financial gain and for her own personal interest: “I learn English not only for getting a good job in the future but also for my own interest.” In terms of *non-unitary self*, she acquired multiple identities in various sites of struggle: a shop assistant, an English teacher in two cram schools, and a dental nurse. The first site of struggle (home) must be understood in terms of the construction of Martina’s gendered identity within traditional Taiwanese familial expectations for females within a certain temporal order. As Martina states, “many Taiwanese people calculate their life changes according to a social clock whether they are ‘on-time’ for their age or ‘off-time’. Moreover, she struggled to resist the oppression of a father who always “blamed” her for not going to university earlier and “warned” her if studied at university she would “become too old and nobody want to marry” her and “no company” would employ her. Martina’s sacrifice in English language learning is manifest when she states “if I could choose right time to marry - start work - and have a baby or what I want to do - my life would be wonderful.” Furthermore, friends and relatives did not support her in her decision to quit her job in order to study for English examinations. Despite such patriarchal and coercion and lack of familial support, Martina finally

decided to invest in English language study. Another site of struggle was the shop where she worked. Martina had to make a life-changing decision in order to pursue her English language studies. She did not want to have the same destiny as many of her classmates and co-workers. In terms of *locus of control*, she sometimes could not control the rate of flow of information in communicative events between her and her English language teachers because they had strange accents and they spoke too quickly. Her integrative motivation is also apparent when she attempted to develop social networks with anglophones when foreigners came to the dental clinic for treatment: “I always greet them in English. I can have small conversations with them.”

#### 6.3.4 Daniel (D)

When I first met Daniel his enthusiasm for English language learning and his obsession for computer learning were evident. He was the narrator of the TEFL 8: *A Car Accident* and the TEFL 9: *Cram School* narratives. Since the first data collection, he has now almost completed a Master’s degree in computer science and will be starting his military service. He hopes to work in the military research section where he will be able to continue his own doctoral research. His English language education commenced at junior high-school and at a cram school. In contrast to Vicky’s limited contact with an anglophone social network, Daniel gained access to many native-English speaking teachers on campus. In addition, he gained access to anglophones when he worked as a part-time secretarial assistant in the AEL office and as an editor of the university English newspaper. He had studied English for future economic advantage and hoped to ultimately to do a doctoral degree. Daniel knew he would have to be a good speaker of English in order to work where he wanted to work and to study in an American university

of his choice. His instrumental motivation is demonstrated when he states: “My dream is to study doctorate in computers and get a job in America.” His integrative investment is apparent when he informs us that he wanted to join a particular English-speaking community on the Internet. Because of Daniel’s computer expertise, he gained access to many anglophones and took every opportunity to practice his English language skills. In terms of subjectivity as a *non-unitary-self*, his learner identity shifted between a teacher in a cram school, a postgraduate computer science student, and as an English language advisor to his fellow students. Moreover, these identities were constructed in various sites of struggle influenced by relations of power (cram school, university). For example, as a cram school teacher, Daniel received criticism from his employer and parents: “They doubt my teaching ability and experience.” Nevertheless, he provided extra tuition and tried to “help the weaker students.” Moreover, his fellow students thought he was “weird” because he spoke English in class and they seemed “suspicious” because they thought he was “showing off.” As a result, he felt marginalised because he was not treated as a member of the ingroup (Tajfel, 1981). However, his identity in the eyes of his fellow students became more complex and their relationship to him began to change. For example, he used his English language skills to become more accepted by them when he acted as their English language advisor. In terms of *locus of control*, it is evident that he lacked confidence in speaking to anglophones when he first went to university but eventually he became more confident in controlling the rate of flow of information when conversing with his anglophone teachers. As Daniel states “I gradually feel that they will listen to me and slow down their speaking speed.” As a result, the power difference

between him as a language learner became lesser and thus generated greater interaction with his teachers.

### 6.3.5 Bonny (B)

Perhaps the reasons for Bonny's commitment to language learning can be explained by her TEFL 4: *My Home-Room Teacher* narrative where she tells her listeners how a generous high-school teacher encouraged her to study harder by offering to pay for her night school fees after Bonny's father had become unemployed. Consequently, Bonny has taken her studies seriously ever since. Bonny states "the best way to return her love is to study hard." Since graduation, Bonny now works as a secretary for an international trading company. Her English language learning started in junior high school and her instrumental motivation is underlined in her desire to work for "an international business company or work abroad" and her wish to "travel the world" after she retires. Her integrative approach to learning is demonstrated by her fondness for the people who are native speakers of the target language and for the culture of the target language (Falk, 1978). This is evident in her decision to visit America to develop her English language proficiency. Moreover, her affection for her American friends is apparent when she states "most of the time, I was with American students and I had to speak English with them. We often chatted about their culture or their hometown" and "I contacted my foreign friends through writing e-mails." Furthermore, Bonny enjoyed talking to her foreign teachers in the classroom and outside the classroom. In terms of *non-unitary-self*, she adopted multiple identities: a part-time worker in an AEL office, and a part-time teacher in a cram school. When in America and working in the AEL office, she tried to develop

her social network of anglophones. Her workplace became a site of struggle on one occasion when her teacher identity was challenged by a student. In terms of *locus of control*, she demonstrated a lack of confidence in her listening skills when communicating with foreign clients: “We have many clients from different countries, some with Germany accent and some with Indonesia’s accent.”

#### 6.3.6 Sharon (S)

Sharon is the narrator in the TEFL 5: *My English Teacher*. From this narrative, it is apparent that her first efforts in English language learning were unsuccessful as she states that she “got only zero scores.” Nonetheless, her English language teacher “influence me very much because of her so I want to study in applied foreign language and I think if I study hard and get good scores it will make my teacher happy.” Consequently, she “got 95 scores” (95%) in her English high-school examinations. Presently, she works as a flight attendant for a Taiwanese airline company. Sharon’s English language learning commenced at elementary school and a cram school. Her instrumental motivation is evident when she states learning English “can get a good job and get more payment in the future.” Her integrative motivation is apparent when she states it is important for a flight attendant to “interact with foreigners and can know the cultural difference.” Moreover, she made every effort to communicate with her native English speaking teachers. Sharon’s learner identity changed over time in various sites of struggle: as a part-time assistant teacher in a cram school and as a flight attendant. In terms of *locus of control*, she sometimes could not control the rate of flow of information with her passengers.

### 6.3.7 Grace (G)

Grace is the narrator in the TEFL 2: *No One Likes Me* and the TEFL 6: *English Language Learning Experience* narratives. She is now working as an assistant teacher in an elementary school. The evolution of Grace's learner identity is complex. In her TEFL 2 narrative, she tells us of her negative experiences at school and how she was alienated by her classmates. Grace states that "no one like me." It seems that the reason for her estrangement was due to the fact that she would take the leftovers from school meals back home with her. Because her classmates teased her she felt "very nervous and frustrated" and she wanted "to run away from school" and "skip the class." She was also alienated by her teacher who she did not trust. Grace states "I could not open my mind or trust teacher for a long time." In short, she was treated as a member of an outgroup (Tajfel, 1981). However, despite such problematic beginnings to her learner identity, she began to show an interest in learning English at a cram school where her teacher was "very kind and she's very nice." Grace showed her determination to study English in her response "I told myself I want to study hard and get great scores." Grace's English language learning began at junior high-school and a cram school. Her instrumental motivation is apparent in her desire to become a teacher and a translator. Her reasons for studying English was for future economic advantage: "I want to get a good job." Her integrative approach to learning the target language is evident in her decision to visit America where she developed social networks with international students. Her affection for people who speak English is apparent when she asserts "I make friends in the world by speaking English" and "I will talk to Americans and Englishmen." In terms of *non-unitary self*, her identity changed several times: a clerk in a store, a teacher in a

community centre, an assistant to a professor, an assistant in the university office, and as a salesperson in a bike factory. In relation to her learner identity being situated in a site of struggle, she felt anxious about speaking English at office meetings: “I feel uncomfortable when I make mistake speaking English in meetings.” She received some criticism from one of her co-workers “My colleague always hate when I speak English with my customer.” Her high-school was another site of struggle when her teacher requested her to read an English passage but she felt so ashamed that she wanted to hide under her desk. In terms of *locus of control*, Grace could not control the rate of flow of information during conversations with her teachers and colleagues which resulted in her having a lack of confidence in speaking English. Hence, the greater the power difference between her as a language learner and her teachers, the target language speakers, the more complex her interaction became.

#### 6.3.8 Jamie (J)

Jamie has now graduated and works for an international business company. In TEFL 1: *Learning the Clarinet*, she discussed her experiences of learning the clarinet and her parent’s financial investment in developing her musical skills. Jamie began to study English at junior high-school. Later, she studied English for future economic advantage: “I want to work for an English-speaking company in Taiwan.” Her instrumental motivation also included possible future job training abroad. Furthermore, her investment in English learning is underlined when she states: “We got to learn English as a language not a school subject.” Her integrative approach to learning the target language is revealed when she declares she wanted to learn “another English speaking country’s culture and

custom.” In terms of *locus of control*, Jamie is not confident in speaking to her anglophone teachers: “When I talk to foreign teachers they talk too quick.” She is also critical about having access to these teachers “Most of the teachers are too busy” and she is anxious about making grammar errors when speaking “My English grammar is not that good.” Despite such anxiety, she went to Australia and New Zealand to gain access to a greater number of anglophones: “I talked a lot and those family members give me confidence to speak in English as well.” In terms of a site of struggle, Jamie faced problems at her international business workplace. It was Jamie’s responsibility to show she was sufficiently competent to undertake linguistically challenging tasks but when she could not understand a Middle-Eastern customer’s accent because he spoke “English quickly, really quickly”, she found herself in a Catch-22 position. She needed to be good at English to get access to anglophones but she could not be fluent until she got access to the group.

### 6.3.9 Lucy (L)

In TEFL 3: *Over-Protective Mothers*, Lucy discussed the problems she encountered with her mother’s over-protective nature and how her mother insisted on her being a diligent student. As Lucy recalls, her mother insisted that she should “study, study, study” and to be “a master in language.” When asked by Bonny if she had any really interest in language learning, she replied “not really.” She now works as a secretary in her father’s international business company. It is patent that Lucy did not enjoy her early experiences of learning English: “I didn’t like learning English at first”. It is also evident that she was coerced by her mother into learning English at a cram school: “My parents



give me lots of pressure” and that she needed to get good grades to enter the “best high-school.” Moreover, her mother expected her to work in the family business: “My Mum want me to work in father’s company.” Her instrumental motivation is evident when she states “I study English for my career...it is important if I want to get a good job.” Her integrative motivation and her desire to learn English to join her father’s internal business company. Furthermore, her affection for the speakers of the target language is manifest when she declares “I get chances to deal business with people from other countries as well as learn to get along with them.” In addition, her integrative approach to language learning is obvious when she developed her social network of anglophones in America and Canada where she became more confident in speaking English: “I have more guts to speak out.” Lucy also liked to “communicate with foreigners in Taiwan.” However in terms of *locus of control*, she was not totally confident in communicating with her anglophone teachers because they “talk too quickly.” She states “I am too shy to speak to foreigners for a long time. It is part of Taiwanese culture not to “lose face” especially in front of teachers.” In terms of identity as the *non-unitary self*, where identity is envisaged as multiple and changing over a period of time, Lucy’s work experience was rather limited in contrast to the other TEFL speakers. It seems her mother did not encourage her to work: “I don’t really have part-time job because my mother don’t like the idea - she think I have to focus on study.” As a result, her learner identity shifted between a part-time assistant secretary at the AEL office and her present job.

### 6.3.10 Claire (C)

In TEFL 16: *A Princess in the U.S.A.* and TEFL 17: *Shopping in America*, Claire gives an account of her experiences in America. Claire has now graduated and presently works as an English language teacher in a cram school. Claire began her English language learning at a cram school. Her investment in English was influenced by parental pressure: “I don’t like to learn English because that was not my interest.” Her instrumental motivation in learning English was to be accepted by a reputable high-school: “To pass – to get good grades for high-school entrance exam.” Her instrumental motivation was also for financial gain: “I could increase salary.” Her integrative motivation is clear when she declares she wants “to communicate with foreigners...English is the tool for communication with foreigners.” It is also reflected in her comment “when I talked with foreigners I couldn’t express what I wanted to. It was the main motivation for me to learn English.” Her integrative approach to language learning is evident in her decision to visit America in order to improve her English language proficiency, the expansion of her anglophone social network and her desire to learn more about American culture: “my home-stay family helped me a lot. I also learn a lot about American culture. I watched American TV and bought some English novels and magazines.” Claire’s conversations with her foreign teachers were limited: “the conversation is not long.” In terms of *locus of control*, Lucy points out that “most of people are afraid of speaking foreign language because they are afraid of speaking wrong answer or wrong grammar and it results people learning English.” In terms of a site of struggle (workplace), she had to change her identity from being a learner with low self-esteem who did not like to communicate with strangers or her students’ parents. She

states “That was a big challenge for me because I didn’t like to talk to stranger...but also to their parents.” However, her cousin and other co-workers helped to become more confident.

#### 6.3.11 Eva (E)

In TEFL 10: *Sit and Smile!* Eva gives an amusing account of her experiences in America and an episode about her home-stay family’s pet dog. Eva now works as a secretary for an international business company in Taiwan. Eva began studying English at elementary school. Her primary investment in English language learning was influenced by parental and familial pressure. Her family was well-educated and their expectations for her were high. As a result, she experienced extreme anxiety when her father criticised her poor exam results: “I cried and I decide not to talk to him about two months.” Likewise, she detested her cram school teacher because she had to do tests every week for which she received low grades. Consequently, she had a sense of low self-esteem: “I am not a smart daughter so that I usually has low grades in English.” Eva’s instrumental motivation was for financial gain in her future career. Her integrative approach to language learning is apparent when she states that she intended to work within a particular English speaking community: “I want to work for an English-speaking company in Taiwan.” In terms of identity as the *non-unitary self* where identity is envisaged as multiple and changing over a period of time, Eva’s identify shifted between being a reluctant language learner, a part-time English teacher in cram school and a secretary for an international business company. Moreover, these identities were constructed in various sites of struggle which were constructed by relations of power in

which she assumed different subject positions: “My boss was really angry with me but he gave me another chance. The other workers in the office laughed at me.” In terms of *locus of control*, Eva sometimes failed to control the rate of flow of information when communicating with foreign clients: “Sometimes they talk too quickly and I don’t understand what they say.” As a result, she suffered from extreme anxiety: “I will be under lots stress...I am afraid of making mistakes again.” Moreover, her anxiety in speaking English is evident when she speaks English to a crowd of people” “I feel uncomfortable when speaking English under this circumstance” and also when her parents stand by her side: “that will make me feel uncomfortable as well.”

#### 6.3.12 Teresa (T)

When I first met Teresa, I was impressed by her extrovert personality and her sense of humour. Her humour is evident in TEFL 11: *Experiences in America* and TEFL 12: *Can You Speak Chinese?* narratives. Since the first data collection, Teresa is now working as a secretary for a Taiwanese business organisation where she needs to communicate with clients in English. She also has aspirations to study for a postgraduate qualification in Business Management. Teresa began learning English in a cram school when she was an elementary school student. Her instrumental motivation is manifest in her comment “I hoped that I could find a job much easier than others if I studied English.” In short, she invested in English because of future financial gain. Her integrative motivation is obvious in her comment “My goal was to be an employee in English-speaking Company.” Her integrative approach to language learning is also apparent in her remarks about visiting America and Holland. Moreover, her fondness for

anglophones is evident when she states “I love to chat with people who are from English-speaking countries so I can improve my English ability and realise what differences in how people think in some things between Taiwanese and Western cultures.” In terms of identity as the *non-unitary self* where identity is envisaged as multiple, Teresa’s identity shifted between an a part-time tutor at cram school, a 7-11 shop assistant, a secretary and a part-time postgraduate student. All these identities were created in various sites of struggle which were constructed by relations of power in which she assumed different subject positions. Her conception of herself as a language learner changed over time as she developed more social networks with anglophones in her job as a secretary.

#### 6.4 Summary

It is evident that that the Taiwanese narrators and interlocutors do demonstrate their public selves in their narrative productions and in their responses to the interview questions. Even though the findings do not concur with Barnlund’s (1975) and Richards and Sukwiwats’ (1983) claims that Asians do not express their public selves; the sample in this study is extremely small, so we cannot claim that the findings of Barnlund, Richards and Sukwiwat are not valid.

The findings show that the overall frequency of laughter is higher in the combined Taiwanese narratives than in the BE narratives. This may be explained by the fact that the Taiwanese students were much closer friends than the British students. Hence, laughter was used to demonstrate intimacy and solidarity (Martineau, 1972; Norrick, 1993; Devereux and Ginsburg, 2001).

The findings also show variance in the different functions of laughter. Teasing is the most common function of laughter within the three sets of narratives. It is also evident that there is little disparity in the frequency of sarcasm between the Taiwanese and British participants.

The findings in relation to learner identity show that the TEFL students' learning and identities are intertwined. Their learning difficulties may be explained by social, cultural, and historical factors constructed in the interaction which the learner has experienced (Vygotsky, 1978). For example, Lucy states that she was "too shy to speak to foreigners" and it is "part of Taiwanese culture not to 'lose face' especially in front of teachers." It is apparent that some TEFL students have difficulty using L2 discourse norms because they are affected by how they perceive themselves i.e. poor language learners. This may be explained by some TEFL students experiencing high levels of anxiety. As a result, they have a low-self of esteem and lack confidence as language learners. For example, Eva experienced difficulty in interacting with speakers of the target language. She states that when communicating with foreign clients, she sometimes failed to control the rate of flow of information "Sometimes they talk too quickly and I don't understand what they say" and "I will be under lots stress...I am afraid of making mistakes again." As such, Eva's problems in using L2 discourse norms are related to *locus of control*. As Vicky states, "I am very afraid that I only can listen to foreigners and cannot speak to them because they speak too fast." When Vicky communicated with her anglophone teachers, she was not able to control the rate of the flow of information. As a result, the power difference between her and them became greater, and thus decreased interaction with

them. As Vicky states, “I am very afraid that I only can listen to foreigners and cannot speak to them because they speak too fast.” Likewise, Lucy points out that “most of people are afraid of speaking foreign language because they are afraid of speaking wrong answer or wrong grammar and it results people learning English.” Claire states that conversations with her anglophone teachers were too limited: “the conversation is not long.” These findings may explain the TEFL students’ failure to use L2 discourse norms.

Although the findings show that most TEFL students demonstrate instrumental and integrative motivation in learning their target language, it is also clear that some show more of an integrative approach than others. For example, Kevin’s integrative approach has shown that he is much more successful in using L2 discourse norms in his narratives and his responses to the interview questions than other L2 learners who have adopted an instrumental approach to learning the target language. It is also apparent that most of the TEFL students first began their investment in English language learning at elementary school age when they were coerced into studying English at cram schools in order to attain high exam scores to get accepted by a “better” junior high-school or senior high-school. This result has serious pedagogical implications for SLA in Taiwan.

In Chapter 7, I will show how I have answered my original research objectives and questions, and bring together the threads of the research to arrive at some general conclusions. I will also show the original knowledge that emerges from my research and give a critical reflection on its limitations. Furthermore, I will identify the pedagogical implications of the study and discuss new directions for further research.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### CONCLUSIONS

#### 7. Introduction

In this chapter, I attempt to underline the significance of the study. I also summarise the main arguments of the study and show how I have answered my original research objectives and questions. I draw together the threads of the research to arrive at some general conclusions and show the original knowledge that emerges from my research. I also make critical reflection on its limitations and identify the pedagogical implications of the study. Finally, I identify new directions for further research using narrative in SLA.

#### 7.1 The Importance of the Study

This study is important because it is the only comparative study to investigate the *tellership* and *tellability* (Labov, 1972; Ochs and Capps, 2001) in Taiwanese Mandarin, Taiwanese English language, and British narratives. It investigates the structural, stylistic and cultural differences between Taiwanese and British narratives. It is original because it fuses cross-cultural narrative research with SLA (Cortazzi and Jin, 2006) in Taiwan. In particular, it uses narrative as a means to investigate Taiwanese L2 learner *investment* in language learning (Bourdieu, 1977; Norton Peirce, 1989, 1995; Norton, 1997, 2000).



## 7.2 Research Questions Revisited

The main research questions and sub questions focused on:

- To what extent, are there structural, stylistic and cultural differences and similarities evident in the TM, TEFL and BE narratives?
- To what extent, do the TEFL learners' identities affect their use of L2 discourse norms, or native speaker discourse norms?
- To what degree are the effects of collectivist versus individualist and low-context versus high-context cultures evident in the TM and TEFL narratives?
- To what extent, do the functions of laughter play in the three sets of narratives?
- To what extent, do the Taiwanese disclose their public selves within the narratives?

## 7.3 Answers to Main Research Questions and Sub-Questions

The findings suggest that I have answered my main research questions and the sub-questions. This study has revealed that there are no major differences between the structure of the Taiwanese and British narratives. For example, past experiences, in general, are recounted in chronological order, and the organisation of stories follows the sequencing defined by Labov (1972): *abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution, and coda*. The quantity of abstract use is similar in the three sets of narratives, and they each sustain Labov's (1972) classification of an abstract. There is a comparable use of orientation at the commencement of the three sets of narratives.

In this study, orientation has no set position. This result may be explained by the narrator not always being conscious of vital information at first; it is only when the story is in progress that the narrator makes a link between a previous circumstance and the narrative events (Ochs, 1997: 196). For instance, descriptive information may be just forgotten and later called to mind by pertinent events. Another reason may be connected to the communication between the narrator and listeners. For example, listeners might ask more descriptive information during the narratives. However, there is some slight variance with Labov's (1972) study in terms of the relationship between complicating action, resolution and evaluation.

In this study, evaluation embedded between the complicating action and the resolution is used less than after the resolution. In terms of external evaluative strategies, it is clear the BE narrators use much more evaluation in addressing the listeners directly. In terms of narrators making an evaluation before a resolution and after a resolution, the results reveal a similar variance in the three sets of narratives. In terms of internal evaluation, the variance of adverb usage is considerable. Generally, the findings show that the use of evaluation is both abundant and diverse. Moreover, the location of the evaluation within the narrative is mainly influenced by the content of the narrative.

This study has demonstrated that in terms of *tellability*, there is little disparity in the three sets of narratives. However, the significance of location within the narratives may suggest some diversity when speaking in L2. This result may be explained by the fact that many of the TEFL narratives recounted students' vacations in America. Nevertheless, the

use of terms such as “*home*” seems to reflect the importance of family values in Taiwanese society, and multiple references to teachers seem to underline the role of teachers in these students’ worlds.

In addition, this study has also revealed that there are no major differences in *tellership* within the three sets of narratives. For instance, the Taiwanese and British students use response stories (Ryave, 1978; Sacks, 1992) and a small number of students adopt different roles such as “advice-giver” (Georgakopoulou 2006b). It is apparent there are multiple active co-tellers within the three sets of narratives. It seems that, rhetorically, the Taiwanese students tell their stories in a linear fashion akin to the British students. This result opposes Kaplan’s (1966) notion of Chinese *indirectness* in discourse but we cannot assume this as the sample is too small.

Additionally, this study has revealed that although the data shows that the Taiwanese students’ disclosure of public self is similar to the British students, the sample is very small, so we cannot claim that Barnlund’s (1975) and Richards and Sukwiwats’ (1983) findings are inaccurate.

Furthermore, this study has also shown that the functions of laughter, as exhibited by the Taiwanese and British students, is not straightforward and indicates an assortment of emotions or reactions (Holmes, 2000). There is also a variance in the functions of laughter: teasing, sarcasm, self-deprecation, and intimacy. We cannot assume that British students are less intimate in their storytelling as the Taiwanese students were all close

friends and classmates. It is clear that some functions of laughter build a sense of solidarity in the three sets of narratives (Martineau, 1972; Norrick, 1993; Devereux and Ginsburg, 2001).

This study has provided some original knowledge into Taiwanese L2 learner identity. It is clear that in learning a second language, identity and language learning are intertwined. When Taiwanese L2 learners *invest* (Bourdieu, 1977; Norton, 2000) in a second language, they develop a greater variety of identities and an increased set of possibilities in the future. Taiwanese L2 learners' investment, then, is not an unchanging personality attribute. It is a construct that attempts to comprehend the relationship of the Taiwanese L2 learner to the bigger, shifting, social world to look for all-embracing explanations for success or failure in language learning. The Taiwanese L2 learner has a multifaceted identity that is best understood in the context of wider social, historical, and economic processes. We can also conclude from the findings that Taiwanese L2 learners are both the *site* and the *subjects* of the discursive struggle for their identity (Weedon, 1987).

This study has shown that Taiwanese L2 learners, at diverse stages in the language learning process, need to interact with speakers of the target language and that some encounter difficulty in power relationships when interacting with native English speaking teachers in relation to *locus of control* (Spolsky, 1989; Norton Peirce et al. 1993). The findings in this study have underscored the notion that social identity is an integral part of

language learning and language learning is an ongoing process of construction and negotiation.

This study has revealed that the Taiwanese L2 learner does not have a unified, coherent, ahistorical identity that is unchanging across time and space. In fact, the findings show that the Taiwanese L2 learners' identity is non-unitary and develops in various sites of struggle (Norton, 2000). We can also conclude that Taiwanese L2 learners have different degrees of *integrative* and *instrumental* motivation (Gardner and Lambert, 1972) in learning a second language. Some Taiwanese L2 learners approach to language learning support Brown's (1994) claim that L2 learners tend to have a mixture of instrumental and integrative motivation in language learning.

#### 7.4 Pedagogical Implications

This study has pertinent implications for SLA in Taiwan. Although, in the Taiwanese context, language learners may not interact with native English speakers on a regular basis, they nonetheless interact with a broad variety of texts relevant to the target language i.e., English language textbooks. L2 learners' comprehension of a target language text underscores their identity because readers transfer their identities to the text and they explore possible new identities within the text. Research on the use of English language textbooks has underlined struggles over identity. For instance, Canagarajah's (1993, 1999) research in Sri Lanka, confirms that English language learners may be unsure about the textbooks they use in their English language courses. Sunderland (1994) has looked into gender stereotypes in language textbooks.

This study has highlighted that an L2 learner's *locus of control* is crucial in his or her access to native English speaking teachers in Taiwanese schools and universities. Furthermore, the results of this study may contradict the notion that some EFL university departments may be comfort zones of learning. On the contrary, they may be "sites of struggle" for many L2 learners. Many native English speaking EFL teachers in Taiwan may not be aware that their students experience great difficulty in understanding what is being said due to the speed of information being relayed in conversations with their teachers and other anglophones. Such consequences need to be heeded.

This study has shown that most of the TEFL students first began their investment in English language learning at elementary school age has pedagogical implications for SLA. The majority of these students seem to have been coerced into studying English at cram schools as an extra-curricular activity in order to attain high exam scores so as to get accepted by a "better" junior high-school and senior high-school. Of course, later on, this situation has serious implications for such students being accepted by a "better" university. Preparation for such entrance exams are condensed courses and focus on writing where the retention of grammar rules and vocabulary are given primacy. Such an approach can have a negative effect on language learners' identities. Barab and Duffy (2000) point out that learner identity can be very negative when such practices aim at the production of grades in schools. Such practices may explain why there is little opportunity available for L2 learners to really develop native speaker discourse norms and why they have problems in relation to *locus of control*. A future study might explore how English is taught in Taiwanese schools in order to resolve such problems.

## 7.5 Suggestions for Future Research

In hindsight, my research design (comparing Taiwanese students' narratives in Mandarin and English with British students' narratives in English) seems to be flawed. Recently, there have been several Mandarin courses organised in some national Taiwanese universities to develop native English speakers' Mandarin skills. In a future study, a better model would be to incorporate Taiwanese L2 learners and native English speaking students learning Mandarin.

A future longitudinal comparative study could explore Taiwanese EFL and native English speaking teachers' identities (Cortazzi, 1993). Data could be collected using one-to-one interviews, questionnaires, and group discussions. Further data could be collected using diary-based narratives (Bailey, 1983; Norton, 2000) about both sets of participants' narratives in language teaching.

Furthermore, diary-based narratives and such methods could be used in a larger longitudinal case study which would examine gender differences in the learner identities of Taiwanese male and Taiwanese female senior-high school L2 learners over a period of several years. For example, such a study could trace the development of their learner identities from senior-high school level through to university level. For instance, participants could maintain a diary in which s/he records events and reasons which might affect his or her learner identity and the development or failure of his or her second language acquisition. Over the duration of this longitudinal study, the participants would be asked to complete a number of questionnaires and engage in a series of informal

interviews. Through such research, we might gain access to these students' worlds and understand their motivation and investment in language learning. The study would also provide useful insights into their language learning difficulties inside and outside the classroom and in various sites of struggle changing over a longer period of time than the one in the present study. Particular attention might also focus on their *locus of control* and their access to native English speaking teachers and other anglophones. It is apparent that some TEFL students have difficulty using L2 discourse norms because they are affected by how they perceive themselves i.e. poor language learners. This may be explained by some TEFL students experiencing high levels of anxiety. As a result, they have low self esteem and lack confidence as language learners. Research into how these students exhibit their anxiety (Bailey, 1983) in learning a second language would also be insightful. Overall, a longitudinal case study would provide useful insights for SLA and EFL teachers in Taiwan.

## 7.6 Limitations of the Study

I should acknowledge several shortcomings in my research. As already noted, one limitation is in relation to time as in order to examine the learner identity of L2 learners more carefully; it seems obvious that a greater amount of time is needed to conduct such research. A second limitation of the study is that there is a gender imbalance in the population. The British groups consisted of 6 male and 4 female participants while the Taiwanese groups consisted of 2 male and 10 female participants. Therefore, my analysis of conversational discourse within the Taiwanese narratives covers mostly female participants. The main reason for the failure to recruit male students is due to the fact that



only female students lived on campus and that the male students were reluctant to participate in the study after class hours as many of them lived quite far from the campus. Another reason is due to the fact that 90% of the EFL student population in the university consisted of females. Since Butler (1997) has argued the performative aspect of gender where individuals are encouraged to act to socially prescribed ideas as to what female and males should act like, the preponderance of female participants may be a serious limitation in the study. A third limitation of this study is that the population only consisted of 12 Taiwanese and 10 British participants. In a future cross-cultural study on conversational narratives, a larger sample of participants would yield more comprehensive results that could be compared with greater assurance of conclusiveness.

## 7.7 Summary

In summary, this chapter has pointed out the significance of the study. The main arguments have been summarised and I have shown how I answered my original research objectives and questions. I have discussed some general conclusions of the study and I have revealed the original knowledge that emerges from my research. Additionally, I have made a critical reflection on its limitations, identified the study's pedagogical implications, and identified new directions for further research using narrative in SLA. Although the findings of this study in relation to narrative structure and narrative style are somewhat predictable; this study represents a significant preliminary step into understanding Taiwanese L2 learner identity and it has provided some original knowledge about the problems Taiwanese L2 learners encounter in second language acquisition (SLA). As such, this study has proven to be a worthwhile undertaking.

## **APPENDIX 1**

### **Chafe's (1980) Pear Story Movie**

#### **Synopsis of Movie Plot**

A man is depicted picking pears on a ladder up a pear tree. He then descends the ladder, kneels, and dumps the pears from the pocket of an apron he is wearing into one of the three baskets located under the tree and removes a bandanna from around his neck and wipes off one of the pears and then returns to the ladder and ascends the tree. Toward the end of this sequence, we hear the sound of a goat bleating, and when the pear-picker has re-ascended the tree, another man is seen approaching with a goat on a leash. As they pass by the baskets of pears, the goat strains toward pears but is pulled back by the man and then they disappear into the distance. We then see another close-up of the pear-picker at his work and a boy approaching on a bicycle who stops, gets off his bike, looks up at the pear-picker, puts down his bike, walks toward the baskets, again looks at the pear-picker, picks up a pear, puts it back down, looks once more at the pear-picker, and lifts up a basket of pears. He puts the basket down near his bike; straddles his bike, picks up the basket and places it on the rack in front of the handlebars and rides off. The man continues to pick pears. As the boy makes his escape, a girl on a bicycle approaches from the other direction and as they pass each other, the boy turns to look at the girl and his hat flies off. The front wheel of his bike hits a rock and the bike falls over, the basket is dislodged, the pears spill onto the ground and the boy extricates himself from under the bike and rubs his leg. Three boys assist him in picking up the scattered pears and put them back in the basket. The cyclist sets his bike upright and two other boys lift the basket of pears back onto it, then the cyclist walks off with his bike in the opposite direction of the other three boys. They discover the boy's hat lying on the road, the boy with the paddle ball sees it, picks it up, turns around, and he whistles as he signals the boy to stop. The boy takes three pears out of the basket and offers them to the approaching boy with the hat. They exchange the pears for the hat and the boy keeps going while the boy with the paddle ball runs back to his two companions, to each of whom he hands a pear, and they continue their journey eating their pears. The final scene depicts the three boys merrily passing by the bemused pear-picker who has just discovered that he has only two baskets of pears instead of three.

## APPENDIX 2

### Stills from the Pear Story Movie









### APPENDIX 3

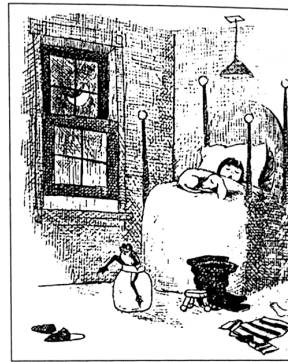
#### FROG, WHERE ARE YOU? by Mercer Mayer



Figure 1: Cover of Mayer's *Frog, Where Are You?*



Picture 1.



Picture 2.



Picture 3.



Picture 4.

Figure 2: The first four illustrations in Mayer's *Frog Narrative* wordless picture book

## APPENDIX 4

### Transcription Symbols

**In the current study, I have used a selection of transcription symbols adopted from Chin (1999) and Tannen (1989).**

?	A question marks a rising intonation contour
...	medium pause
..	short pause
@	laughter
@ <b>funny</b> @	Utterances between two @s indicate that the speaker laughs while speaking the words
< <b>F BOLD F</b> >	speaking loud tempo [ <b>BOLD CAPITALIZATION DENOTES LOUDNESS</b> ]
< <b>Q Q</b> >	Utterances between two Qs indicate its quotation quality
<acc acc>	speaking quick tempo
< <b>P P</b> >	speaking softly
[ ]	transcriber's comment
::	Colons indicate vowel lengthening - the more colons, the longer the sound.

## **APPENDIX 5**

### **Official Consent Form**

**Name of Study:** A Cross-Cultural Study of Taiwanese and British University Students' Oral Narratives

**Name of the participant:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Name of the Principal Investigator:** Miao-Jen Chang

**Name of the Institution:** School of Education, Leicester University, England

**Documentation of the informed consent**

I \_\_\_\_\_ have read the information in this form. I was free to ask any questions and they have been answered. I am over 18 years of age and, exercising my free power of choice, hereby give my consent to be included as a participant in "*A Cross-Cultural Study of Taiwanese and British University Students' Oral Narratives*." I have read and understood this consent form and the information provided to me. I have had the consent document explained to me. I have been informed on the nature of the study. My rights and responsibilities have been explained to me by the investigator. I hereby give permission to the investigators to release the information obtained from me. I have been informed that my identity will be kept confidential if my data are publicly presented.

Participant's Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

**Thank you for your cooperation.**

### **INFORMATION FOR PARTICIPANTS:**

In order to conduct this doctoral study entitled "*A Cross-Cultural Study of Taiwanese and British University Students' Oral Narratives*", the participation of 10 British and 10 Taiwanese university students is essential. As such, you qualify to become a participant in the study. The purpose of the research is to explore the differences and similarities in the narrative discourse of both sets of students. For the purposes of research, each group will consist of 3 or 4 members. Confidentiality in the data obtained from you will be treated in the strictest confidence. Your identity will not be revealed. The participation in this research is purely voluntary and you have the right to withdraw from this study at any time during the course of the study without giving any reasons. If you agree to participate in the study, please complete the form above.



## Appendix 6

### Taiwanese Mandarin Language Narratives (TM)

#### TM 1: The 921 Earthquake<sup>1</sup>

1. S: 921 地震時我們家就在酒廠旁邊  
jiu-er-yi di zhen shi wo men jia jiu zai jiu chang pang bian  
my home was located next to the winery when the 921 earthquake (happened)
2. <acc 那酒廠整個爆炸 acc>  
<acc na jiu chang zheng ge bao zha chuan acc>  
<acc the winery disintegrated completely acc>
3. 我們家附近共有三排房子  
wo men jia fu jin gong you san pai fang zi  
there were three rows of houses near our house
4. 然後那一整排房子 <F 全部下陷 F>  
ran hou na yi zheng pai fang zi <F XUAN BU XIA XIAN F>  
then all the houses <F COMPLETELY COLLAPSED F>
5. 二樓變一樓  
er lou bian yi lou  
the first floor became the ground floor
6. 一樓變地下室這樣子  
yi lou bian di xai shi zhe yang zi  
the ground floor became the basement...something like that
7. G: 那妳怎麼辦?  
na ni ze mo ban?  
what did you do?
8. S: < F 我們也是出來才知道啊 F>  
< F wo me ye shi chu lai cai zhi dao a F>  
< F we also didn't know until we just came out F>
9. <acc 不然也不知道啊 acc>  
<acc bu ran ye bu zhi dao a acc>  
<acc consequently (we) didn't realize (the seriousness of the situation) acc>
10. <acc 然後中間的路也是一樣都下陷了 acc>  
<acc ran hou chong jian de lu ye shi yi yang dou xia xian le acc>  
<acc then the center of the roads also collapsed acc>
11. 然後我們還看到好多人 都..都  
ran hou wo men hai kan dao hao dou en..dou...dou  
then..we also saw many people..(they) all..all
12. B: <F 活埋?被活埋了嗎? F>  
<F HUO MAI? BEI HUO MAI LE MA? F>  
<F BURIED ALIVE? (they were) BURIED ALIVE? F>

<sup>1</sup> The earthquake happened at 1:47 am. on the 21<sup>st</sup> September, 1999. The Richter magnitude scale was measured at 7.3. It was the most serious earthquake recorded in Taiwan in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. 2000 people were killed, 8000 people were injured and 9909 houses collapsed.

13. S: <P 對 整個人都被壓垮了 P>  
 <P dui zheng ge ren dou bei ya kua le P>  
 <P yes..everyone's body was compressed P> [hushed tone]
14. G: <F 好可怕喔 F>  
 <F HAO KE PA WO F>  
 <F REALLY TERRIBLE F>
15. S: 我那時候 本來隔天要模擬考 本來打算要去跟我奶奶睡。  
 wo na shi hou ben lai ge tian yao mo ni kao ben laid a suan yao chug en wo  
 nainai shui  
 at that time..I was going to take my mock examinations next morning..and I  
 intended to sleep with my grandmother
16. 可是我想 <Q 我那麼早起來 可能會吵到我奶奶 Q>  
 ke shi wo xiang <Q wo na mo zao chi lai ken eng hui chao dao wo naiani Q>  
 but I thought <Q I had to get up early..the noise might awaken my grandma Q>
17. 如果我 <F 真的 F> 下去了 <@ 今天我不會在這裡了 @>  
 ru guo wo <F ZHEN DE F> xia chu le <@ jin tian wo bu hui zai zhe li le @>  
 if I <F REALLY F> had gone down(stairs) <@ I wouldn't be here today @>  
 [Laughter]
18. B: 所以你們就搬家了?  
 suo yi..ni men jiu ban jia le?  
 so..you moved (to a new house)?
19. S: < F 沒有 我們是重建啦 F>  
 <F MEI YOU WO MEN SHI CHONG JIAN LA F>  
 <F NO..WE REBUILT THE HOUSE F>
20. <acc 因為整個房子都垮掉了 所以就重建啦 acc>  
 <acc yin wei zheng ge fang zi dou kua diao le suo yi jiu chong jian la acc>  
 <acc because the house collapsed completely..so (we) built (it) again acc>
21. B: 921 <F 真的 F> 讓人家很震撼。  
 jiu-er-yi <F ZHEN DE F> rang ren jia ben zhen han  
 (the) 921 (earthquake) <F REALLY F> shocked people
22. 而且覺得 <PP 生命真的是好脆弱. PP>  
 er chie jue de sheng meen zhen de shi hao chui ruo  
 (I) feel that life is really frail
23. S: <acc 還好我爸爸在家 acc>  
 <acc hai hao wo baba zai yia acc>  
 <acc fortunately my father was at home acc>
24. <acc 因為我們家四個小孩子嘛 acc>  
 < acc yin wei wo men jia sh ge xiao haizi ma acc>  
 <acc because four of us were children acc>
25. <acc 然後我媽一個女人怎麼帶四個小孩 acc>  
 <acc ren hao wo ma yi ge nu ren ze mo dai sh ge xiao haizi acc>  
 <acc then how could my mum take care of four children acc>
26. 而且妳知道嗎?  
 er chie ni zhi dao ma?  
 and (do) you know?

27. 震動第一下的時候 我們家還好  
zhen don di yi xia de shi hou wo men jia hai hao  
(when) the first earthquake (happened)..our house was ok
28. <F 真的還好 F>  
<F **ZHEN DE HAI HAO** F>  
<F **REALLY STILL OK** F>
29. 因為樓梯還好好的  
yin wei louti hai hao hao de  
because the stairs were still there
30. 幸好沒有走樓梯  
shing hao mei you zou louti  
luckily..(we) didn't go (fall) through the stairs
31. 因為第二次大震動時 整個樓梯都垮了  
yin wei di er zi da zhen dong shi zhen ge louti dou kua le  
because (when) the second big earthquake (happened).. the stairs totally collapsed
32. 如果當時走樓梯的話 第一個反應一定是往樓下走  
ru guo dang shi zou louti de hua di yi ge fan ying yi din shi wang xia zou  
if (we) had used the stairs then..the first thing (we would do) was to walk downstairs
33. <F 一定是往樓下走 F>  
<F **YI DIN SHI WANG LOU XIA ZOU** F>  
< F (we would have) **DEFINITELY GONE DOWNSTAIRS** F>
34. 如果走一定餘震  
ru guo zou yi din yu zhen  
if (we) had gone (go downstairs)..(we would have) definitely experienced the second earthquake
35. <acc 不死也會壓死你 acc>  
<acc bu si ye hui ya shi ni acc>  
<acc (we would have) definitely (been) killed then acc>
36. 還好那一下就整個..整個都垮了  
hai hao na yi xia jiu cheng ge..cheng ge dou kau le  
luckily..(the second quake) happened quickly (one short tremor) and the whole (stairway) collapsed
37. 可是很妙的是 我們家後面的牆壁 是從中間破一個洞  
ke shi hen miao de shi wo men jia hou mian de qiang bi shi tzong chong jian po yi ge dong  
but (it was) really incredible the wall behind our house had a big hole in the middle
38. <@ 真的從中間破一個洞 @>  
<@ **ZHEN DE TZONG CHONG JIAN PO YI GE DONG** @>  
<@(the wall) **REALLY HAD A HOLE IN THE MIDDLE**@ [Loud Laughter]
39. <acc 從中間破一個洞喔 acc>  
<acc tzong chong jian po yi ge dong wo acc>  
<acc there was a hole in the middle of the broken wall acc>

40. 然後我們是從那個洞走出去的  
ran hou wo men shi tzong na ge dong zou chu qu de  
then we went outside through the hole
41. 出去才知道那麼嚴重  
chu qu cai zhi dao na mo yan chong  
(we didn't) realize how serious (the situation was) until we were outside
42. 有人說這是 <Q 地牛翻身 Q>  
you ren shuo zhe shi <Q DI-NIU-FAN-SHEN Q>  
some people described the situation as < Q BULL UNDERNEATH THE  
GROUND TURNED ITS BODY OVER Q><sup>2</sup>
43. 我記得我那時候我是國..國三了  
wo ji de won a shi hao wo shi guo..guo san le  
I remember that I was in the third year of my junior high school then
44. 然後那時候學校也是很嚴重 <F 非常非常得嚴重 F>  
ran hou na shi hou shiue xiao ye shi hen yan chong <F FEICHANG  
FEICHANG F> de yan chong  
then.. the school was very seriously.. <F REALLY REALLY F>seriously damaged
45. 簡直是<F 面目全非 F>了  
jian zhi shi < F MIAN-MU-CHUAN-FEI F> le  
(it had) almost <F CHANGED EVERYTHING BEYOND RECOGNITION F>
46. 好笑的是 當大家回到學校時 看到地板都裂開了  
hao xiao de shi dong da jiao hui dao shiue xiao shi kan dao di ban dou lie kai le  
ironically..when we went back to school and saw the broken ground
47. 大家都< F 嚇死 F>了  
da jia dou <F XIA SHI F> le  
we were all <F SCARED F> [scared to die]
48. 但是老師卻叫大家 :< Q 各位同學 不要怕不要怕 Q>  
dan shi lao shi chue jiao da jia < Q GE WEI TONG SHIU BU YAO PA BU YAO  
PA Q>  
but (our) teacher told us <Q EVERYONE..DON'T BE SCARED..DON'T BE  
SCARED Q> [Everyone laughs]
49. 我覺得這是我一輩子都 <F 忘不了 F>的  
wo jue de zhe shi wo yi bei zi dou <F WANG BU LIAO de  
I think it's (an) <F UNFORGETTABLE F> (memory) in my whole life

## TM 2: My Grandmother's Death

1. S: <P 我奶奶在地震時死掉了 P>  
<P wo nainai zai di zhen shi si diao le acc P>  
<P my grandmother died during the earthquake P>
2. 但是我們四個小孩都和我奶奶不親  
dan shi wo men si ge xiao hai dou han wo nainai bu chin  
but four children (the four of us) were not close (to our) grandmother acc>

<sup>2</sup> According to Taiwanese folklore, a large bull lives beneath the earth and every time it rotates its body – an earthquake occurs.

3. 我奶奶過世 <P 我都沒有掉一滴眼淚 P>  
 wo nainai guo shi <P wo dou mei you diao yi di yan lei P>  
 (when) my grandmother passed away <P I didn't drop any tear P>
4. B + G: <P 啊 P>  
           <P ahhh P>  
           <P ahhh P>
5. S: 我 <P 很想哭 P>  
 wo < P hen xiang ku P>  
 I <P think that I would have really liked to cry P>
6. <P 可是我哭不出來 P>  
       <P ke shi wo ku bu chu lai P>  
       <P but I didn't cry P>
7. B: 還是太悲傷了 所以哭不出來?  
 hai shi tai bei shang le suo yi ku bu chu lai?  
 (were you) so sad..(that you) didn't cry?
8. J: 還是妳不知道妳為什麼要哭?  
 hai shi ni bu zhi dao ni wei she mo yao ku?  
 or you didn't know why you should cry?
9. S: 沒有 我知道我奶奶死了  
 mei you wo zhi dao wo nainai si le  
 no.. I knew my grandmother was dead
10. 就要去火葬場火化的時候我知道我應該要哭  
 jiu yao qu huo zang chang huo hua de shi hou wo zhi dao wo yin gai yao ku  
 when (at the funeral) to cremate the body..I knew I should cry
11. <P 可是我眼淚掉不出來 P>  
       <P ke shi wo yanlei diao bu chu lai P>  
       <P but I didn't drop any tear (cry at all)P>
12. J: 事後妳有哭嗎 一直都沒有哭過?  
 shi hou ni you ku ma yi zhi dou mei you ku guo?  
 did you cry after that..never cried about your grandmother's death since?
13. S: 都沒有哭過  
 dou mei you ku guo  
 (I have) never cried
14. 可是 <P 我夢過我奶奶 P>  
 ke shi <P wo mong jian guo wo nainia P>  
 but <P I dreamed about my grandmother P> [hushed tones]
15. J: 她跟妳說什麼?  
 ta gen ni shuo she mo?  
 what did she say to you?
16. S: 我覺得她跟我講話很奇怪  
 wo jue de ta gen wo jiang hua hen chi guai  
 I thought she talked to me in a strange way

17. B: 說到親人過世...好..讓妳先說完吧  
shuo dao chin ren guo shi hao..rang ni xian shuo one ba.  
(you) mentioned about family (a family member) passing away..ok..(I will) let you finish your story first
18. J: <acc 她跟妳說什麼? acc>  
<acc ta gen ni shuo she mo? acc>  
<acc what did she say to you? acc>
19. S: <acc 她跟我說什麼 下輩子要做我的媳婦 acc>  
<acc ta gen wo shuo she mo xia bei zi yao zuo wo de shi fu acc>  
<acc she said something like that (she) wanted to be my daughter-in-law acc>
20. B + J: **[Extended Loud Laughter for more than 8 seconds]**
21. S: 她都跟我預約好了  
ta dou gen wo yu yue hao le  
she (has) made (a) pact with me already
22. 然後我說 <Q 好 一言為定 Q>  
ran hou wo shuo <Q hao..yi-yin-wei-ding Q>  
then I said <Q ok..(its) a deal Q>
23. B: <acc 是妳做她媳婦 還是她做妳媳婦? acc>  
<acc shi ni zuo ta shifu hai shi ta zuo ni shifu? acc>  
<acc will you become her daughter-in-law or will she become your daughter-in-law? acc>
24. S: 她做我媳婦  
ta zuo wo shifu  
she will become my daughter-in-law **[Extended Loud Laughter]**
25. B: @ 下輩子是她的下輩子囉 還是你的下輩子?@  
@ xia bei zi shi ta de xia bei zi lo hai shi ni de xia bei zi?@  
@ is it (during) her next life or your next life? @
26. S: <P 她跟我說她下輩子要當我的媳婦 P>  
<P ta gen wo shuo ta xia bei zi yao dang wo de shifu P>  
<P she said to me that she will become my daughter-in-law in her next life P>
27. B: <F 媽咪呀 F> @ 妳以後..妳兒子長大 哈哈 看一下.@  
<F MAMI YA F>.. @ ni yi hou ni er zi chang da haha kan yi xia @  
<F OH MOTHER F> @ you..when your son grows up (you should) have a look at (her)@ **[Laughter]**
28. S: <P 不知道 P>  
<P bu zhi dao P>  
<P (I) don't know P>
29. B: @ 長得是不是妳奶奶?@  
@ chang de shi bu shi ni nainai?@  
@ will she (daughter-in-law) look like your grandmother?@ **[laughter]**
30. S: <P 不知道 P>  
<P bu zhi dao P>  
<P (I) don't know P>

31. 我那時候在夢裏  
wo na shi hou zai mong li.  
I was in the dream then
32. 我跟她說 <Q 好 Q>  
wo gen ta shuo <Q hao Q>  
I said to her <Q ok Q>
33. J: 很清楚嗎 那時候很清楚嗎?  
hen chin chu ma na shi hou hen chin chu ma?  
(was the dream) very clear..really clear then?
34. S: 那時候蠻清楚的  
na shi hou man chin chu de  
(It was) very clear then
35. B: @ 這樣好像在做心理分析呦 @  
@ zhe yan hao chuang zai zuo xin li fen xi @  
@ (it sounds) like psychoanalysis@ [Laughter]
36. J: 因為如果妳信宗教 對宗教而言  
yin wei ru guo ni xin zong jiao dui zong jiao er yan  
because if you believe in religion..for religious
37. S: 接受她來投夢 對不對?  
jiu shou ta lia tou mong dui bu..dui?  
(it means you) accept her appearance in your dream..right?
38. J: 嗯..她要去投胎了  
ermm..ta yao qu tou tai le  
ermm..she was entering the cycle of reincarnation
39. 等於往生要去投胎了  
deng yu wang sheng yao qu tou tai le  
when one dies..one enters the cycle of reincarnation
40. 也許她願意這樣子  
ye she ta yuan yi zhe yang zi  
maybe she is willing to do it [to become the daughter-in-law]
41. B: 所以 以後如果妳兒子娶媳婦  
suo yi..yi hou ru guo ni er zi qu shi fu  
so..if your son marries some woman in the future
42. 喔 @ 真的要看看喔 然後要注意一下@  
@ wo zhen de yao kan kan wo ran hou yao zhu yi yi xia @  
@ (you) really need to pay attention and have a look (at her) @ [Laughter]

### TM 3: My Grandma

1. G: 我到大學才信主的  
wo dao da shiue cai shin chu de  
I (only started to) believe in God since I entered college
2. 但是我家的背景是佛道教拿香拜拜的  
dan shi wo jia de bei jing shi fodao jiao na xiang baibai de.  
but my family believed in Taoism and Buddhism (which required praying)  
using joss sticks.
3. 然後我阿媽過世的時候 我沒有 <F 拜她 F>  
ran hou wo ama guo shi de shi hou wo mei you <F BAI TA F>  
then when my grandma passed away..I didn't <F PRAY TO HER F> (using joss sticks)
4. 就是因為宗教 那時候我已經信基督教了  
jiu shi yin wei zong jiao na shi hou wo yi jin shin ji du jiao le  
(because of religious reasons) I had already begun to believe in Christianity at that time
5. 然後家人很不諒解  
ran hou jia ren hen bu liang jiu  
then my family really didn't forgive me
6. 我不知道怎麼去..你知道因為 <F 信仰 F>的關係嘛 對啊?  
wo bu zhi dao ze mo qu::ni zhi dao yin wei <F SHIN YANG F> de guan chi ma..dui a?  
I didn't know how to..you know..because of <F RELIGION F>..right?
7. J: 那妳有沒有站著回敬妳啊媽?  
na ni you mei you zhan zhe hui chin ni ama?  
did you stand and bow to your grandma?
8. G: 有啦 但是我沒有拿香 也沒有跟著跪著 <F 哭調 F>一堆有的沒有的 (台語)  
you la dan shi wo mei you na xian ye mei you gen zhao gui zhao <F KU TIAO F> yi dui you de mei you de  
yes.. but I neither used joss sticks..bent (my) knees nor sang the <F CRYING SONG F><sup>3</sup>
9. 家人很 <F 不能諒解 F>  
jia ren hen <F BU NENG LIANG JIU F>  
(my) family <F HADN'T REALLY FORGIVEN F> (me)
10. 他們說 <Q 你書讀的最多 竟然頭殼這樣 Q> (台語)  
ta men shuo <Q ni shu de de zui dou jing ran tor ke zhe yang Q>  
They said <Q you have received the highest standard of education (in our family) but your thinking is a surprise (to us) Q>
- 11 B: 被人家牽著走 (台語)  
bei ren jia chian zhao zou  
(you are) controlled (by your religion)

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<sup>3</sup> Taiwanese funerary songs of lamentation (hymns) are used during death rituals in order to demonstrate respect and love for the deceased.



12. G: 對啊 然後整個家族的人都沒有人夢到我阿媽  
 dui..a ran hou zheng ge jia zhu de ren dou mei you ren mong dao wo ama  
 yes..then none of the members of my whole family dreamt about my grandma
13. 就只有我 <P 一直夢一直夢一直夢 不斷的夢 P>  
 jiu zhi you wo <P yi zhi mong yi mong yi zhi mong bu duan de P>  
 (it was) only me (who) <P kept continually dreaming P> about my grandma)
14. 我在想是不是阿媽也不能諒解我  
 wo zai xian shi bu shi ama ye bu neng liang jiu wo  
 I was wondering if (my) grandma couldn't forgive me..either
15. 不管我到那裡 台中台北 我都夢到她  
 bu guan wo dao na li Taipei..Taichung..wo dou mong jian ta  
 no matter where I went..Taichung..Taipei..I kept dreaming of her
16. <F 一直在夢 F>  
 <F YI ZHI ZAI MONG F>  
 <F (I) KEPT DREAMING ALL THE TIME F>
17. <F 但是 F>整個家族的人都沒有人夢到她。  
 <F DAN SHI F> zheng ge jia zu de ren dou mei you ren mong dao ta.  
 <F BUT F> no other family member dreamt of her.
18. 大家哭到要死 哭到怎樣(台語)?  
 da jia ku dao yao si ku dao..ze yang?  
 everyone cried sadly..so what?
19. J: 那你夢到什麼?  
 na ni mong dao she mo?  
 what was your dream?
20. G: 她沒有表情  
 ta mei you biao ching  
 she hadn't got any facial expression
21. 她臉 <F 完全沒有表情 F>  
 ta lian <F WAN CHUAN MEI YOU BIAO CHING F>  
 there wasn't <F ANY PARTICULAR EXPRESSION ON HER FACE F>
22. <F 一直看著我 F>  
 <F YI ZHI KAN CHAO WO F>  
 <F KEPT LOOKING AT ME F>
23. S: ㄟㄟ 你會不會覺得很 <F 害怕? F>  
 erh..erh.. ei ni hui bu hui jue de hen <F HAI PA? F>  
 erh..erh..did you feel <F FRIGHTENED? F>
24. G: 我會覺得她一直很不諒解我  
 wo hui jue de ta yi zhi hen bu liang jiu wo  
 I thought that she still had not forgiven me
25. S: 現在還有嗎?  
 xiao zai hai you ma?  
 do you still dream (of her) now?

26. G: 最近比較少了  
zui jin bi jiao shao le  
recently (the dreams) have become sporadic
27. Mod: 多久了?  
duo jiu le?  
how long have you been dreaming of your grandmother?
28. B: 上個學期期中考前兩三個禮拜的事  
shang ge xue chi chi chong kao ching liang san ge li bai de shi  
(since) two or three weeks before last semester's mid-term exam
29. Mod: 你跟你阿媽很親嗎?  
ni gen ni ama hen ching ma?  
were you very close to your grandma?
30. G: 我是我阿媽帶大的  
wo shi wo ama dai da de  
my grandma took care (was responsible for) of me
31. 我從小就跟我阿媽睡  
wo chong xiao jiu gen wo ama shui  
I slept with my grandma ever since I was a little child
32. S: 會不會不是你阿媽不諒解 而是她不放心?  
hui bu hui bu shi ni ama bu liang jiu er shi tab u fan shin?  
is it possible that your grandma didn't really need to forgive you...but she was really worried about you?
33. J: 你阿媽跟誰最親?  
ni ama gen shui zui zui ching?  
who is closest to your grandma?
34. G: 嗯 都很親  
errh..en dou hen ching  
errh..(all of us) were very close (to our grandma)
35. Mod: 半年來你?一直都夢見她?  
ban nian lai ni yi zhi dou mong jian ta?  
have you had continual dreams of her during the last six months?
36. G: 對 夢境中她都不講話 看著我 <F 一直哭一直哭一直哭 F>  
dui.. mong jing chong ta dou bu jiang hua kan chao wo <P yi zhi ku yi zhi ku yi zhi ku yi zhi ku P>  
yes..in the dream she said nothing and just kept looking at me and <P kept crying crying crying P>
37. 永遠都是那個表情  
yong yuan dou shi na ge biao ching  
(she) always had the same expression
38. 沒有什麼表情 眼神空動 沒有表情那種  
mei you she mo biao ching yin shen kong dong mei you biao ching na chong  
there wasn't any expression (on her face)...no expression in her eyes..nothing
39. 然後我不知道是不是她不諒解  
ran hou wo bu zhi dao shi bu shi ta bu liang jiu  
then.. I still do not know if she has forgiven (me)

#### **TM 4: Conflict over Religion**

1. S: 在宗教信仰方面 我們家鬧::鬧過很大的災難  
zai zong jiao shin yang fon main wo men jia nao::nao guo hen da de zai nai  
as for religion..it caused..caused a major problem in my family
2. 我們家本身是信仰道教的  
wo men jia ben shen shi shin yang dao jiao de  
our family believe in Taoism
3. 然後弟弟也是跟著我媽媽去廟裏拜拜之類的 <F 都去喔 F>  
Ran hou didi ye shi gen zhe wo mama qu miao li bai bai zhi lei de <F **DOU QU WO** F>  
Then..(my) younger brother used to follow my mother to go to temples to pray something like that (he) <F **WENT** F> (with my mother)
4. 然後直到有一次他的國中老師帶他進入教會  
ran hou zhi dao you yi zi ta de guo chong lao shi dai ta jin ru jiao hui  
until one day (when) his junior high school teacher took him to the church
5. 他去認識所謂的耶穌基督之後  
ta qu ren shi suo wei de ye su chi du zhi hou  
afterwards he knew (became familiar with) the so-called Jesus Christ
6. <F 從此 F>沒有再去那種拿香拜拜的地方.  
<F **CHONG ZI** F>..mei you zai qu na zhong na xiang bai bai de di fon  
<F **FROM THEN ON** F>..(he) has never gone to any place where joss sticks are used in prayer
7. 然後有一次他就是很晚才回來  
ran hou you yi zi ta jiu shi hen wan zi hui lai  
there was once when he came back home very late
8. 我爸就罵他嘛  
wo pa jiu ma ta ma  
my pa blamed him
9. 因為很晚了半夜一兩點了  
yin wei hen wan le ban ye yi liang dian le  
because (it was) really late..1 or 2 a.m.
10. 然後就講到信仰這種事  
ran hou jiu jiang dao shin yang zhe chong shi  
then (they) talked about religion
11. 然後我弟弟就::直接頂我爸爸說 <Q 黑啊 你拜ㄟ龕擦陶埕 (台語) Q>  
ran hou wo didi jiu::zhi yie ding wo baba shuo<Q hei..a ning bai hei long tzo tong ang  
then my younger brother just answered my father back directly by saying <Q yes..what you pray to..are only wooden puppets Q>
12. 然後我爸爸就對這宗教<F 非常 F>的排斥跟敏感  
ran hou wo baba jiu dui zhe chong jiao <F **FEI CHANG** F>de pai zi gen ming gan  
then my father became <F **REALLY** F> resentful and rejected my brother's religion

13. 導致我弟弟跟我爸爸感情不好  
dao zhi wo didi gen wo baba gan ching bu hao  
(it) caused my brother and father's relationship to become really irreconcilable
14. 因為我弟弟所說的<F 擦陶埕 F>  
yin wei wo didi suo shuo de <F TZO TONG ANG F>  
because my younger brother had used the term <F WOODEN PUPPETS F>
15. 就是我們說的祖先  
jiu shi wo men de zu xian  
(in fact) we really meant ancestors [Everyone laughs]
16. 然後我爸就說 <Q 對你信ㄟ伊會幫你處理處理借錢不用還 (台語) Q>  
ran hou wo pa jiu shuo <Q dui..li shin ei yi ei ban li chuli chuli jiu yi bu lin  
hying Q>  
then my father said <Q yes..do you really believe that your religion can help you in  
dealing with your problems or give you a loan without repaying it? Q>
17. 然後我爸就對這<P 很排斥 P>  
ran hou wo pa jiu dui zhe <P phen pai zi P>  
my father <P really rejected P> (Christianity)
18. <acc 然後我爸就曾經跟我媽說過 如果::是他或是我小弟啊 再去教會的話 怎樣  
怎樣怎樣 F>acc>  
<acc ran hou wo pa jiu cheng jing gen wo ma shuo guo ru guo::shi ta huo shi wo  
xiao di a zai qu jiao hui ta jiu...<F ZE YANG..ZE YANG..ZE YANG F>acc>  
<acc then my father told my mother that if my younger brother and my youngest  
brother dared to go to church again..he would...<F BLAH..BLAH..BLAH F> acc>
19. B: <F 哇 F>  
<WA F>  
<F WA F>
20. S: 可是我媽她覺得我大弟接觸教會之後..有變化  
ke shi wo mama jue de wo da di jiu chu jiao hui zhi hou.. you bian hua  
but my mother thought since my first younger brother had gone to church  
then..he had changed
21. 所以她就贊成我弟去..去接受這種宗教  
suo yi ta jiu can cheng wo di qu..qu jiu shou zhe chong zong jiao  
so she agreed with my younger brother to..to become familiar with this religion
22. 可是這當然是在我爸不知情的情況下  
ke shi zhe dong ren shi zai wo pa bu zhi ching de ching kuang xia  
but it was under this situation that my father didn't know the truth.
23. 我媽就跟我說如果他去信基督教的話 我覺得好不好 或是我爸知道會怎樣?  
wa ma jiu gen wo shuo ru guo ta qu shin chi du jiao de hua wo jue de hao bu hao  
huo shi wo pa zhi dao hui ze yong?  
my mother asked me if he (my younger brother) believed in Jesus Christ..what  
would I think and if my father knew..what would my father do?
24. 我說 <Q 如果爸知道的話會<F 暴跳如雷 F>  
wo shuo <Q ru guo ba zhida de hua hui <F BAO-TIAO-RU-LEI F>  
I said <Q if father knows the truth, he will <F BECOME INFURIATED F>

25. 我們家應該會不得安寧 鬧得雞飛狗跳 Q>  
 wo men jia yin gai hui bu de an ning nao de **JI-FE-GOU-TIAO** Q>  
 we won't have a peaceful life...**GREAT DISTURBANCE** instead Q>
26. B: 那妳也去教堂嗎?  
 na ni ye qu jiao tang ma?  
 do you also go to church?
27. S: 我沒有很強烈的欲望要去  
 wo mei you hen chang lie de yu wang yao qu  
 I don't have a strong desire to go (there)
28. <F 所以就這樣 F>  
 <F suo yi jiu zhe yang F>  
 <F so that's it F>

### **TM 5: A Spiritual Presence**

1. B: 我高二的時候 參加一個活動  
 wo gao er de shi hou can jia yi ge huo dong  
 I attended an activity when I was in the second year of senior high school
2. 認識一個阿姨  
 ren shi yi ge a yi  
 (I) knew an auntie
3. 我都叫她薛姐  
 wo dou jiao ta xue jiu  
 I usually called her xue sister
4. 非常喜歡她  
 wo fei chang shi huan ta  
 I liked her very much
5. 她不強迫我信佛教  
 ta bu chang po wo shin fo jiao  
 she didn't coerce me to believe in Buddhism
6. 她說信教要靠機緣不能強迫  
 ta shuo shin jiao yao kao ji yuan bu neng chang po  
 she said that one must be lucky in order to believe in a religion and that it was impossible to believe in a religion through intimidation
7. 不過她有送給我一些佛書並且教我唸佛經之類的  
 bu guo ta you song ge wo yi shie fo shu bin chie jiao wo niao fo jin zhe lei de  
 but she gave me some Buddhist books and she taught me how to chant mantras
8. 然後啊 <F 今年暑假 F> 喔 <P 去年去年 去年 寒假啦 寒假啦 P>  
 ran hou a <F **JIN NIAN SHU JIA** F> wo <P qu nia qu nian qu nian han jia la han jia la P>  
 then <F **THIS SUMMER** F> oh <P last year last year last winter vacation winter vacation P>
9. J: @ 某年暑假 @ [Laughter]  
 @ mou nian..shu jia @ [Laughter]  
 @ summer vacation..some year @ [Laughter]

10. B: 沒有沒有 今年寒假的時候啊  
mei you mei you jin nian han jia de shi hou a  
no no (it was in the) winter vacation this year
11. 我去打工啊  
wo qu da gon a  
I was working part-time
12. 然後認識了我家附近的一個女生  
ran hou en shi le wo jia fu jin de yi gen nu sheng  
at that time I knew a girl (who lived) nearby my home
13. 然後我叫她蓉  
ran hou wo jiao ta rong  
then I called her Rong
14. 因為我們打工的時候都叫第三個字  
yin wei wo men da gon de shi hou dou jiao de san ge zi  
because we called each other with the third letter (of our names) when we were working together
15. 所以他們都叫我芬嘛 那我就叫她蓉  
suo yi ta men dou jiao wo fen ma na wo jiu jiao ta rong  
so they (colleagues) called me Fen and I called her Rong
16. 然後有一次我去她家 已經開學了 下學期開學了  
ran hou ou yi zi wo qu ta jia yi jing kai xue le xia xue chi kai xue le  
then one time I went to her home when the next new semester started
17. 就去她家  
jiu qu ta jia  
(I) just went to her house
18. 然後在她門口就聊起來  
ran hou zai ta jia men kou jiu liao chi lai  
then (we) chatted with each other in front of the gate
19. 然後她媽媽就說 <Q 叫人家進來坐啊 Q>  
ran hou ta mama jiu shuo <Q JIAO REN JIA JIN LAI ZUO A Q>  
then her mother said <Q INVITE HER TO HAVE A SEAT INSIDE Q>
20. 然後我就說 <Q 好好好 Q>  
ran hou wo jiu shuo <Q HAO HAO HAO Q>  
then I answered <Q OK OK OK Q>
21. 結果我們兩個就一起進去坐喔  
jia guo wo men lian ge jiu yi chi jin qu zuo wo  
as a result..we both went inside to sit down
22. 坐沒多久 她媽媽就說 (Taiwanese) <Q wa gwa gan ga key ga lian shun ling key lai Q> (我怎麼起顫抖 冷起來)  
zuo mei dou jiu ta mama jiu shuo <Q Wa gwa gan ga key ga lian shun ling key lai lai Q>  
(when we) sat there for a short time her mother just said (to herself) <Q why do I shiver and feel so cold Q>

23. 然後她就趕快去叫她小女兒去上了一支香  
 ran hou ta jiu gan kuai qu jiao ta xiao nu er qu shang le yi zhi xia  
 then she asked her youngest daughter to burn a joss stick as soon as possible
24. 然後她就問我啊 <Q 妳是不是有在誦經？妳是不是有在打坐？妳是不是有去哪裡拜拜？ Q>  
 ran hou ta jiu wen wo a <Q ni shi bu shi you zai song jin? ni shi bu shi you zai da zuo? ni shi bu shi you qu na li bai bai ? Q>  
 then she asked me <Q are you chanting the mantra? are you sitting in meditation? did you go anywhere to pray? Q>
25. 那我就說 <Q 我是有在唸經 已經很久了 Q>  
 na wo jiu shuo <Q wo shi you zai nian jin yi jin hen jiu le Q>  
 then I answered <Q I have already been chanting the mantra for a long time Q>  
 [Laughter]
26. 然後她說我有被跟  
 ran hou ta shuo wo you bei gen  
 then she said that I was tagged along
27. J: 妳是唸很久了 還是很久以前有在唸？  
 ni shi nian hen jiu le hai shi hen jiu yi chian you zai nian?  
 have you chanted the mantra for a long time (just now) or a long time ago (in the past) you used to chant the mantra?
28. B: 很久以前有在唸  
 hen jiu yi chian you zai nian  
 (I) used to chant a long time ago
29. J: 妳都唸什麼經啊？  
 ni dou nian she mo jin a?  
 what sutra did you use to chant?
30. B: 地藏王經 然後 阿彌陀佛經 然後 觀世音菩薩普門品 或是 般若波羅密多心經  
 di- tzang-wang-jing ran hou a-mi-tuo-fo-jin ran hou guan-shi-yin-pu-sa-pu-men-pin huo shi bo-re-bo-luo-mi-dou-shin-jin [Various names of sutras used here]<sup>4</sup>
31. 然後有做迴向的動作  
 ran hou you zuo hui xian de dong zuo  
 the reciting of the mantra gives power to the dead spirits who may have been violated by the person reciting the mantra
32. J: 妳迴向給誰？  
 ni hui xian ge shui?  
 whom do you return the power to?
33. B: 就冤親債主啊  
 jiu yuan chin zhai zhu a  
 of course (we may owe a life) to the spirits (of people, animals, insects who we have killed in our past lives)

<sup>4</sup> The *Ksalarana* sutra, the *Amitabha* sutra, the “*Heart*” sutra , the “*Efficacious Language of Heaven and Earth*” sutra (also known as the *Shurangama* sutra).

34. 然後她這樣說 我就有點害怕  
ran hou ta zhe yang shuo wo jiu you dan hai pa  
then (when) she said that I was a little bit scared
35. 然後說 <Q 啊這樣對我家人會怎樣啊? Q>  
ran hou shuo <Q a zhe yang dui wo jia ren hui ze yang a? Q>  
then (I) said <Q will it cause my family to be in any trouble? Q>
36. J: 妳自己會不會覺得怪怪的?  
ni zhi ji hui bu hui jue de guai guai de?  
did you feel (that) something was wrong?
37. S: 什麼叫作她有被跟?  
she mo jiao zuo ta you bei gen?  
what does it mean (when she says) that she had been tagging along?
38. B: 我同事的媽說我有被跟 她說..  
wo tong shi de ma shuo wo you bei gent a shuo..  
my colleague's mother said I was tagging along she said..
39. J: 她感應得到  
ta gan yin de dao  
she was able to perceive (something)
40. B: 對.. 她說.. 她說..  
dui..ta shuo ta shuo  
yes..she said..she said..
41. J: 那種東西跟著妳  
na chong tong si gen zhe ni  
that thing followed you
42. B: 對.. 然後 <F 我就說 我就說 F> <Q 會這樣子嗎?  
dui..ran hou <F wo jiu shuo wo jiu shuo F> <Q hui ze yang zi ma?  
yes..then <F I said.. I said F> <Q How come?
43. 然後怎麼都沒有傷到我? Q>  
ran hou ze mo dao mei you shang dao wo? Q>  
then why hadn't it harmed me?" Q>
44. 那她說 <Q 沒有啊 妳被跟日久就是不好啊 Q>  
na ta shuo <Q mei you a ni bei gen ri jiu jiu shi bu hao a Q>  
she said <Q no, but it's not good for you to be tagging along for a long time Q>
45. J: 那妳睡覺狀況呢?  
na ni shui jiao chung kuang ne?  
how about your sleeping patterns?
46. B: 很容易啊 一下子就睡著了  
hen rong yi a yi xia zi yiu shui zhao le  
(it's) easy (for me) to fall asleep
47. 結果那個阿姨說 <Q 哼! 走起來都有可能 還睡著而以 Q>  
jiu guo na ge a yi shuo <Q heng zou chi lai dou you ken eng hai shui zhao er yi Q>  
the auntie said <Q humph (it's) possible (for you) to be continually active even when (you) are asleep Q>



48. S: 嗯 <F 好可怕 F>  
 errh..<F **HOU KE PA** F>  
 errh..<F **HOW TERRIBLE** F>
49. B: 然後她就叫我回家要買檀香  
 ran hou ta jiu jiao wo hui jia yao mai tan-xiang  
 then she wanted me to go home and buy incense made from sandalwood
50. 我自己聞得慣的那種檀香  
 wo zi ji wen de guan de na chong tan-xiang  
 the incense whose scent I liked
51. 就是適合我們味道的那種檀香  
 jiu shi shi he wo men wei dao de na chong tan-xiang  
 that is the incense whose scent is appropriate for us
52. 然後燒  
 ran hou shao  
 then (I had to) burn (it)
53. 這樣它才能夠不跟 因為檀香有驅離的作用  
 zhe yang ta cai neng guo **BU GEN** yin wei tan-xiang you qu lie de zuo yong  
 this method **DETERRED** the spirit from following (me) because (the)  
 sandalwood was able to drive (exorcise it) away
54. 結果我就很猶豫啊  
 jiu guo wo jiu hen you yu a  
 but I (was) still undecided
55. 我就問了我室友  
 wo jiu wen le wo shi you  
 I asked my roommate
56. 我室友就說她的阿姨信了一個師父  
 wo shi you jiu shuo ta de ayi shin le yi ge shi fu  
 my roommate said her auntie believed in (the power of) one monk
57. 然後就說 那個師父說 如果它沒有惡意的話 也不會傷害到你 這樣子  
 ran hou jiu shuo na ge shi fu shuo ru guo ta mei you e yi de hua ye bu hui  
 shang hai dao ni zhe yang zi  
 then the monk said If it doesn't have a bad intention then it won't hurt you
58. 那我想 <Q 就算了 Q>  
 na wo xian <Q jiu suan le Q>  
 I thought (it was best) <Q just forget about it Q>
59. S: 所以現在還跟著?  
 suo yi xian zai hai gen zhe?  
 so (it still) follows (you) now?
60. B: 對啊 因為我並沒有做任何的事  
 dui a yin wei wo bin mei you zuo ren he de shi  
 yes because I haven't done anything (to exorcise it) yet
61. 這是今年二月份的事情而已  
 zhe shi jin nian er yue fen de shi chin er yi  
 (it happened) in February

62. 打工啊  
da gong a  
(I was) working part-time
63. 然後三月份 就期中考的時候被說的  
ran hou san yeu fen jiu chi-chong-kao de shi hou bei shuo de  
then I was told around (the) mid-term exam in March
64. 然後我就覺得 到底要信什麼呢  
ran hou wo jiu jue de dao di yao yao shin she mo ne  
then I thought what I should believe in
65. J: 對啊  
dui a  
yes

### **TM 6: My Puppy Love**

1. S: 那個女生也是他們班的  
na ge nu sheng ye shi ta men ban de  
the girl was his classmate
2. 對 就是他有老實跟我說他覺得那個女孩子還不錯  
dui..jiu shi ta you lao shi ge wo shuo ta jue de na ge nu sheng hai bu tzuo  
yes..he was honest (enough) to tell me that he thought that girl was really nice
3. 他其實有老實跟我講  
ta chi shi you lao shi gen wo jiang  
he was (being) honest (in) telling me that then
4. 他有跟我討論  
ta you gen wo tao lun  
he even discussed (her) with me
5. 我就說 <Q 喔好那既然這樣子我們就**分開** 那你就去追那個女孩子這樣 Q>  
wo jiu shuo <Q Wo hao ha ji ran zhe yang zi wo men jiu **FEN KAI** na ni jiu qu  
zhui na ge nu hai zi zhe yang Q>  
I just said <Q Ok since (you have decided that) then we should **BREAK UP** and  
you just go to develop a relationship with that girl Q>
6. 而且我還幫他追那個女孩子喔  
er chie wo hai bang ta zhui na ge nu hai zi wo  
and then I also helped him to develop his relationship with her
7. J: 妳會不會太大方了?  
ni hui bu hui tai da fan le?  
were you (being) too generous?
8. S: <acc 可是 你知道嗎 因為是 <F **初戀** F> acc>  
<acc ke shi ni zhi dao ma yin wei shi <F **CHU LIAN** F> acc>  
<acc but you know..because (he was my) <F **FIRST LOVE** F> acc>
9. <acc 我必須很老實說 我<F **真的** F>很喜歡很喜歡很喜歡 這個人 acc>  
<acc wo bi chu hen lao shi shuo wo <F **ZHEN DE** F> hen shi huan hen shi huan  
hen shi huan zhe ge ren acc>  
<acc I got to be honest I <F **REALLY** F> liked liked liked this guy very much  
acc>

10. B: 可是妳也知道其實不太可能會有結果  
ke shi ni ye zhi dao chi shi bu tai ken eng hui you jiu guo  
but you knew in fact (it was) impossible that your relationship would have a positive outcome
11. S: 嗯..我們當..沒有..我一直以為會有結果  
erhh..wo men dan..mei you..wo yi zhi yi wei hui you jiu guo  
erhh..we..no..I thought that our relationship could have a positive ending
12. 可是沒有想到這件事情會變得這樣  
ke shi mei you xiang dao zhe jian shi chi hui bian de zhe yang  
however because of my (high) expectations the situation became really complex
13. B: 所以妳是一開始跟他交往 你就認定這個人  
suo yi ni shi yi kai shi gent a jiao wan ni jiu ren ding zhe ge ren  
so when you first dated him you definitely thought he was your mister right
14. S: 嗯 沒有 我們是逐漸交往  
errh..mei you wo men shi zhu jian jiao wan  
errh..no we developed (our relationship) gradually
15. 因為這是我高中的時候 我那時跟現在完全是不同形的女孩子  
yin wei zhe shi wo gao chung de shi hou won a shi hou gen xian zai wan chuan  
shi bu tong shing de nu hai zi  
because when I was in senior- high my attitude was totally different from my present outlook
16. 我高中時很<F 自卑 F>  
wo gao chung shi hen < F ZI BEI F>  
I really <F DESPISED MYSELF F> when (I was) in senior-high
17. 然後我跟大家都不太講話  
ran hou wo gen da jia dou bu tai jiang hua  
I didn't communicate with others
18. 在班上也不會特別的活躍  
zai ban shang ye bu hui te bie de huo yao  
I was not active in class
19. 甚麼都不會  
she mo dou bu hui  
(I thought I was) not able to do anything
20. 就一個人 <F 靜靜得 F> 這樣子  
jiu yi ge ren <F JIN JIN DE F> zhe yang zi  
(I was always) <F QUIET F>
21. 然後是<F 他 F>  
ran hou..shi <F TA F>  
then..(it) was <F HE F>
22. 就是把我從那個..那種情況拉出來的  
jiu shi ba wo tzone na ge ching cong la chu lai de  
(it was he who) changed my outlook

23. 他告訴我 <Q 妳要有自信 Q>  
ta gao shu wo <Q ni yao you zi shin Q>  
he told me <Q you have to be confident Q>
24. 然後是他這樣一步一步帶著我  
ran hou shi ta zhe yang yi bu yi bu dai zhe wo  
then he guided me step by step
25. 而且..我們會..<P 這麼的交往而日久生情 P>主要的原因是也是彼此的家長 知 道  
er chie..wo me hui..<P zhe mo de jiao wang er **ri-jiu-sheng-ching** P>zhu yao de  
juan yin shi ye shi bi zi de jia chang zhi dao  
and.. <P having been together for a long time..we developed a tender feeling for  
each other P> because both parents knew (of our relationship)
26. 然後..也都見過  
ran hou ye dou jian guo  
then (we) met each other's (parents)
27. 就是 我見過他爸爸 他見過我爸媽  
jiu shi wo kian guo ta baba ta jian guo wo pa ma  
that is I met his father and he met my parents
28. 然後他家上上下下的長輩 我都見過  
ran hou ta jia **XANG-XANG-XIA-XIA** de chang bei wo dou jian guo  
then I met **ALL (from the top to the bottom)** the elder members of his family
29. 就是大家都覺得噁 我們兩個很好甚麼甚麼得  
jiu shi da jia dou jue de en wo men lian ge hen hai she mo she mo de  
all of them thought..en..that we were already intimate lovers...something like that
30. 可是 <P 最後還是分手了 P> (in a sad tone)  
ke shi <P zui hou hai shi fen shou le P>  
but <P finally (we) still broke up P>
31. 因為那個女孩子在他旁邊就不一樣了  
yin wei na ge nu hai zi zai ta pang bian jiu bu yi yang le  
because whenever that girl was with him he then became totally different
32. J: 所以妳覺得距離..是戀人之間的一大考驗  
suo..yin e jue de **JU LI** shi lian ren zhi jian de yi da kao yan  
so..you thought **DISTANCE** was the main dilemma for lovers
33. S: 是 而且他因為大二的時候 在學校當上學生會的會長  
**SHI** er chie ta yin wei da er de shi hou zai shieu xiao dang shang shieu  
sheng hei de hei zhang  
**YES..** and because when he was a sophomore he became the president of the  
student union in his university
34. 那就是 我覺得人見多視廣了之後 你的視野跟你的..看..看事情的角度都不一  
樣  
na jiu shi wo jue de ren **JIAN-DUO-SHI-GUANG** le zhi hou ni de shi ye gen ni  
de..kan kan shi chin de jiao du dou bu yi yang  
that is I thought after a person **HAD GREAT EXPERIENCE..**your view and  
thinking would change

35. 一定都會有所變化  
yi ding dou hui you suo bian hua  
(that you) must change in some way
36. 就是你**看得多**的時候 就是你會覺得 <Q 啊是不是還有更好的 Q> 什麼這樣的心態出現  
jiu shi ni **KAN DE DUO** de shi hou jiu shi ni hui jue de <Q a shi bu shi hai you geng hao de Q> she mo zhe yang de shin tai chu xian  
when you are **MORE EXPERIENCED** you would think <Q is there an opportunity to meet more attractive girls in the future? Q> something like that
37. J: 那你有沒有試著努力挽回這樣?  
na ni you mei you shi zhe nu li wan hui zhe yang?  
have you done your best to save (your relationship)?
38. S: <F 有有 F> 其實我後來 嗯 其實當他跟我講的當天  
<F **YOU YOU F**> chi shi wo hou lai en chi shi dang ta gen wo jiang de dang tian  
<F **YES YES F**> in fact I finally..erhh...the day when he told me the truth
39. 我 <P 哭 P>  
wo <P ku P>  
I <P cried P>
40. 我 <P 狂哭 真的狂哭 P>  
wo <P kuang ku..zhen de kuang ku P>  
I <P cried intensely..really cried intensely P>
41. 後來我就決定說 <Q 好 我就讓你走 Q>  
hou lai wo jiu jue ding shuo <Q hao wo jiu rang ni zou Q>  
after that I made the decision and thought <Q ok I will let you go Q>
42. 可是那之後 他..他又說 <Q 為什麼 妳都不留我? Q> 甚麼甚麼之類的話  
ke shi na zhi hou ta..ta you shuo <Q wei she mo ni dou bu liu wo? Q> she mo she mo zhi lei de hua  
but after that he..he said <Q why didn't you beg me to come back? Q> something like that
43. 那我就說 <Q 我已經沒有那個立場了 而且我都已經先被判出局 我要留你甚麼? Q>  
na wo jiu shuo <Q wo yi jin mei you na ge li chang le er chie wo dou yi jin xian bei pan chu ju wo yao liu ni she mo? Q>  
then I said <Q I am not in such a state of mind because you didn't really want me first.. how can I beg you back? Q>
44. 聽他這樣講完之後 但是我後來還是有作挽回的動作  
ting ta zhe yang jiang wan zhi hou dan shi wo hou lai hai shi you zou wan hui de dong zou  
after listening to him I still tried something to save (our relationship)
45. 那在暑假的時候  
na zai shu jia de shi hou  
it was in summer vacation
46. 因為我們那時候講是五月多  
yin wei wo men na shi hou jian shi wu yue duo  
because we had discussed breaking up in May

47. 就是大二下快結束的時候 五月多喔  
jiu shi da er xia kuai jiu su de shi hou wu yue duo wo  
(It was) at the end of second semester of (my) sophomore (year) in May
48. 在暑期時其實有復合  
zai shu chi shi chi shi you fu he  
in fact (we) were reunited again during the summer vacation
49. **但是..**到就是暑假七八月那時候復合的吧  
**DAN SHI..** dao jiu shi shu jia chi ba yue na shi hou fu he de ba  
**BUT ..** (we were) together again in summer vacation around July and August
50. 然後到十月多的時候 因為我覺得他還是沒有放下那個女孩子  
ran hou dao shi yue duo de shi hou yin wei wo jue de ta hai shi mei you fan xia  
na ge nu hai zi  
then around October because I still thought he hadn't given up the girl
51. 十月多的時候我就有跟他講  
shi yue dou de shi hou wo jiu you gent a jian  
around October I had a discussion with him
52. 我就有問他  
wo jiu you wen ta  
I asked him
53. 然後他 他是因為 他打算問那個女孩子最後一次要不要跟他在一起  
ran hou tat a shi yin wei tad a suan wen na ge nu hai zi zui hou yi zi yao bu yao  
gent a zai yi chi  
then he..because he..he intended to ask that girl if she finally wanted to be his  
girlfriend or not
54. 他就有問 那個女孩子  
ta jiu you wen na ge nu hai zi  
he asked that girl
55. 雖然沒有跟他明示 不過也算就是在一起了  
sui ran mei you gent a ming shi bu guo ye suan shi zai yi chi le  
although (she) didn't say (yes) directly they were supposed to be together
56. 然後後來我也認識那個女生  
ran hou hou lai wo ye ren shi na ge nu sheng  
then I knew (met) that girl afterwards
57. 是因為我男朋友..前男友的關係 我才認識那個女生  
shi yin wei wo nan pe you..chian nan you de guan chi wo cai ren shi na ge nu  
sheng  
(it) was because of my boyfriend..ex-boyfriend.. I knew (met) that girl
58. 然後我有問他 <Q 這樣你們算是在一起了嗎? Q>  
ran hou wo you wen ta <Q zhe yang ni men suan shi zai yi chi le ma? Q>  
then I did asked him <Q Are you together now? Q>
59. 他說 <Q 這樣應該是算了 Q>  
ta shuo <Q zhe yang yin gai shi suan le Q>  
he said <Q it should be Q> (he implied that they should be together but that he  
was not totally sure of their relationship)

60. 因為他們兩個都不確定  
yin wei ta men lian ge dou bu chue ding  
because both of them were not definitely sure (about their relationship)
61. 我就問那個女孩子 那這樣我就說. <Q 好 Q>  
wo jiu wen na ge nu hai zi na zhe yang wo jiu shuo <Q hao Q>  
(after) I asked the girl..then I said <Q OK Q>
62. 那我就跟我男朋友講  
na wo jiu gen wo nan pen you jiang  
I told my boyfriend
63. J: 成全他們?  
cheng shuan ta men?  
(you decided to) fulfill their wishes?
64. S: <F 對 F> 然後我就退  
<F DUI F>ran hou wo jiu tui  
<F YES F> then I just gave up
65. 我就走了....  
wo jiu zou le  
I just left
66. 我就退出  
wo jiu tui qu  
I just terminated the relationship
67. 那..可是 當然還是.. 然後他們在一起**三天**就分開了  
na..ke shi dang ren hai shi ran hou ta men zai yi chi **SAN TIAN** jiu feng kai le  
but..of course still.then they separated only after being together for  
**THREE DAYS**
68. J: **三天**  
**SAN TIAN**  
**THREE DAYS**
69. B: 那他們現在沒有在一起了?  
na ta men xian zai mei you zai yi chi le?  
then they are not together now?
70. S: 對 然後 男孩子...有要 <F 挽回 F>  
dui..ran hou nan hai zi you yao <F WAN HUI F>  
no..then the guy..intended to <F BEG (me to come) BACK F>
71. 那...目前我是已經 <F 回絕 F>掉了  
na..mu xian wo shi yi jin <F HUI JUE F> diao le  
then..at present (at the moment) I already (had) <F REJECTED F> (his appeal)
72. 就是因為我覺得目前的我們都還沒有成熟度來處理這樣的事情  
jiu shi yin wei wo jue de mu xian de women dou hai mei you sheng shu du lai  
chu li zhe yang de shi ching  
just because I thought..for the present..we are not mature enough to deal with  
such a situation

73. 我是想說經過社會的歷練之後 大家彼此去看看外面的世界  
 wo shi shiung sho jin guo she hui de li lian zhi hou da jia bi zi qu kan kan wu mai de shi jiu  
 I thought that we should gain more experience in society and that we should see more of the world
74. 如果你還是覺得彼此還是最適合的話 那我們彼此往後再來談這個問題  
 ru guo ni hai shi jue de bi zi hai shi zui shi he de hua na wo men bi zi wan hou zai lai tan zhe ge wen ti  
 if you still think that we can be an ideal couple..then we can discuss (the possibility of) it in the future
75. J: 不嫌晚啊  
 bu xian wan a  
 (it's) not too late
76. S: 對 不嫌晚  
**DUI..**bu xian wan  
**YES..** (it will)not (be) too late
77. 只是現在我們都還不夠成熟  
 zhi shi xian zai wo men dou hai bu guo cheng so  
 but we are not mature enough now
78. 都太..沒有經過現實 沒有經過考驗  
 dou tai..mei you jin guo xian shi mei you jin guo kao yin  
 (we have) not (been) tested through the reality (not enough real life experience)
79. J: 妳也可以有更多的選擇  
 ni ye ke yi you gen dou de shuan ze  
 you can have more choice (of men)
80. S: 對.. 而且現在也有不錯的人在**追求**  
**DUI..**er chie xian zai ye you bu shuo de ren zai **ZHUI SHIU**  
**YES..** furthermore..(I am being) **COURTED** by some nice guy now
81. 對啊.. 所以我覺得那就往後再看看嘛  
 dui a.. suo yi wo jue de na jiu wan hou zai kan kan ma  
 yes..so I think (it's better to) wait and see

### **TM 7: A Ghostly Encounter**

1. B: 喔! 就是我說的蔡老師啊  
 oh! jiu shi wo shuo de cai lao shi a  
 oh! (it was) I meant teacher Cai
2. 然後他說 他告訴我 因為我把這件事情告訴他了  
 ran hou ta shuo ta gao su wo yi wei wo ba zhe jian shi chin gao su ta le  
 then he said.. he told me..because I told him about it<sup>5</sup>
3. 然後他就說 他有遇到過  
 ran hou ta jiu shuo ta you yu dao guo  
 then he just said that he once encountered

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<sup>5</sup> TM 5: A Spiritual Presence.



4. 他真的有遇到過  
ta zhen de you yu dao guo  
he did encounter (a ghost/spirit)
5. 他出差  
ta chu chai  
he (used to) go on a mission (act as a representative of)
6. 然後在外面的飯店住啊  
ran hou zai wai mian de fa dian zhu a  
then he had to live in a hotel
7. 然後他覺得好冷啊  
ran hou ta jue de hao leng a  
(in the hotel) he felt (he was) really cold
8. 怎麼那麼冷  
ze mo na mo leng  
(he was) really cold
9. J: 一進去就是冷的?  
yi jin qu jiu shi leng de?  
(when he first) entered (the room)..(he felt the room) was cold?
10. 因為它們的能量是負的  
yin wei ta men de neng liang shi fu de  
because their (the ghost's) energy was negative
11. 那如果神的是正的  
na ur guo shen de shi zheng de  
if it was God's energy then the energy would be positive
12. 如果有人人在修行甚麼的 那個很敏感  
ru guo you ren zai shiu shing she mo de na ge hen ming gan  
if someone is practicing Buddhist rules (he/she will be) very sensitive (to the energy)
13. B: 他..他就<F 知道 F>了...  
ta.. ta jiu <F ZHI DAO F>le  
he..he <F KNEW F> right away
14. 他知道..  
ta zhi dao  
he knew..
15. 他知道  
ta zhi dao  
he knew..
16. 他知道了  
ta zhi dao le  
he already knew
17. 他就冒冷汗然後蓋厚厚的被子  
ta jiu mao neng han ran hou gai houhou de bei zi  
he kept sweating and he used the thickest blanket

18. 但是還是**很冷很冷很冷**  
dan shi hai shi **HEN NENG HEN NENG HEN NENG**  
but (he still felt) **VERY VERY VERY COLD**
19. 然後他想說 喔慘了  
ran hou ta xiang shuo wo can le  
then he thought (what a )miserable (situation)
20. S: 他自己一個人嗎?  
ta zi ji yi ge ren ma?  
was he alone in the room?
21. B: 對啊 他自己住一間  
dui ta zi ji zhu yi jian  
yes..he was staying in the room by himself
22. J: 那後來怎麼樣?  
na hou lai ze mo yang?  
what happened next ?
23. B: 那後來..後來..冷到沒辦法啊  
na..hou lai hou lai neng dao mei bian fa a  
then..then..(he was) cold and (he could do) nothing
24. 他就把所有的神明 他所信的所有的神明 都請來  
ta jiu ba suo you de shen ming ta suo xin de suo you de shen ming dou ching lai  
he invoked all the gods.. all the gods that he believed in
25. 結果他的身體一下子就都熱起來了  
jiu guo ta de shen ti yi xia zi jiu dou re chi lai le  
consequently his body immediately became warmer
26. J: 他只是覺得**冷**而已嗎?  
ta zhi shi jue de **LENG** er yi ma?  
(did) he just feel **COLD**?
27. B: 不只不只不只 就覺得超級不舒服  
bu zhi bu zhi bu zhi jiu jue de chao ji bu su fu  
not not not only (feeling cold) (he also) felt extremely uncomfortable
28. J: 因為那時候那個氣場是負的  
yin wei na shi hou na ge chi chang shi fu de  
because there was a negative energy field at that moment
29. B: 對 真的好不舒服  
dui..zhen de hao bu su fu  
right..(he felt) really uncomfortable
30. J: 他有沒有看到或者**聽到**什麼聲音?  
ta you mei you kan dao huo **TING DAO** she mo sheng yin?  
did he see (anything) or **HEAR** any sound?
31. B: 沒有沒有 他沒有看到  
mei you..mei you..ta mei you kan dao  
no..no..he didn't see (anything)

32. 佛書上有說啊 <Q 你沒有 你沒有什麼冤仇 你就不可能看到 何況是經歷 Q>  
fo su shang you shuo a "<Q ni mei you ni mei you she mo yuan chou ni jiu bu ken  
eng kan dao he kuang shi jing li Q>  
according to the sutra, it says <Q if you don't..you don't have any hatred (of the  
ghost/spirit) then it is impossible for you to see (the ghost/spirit), not mention to  
experience it Q>
33. S: 我說如果是前世什麼的  
wo shuo ru guo shi shien shi she mo de  
I think (it was because of something which occurred in a) previous  
life...something like that
34. J: 後來他就熱起來了  
hou lai ta jiu re chi lai le  
after that..he just (felt his body becoming) warmer
35. B: 對..然後..就..就 就好了  
dui..ran hou..jin jin jiu hao le  
yes..then..(he) just..just (felt) well
36. 就這樣  
jiu zhe yang  
so that's it

#### **TM 8: Guardian Angel or Spiritual Witness?**

1. S: 你知道我有一個高中老師  
ni zhi dao wo you yi ge gao chong lao shi  
you know..one of my senior-high teachers
2. 他其實也是蠻敏感的  
ta chi shi ye shi man ming gan de  
who is in fact really sensitive
3. 有一次同學約他出去  
you yi zi tong xue yao ta chu qu  
(it happened) that his classmate invited him out
4. 然後他就出去了  
ran hou ta jiu chu qu le  
then he went out
5. 好像要走什麼吊橋吧  
hao xiang yao zou she mo diao xiao ba  
(it seemed that he) had to walk over some drawbridge
6. 他說他出去之前 就聽到耳邊說 <Q 不要過去 Q>  
ta shuo ta chu qu zhi xian jiu ting dao er bian shuo <Q bu yao guo qu Q>  
he said before he left home..he heard (someone told him) <Q don't go over Q>
7. 他在想說 <Q 我是不是聽錯什麼? Q>  
ta zai xiang shuo <Q wo shi bu shi ting tzuo she mo? Q>  
he was thinking <Q did I really hear a voice? Q>
8. 一條路就是要走過去 就是經過  
yi tiao lu jiu shi yao zou guo qu jiu shi jing guo  
(he had to) go over the drawbridge

9. 那個聲音說 <Q 叫你不要過去還過去 Q> (loudly)  
na ge sheng yin shuo<Q JIAO NI BU YAO GUO QU HAI GUOQU Q>  
the voice said <Q (I) TOLD YOU NOT TO GO OVER..WHY DID YOU DO IT? Q>
10. 結果就是有走  
jiu guo jiu shi you zou  
finally..(he) still walked over (the drawbridge)
11. 就是當他同學走過去後  
jiu shi dan ta tong xue zou guo qu hou  
so when his classmate went over (the drawbridge)
12. 哇 他就傻眼了 這種東西真是  
wa ta jiu SHAY AN LE zhe chong tong si zhen shi  
he was DUMBFOUNDED ..what a situation
13. J: 你知道是誰叫他不要過去的嗎?  
ni zhi dao shi shui jiao ta bu yao guo qu de ma?  
do you know who asked him not to go over?
14. 他們家有信教嗎?  
ta men jia you shin jiao ma?  
is their family religious?
15. S: 就是蠻正派的  
jiu shi man zheng pai de  
(their family) are honest (decent people)
16. 我不知道他們家是否有信教  
wo bu zhi dao ta men jia shi fo you shin jiao  
I don't know if his family have religious beliefs or not
17. 我不是很清楚  
wo bu shi hen chi chu  
I am not sure about it
18. J: 他一定有所謂的保護神  
ta yi ding you suo wei de bao hu shen  
he must have a (guardian) angel
19. S: 對  
dui  
right
20. B: 可是我問蓉的媽媽啦  
ke shi wow en rong de mama la  
but I asked Rong's mother
21. <Q 可是我身上會有一個保護 旨在保護自己  
<Q ke shi wo shen shang hui you yi ge bao hu zhi zai bao hu zi ji  
<Q if I have (a guardian angel) to protect me
22. J: angel  
angel  
angel

23. B: 那些要跟我的應該就跟不上來 Q>  
na shie yao gen wo de yin gai jiu gen bus hang lai Q>  
all those (spirits) who intended to haunt me cannot do so (because of the  
presence of my guardian angel) Q>
24. 可是她說 <Q 那個不是  
ke shi ta shuo <Q na ge bu shi  
but she said <Q (it's) not (an angel)
25. 那只是記錄官  
na zhi shi ji lu guan  
(it's) only a (spiritual) witness (who documents your conduct in life)
26. 記錄你一輩子所做的事情  
ji lu ni yi bei zi suo zou de shi chin  
to write down what you have done during your whole life
27. 對的錯的 好的壞的 記錄下來而已  
dui de tzuo de hao de huai de ji lu shi alai er yi  
(documenting) right wrong good and bad (things)..(he) just takes a record
28. 他並不會干預你的 Q>  
ta bin bu hui gan yu ni de Q>  
he didn't interfere (with your life) Q>
29. 然後我聽到後 嚇到 <Q 蛤 真的嗎?Q>  
ran hou wo ting dao hou xia dao <Q ha zhen de ma? Q>  
when I heard it (I was ) shocked (and thought) <Q is it true? Q> [Laughter]
30. J: 就是一直記著你然後等你那個的時候..  
jiu shi yi zhi ji zhe ni ran hou deng ni na ge de shi hou..  
it means (he) just records all the things you have done and waits until the time  
you..[it implies the time when you die]
- 31 S: 閻羅王就會看你  
yan lo wan jiu hui kan ni  
Yama (King of Hell) will read your
32. B: <acc 對對對 acc> 你生平生平事蹟  
<acc dui..dui..dui acc>..ni sheng pin sheng pin shi ji  
<acc right..right..right acc>..all your record (life history) [Laughter]
33. 然後我就想所謂的 三尺 頭上三尺...  
ran hou wo jiu xiang suo wei de san che tou shang san che...  
then I thought so called (of the proverb) "Three meters..three meters above  
our head...
34. S: <F 舉頭三尺有神明 F>  
<F JU TOU SAN CHE YOU SHEN MING F>  
<F ABOVE YOUR HEAD THREE METRES..GOD IS THERE F><sup>6</sup>
35. B: 對對對 舉頭三尺有神明  
dui dui dui ju tou san che you shen ming  
right right right above your head three meters...God is there

<sup>6</sup> This chengyu is akin to "I am with you always, to the end of the age" Matthew 28:20.

36. 就是那個記錄的話 @保護我們.@  
 jiu shi na ge ji lu de hua @ bao hu wo men. @  
 that record @protects us@ (Such a documented life history protects us).
37. J: 它沒辦法保護你們  
 ta mei bian fa bao hu ni men  
 it can't protect you
38. 因為如果你是做壞事的  
 yin weir u guo ni shi zou huai shi de  
 because if you do something evil
39. 它沒辦法 它只是..我不知道  
 ta mei bian fa ta zhi shi wo..bu zhi dao  
 it can't..it just..I don't know
40. 我假設它只是做記錄的  
 wo jia she ta zhi shi zou ji lu de  
 I presume it (the spiritual witness) only takes a record
41. S: 對對對  
 dui dui dui  
 right right right
42. J: 但是好事壞事還是你自己去做  
 dan shi hao shi huai shi hai shi ni zi ji qu zou  
 but it's you (who have ) done all those good and bad things
43. 自己去做那些事情  
 zi ji qu zou na shie shi chin  
 you did them yourself
44. B + S: 對對對  
 dui dui dui  
 right right right

### **TM 9: Chronic Health Problems since Childhood**

1. D: 我剛出生的時候 然後啊..身體就很**不好**  
 wo gan qu sheng de shi hou ran hou a sheng ti jiu hen **BU HAO**  
 when I was just born..then..my health was very **FRAIL**
2. K: 出生的時候?  
 qu sheng de shi hou?  
 when you were born?
3. D: 出生的時候都正常  
 qu sheng de shi hou dou hen chung chang  
 (at the time) when (I) was born..(I was) normal
4. 可是::就是::一般小孩子出生之後 不是就進保溫箱嗎  
 ke shi::jiu shi::yi bian xiao hai zi qu sheng zhi hou bu shi jiu jin bao wen  
 xiang ma  
 but..when a baby was born then (a baby) had to be kept in an incubator
5. M: 真的嗎?  
 zhen de ma?  
 really?

6. K: 沒有啊! 有問題才送進保溫箱啊  
mei you!..a you wen ti cai song jin bao wen xiang a  
no..only when the babies had health problems they needed to be kept in incubators
7. D: 那時候好像::生出來的時候 就是膽不好  
na shi hou hao xian sheng qu lai de shi hou jiu shi da bu hao  
it seems that when (I) was born then (my) gall bladder was not healthy
8. M: 膽喔?  
dan wo?  
gall bladder?
9. D: <F 對 對 F> 好像有得什麼黃膽症 還是什麼的  
<F DUL.DUI F>..hao xian you de she mo huang da zheng hai shi she mo de  
<F RIGHT..RIGHT F>..(it) seems that (I) had jaundice...something like that
10. <acc 然後那個時候就是有去給醫生看嘛 acc>  
<acc ran hou na ge shi hou jiu shi you qu gei yi shen kan ma acc>  
<acc then (I) was examined by some doctor acc>
11. <acc 然後看完之後就::就是那個時候 acc>  
<acc ran hou kan wan zhi hou jiu jiu shi na ge shi hou acc>  
<acc then after that.. just that at that moment acc>
12. 我不知道那個時候算不算嚴重  
wo bu zhi dao na ge shi hou suan bu suan yan chong  
I don't know if it was serious or not
13. 我爸好像...聽我爸說好像花蠻多錢的  
wo pa hao xiang ...ting wo pa shuo hao xiang hua man dou xian de  
my father seemed...(I) heard my father say that (he) spent lots money (on me)
14. 然後就是有把它醫到好  
ran hou jiu shi you pa ta yi dao hao  
then (the doctor) treated it (my jaundice) successfully
15. 然後就是..帶回家了  
ran hou jiu shi.. da hui jia le  
then (I was) taken.. home
16. 然後出院 就回家  
ran hou chin yuan jiu hui jia  
then (I) left the hospital.. then (I) went home
17. 然後那個時候就想說..就沒事了  
ran hou na ge shi hou jiu xiang shuo.. jiu mei shi le  
then (they) thought.. (my child was) fine
18. 可是後來就是隔壁的鄰居啊 過來跟我爸聊天然後看著我  
ke shi hou lai jin shi ge bi de ling ju a guao lai ge wo paliao tian ran hou kan zhe wo  
but later a neighbor came to my home to chat with my father and looked at me
19. 然後跟我爸說 <Q 耶 這個小孩子臉看起來還是黃黃的喔. Q>  
ran hou gen wo pa shuo y<Q ye zhe ge xiao hai zi lian kan chi lai hai shi huang huang de wo Q>  
then (he) told my father <Q yeah.. this baby's face still looks yellow Q>

20. M: 黃膽喔?  
 huang dan wo?  
 jaundice?
21. D: <P 對對對 P>後來又去醫院做檢查  
 <P dui dui dui P>hou lai you qu yi yuan zuo jian cha  
 <P right right right P> finally (I was) taken to the hospital again for further examination
22. 然後就發現好像沒有醫好  
 ran hou jiu fa xian hao xiang mei you yi hao  
 then (the doctor) found that my (former) treatment was not successful.
23. 然後就又住院  
 ran hou jiu you zhu yuan  
 then (I ) stayed at the hospital again
24. 好像住蠻多天的  
 hao xiang zhu man duo tian de  
 (it) seemed that (I stayed there) many days
25. 打針啊  
 da zhen a  
 (I had) several injections
26. 我不知道有沒有開刀啊  
 wo bu zhi dao you mei you kai dao a  
 I didn't know if (I) had an operation or not
27. 我爸爸說那時候大概花了十萬塊吧  
 wo baba shuo na shi hou da gai hua le shi wan kuai ba  
 my father said that (the medical fee) was more than one hundred thousand dollars
28. K: 花好多錢喔  
 hua hao duo xian wo  
 (your father) spent lots money
29. D: 對呀 我爸爸說好嚴重 還蠻嚴重的  
 dui ya..wo baba shuo hao yian chong hai man yan chong de  
 right..my father said (my illness was) very serious..really serious
30. 然後那時候就是吃了許多藥  
 ran hou na shi hou jiu shi chi le hen duo yao  
 then (I) took lots of medicine
31. 然後就變的很沒有抵抗力  
 ran hou jiu bian de en mei you di kang le  
 then (I) became..that (I) didn't have any resistance (against diseases).
32. 然後就得了很重的病  
 ran hou jiu de le hen chong de bin  
 after that...(I was) sick..really sick
33. M: 你那時候多小 剛出生嗎?  
 ni na shi hou duo xiao gang chu sheng ma?  
 how young were you then?... just a new-born (baby)?



34. D: 差不多出生兩三個月  
cha bu duo chu sheng lian san ge yue  
(I was) about two or three months (old)
35. 人家小孩子出生不是都喝牛奶嗎  
ren jia xiao hai zi chu sheng bu shi dou he niu nai ma  
when babies are so young they really need to drink milk
36. 那我那個時候幾乎都是打點滴的  
na wo na ge shi hou ji fu dou shi da dian di de  
I had injections continuously
37. 然後我那時候身體很虛弱  
ran hou won a shi hou shen ti hen shu ruo  
then I was frail
38. 都是靠打點滴來維持營養  
dou shi kao da ding di lai wei zi yin yang  
all the sustenance (I) got was from the injections
39. 然後小時候就是有生過那場重病.  
ran hou xiao shi hou jiu shi you sheng guo na chang chong bin.  
then..(it was because I) had a serious illness
40. 然後身體一直都很不好  
ran hou shen ti yi zhi dou hen bu hao  
ever since then..(my health) has been frail
41. 國小啦國中啦甚至到高中 我一個月大概會感冒個三四次  
guo xiao la guo chong la sheng zhi dao gao chong wo yi ge yue da gai hui kan  
mao ge san si zi  
I used to catch a cold three or four times a month in elementary school and  
junior high..even in senior high school
42. K: <P 這麼多次啊 P>  
<P zhe mo dou zi a P>  
<P so many times P>
43. D: 就是天氣一變化 然後”現掉風”(台語) 就可能開始咳嗽感冒了  
jiu shi tian chi yi bian hua ran hou xian diao feng jiu ken eng kai shi ke sou kan  
mao le  
whenever the weather changed..then (I) caught a chill and probably (I) would  
cough and have a cold
44. M: 喔! 那體質不好啦  
oh! na ti zhi bu hao la  
oh! (it was because your) body constitution was not good enough
45. D: < acc 對對對 acc> 那時候家裡經濟不好也沒辦法吃很多營養品啊  
<acc dui dui dui acc>..na shi hou jia li jiu jib u hao ye mei ban fa chi hen dou  
ying yang pin a  
<acc right right right acc> (my parents were) poor then so (I) didn't get much  
nutrition
46. 那這是我小時候印象最深刻的事  
na zhi shi wo xiao shi hou zui sheng ke de shi  
this left a deep impression on my early life

47. 因為他們就一直說 <Q 你小時候差點快要回天乏術  
yin wei ta men jiu yi zhi shuo <Q ni xiao shi hou cha dian kuai yao  
**HUI-TIAN-FA-SHU**  
because they kept telling (me) <Q When you were a baby, you almost **DIED**
48. 是醫生把你從鬼門關救回來的 Q>  
shi yi sheng ba ni tzonegui men guan jiu hui lai de Q>  
(it) was the doctor (who) saved (your life) from the gates of hell Q>
49. 所以身體一直都不是很好  
suo yi..seng ti yi zhi dou bu shi hen hao  
so ..(my health) has been continually fragile
50. 然後後來就是到::: 一直國小國中都是這樣子啊  
ran hou hou lai jiu shi dao::yi zhi guo xiao guo chong dou shi zhe yang zi a  
then later::(it) continued till elementary school.. junior high
51. 到高中好像也是這樣子  
dao gao chong hao xiang ye shi zhe yang zi  
(it) seemed to persist until senior high
52. 然後到大學的時候 可能比較大了吧 有一點抵抗力了  
ran hou dao da shiue de shi hou ..ke neng bi jiao da le ba you yi shie di kan li le  
then when (I) went to university..probably I was older and I had more resistance  
(against diseases)
53. 然後後來我就是有開始吃一些營養食品  
ran hou..hou lai wo jiu shi you kai shi chi yi shi eying yang shi pin  
then..later on I began to have some nutritious food
54. 然後去調理身體  
ran hou qu tiao li seng ti  
then (I began) to pay (more) attention of my health
55. 然後到現在我一年都沒有感冒了  
ran hou dao xian zai wo dou **YI NIAN** dou mei you gan mao le  
then (it) was **ONE YEAR** before I caught another cold
56. K: 你吃什麼東西?  
ni chi she mo dong si?  
what did (medical treatment) you take?
57. D: 就是吃一些維他命 B 啊維他命 C 啊以及補充蛋白質  
jiu shi chi yi shie wei ta ming B a wei ta ming C a yi jiu bu chong dan bai zhi  
(I) just took some vitamin B..vitamin C..and additional proteins
58. M: 會很貴嗎?  
hui hen gui ma?  
(were they) very expensive?
59. D: 大概是兩三千元然後我大概可以吃兩三個月  
da gai shi lian san chian yuan ran hou wo da gai ke yi chi lian san ge yue  
about two or three thousand dollars and then I used them for two or three months
60. K: 你吃多久了?  
ni chi dou jiu le?  
how long did you take (them) for?

61. D: 半年吧 然後半年來都沒有感冒  
ban nien ba ran hou ban nien lai dou mei you gan mao  
(for) half a year!.. then during this half year I didn't catch any cold
62. K: 體力變好了?  
ti li bian hao le?  
(did your) physical strength improve?
63. D: 對.. 然後後來我發現原來感冒時是可以不用吃藥  
dui..ran hou hou lai wo fa xian yuan lai gan mao shi ke yi bu yong chi yao  
right..then later I realized that (I) didn't need to take medicine when (I) had a cold
64. 只要補充維他命 多喝水多休息就可以好了  
zhi yao bu chung wei ta ming dou he shui dou shiu shi jiu ke yi hao le  
(I) just needed to take vitamins..drink more water and take more rest then (I) would recover
65. 以前都是吃藥吃藥吃藥  
yi chian dou shi chi yao chi yao chi yao  
(I used to) take medicine..take medicine..and take medicine
66. 可能吃太多藥了 才讓身體很不好  
ke neng chi tai dou yao le cai ran sheng ti hen bu hao  
maybe (I) took too much medicine so I (actually) became weaker
67. 如果生病沒有看醫生吃藥就會感覺生不如死  
ru guo sheng bin mei you kan yi sheng chi yao jiu hui gang jue  
**SHENG-BU-RU-SHI**  
if (I) was sick..(I) didn't go to the doctor's and take medicine..I felt like **THE LIVING DEAD**
68. 直到上大學時 才了解到原來生病是可以不用吃藥  
zhi dao shang da shiue shi cai liao jiu dao yuan lai sheng bin shi ke yi bu yong chi yao  
it was when (I) went to university..(I eventually) realized that I didn't need to take medicine when (I was) sick
69. 然後加強身體的抵抗力就會好了  
ran hou jia chiang shen ti de di kang li jiu hui hao le  
then (by) improving (my) body's resistance I recuperated

#### **TM 10: Enteroviruses**

1. K: 她很早就結婚了  
ta hen zao jiu jiu hun le  
she married really early
2. 她兒子現在已經好幾歲了  
ta er zi xian zai yi jing hao ji shui le  
her son was several years old
3. 那時候她跟我講說:: 嗯 好幾年前  
na shi hou ta gen wo jiang shuo::en hao chi nian xian  
when she told me en::several year ago

4. 你還記得嗎 腸病毒很流行?  
ni hai chi de ma chung bin dou hen liou shing?  
do you remember enterovirus used to be in vogue? <sup>7</sup>
5. D: 嗯  
hmmp humph  
hmmp humph
6. K: 那時候在**成大醫院**  
na shi hou zai **CHENG DA YI YUNG**  
then (the child was) in **CHENG DA HOSPITAL**
7. 成大醫院 你知道嗎?  
cheng da yi yung ni zhi dao ma?  
do you know Cheng Da Hospital?
8. 所有的醫生都沒辦法治了  
suo you de yi sheng dou mei ban fa zhi le  
all the doctors were unable to treat (her son)
9. 因為那個小孩是**拉肚子 發高燒** 又高燒不退  
yin wei na ge xiao hai zi shi **LA DOU ZI.. FA GAO SHAO** you gao shao bu tuei  
because the child had **DIARRHEA..a HIGH FEVER..** and (the child's) fever remained constantly high
10. 用盡各種治療 就都沒辦法  
yong jin ge chong zhi liao jiu dou mei ban fa  
(the doctors) had tried every possible remedy but in vain
11. D: 嗯 嗯  
hmmp humph  
hmmp humph
12. K: 後來呢 就把家長找來了  
hou lai ne jiu ba jia chang zhao lai le  
finally (the doctor) talked to the parents
13. 然後就跟她說 <Q 我們要用最後一招 那是我們最不喜歡用的 Q>  
ran hou jiu gent a shuo <Q Wo men yao yong zui hou yi zhao na shi wo men zhao bu shi huan yong de Q>  
then (the doctors) told her <Q We have to use the last treatment which we hate to use the most Q>
14. 然後醫生就問她 <Q 我不知道為什麼妳的小孩 我們給他的抗生素啦藥  
啦都沒有用  
ran hou yi sheng jiu wen ta <Q Wo bu zhi dao wei she mo ni de xiao hai wo men gei ta de kang sheng su la yao la dou mei you yong  
then the doctors asked her <Q I don't know why your child..the antibiotics and medicine we used are in vain

<sup>7</sup> *Enteroviruses* are small viruses that are made of ribonucleic acid (RNA) and protein. Enteroviruses can cause flu-like symptoms, rash, or in rare cases, inflammation of the heart (myocarditis) or brain (encephalitis).

15. 有可能是妳的小孩已經.. Q>  
you ken eng shi ni de xiao hai yi jing.. Q>  
(is it) possible that your child already.. Q>
16. M: 抗藥性了?  
kang yao shin le?  
is drug resistant?
17. K: 對 抗藥性太強了  
dui ..kang yao shin tai chiang le  
right..has built a strong resistance to drugs
18. 吃太多藥了啦  
chi tai dou yao le la  
(the child) had taken too much medicine
19. 然後他就說 <Q 我們要用目前:: Q>  
ran hou ta jiu shuo <Q wo men yao yong mu chian:: Q>  
then he said <Q at present we need to use:: Q>
20. 我忘記她說是全世界**最強**或是台灣**最強**的抗生素  
wo wan ji ta shuo shi shuan shi jiu **ZUI CHUNG** huo shi Taiwan **ZUI CHUNG**  
de kang sheng su  
I forgot what she identified as the **STRONGEST** antibiotics in the world or in Taiwan
21. 他說 <Q 我現在只能.. Q>  
ta shuo <Q wo xian zai zhi neng.. Q>  
he said <Q What I can use now.. Q>
22. D: 用最強的藥試試看  
yong zui chung de yao shi shi kan  
(the doctor) tried to use the strongest medicine
23. K: 對 <Q 用最強的藥試試看 不然妳這小孩很危險 Q>  
dui <Q yong zui chung de yao shi shi kan bu ran ni zhe xiao hai hen wei xian Q>  
yes.. (the doctor said) <Q try to use the strongest medicine or your child will be in serious danger Q>
24. 那就問家長願不願意這樣子啊  
na jiu wen jia chang yuan bu yuan yi zhe yang zi a  
then (the doctors) asked the parents if they were willing to use (it)
25. 然後她就問說 <Q 那用了以後會怎樣啊? Q>  
ran hou ta jiu wen shuo <Q na yao le yi hou hui ze mo yang a? Q>  
then she asked <Q what will happen if (my child) uses it? Q>
26. 他就說喔 <Q 那就看這個小孩子的造化啦  
ta jiu shuo wo <Q na jiu kan zhe ge xiao hai zi de zao hua la  
he said <Q it depends on this child's luck...
27. 如果這次這個小孩子::^等他長大或者以後又得腸病毒的時候  
ru guo zhe zi zhe ge xiao hai zi:: ei deng ta zhang da huo zhe yi hou you de  
chung bin dou de shi hou  
if this child this time::gets enterovirus again when he grows up or in the future

28. 啊如果有更強的抗生素出來了  
ah ru guo you geng chung de kang sheng su chu lai le  
and if there are already stronger antibiotics (in the future)
29. 〰 這個小孩子再得到腸病毒的時候 就再用更強的藥 再用就 **OK** 啦 Q>  
ei zhe ge xiao hai zi zai de dao chung bin dou de shi hou jiu zai yong geng chung  
de yao zai yong jiu **OK** la Q>  
then if this child in the future gets enterovirus again then it will be **OK** to use  
stronger medicine Q>
30. 我那時候聽到就說 <Q 那如果沒有勒 Q>  
wo na shi hou ting dao jiu shuo <Q na ru guo mei you le Q>  
when I heard that I said <Q if there is not (any stronger antibiotics in the  
future Q>
31. 她就看著我很無耐的說..  
ta jiu kan zhe wo hen wu nai de shuo..  
she looked at me and said helplessly..
32. D: <P 沒救了? P>  
<P mei jiu le? P>  
<P (was there ) no hope? P>
33. K: 這種話她說不出口  
zhe chong hua ta shuo bu qu kou  
(it was) too difficult for her to say this
34. 她就說 <Q P 那醫生就說看孩子的造化啦  
ta jiu shuo <Q P na yi sheng jiu shuo kan hai zi de zao hua la  
she just said <Q P the doctor just said it depends on the child's luck
35. 然後:::如果沒有更強的藥 可能就沒有辦法了 P Q>  
ran hou:::ru guo mei you geng chang de yao ken eng jiu mei you ban fa  
le P Q>  
then:::if there is no stronger medicine it might be hopeless P Q>
36. 那我就問她說 <Q 那那::後來妳覺得怎麼樣? Q>  
na wo jiu went a shuo <Q na na hou lai ni jue de ze mo yang? Q>  
so I asked her <Q then then::what did you do finally? Q>
37. <Q F 妳看我小孩子好好地在這裡...  
<Q ni kan wo xiao hai zi hao hao de zai zhe li...  
<Q look at my child who is fine here...
38. 當然當初就用了  
dan rend..an qu jiu yong le  
of course..(I promised) to use it (the strongest antibiotics)
39. 還簽保證書啊 F Q> 就是說..  
hai chian bao zheng su a F Q> jiu shi shuo  
(I even) signed the guaranty FQ> that is
40. M: 就是醫生不要負醫療效果的責任  
jiu shi yi sheng bu yao fu yi liao xiao guo de ze ren  
that is the doctors didn't want to take any responsibility for the treatment

41. K: 對對對  
dui dui dui  
right right right

**TM 11: The Winning Ticket**

1. E: 就是我去那個家扶中心  
jiu shi wo qu na ge jia fu chong shin  
it was (when) I went to (the) *Family Support Centre*
2. 然後幫他們對發票 然後中了二十萬  
ran hou pang ta men dui fa piao ran hou chong le er she wan  
then I helped them by checking the tickets and then one ticket won the big money.. two hundred thousand dollars
3. T: 喔:: 是家扶中心的故事.  
oh:: shi jia fu chong shin de gu shi  
oh::(It ) is the story about *Family Support Centre*
4. V: 那時候是什麼感覺?  
na shi hou shi she mo gan jue?  
what were you feeling then?
5. E: 那時候就是::我在想<Q 我可以自己拿下來 因為都沒有人看到 Q>  
na shi hou jiu shi::wo zai xian <Q wo ke yi zi ji na shi alai yin wei dou mei you ren kan dao Q>  
at the moment ::I was thinking I could take it away as my own one because no one saw it Q>
6. <acc 可是我沒有那樣做 acc>  
<acc KE SHI WO MEI YOU NA YANG ZOU acc>  
<acc BUT I DIDN'T DO IT acc>
7. T: 你那時候有考慮很久嗎?  
ni na shi hou you kao lu hen jiu ma?  
did you consider (doing it) for a long time?
8. E: 就是還蠻驚訝的  
jia shi hai man jing ya de  
(I was) very surprised
9. 然後在想 <Q 到底要不要拿走 Q>  
ran hou zai xian <Q dao di yao bu yao na zou Q>  
then (I was) thinking <Q to take it or not Q>
10. 不過一下子就醒過來了  
bu guo yi xia zi jiu shing guo lai le  
but (I ) “woke” up in a short time (soon came to my senses)
11. 然後說 <Q 算了還是給他們吧 Q>  
ran hou shuo <Q suan le hai shi huan gei ta men ba Q>  
I told (myself) <Q forget about just return it to them Q>
12. V: 什麼時候的事?  
she mo shi hou de shi?  
when did this happen?

13. E: 寒假的時候 去年寒假的時候  
han jia de shi hou qu nian han jia de shi hou  
(during the) winter vacation..winter vacation last year
14. 我媽的朋友在台南社會局工作  
wo ma de peng you zai Tainan she hui jug on zuo  
my mother's friend works in the *Social Welfare Bureau* in Tainan
15. 然後她就跟我媽說<Q 妳女兒寒假有空 就去家扶中心服務 Q>  
ran hou ta jiu gen wo ma shuo <Q ni nu er han jia you kon jiu qu jia fu  
chong shin fu wu Q>  
then she told my mother that <Q if your daughter is free in the winter vacation  
then (why not) go to work for the *Family Support Centre* Q>
16. 於是我就去那邊服務當義工啦  
yu shi wo jiu qu na bian fu wu dong yi gon la  
therefore I went there to work as a volunteer
17. 因為有很多人都會捐發票  
yin wei you hen dour en dou hui juan fa piao  
because there were lots of people donating their tickets
18. 當我對到的時候 就像是做夢一樣  
dang wo dui dao de shi hou jiu xian shi zou mong yi yang  
when I hit the jackpot it was just like a dream
19. 二十萬耶 那時候我是想他們比我更需要這筆錢  
**ER SHI WAN YE** na shi hou wo shi xian ta men pi wo gen shu yao zhe bi  
chian  
**TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS!** ..then I thought they needed  
the money much more than I did
20. T: 哇二十萬耶 好不簡單喔  
**WA!..ER SHI WAN YE..**hao bu jian dian wo  
**WA!..TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS ..**(it was) not easy
21. E: 二十萬是從最後一個數字到第二個數字都是一樣的  
er shi wan shi chong zui hou yi ge shu zi dao die r ge shu zi dou shi yi yang de  
(the money) two hundred thousand dollars..(you got from the ticket) meant the  
numbers from the last to the second one must be as same as those (which the  
government announced)
22. 當我第一次對到時 我根本不敢相信  
dong wo di yi zi dui dao shi wo gen ben bu gan xian shin  
when I first checked it..I didn't believe it
23. 就像在做夢一樣  
jiu xiang zai zou mong yi yang  
(it was) just like a dream
24. 我對了好多次  
wo dui le hao dou zi  
I checked (it) several times
25. 終於確定是 二十萬  
chong yu chue ding shi er shi wan  
finally (I was) sure (that it was really) two hundred thousand dollars [Laughter]



26. V: 很難得的經驗耶  
 hen nan de de jing yan ye  
 (a) really extraordinary occurrence
27. E: 對啊  
 dui a  
 right

### **TM 12: Rice Worms and Lazy Civil Servants**

1. E: 我哥啊 在教育部當替代役  
 wo ge a zai jiao yu bu dang ti dai yi  
 my brother served as a soldier in the Ministry of Education
2. 然後去教育部工作  
 ran hou qu jiao yu bu gong zuo  
 then (he) worked in the Ministry of Education
3. 剛開始待在祕書室  
 gang kai si dai zai mi su shi  
 in the beginning (he) was in the secretariat
4. 祕書室的職員有時候上班上到十二點  
 mi su shi de zhi yuan you shi hou shang bian dao shi er dian  
 the clerks in the Secretariat (usually) worked until noon
5. 然後下去地下室有那個 buffet 自助餐  
 ran hou xia qu di xia shi you na ge buffet zi zhu can  
 then (they usually) went to the basement which had a cafeteria there
6. 然後不用錢  
 ran hou bu yong xian  
 then (the food there) was (usually) free
7. 然後吃到一點之後 去到好樂迪唱歌  
 ran hou chi dao yi dai zhi hou qu dao hao le di chang ge  
 then (they usually) finished eating around 1 p.m. and went to *Holiday*<sup>8</sup> to sing
8. 然後唱到二點之後 才開始工作  
 ran hou chang dao er dian zhi hou cai kai si gong zuo  
 then (they usually) finished singing after 2 p.m. and then started working (again)
9. T: <P 天啊 P>  
 <P Tian a P>  
 <P Oh my Goodness P>
10. C: 那他們幾點下班?  
 na ta men ji dian xia ban?  
 what time did they (usually) leave their office?
11. E: 下班的話就看工作情況  
 xia ban de hua jiu kan gong zuo chi kuan  
 it depended on the job

<sup>8</sup> *Holiday* is the name of a famous night club in Taiwan.

12. 如果有事的話 就等到七點  
ru guo you shi de hua jiu deng dao chi dian  
if (they were) busy then (they) worked until 7 p.m.
13. 要不然就五點下班這樣子  
yao bu ran jiu wu dian xia ban zhe yang zi  
or (they) just left at 5 p.m.
14. T: @ 難以置信 @  
@ nai yi zhi shin @  
@ hard to believe @ [Laughter]
15. E: 他們有時候還會去喝下午茶  
ta men you shi hou hai hui qu he xia wu cha  
they had afternoon tea time sometimes
16. V: 這就是為什麼那麼多人要當公務人員啦  
zhe jiu shi wei she mo na mo dou ren yao dang gong wu ren yuan la  
that's why so many people like to be public officials
17. 領錢不做事  
ling xian bu zuo shi  
(they) get the payment but do nothing
18. @ 那不就是米蟲嘛 @  
@ na bu jiu shi mi chong ma @  
@ they must be rice worm @ [Laughter]
19. C: 妳們還記不記得 從馬來西亞來的那個老師?  
ni men hai ji bu ji de tzone ma lia shi ya lia de na ge lao shi?  
do you remember the teacher from Malaysia?
20. V: 素玲老師  
Shu Ling lao shi  
teacher Shu Ling
21. C: 她就是有去警察局 因為戶籍的關係  
ta jiu shi you qu jing cha ju yin wei hu ji de guan shi  
she went to police office in order to register her residential details with the police<sup>9</sup>
22. 然後去 然後就看到他們在打電動  
ran hou qu ran hou jiu kan dao ta men zai da dian don  
then (when she) went (there) then (she) saw them playing games
23. 然後她就覺得很::她就說 <Q 蛤! 你們台灣人都這樣喔  
ran hou ta jiu jue de hen::ta jiu shuo <Q ha ni men Taiwan ren dou zhe yang wo Q>  
then she thought very::she said <Q ha all you Taiwanese people (behaved) like that Q>
24. 公家機關都這麼優閒  
gong jia ji guan dou zhe mo you xian  
all the public officials had a profuse amount of time for leisure (activities)

<sup>9</sup> Foreign teachers in Taiwan must register their residential details with the local police in order to obtain an *Alien Residents Certificate* (ARC). Otherwise, they will be deported.

25. 他們都在做自己的事情  
ta men dou zai zou zi ji de shi ching  
they were doing their own thing
26. 也沒看到他們在忙公文  
ye mei kan dao ta men zai mang gong wen  
no one was busy engaging in official business
27. 就是玩電動啊 類似那一種 Q>  
jiu shi wan dian don a lei sin a yi chong Q>  
(what they did) was playing games...something like that Q>
28. E: 我想是鄉下警察比較閒啦  
wo xiang shi xian xia jing cha bi jiao xian la  
I think policemen in rural areas will have more leisure time
29. 台北市可能就很忙了  
Taipei shi ken eng jiu hen mang le  
(the policemen) in Taipei city<sup>10</sup> might be very busy
30. C: 嗯我想也是  
hmm..wo xiang ye shi  
hmm..I think so

### **TM 13: The Bird Flu Incident**

1. E: 這件事我回來台灣後已經講很多遍了  
zhe jian shi wo hui lai Taiwan hou yi jin jiang hen dou bian le  
I have mentioned this event many times since I came back to Taiwan
2. 可是我還是喜歡再講一遍  
ke shi wo hai shi shi huan zai jiang yi bian  
but I still like to repeat it again
3. V: 什麼事?  
she mo shi?  
what is it?
4. C: 啊 我知道妳一定要講機場的事啦  
ahh Wo zhi dao ni yi ding yao jiang ji chang de shi la  
ahh I know that you are definitely referring to the event at the airport
5. E: 我同學去德國訪問姐妹校  
wo tong xue qu de guo fon wen jiu mei jiao  
my classmate went to Germany to visit our sister school
6. 然後在機場的時候 在機場過海關的時候 她被當成是中國大陸人  
ran hou zai ji chang de shi hao zai ji chang guo hai guan de shi hao ta bei dang  
shi chong guo da lu ren  
when (she was at the German) airport passing through customs she was  
considered to be a Chinese (person)
7. 因為我們有被列為那個:: 傳染病那個::  
yin wei wo men you bei lei wei na ge::chuan ran bin na ge::  
because we were listed as that::that infectious disease::<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Taipei is the capital city of Taiwan.

8. C: 傳染病..*bird flu*  
chuan ran bin..*bird flu*  
the infectious disease..*bird flu*
9. E: yeah..<acc 對對對 acc> 禽::禽流感.  
yeah.. <acc dui dui dui acc> chin::CHIN LIU GAN  
yeah..<acc yes yes yes acc > bird:: BIRD FLU
- 10.V: 台灣有嗎?  
Taiwan you ma?  
did Taiwan have (bird flu)?
11. E: 台灣沒有  
Taiwan mei you  
Taiwan didn't have (bird flu)
12. 他們把台灣歸在中國大陸這邊  
ta men ba Taiwan gui zai chong guo da lu zhe bian  
they regarded Taiwan as belonging to China
13. 因為她被當成中國人 所以在機場多停留了兩三個小時  
yin wei ta bei dang cheng chong guo ren suo yi zai ji chang dou ting liu le  
lian san ge xiao shi  
because she was regarded as Chinese (she had to) stay at the airport for two  
to three hours more (longer than normal)
14. C: 他們覺得說台灣是中國大陸的一部份  
ta men jue de shuo Taiwan shi chong guo da lu de yi bu fen  
they thought Taiwan was a part of China
15. 他們覺得我們也是有禽流感  
ta men jue de wo men ye shi you chin liu gan  
they thought we might have also become infected with bird flu
16. V: 她好無辜喔  
ta hao wu gu wo  
she was so innocent
17. E: 不是只有她  
bu shi zhi you ta  
not only her
18. 是他們全部  
shi TA MEN CHUAN BU  
but ALL OF THEM
19. 她們全都被歸為一類  
ta men chuan dou bei gui wei yi lei  
all of them were regarded (treated) as the same

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<sup>11</sup> At the time, strict preventive measures were being taken at airports to stop the possible spread of Asian bird flu from China. The Taiwanese students had passports which state "Taiwan: Republic of China". Hence, they were mistaken for Chinese citizens from the Peoples' Republic of China (Mainland China).

20. 全都不讓她們通過  
chuan dou bu rang ta men tong gu  
all of them were not allowed to pass (through the customs)
21. 然後都要留下來檢查  
ran hou dou yao liu shi alai jian zha  
then they had to stay for a medical check
22. V: 檢查什麼?  
jian zha she mo?  
to check for what?
23. E: 身體測量  
shen ti tze liang  
(to) check their body (temperature)
24. 主要檢查他們身體有沒有發燒  
zhu yao jian zha ta men shen ti you mei you fa shao  
mainly to check if they had a high fever or not
25. 我同學一直解釋她是台灣人不是中國人  
wo tong xue yi zhi jiu sit a shi **TAIWAN REN** bu shi **CHONG GUO REN**  
my classmate kept explaining that she was **TAIWANESE** not **CHINESE**
26. 可是啊:: 德國海關還是認為她們是中國人  
ke shi a:: de guo hai guan hai shi ren wei ta men shi chong guo ren  
but:: the German custom officers still thought they were Chinese
27. V: 她有很生氣嗎?  
ta you hen sheng chi ma?  
was she very angry?
28. E: 還好啦  
hai hao la  
(it was) ok
29. 她說<Q 人在屋簷下不得不低頭 Q>  
ta shuo <Q **REN ZAI WU YIN XIA BU DE BU DI TOU** Q><sup>12</sup>  
she said <Q **WHEN YOU ARE IN ANOTHER PERSON'S COUNTRY**  
**YOU HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO OBEY THEIR RULES**
30. 還好只有兩三個小時而已 Q>  
hai hao zhi you liao san ge xiao shi er yi Q>  
luckily (it) only lasted (we were only restrained) for two or three hours Q>

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<sup>12</sup> This Chinese phrase is symbolic in meaning. It states that when a person is under the eave of a house, a person has no choice but to lower his or her head before entering the house. In short, one is under control of another individual.

## Taiwanese Students' English Narratives (TEFL)

### TEFL 1: Learning the Clarinet

1. J: <F **YEAH** F>...I have a very < F **UNFORGETTABLE** F> experience
2. I learning how to play the <F **CLARINET** F>
3. I think it is very interesting
4. and I start..starting learning it from..from 12 years old..and
5. B: who taught you?
6. J: I want to learn..because I very like its sound
7. B: do your parents pay the fee for you?
8. J: <F **YEAH** F>
9. B: < F **WOW** F>
10. J: and they spend a lot of money..lots of money
11. B: I think your parents really love you..love you very much
12. J: <F **YEAH** F>
13. Mod: did you really want to play clarinet?
14. J: Yeah..hmm.
15. G: why?
16. J: <F **WHY?** F>
17. G: did you see some famous clarinet players?
18. J: <F **NO** F>..but..but I just like the music
19. B: <acc and what about the <F **UNFORGETTABLE** F> experience? acc>
20. J: it's very hard to learn to play
21. B: you have to learn to use your stomach to play?
22. Mod: <F **STOMACH** F>...did you say stomach?
23. B: you use the strength from your deep stomach?
24. how long have you learnt?
25. J: since about 12 years old..about 10 years
26. B: did you still learning?
27. J: <acc no no acc>
28. G: why did you stop learning?
29. J: <acc because I have acc>
30. B: because you..you have to concentrate to study full the college test?
31. J: < F **YAH** F>
32. B: is there anything difficult when you learn to play the clarinet?
33. J: because when you play the clarinet
34. you have to use your finger fast..very fast
35. because it's a skill..when you play the clarinet
36. B: so?
37. J: I can't really move fast
38. B: so how do you improve it?
39. J: to play the clarinet..I have to play..play the clarinet about 2 hours
40. B: every day?
41. J: <F **YEAH** F>
42. B: <F **WOW** F>
43. J: I have to have a class in Taipei

44. and but my home is in Tao-Yuan  
 45. so I have  
 46. G: to take a bus?  
 47. J: <acc to take a <F **BUS** F> acc>  
 48. G: do you have a special teacher in Taipei?  
 49. J: <acc my teacher come from <F **ITALIA** F> acc>  
 50. B: is your teacher a Taiwanese?  
 51. J: < F **TAIWANESE** F>  
 52. B: but he study sounds in Italy?  
 53. how often do you learn clarinet..a week?  
 54. J: every day  
 55. Mod: when you were younger...but now you don't have the time?  
 56. ok..what was your learning experience?  
 57. B: do you think it is hard for you..for a young girl..to take a bus or train from  
 Taoyuan to Taipei..to decode a way to play the clarinet?  
 58. Mod: you mean it was stressful?  
 59. it was too much pressure for you?  
 60. J: and I..only one..go to Taipei  
 61. B: and you feel < F **FEAR** F ..get fear?  
 62. J: < acc sometimes acc>  
 63. G: are you not < F **SAD** F> now that you cannot continue with your study of the  
 clarinet?  
 64. J: <acc sometimes acc>  
 65. B: < acc a little bit? acc>  
 66. and..erhh...did you join any club?  
 67. y'know..errh...a group...<acc how to say that? acc>  
 68. Mod: <F **ORCHESTRA?** F>  
 69. B+J: Yeah...<F **ORCHESTRA** F>  
 70. B: < acc did you join it? acc>  
 71. J: yes...before..I join it before  
 72. B: <acc how old were you when you join an orchestra? acc>  
 73. J: just when I start learning  
 74. B: and did you play any great..great songs from the composers?  
 75. J: <acc Mozart acc>  
 76. B: < F **MOZART..WOW** F>  
 77. did you write the songs?  
 78. J: @yes@ [**Laughter**]  
 79. B: do you want in the future to become..a...<F **PROFESSIONAL** F musician?  
 80. J: < acc no..no..no..just my interest..not my career acc>  
 81. B: <acc did you make any friends when you join the orchestra? acc>  
 82. < acc so you like music and it can make you feel happy and make a lot of  
 friends?acc>  
 83. J: it can also be a challenge  
 84. you can  
 85. G: <acc <F **IMPROVE** F> your relationship?acc>  
 86. B: and what did you do when you have the difficulty playing the clarinet?

87. did you just complain <Q oh..it's..it's not a good song>Q
88. <acc I can't play it well acc>
89. or you just ask your teacher <Q please could you help me how to improve it>Q
90. or you will discuss with your friends or the partners in the orchestra?
91. J: I see..just partners..just practice
92. B: <acc alone? acc>
93. J: <acc only partners acc>
94. B: <acc but you don't.. you didn't ..discuss the problems..you can't improve acc>
95. you can't solve with others?
96. J: <acc it's no use acc>
97. G: you say it's your own problem?
98. B: <acc so you have to do your own job acc>
99. it's..it's
100. G: you have to ask lots of questions by yourself?
101. J: < F **YEAH** F>
102. G: are you happy solving those problems by yourself?
103. so are you happy?
104. J: <F **SURE** F>...it's a challenge for me
105. B: and..errh..how did you feel after you solved the problem after you practice a lot?
106. do you feel..errh...<acc how to say that? acc>
107. you overcome a difficulty
108. how did you feel when you overcome the problems?
109. J: < F **I FEEL ON TOP** F>
110. B: @ <F **HA HA HA** > @ [Laughter]
111. J: <Q <F **ON TOP OF THE WORLD** F> Q> <sup>13</sup> Laughter]

### **TEFL 2: No One Likes Me**

1. G: when I was at junior high school
2. and.. errh ..I encountered a tough situation which about the relationship between my classmates and I
3. <acc I don't know why classmates were always acc> trying..trying to tease me
4. B: why...they don't like you?
5. G: yes:: no one <F **LIKE** F>me
6. B: <acc do you do something rude or did you say something bad to them? acc>
7. G: I just..errh
8. B: @**WHAT DID YOU DO?**@ [Everyone laughs]
9. G: <acc I bring the lunch acc>
10. B: <acc because you are poor? acc>
11. G: the school will prepare the lunch for students
12. and they will have lunch together in each classroom
13. B: each student will take a piece of the meal
14. and always there will some

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<sup>13</sup> The respondent extends her arms here in imitation of the scene from the movie Titanic in which Leonardo Di Caprio exclaims "I'm King of the World!"



15. G: and vegetable or  
16. B: or meat or rice or soup left?  
17. G: and I bring them home  
18. <acc I package them home acc>  
19. all of everyday:: everyday:: a lot of food  
20. I'm <F **HAPPY** F>  
21. I think it's wasteful to leave food...to throw food away  
22. <acc it's not because I am poor acc>  
23. @ actually.. I am a little poor@ [**Everyone laughs**]  
24. it's not the main reason I do that  
25. I just..I just can't to waste the food  
26. B: <acc do you ask them about this? acc>  
27. G: <acc because my teacher did that too  
28. my teacher packaged the food back acc>  
29. B: <acc did you ask them why the reason why they hate you or tease you? acc>  
30. G: I just guess  
31. B: <acc you just <F **GUESS** F>? acc>  
32. <acc maybe it's not the <F **REAL** F> reason acc>  
33. G: I did nothing wrong or have fight with classmates never  
34. because every time I packaged the food  
35. and then my classmates would look at me in a strange way..in a strange way  
errh..errh  
36. B: maybe you say something strange or bad  
37. you act like not the other students  
38. do you ask them before you package all the..all the vegetables..soup..rice..meal  
or meat?  
39. ask them...do you want to take some of these?  
40. otherwise I will package that  
41. G: <acc they think it was dirty  
42. so I was dirty too acc>  
43. B: why do they think it is dirty?  
44. do you always mix the things together?  
45. G: <F **NO** F>  
46. B: <F **NO?** F>  
47. L: <acc what do you do with the package? acc>  
48. B: do you mean that the food was dirty  
49. and it was disgusting to do that?  
50. G: <F **BUT MY TEACHER DID THAT** F>  
51. Mod: what did you learn from this experience?  
52. G: <acc my teacher always thought I was troublesome  
53. one day he asked me to come in front of the class acc>  
54. and asked me...<Q why don't you get along with your classmates? Q>  
55. <Q why do you act so strange? Q  
56. <Q **LOOK AT YOU** Q>  
57. B: <acc that's so < F **AWFUL** F> acc>  
58. G: something like that..he said very very bad words about me

59. B: <P what a teacher P> [**Sighs**]  
 60. he is so rude to your girl  
 61. <acc did you <F **CRY**? F>acc>  
 62. G: < F **NO** F>...  
 63. @I feel so <F **STRONG** F> @ [**Everyone laughs**]  
 64. B: upset?  
 65. G: very upset  
 66. and I just get very nervous::and frustrated  
 67. <acc and I want to run away from school  
 68. and I skip the class acc>  
 69. @and finally my dad brought me back and <F **BEAT** F>me@  
 [**Everyone laughs**]  
 70.B: I don't think he is a good teacher.  
 71. G: but he teach::he teaches very well.  
 72. Mod: do you think that you really learn anything when your parents beat you?  
 73. L: <acc my mother <F **BEAT** F>beat me..when I was in elementary school@ acc>  
 [**Everyone laughs**]  
 74. B: my father punished me with his hand knocked on face, my leg  
 75. so did you learn from his class well?  
 76. do you lose the faith to teacher..to teachers?  
 77. do you still trust teachers can help you a lot?  
 78. G: I could not open my mind.. or trust teacher for a long time  
 79. < acc I cannot feel free with others  
 80. I think everyone want to < F **HURT** F> me..use me.. tease me acc>  
 81. it's < F **TERRIBLE** F>

### **TEFL 3: Over-Protective Mothers**

1. L: I want to talk about my mother  
 2. she doesn't always like me to go out with a boy  
 3. she think a girl should stay at home [**Everyone laughs**]  
 4. B: to do what?  
 5. L: <F **NO** F>..just always go out  
 6. B: why..does she think it unfair? or::  
 7. L: yes  
 8. B: <acc but you are an <F **ADULT** F> now..adult..y'know  
 9. L: and she also  
 10. B: she still think you are a child  
 11. L: yes:: she's always worried about me  
 12. @ sometimes I will drive..drive a motor to Tainan or to Kaohsiung  
 13. and she..she will be angry about it @ [**Everyone laughs**]  
 14. and one day I told her I want to go to Tainan to go shopping  
 15. my roommate will travel car with me..and she..she  
 16. B: your father?  
 17. L: always say bad words  
 18. and I think I am::am <F **GROWN-UP** F>  
 19. G: so why don't you discuss?

20. L: @I tell her but she shouts at me loudly@ [Everyone laughs]
21. <acc and I feel so sad about it
22. she didn't let me to do thing what I want to do
23. and I want to try to be acc>...ahh...hmm
24. B: independent?..you want to be <F **INDEPENDENT** F>
25. L: I think she protects me so well..y'know
26. I am <F **AFRAID** F> one day she can't
27. B: help you or protect you?
28. L: I will be a very <P weak P> person
29. and I tell her this and she..she..and I am crying..because y'know..y'know
30. B: <P no P> [Sympathetic tones]
31. L: and she said...<Q don't worry so much Q>
32. if they..she and my father didn't
33. G: can't help you anymore?
34. L: or ..or..or.. when they die or anything..I have my older brother
35. and she..she think..if..if..if..the thing happen
36. we can help each other and we can take care of ourselves
37. B: < acc but don't you think people were born to be..errh...<F **UNIQUE** F> person?
38. and you don't' always expect to be helped by others acc>
39. you know..sometimes..we will face a lot of problem
40. L: yes
41. B: <acc you should try to <F **OVERCOME?** F> acc>
42. G: hmmp humph
43. L: <acc I am trying but sometimes my mother will limit many things
44. B: I think some..some..family in Taiwan acc>
45. we can see..see the same problem
46. <F **CHILDREN** F> need to..to..how to..<F **HOW TO TALK** F> acc>
47. how to F **COMMUNICATE** F> with their parents because they are..they are..they grown-up
48. and they..they should be independent..not always dependent on their parents or older brothers..sisters
49. it won't <F **HELP** F> them a lot..<F **YES?** F>
50. L: it is very..fortune..hmm..
51. she..my mother say she is very..ermm..trusting because I will tell you anything I do
52. B: but children not..children can't always follow indication from their parents
53. L: sometimes I will grow up
54. G: @ you are not a robot...<F **ROBOT...UGH..UGH..UGH** F>..y' know @  
[mimics robotic sounds - Everyone laughs]
55. L: sometimes..I will share my feeling with her and she will think about it..and errh..and tell me how to do
56. G: would you sometimes discuss the problem?
57. L: not really..most of my ideas.. she will..she will
58. B: deny?
59. G: <acc she's trying to control everything acc>
60. L: yes

61. B: <F **TERRIBLE** F>  
62. <acc you don't have free time? acc>  
63. <acc you don't have free action? acc>  
64. <acc you don't have free choice? acc>  
65. L: for students who enter university  
66. B: but you know..you are..<F **YOU ARE** F>  
67. G: @ have you ever <F **FIGHT?** F> @ [Everyone laughs]  
68. B: @ <F **KILL..KILL** F>@ [Laughing]  
69. L: most of the time I give up my idea because she is too strict  
70. B: without his permission?  
71. L: yes::  
72. G: and does she accept your idea?  
73. L: sometimes..only for little@ [Everyone laughs]  
74. B: I am <F **CURIOUS** F> about..about if you can have your <F **OWN IDEA** F>  
and your <F **OWN EXPERIENCE OPINIONS** F> about future  
75. or you just follow what she want  
76. L: sometimes..I will discuss with her  
77. G: do you always find the right direction to..fulfill..what..she want you to do in the  
future?  
78. L: future?  
79. G: yes::  
80. L: she want..she want me to <Q study..study..study Q>  
81. G: to be a..to be..a graduate?  
82. L: to be a master.. right in language?  
83. B: do you have an interest in learning language?  
84. L: not..<P not really P>  
85. B: so..so what will you do?  
86. I think you should discuss with your father @ [Everyone laughs]  
87. L: she said...<Q it's up to you Q>  
88. I can go to anywhere..anyway  
89. <acc she didn't complain acc>  
90. G: but why you parents..don't discuss with each other about your future?  
91. L: sometimes...they will  
92. B: maybe..you three will sit and discuss the..errh  
93. <acc you are an adult now  
94. you have to deal a lot of things by yourself acc>  
95. and erhh..they are <F **NOT YOUR MASTER** F>  
96. they are...<F **JUST YOUR PARENTS** F>  
97. <acc they can't **CONTROL** your life acc>  
98. and they can't control..your destiny..control <F **EVERYTHING** F>  
99. so you should to learn how to <F **COMMUNICATE** F> with your parents acc>  
100. L: but my..my older brother is..is always following my parents' rule  
101. G: <F **OH TERRIBLE** F>  
102. L: so..my mother think I have too many strange idea..so yes::  
103. B: @ that's **CREATIVE..RIGHT?**@ [Laughter]  
104. L: my older brother is too..too dependent

105. G: he don't have a lot of his own idea...but..always follow the instruction  
mother give  
106. L: hmmp..humph

**TEFL 4: My Home-Room Teacher**

1. B: y'know..I am 21 years old now
2. and when I was..errh..junior high-school student in third year
3. I met..erhh..a teacher
4. she was going to be our home-room teacher
5. G: hmm..humph
6. B: and we don't know her before
7. bu::t but she wanted to take us
8. and errh..she teach us
9. she taught us Chinese
10. and errh...although she taught in Chinese..errh..just a subject only
11. but she tried to make our ..errh...learning
12. she wanted to promote our learning ability..on that that..geography teaching
13. so she arranged a lot of tests
14. and erhh..she helped the students..our classmates to solve some problem about economic..economic problem
15. <acc because y' know
16. some students are poor acc>
17. and erm..and they can't afford the fee..study to attend school
18. one day she..errh...she came in the class
19. and errh..she taught us
20. she wa::nt she want every student to attend..errh..the study in night..y'know?
21. G: hmm..humph..stay in school?
22. B: stay in school..to study..yes
23. do you have the same experience?
24. G: I think everyone have experience like that
25. B: especially in junior..<F **RIGHT** F>?
26. <acc it's hard
27. so we have to stay in school at night for three or four hours acc>
28. and errh..one day I told her that I
29. I don't want to attend to study at night
30. she..she told
31. she asked me <Q why don't you want to take part in the study?
32. it can help you learn things well
33. and to..to go into a good senior high-school Q>
34. G: hmmmph..humph
35. B: and I told her my father just lose his job
36. and erhh..my mother can't afford a lot of fee for me..and errh
37. G: did you take a part-time job?
38. B: no..I can't
39. because I don't have bike..and..y'know
40. I can't just do anything

41. because I was..was so young  
 42. yeah..and she told me <Q you don't worry about anything  
 43. you just come in  
 44. if you..if your parents really can't afford the..the money to study at night..the  
 extra money Q>  
 45. she wanted to help me to pay the money  
 46. I was so surprised  
 47. she had just met us for three or four months  
 48. she.. she really cared us a lot  
 49. and she love us  
 50. G: like good mother?  
 51. B: yes..just like my mother  
 52. she is really young about thirty-two or thirty four years at that time  
 53. and errh..I was < F **REALLY REALLY** F> appreciate a lot  
 54. so I attend the study at night and errh..y'know  
 55. when she told me that she...want to help me to pay the money..to pay the bill  
 56. I almost cry out..yes..y'know  
 57. someone in the world can love you so much  
 58. you know them for only three or four months  
 59. it's **REALLY..REALLY..** erm..**IMPOSSIBLE**  
 60. I thought then...the best way to return her love...is to <F **STUDY HARD** F>  
 61. y'know, for a little..a little girl  
 62. so I told myself try to <F **STUDY HARD** F>.. and errh  
 63. L: did you tell your parents about this?  
 64. B: <F **NO.. NO.. YES** F> ..I...I always I...kept <P secret P> about things from them  
 65. I don't want them to <P worry P>  
 66. maybe they::maybe they will feel..feel..errh  
 67. G: embarrassed?  
 68. B: yes..something like that  
 69. and maybe they will not know how to deal with  
 70. so I decide and say <Q from now on.. I want to study hard and hard Q>  
 71. and errh..and I::I:I have an opportunity to attend a good senior high-school  
 72. and I really happy  
 73. one day when I::when I was playing small drum y'know..  
 <acc <F **Den-Den-Da-Den-Den Da** F> acc> [**Laughter**] [**mimics the sound of a drum**]  
 74. and erhh..I..I..she..she was really happy  
 75. and she came to us  
 76. she said <Q you are a very high-school student now  
 77. and you are the only one in our class go to attend to apply in that school Q>  
 78. I was so < F **HAPPY** F>  
 79. <Q oh thank you a lot you helped me a lot  
 80. you always encourage me Q>  
 81. and and then I feel < F **SAD** F> .and errh..  
 < F **COMFORTABLE** F>  
 82. and errh..let me brave try anything  
 83. ye::s, and I still love her a lot now  
 84. G: do you still keep in touch?

85. B: yes..I want to..I want to be a teacher like her in the future  
 86. if I can  
 87. L: and take care of all of your students?  
 88. B: yes..because..you know..the teacher..the teacher was poor when she was young  
 89. but she::but she had a big desire to..to study  
 90. so she always study hard..hard and hard  
 91. then she know how to help poor child  
 92. yes and encourage them  
 93. so I <F **REALLY REALLY** F> like her  
 94. @ **YES**@ [**Everyone laughs**]  
 95. I feel she really take care of me  
 96. that's why I decided to study hard and  
 97. hmm...@ to give her a return@ [laughter]

### **TEFL 5: My English Teacher**

1. S: I want to talk about a learning experience about learning English  
 2. I have never..forgot when..I first went to a cram school  
 3. I got only zero scores  
 4. I can't <P forget P> because I didn't learn English  
 5. B: how old were you?  
 6. S: when I was a first year...a first year  
 7. G: in the university?  
 8. S: in the high-school..junior high-school  
 9. because I didn't touch English..never in the past..so I don't know what teacher  
 10. B: teach?  
 11. S: <F **NO I DIDN'T UNDERSTAND AND I TOLD MY MOTHER** F>  
 12. B: < F **CALM DOWN..CALM DOWN** F> [Everyone Laughs]  
 13. S: my mother..my mother tried to take me to the cram school and the first time...I  
 got zero  
 14. B: @ **ZERO**?@ [**Laughter**]  
 15. Mod: you came to university without learning English?  
 16. S: <acc no..no..no acc> when I was twelve or thirteen years old..I never touch  
 English then..I think @ it is <F **SHAME** F> on myself @ [**Everyone Laughs**]  
 17. because I got zero..I told myself that I could not be <F **DEFEATED** F>..y'know  
 18. B: yes  
 19. S: so I concentrate on studies..then  
 20. when I go to school..when I went to school..then  
 21. I would study like that..teacher write  
 22. B: write something on the...?  
 23. S: then..I will repeat it again and again  
 24. B: you began to study hard and hard?  
 25. S: yes  
 26. B: <F **WOW** F>..@you are a strong-willed woman@ [**Everyone Laughs**]  
 27. S: no..maybe because I am interested in learning language  
 28. I think it is interesting for me to train myself then I went to senior-high school  
 29. I made..I made up my mind..yeah

30. I told myself Q I <F **WANT** F>to study the applied foreign language...because of my teacher Q>
31. G: hmmp humph..< F **AH HA..AH HA** F>
32. B: <F **WOW** F>..the teacher who influence you a lot
33. S: <F **VERY MUCH** F>
34. B: when you was a senior-high school student..errh...a female or a male?
35. S: a female..her teaching style is very free and you can enjoy yourself..y'know
36. I won't sleep in the English class
37. B: all your classmates like to take her class?
38. S: yes
39. B: and you think..you can learn a lot from the class?
40. S: <F **OF COURSE** F>..if I didn't meet her as my English teacher.. I might not so interested in English
41. B: do you still..errh..stay in touch with her?
42. S: yes..when I go back to Nantou..we still communicate with each other..dinner..something like that
43. B: <F **WOW** F> ..you seems like friends
44. S: yeah..because she is very...she is not a teacher
45. B: she is your friend
46. S: and I like her very much..y'know
47. she influence me very much because of her so I want to study in applied foreign language
48. and I thought <Q if I study hard and get good scores...it will make my teacher happy Q>
49. yes..and the first time in junior high-school..I got..I got 95 scores
50. I am very < F **HAPPY** F>..y'know
51. I recited the articles
52. B: <F **WOW** F> ..you are proud of yourself
53. S: yes..I think..after I can do that..I want that my teacher is proud of me
54. I think I am her student, so I want to study very hard than before.
55. G+B: hmmm...
56. S: yes..and her teaching style is..hmmm..you know..most students will told you what to do
57. you need to follow the rules
58. she is not..she just tell you..errh..what is this article talking about and you need to think..by yourself
59. B: by yourself?
60. S: yes
61. B: you should..you students should learn to..and to figure out the
62. G: the topic is about
63. B: and the rule..the grammar and the test?
64. S: yes..and beside the whole working in the school..we have to read the magazines
65. B: hmmp..humph
66. S: she ordered the magazines for us and we have to do tests every day
67. B: you mean..errh..Studio Classroom?
68. S: something like that.. I started at A60-90 [**Module Level**]



69. yes..we studies the magazine every day  
 70. we checked the vocabulary that you don't know..which you don't know  
 71. G: hmmp..humph  
 72. S: I think it < F **HELPED** F> me very much  
 73. I told myself <Q study hard and not to disappoint teacher's expectations Q>  
 74. <acc I think that I am advanced than other students' years  
 75. I am not afraid of speaking English in front of people acc>  
 76. I can..if I..if I see a foreigner..I will be very <F **HAPPY** F> to talk with him  
 77. @ I am not afraid and I don't know why @ [ **Laughter**]  
 78. B: so..how do you feel about after learning English..a period of time?  
 79. S: I think English is so..**INTERESTING**  
 80. @ <F **I LOVE IT** F> @ [**Laughter**]

### **TEFL 6: An English Language Learning Experience**

1. G: the first time I learnt English..junior high school..hmmm  
 2 I showed an interest in English learning and my mother sent me into the cram school for one year  
 3. I was <F **HAPPY** F> about this  
 4 I went to..the cram school before..the teacher..hmm  
 5. L: when did you go?  
 6.G: junior high school..the cram school's teacher is very kind and she's very <F **NICE** F>..and..<F **WARM** F>  
 7. when I..because I..because..I am youngest student..in her class  
 8. and she..she's very caring for me  
 9. I was <F **AFRAID** F> that I can't..follow  
 10. I can't follow the classmates  
 11. the teacher is nice to me and I don't want to behind the other classmates  
 12. I told myself < Q I want to study hard and get great scores Q>  
 13. and errh..so just bring a tape.. and record what there is to be..learnt in class  
 14. and when I can..repeat listen ability to the..tape  
 15.B: so..it can really help you to learn English?  
 16.G: @yes..yes@ [**Laughing**]

### **TEFL 7: Teaching Strategy**

1. K: Well..I remember..one teacher  
 2. she had...I think...a good teaching strategy  
 3. it was in senior high-school  
 4. it's in the history course...ahh  
 5. what I think...what I consider very unforgettable was  
 6. because the teacher know...knew how to...y'know  
 7. she used a lot of material like...erhh  
 8. actually, the thing that is very good at  
 9. she was very good comparing...comparing history dates  
 10. erhh...like what thing happened..y'know  
 11. in which year...and in..  
 12. Mod: Really?

13. K: yes..she developed other new kinds of strategies for us
14. to memorize all the...
15. y'know.. foreign history books like..errh
16. the beginning of the R.O.C. [Taiwan]
17. politics...they...politics or something
19. they tried to develop...erhh
20. they wanted to make a constitution...constitution
21. but that was at the beginning
22. so they called it a draft of a constitution
23. it was completed on May 5<sup>th</sup><sup>14</sup>
24. but the problem was that we had difficulty to memorize which year
25. the draft constitution was created
26. so...the teacher told us
27. <Q it's very easy..just simply..simply think this draft was called *five-five*
28. you can remember the date
29. yes..so simple five times five is twenty-five
30. so the day...so the day of the constitution's birthday
31. was ours...R.O.C. year 25 Q>
32. Mod: what does R.O.C. year 25 mean?
33. K: it means in the West.. it is the same as 1936
34. Mod: 1936? Why is that?
35. D: because our national father Dr. Sun Yat-Sen
36. K: yes.. because our national father had a revolution eleven times
37. he rebelled against the Ching dynasty
38. Mod: really? <F **ELEVEN TIMES?** F>
39. K: yes finally he was successful in the year 1911
40. D: then we use the year 1911 as our R.O.C. first year
41. K: so my history teacher tried to make...every thing related
42. we have to remember all the country names [regional areas]
43. many pieces of countries
44. so we have to memorize all the names
45. she developed another new strategy for us
46. she helped us to remember
47. we have to memorize
48. when World War Two finished
49. Germany was separated...occupied
50. D: occupied?
51. K: yeah..<F **OCCUPIED** F> by many countries
52. like <F **BRITAIN..AMERICA..RUSSIA** F>
53. so we had to memorize on the map
54. which country occupied which area
55. I still remember
56. actually...that test question appeared in my JCEE<sup>15</sup> test

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<sup>14</sup> The ROC Constitution was adopted on December 25, 1946, by the National Constituent Assembly convened in Nanking. It was promulgated by the National Government on January 1, 1947, and put into effect on December 25 of the same year.

57. so..she did very well
58. so I..I believe I did very very good
59. y'know..in my history examination in JCEE
60. I was probably ranked in ...top hundred..right?
61. Mod: that's impressive
62. K: <F **YES** F>..but it was almost due to her effort
63. however..to tell the truth
64. I have to say something that this kind of teaching strategy
65. there is a <F **WOODENNESS** F>
66. this strategy only <F **SCANS** F>
67. crams all the facts into your mind..your brain
68. you can't really <F **USE** F> it
69. Mod: Really?
70. K: the teacher just only simply trained you to react
71. react when you see the questions
72. but that's the purpose of senior high-school education
73. Mod: What purpose?
74. K: to succeed in university entrance exam
75. <F **BUT** F> to tell the truth
76. to be <F **FRANK** F>
77. it was.. a useful way..to remember dates
78. but..not to <F **THINK** F> [laughter]

### **TEFL 8: A Car Accident**

1. D: I had a car accident
2. M: you had a car accident? [**in a surprised tone of voice**]
3. D: yah..and erh..I remember just a few weeks ago
4. I went to university
5. some day I went to cram school for teaching English
6. and errh..just..ermm..have one hour..and after teaching
7. I just ride my motorbike
8. and errh..and buy..and bought..some dinner
9. and ready to go back to my dormitory
10. just ride very very slowly..and errh..just through intersection..and errh
11. I turned the light..turned the light
12. a car didn't see me..and errh
13. Mod: what light..the traffic lights?..do you mean the <F **TRAFFIC LIGHTS?** F>
14. D: no...the motorbike light..it was at night
15. the traffic light is green
16. and I ..I run straightly
17. <acc I ride straightly
18. and a car didn't see me
19. and he hit me directly acc>
20. at that time.. I fall down from the motorbike

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<sup>15</sup> The JCEE examination is a history examination taken in Taiwanese high schools.

21. and I felt very very <F **PAINFUL** F>  
 22. <acc it's not my fault  
 23. it's his fault because I turn the motorbike light  
 24. and he didn't see me acc>  
 25. and errh...he tried..he's going to turn..to take a left turn  
 26. <acc I take a right turn  
 27. so we are different turn acc>  
 28. so..so..actually we won't hit each  
 29. he didn't..finally..he didn't take a left turn  
 30. he take a right turn..so he hit me..directly  
 31. K: you thought he was going to turn left?  
 32. D: yah..so I turned my right turn  
 33. and thought I won't hit him  
 34. but he....he change..he turn..he turned the right turn  
 35. and he hit me..<F **DIRECTLY** F>  
 36. at that moment..I fall..I fell down from my motorbike  
 37. I felt really <F **PAINFUL** F>  
 38. K: were you wearing a helmet?  
 39. D: yah..I wear a helmet  
 40. and I..I just..hurt my waist..and my leg..and errh..at this time  
 41. so many people..they just go..to see what's happened  
 42. and..errh..I..I sat on the..ground  
 43. <acc I can't move acc>  
 44. and that guy help me to sit..to take a..seat  
 45. some people phoned the..police  
 46. and phoned..and errh...phoned the..the ambulance  
 47. and took me to the hospital  
 48. and errh.. after went to the hospital  
 49. the police..come to hospital  
 50. and asked me the detail what...<Q whose fault Q>  
 51. I ..errh...just..just explain the..the situation  
 52. and errh..the..the police say.. it's not <F **MY** F> fault  
 53. it's <F **THAT GUY'S FAULT** F>  
 54. that guy come to hospital..to pay the bill..for checking my body  
 55. M: did the police take him to the police station?  
 56. D: yah..the police hope I can..just take the money..and errh..just forget the case  
 57. M: didn't that make you angry?  
 58. D: no...because  
 59. Mod: <acc but you could have been <F **SERIOUSLY INJURED** F> acc>  
 60. D: but..actually..I didn't have a serious injury  
 61. Mod: I know...but you <F **COULD HAVE BEEN** F>  
 62. D: yah..I might be  
 63. but I...at that time I just want to go to my dormitory immediately  
 64. because I have something to do  
 65. I don't want to waste too much time here  
 66. Mod: so..<F **WHAT ARE YOU SAYING?** F>

67. that in Taiwan if someone gets seriously injured by an irresponsible driver  
 68. they try to..<F **ESCAPE ?** F>  
 69. D the guy pay me some actual money to fix my motorbike  
 70. and errh..so..for checking my  
 71. M: how do you know the money is enough?  
 72. maybe expensive to fix your motorbike  
 73. D: yah..because I don't have any experience before  
 74. so..I just charge him...<F **FIVE** F> thousand dollars  
 75. I think it's not very serious  
 76. so I think five thousand dollars is enough  
 77. Mod: so it seems that negligent drivers in Taiwan seem to go unpunished?  
 78. <acc in my country such drivers would be <F **FINED** F>  
 79. maybe even lose their driving license or even <F **JAILED** F> acc>  
 80. <acc what about <F **INSURANCE?** F>  
 81. what happens if they were <F **DRUNK?** F>  
 82. this situation is <F **RIDICULOUS** F> acc>  
 83. D: hmm...yeah...(2)  
 84. <P I agree with you P> [**muted response**]

### **TEFL 9: Cram School**

1. D: I went to..went to cram school for passing the..graduate school test  
 2. so..so I went to cram school..for getting higher grades  
 3. yah..and errh..after...after..after..I finish all the courses in the cram school  
 4. I went to..I went to test join the test..and errh  
 5. after all the test.. I finish...I..I..I..totally joined ten school tests  
 6. and errhh..finally..I passed three university  
 7. and errh..my cram school is..was very happy about my result and they publish.  
 8. K: publish <F **WHAT?** F>  
 9. D: oh..publish their student pass three university  
 10. errh..they just..use..this poster  
 11. <acc and they just use my name on their poster  
 12. they use this poster to..to attract more students to join this..this cram school  
 so they can earn money acc>  
 13. errh..before I joined this cram school  
 14. <acc I went to another different cram school just..just tried the school..didn't join  
 it acc>  
 15. but they write down some information of my name..my phone and my address  
 and some...of my personal..information  
 16. finally..the second school decided to..< F **SUE** F> the first school  
 17. they hire lawyer..to write a..formal..form...and send to the court  
 18. K: <F **OH MY GOD** F>  
 19. M: what happened?  
 20. D: the situation is very complicated...because..errh..they send the formal form to the  
 court  
 21. at the first cram school..they..they know that they know they are **WRONG**  
 22. but they don't want...they don't want to

23. they don't want this case..to judge..in the court  
 24. so they try..they try to find me and give..and **GAVE** me some money  
 25. they just say <Q forget about it Q> [**Laughing**]  
 26. I didn't take their money ..but  
 27. Mod: how much did they offer you?  
 28. D: they didn't say the..amount  
 29. but the second cram school..they give me errh..NT 50,0000 dollars  
 30. they say <Q this is a scholarship for you Q>  
 31. I have to say <Q I went to this school Q>  
 32. yah..so finally..this case is to be judged in the court...and the lawyer want me to the court  
 33. but my parents don't..didn't hope me to appear  
 34. because they..they just <**AFRAID**>..this might influence my future..<F **SOMETHING F**>..in my future  
 35. so.. I just..I just..I just told my cram school I have a class  
 36. so I can't..I couldn't appear in the court  
 37. so..they say <Q that's okay..just sign the form Q>  
 38. and they say...<Q that's the reason..you can't appear Q>  
 39. I <F **NEVER F**> appear in the court  
 40. Mod:has the case been <F **JUDGED F**> yet?  
 41. D: that's interesting  
 42. because..errh..the first cram school..know they are wrong  
 43. errh..they know if this case is being judged..they have to pay a lot of money  
 44. they might have to < **FCLOSE F**> their cram school  
 45. so they are <F **AFRAID F**>  
 46. they..they..they thought another..another..strategy  
 47. <acc so they just hire a student to join the second cram school  
 48. to <P pretend P> he is a real student in this cram school  
 49. and use cell phone to take a picture of the teacher  
 50. but the teacher teach in the university and in the cram school acc>  
 51. but it is <P illegal P> in Taiwan  
 52. <acc they just <P hire P> this student to take a picture  
 53. and send the picture to education department acc>  
 54. so the first cram school..know..they will lose the judgment of the..post my result on their poster  
 55. so they..they also pay the money..for the student to take..the evidence for the teacher..teaching in cram school  
 56. so they just want...errh..second cram school to cancel this case  
 57. so they will also cancel..sueing the second cram school teacher  
 58. Mod: do you think that this is ethical?  
 59. D: no..of course <F **NOT F**>..  
 60. but if the..if the teacher can not teach in the second cram school..they will <P close P>  
 61. @ it's like a <F **BUSINESS WAR F**> @ [**Laughter**]

### **TEFL 10: “Sit and Smile!”**

1. E: my host is a <F **PROFESSOR** F>
2. he taught speech..and errh..and conversation..how to persuade someone
3. I live with..I live with them
4. I..I feel very interesting because they have..they have raised a dog
5. @ yes..and errh..in fact..I ..I don't <F **LIKE** F> the dog @ [**Laughter**]
6. but I..I need to accept the dog because they..they are very liking the dog
7. yes..and errh..emm..errh..when I first day..I open I went..I went to their home
8. the dog jumped on me
9. the host family told me
10. you can..you can..you can tell him..tell it..<Q say..sit and smile Q> [**Laughter**]
11. so I tried
12. I just said <Q sit Q> when it jumped on me
13. I <F **CAN'T**..I **CAN'T** F>..believe it
14. he sat..he <F **SAT** F> and..<F **SMILE** F>
15. @I can <F **CONTROL** F> it@ [**Laughter**]
16. T: one day..we invite them..to play..basketball
17. when we opened the door..the dog jumped on me
18. I was shocked
19. I didn't want to be close to him
20. I was told <Q you can ask him..ask him to sit or to smile..or smile and sit Q>
21. <Q smile and sit Q>
22. @ <F **DO IT** F>@ [**Laughter**]
23. E: and slowly I accept the dog..beside us.. even sleeping..like..like bed
24. yes..they have cats..yeah
25. they <F **LIKE** F> animals very much

### **TEFL 11: Experiences in America**

1. T: this is also my..first time to go abroad
2. and errh..the first day..we..we have the tour of the..around the university
3. the guide..they speak so very quickly
4. we can't understand at once
5. y'know..he is a senior and she in charge.. of the guide..to introduce..introduce their different department
6. and we visit..a lot of..different departments
7. he also introduced a lot of things very clearly
8. sometimes..we can understand
9. but..sometimes we..can't
10. but..sometimes people behind of us..and she walks fast
11. and..we walk..so slowly
12. **YES**..we also join another day
13. we also join..joined a senior high-school
14. we joined an elementary school
15. and we teach..how to sing..a song in Chinese..to the children
16. we teach a lot of..different class
17. we like..@we seemed like **SUPERSTAR**@ [**Laughter**]

18. we also teach how to speak in Chinese numbers..Chinese greeting
19. we also ask them <Q would you answer it Q>
20. or to try and speak in Chinese
21. and..they also have..lots of..Chinese..question want to ask us about
22. how to say..Chinese...a lot of words
23. Mod: I think that they might be interested in Chinese culture
24. T: they also ask @ <F **WHERE** F> is Taiwan?@ [**Laughing**]
25. but we have the map
26. we can show them
27. Mod: yes..westerners get confused about Taiwan's location and even its name
28. they get confused between Taiwan and Thailand
29. they think Taiwan is part of China
30. they don't think Taiwan is a country
31. E: yes..maybe someone will say
32. if you will pass there
33. they will say you are a Chinese girl
34. but we..we think we are **TAIWANESE** girl..not Chinese girl
35. we were asked..<Q what kind..errh..of opinion do you think about Chinese Q>
36. or <Q do you want to go to work for China? Q>
37. V: my host also asked to talk about **FORMOSA**
38. I just can integrate a little about it
39. but I can not explain it very well
40. E: my host asked me <Q do you have any..fruit in Taiwan? Q>
41. @ have banana?@ [**Laughter**]
42. they don't understand Taiwan
43. @ they think Taiwan have no banana @ [**Laughter**]
44. V: but..errh we have also some..similar..fruit with American..with bananas..apples..  
strawberries..oranges
45. the size is different..and the.flavor is different..
46. yes..but it is..similar with the fruit
47. T: I think because they are..they don't understand..about Taiwan
48. and errh..they also don't know where is Taiwan
49. they..they don't get easy the information about Taiwan
50. so..they don't understand what kind of things Taiwan do Taiwan has
51. it's our opportunity..to <F **INTRODUCE** F> Taiwan
52. E: so I will send the postcard..to my host family
53. on our last day..my roommates in Wisconsin..we also introduce Taiwan's map
54. introduce Taiwan's scenery..post cards
55. and give notes of Taiwan middle of Taiwan..south of Taiwan
56. and introduce famous different Taiwan food in different Taiwan's areas..
57. <F **YES..YES** F>
58. T: we joined their course
59. we find their courses very interesting
60. they stress on <Q previewed and reviewed Q>
61. when they take the class
62. they just discuss their homework or their project



63. their professor just give them some chief point
64. Mod: do you mean <F **FEEDBACK**? F>
65. T: yes..I think it is very efficient than that in Taiwan
66. in Taiwan..a lot of professors just give us a lot of information
67. we can just..errhh
68. C: we cannot show our ability in this subject
69. Mod: so..you < F **PREFER** F> the American teaching style?
70. T: @ <F **YES...I LIKE IT** F> @ **[Laughter]**
71. because students can share their opinions with their classmates and teachers
72. we want to exchange <F **OUR** F> opinions
73. we get a lot of opinions from other persons..peoples..very..very good  
because maybe the same topic..a lot of different opinion we can..share
74. E: and give the students..a chance..to..express..their expression
75. we..we..also visit elementary school
76. we also find that the..errh..teacher..teach the special student
77. they don't..<F **SEPARATE** F> ..from other..student
78. they just..errhh..take the class together
79. Mod: what do you mean by <F **SPECIAL** F> student?
80. E: like they..errh..they can't speak
81. Mod: <F **DISABLED** F> students?
82. E: yeah..but in Taiwan..they don't
83. the teachers will give extra time
84. they don't think they are special
85. the students will feel very warm
86. Mod: do the other American students treat the disabled students as equals?
87. T I think..< F **NOT** F> the special behavior
88. not the special..everyone is the same
89. <P yeah P>

### **TEFL 12: Can You Speak Chinese?**

1. T: when we took..take the airplane.. I also met children
2. she is..she was come from..she came from
3. she will go to Miami..take a vacation
4. @ we speak together and we chat..almost chat for two hours..and share a lot of things @ **[Laughter]**
5. she also gave me a book
6. we also change the meal
7. yes..I also introduce..in my house...we have the..<F **BUFFALO** F>...but they
8. she don't think..buffalo is different..is the same form..her buffalo
9. so..I ..I...I told her..I can take..a picture..and I will send her
10. @she can compare if the same or not@ **[Laughter]**
11. so one day when we..we went to market
12. we took a look at..clothes
13. and we..and we speak in Chinese
14. a woman <F **SUDDENLY** F>..look at me
15. and I am < F **SHOCKED** F>

16. she asked me <Q could you speak Chinese?Q>
17. I think ...I can
18. **@WOO@ [Everyone exclaims and Laughs]**
19. because she went to China..to teach..to teach English..and a long time she  
don't speak Chinese
20. when she hear someone speak Chinese..she liked to hear Chinese
21. she told me it was her first day at work and she can't chat a lot because her boss  
will punish her
- 22.Mod: going abroad is an excellent opportunity for you to practice your  
English..great motivation to develop your English language skills..**RIGHT?**
23. T: we have the <P confidence P> about to speak English in America
24. it is different from Taiwan
25. in Taiwan we are..we don't <P dare P> to speak in English
26. @ we are too <P shy P>@ **[Laughter]**
27. sometimes we think..is..a little <P strange P>
28. we are afraid of making mistake..the <P grammar P>
29. sometimes..we make the..mistake
30. M: so..I will talk to my teacher in English...<P sometimes P>

### **TEFL 13: Spring Break in America**

1. V: this spring break I went to visit the university of..the university of Wisconsin
2. the very first day..on the very first day..we spent a lot of time..flying
3. and when..when we got there..we saw a lot of ..<F SNOW F>
4. Mod: <F SNOW? F>
5. T: a <F LOT F> of snow
6. V: yes..and the white snow..covered almost..all the ground..and the roofs
7. it's quite amazing
8. and I think it is <F WONDERFUL F>
9. Mod: was it your first time?
10. V: yes..this is my first time..go abroad
11. Mod: I mean the first time you saw snow?
12. V: maybe the second time.. the first in Taiwan..Taiwan..mountain and the second  
time..go to the Wisconsin
13. Mod: it was different..**RIGHT?**
14. V: yes..it was different
15. it is really very <F BEAUTIFUL F>
16. Mod: did you build any snowmen?
17. V: @ <F NO NO F>..we forgot..forgot to build it @ **[Laughter]**
18. Mod: so..so the four of you went to American..together?
19. All: <F YES F>
20. Mod: you must have a good time..**<F RIGHT? F>**
21. T: we visit our sister school
22. so I remembered one night..we went to the..center to see <F NBA F><sup>16</sup>
23. Mod: were the admission tickets expensive?
24. V: maybe..maybe forty dollars..not expensive..yeah..yeah..and errh

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<sup>16</sup> The *National Basketball Association* (NBA) is America's premier men's professional basketball league.

25. I think it is <F **UNIQUE** F>..and <F **INTERESTING** F> for me  
 26. because..I can see the competition..hear..not through the television but in  
 27. E: it's..< F **REALLY LIVE** F>  
 28. V: yes..and erm..there are some activities during the breaktime  
 29. they will play...some kind of..cards..for the spectators  
 30. and sometimes the board..the electronic board just write down some words...  
 31. like <Q **MAKE IT NOISYQ**> and <Q **SAY WOWQ**>  
 32. the thing is new to me  
 33. Mod: you mean the screen tells the spectators to encourage the players?  
 34. V: @ yes..yes@  
 35. and I think it is interesting and this is my first time go abroad  
 36. and I think going abroad to...broaden..our..vision and help us..absorb a new  
 experience [Everyone laughs]  
 37. @I hope I could go abroad@ [Everyone laughs]  
 38. Mod: what did you learn from this experience?  
 39. V: I think..I..I..started to grow up..be independent  
 40. because I..because I always rely..rely on my parents  
 41. sometimes if I have some questions  
 42. I will ..I will..pick up a phone and call them...and say my question to them  
 43. Mod: did you call them when you were in America?  
 44. V: <P no..no..no P>..this time I just do..do by myself  
 45. Mod: but you had some friends with you..< F **RIGHT?** F>  
 46. you were not alone  
 47. V: yes...I could talk..with my friends  
 48. but actually..we..we..lived with house family..ermm...<F **HOME STAY** F>  
 49. I was <F **SEPARATED** F> from my friends

#### **TEFL 14: Handsome but Married**

1. V: I went to the..<F **BIGGEST** F> shopping mall..the biggest in the United States  
 2. @but I think we still need much time@ [Laughing]  
 3. Mod: What did you buy?  
 4. V: @ I bought a lot of cosmetics..and errh..clothes..T-shirts  
 5. (I) spent maybe five five hundred..four hundred dollars @ [Laughing]  
 6. Mod: any <F **ROMANCE?** F>  
 7. V: <P no P>..we met..we went to a senior high-school  
 8. and the teacher is quite young and handsome  
 9. so everyone  
 10. there are four..four members of the groups  
 11. and we go..go to that school  
 12. and errh..spend a whole class with the students  
 13. the teacher is so handsome  
 14. we just <F **LOOK** F> at him  
 15. after the class..we just talk..talk to him  
 16. and hope we could take picture with him  
 17. <P he is very handsome..but he is married P> [Everyone laughs loudly]

### **TEFL 15: Yummy but too Salty**

1. V: the food..I think the food in America maybe in Wisconsin is quite <F **SALTY** F>
2. C: ermm...I agree with you
3. Mod: <F **REALLY?** F>
4. V: maybe sweet..so sweet..maybe they.. use too much sugar
5. the local food..I don't like things **TOO** sweet
6. maybe during..during..during that day..when my home parents asked me <Q do you think it's salty? Q>
7. Mod: did you tell them the truth?
8. V: I..I don't dare..answer <P yes P>
9. Mod: why not?
10. V: I just answer <Q it's ok I could accept it Q>
11. actually...actually @ it's **VERY SALTY**@ [Laughter]
12. but the food my home mother make..is very..very errh..very <F **YUMMY** F> and <F **DELICIOUS** F> ..just salty
13. Mod: why didn't you tell them the <F **TRUTH?** F>
14. V: because..I'm <F **AFRAID** F> that..implied @ I don't want to hurt their heart@ [Laughter]
15. so..I could accept it
16. I think that..Chinese people..don't <F **DIRECTLY** F>..say something
17. Emma..my friend..is my classmate
18. she also went to..Wisconsin..with us
19. she live..in different home stay
20. and one day she came to visit me
21. my home mother errm..boiled some soup..boiled some soup
22. and...it's <F **REALLY VERY SALTY** F>
23. <F **GUESS WHAT?** F>
24. <acc Emma drink two cups of soup..because ..because we drink extra water
25. the first time she drink the soup acc>
26. I gave her more water..when my home mother was not there
27. I help her
28. the second time..our home mother asked her <Q is it delicious? Q>
29. I say <Q Yes it is delicious Q>
30. so..my home mother..gave her..the second cup
31. but this time there is no water left
32. but she think it is really yummy..but quite salty
33. because she likes to drink soup..lots soup
34. she's my roommate in Taiwan here
35. afterwards Emma told me @ it's really yummy but too salty@ [Laughter]

### **TEFL 16: A Princess in the U.S.A.**

1. C: it's very <F **EXCITING** F> to live with..home stay in America
2. because..erm..because this is the first time I went to America with our friends
3. errh...my home baba is a <F **PILOT** F>
4. because..because I <F **LIKE** F> ..I like pilot..very..very much..and..errh
5. the first day..we went to my home stay

6. she showed..he showed us his home
7. it's beautiful..and after that..eh..he also played some music for us..and errh
8. our home stay also has two children
9. one is..fourteen years old
10. and the other is..twelve years old
11. and we also..playing together
12. we have a very good time...yeah
13. Mod: did you experience any cultural differences?
14. V: say something about the food and fruit?
15. C: <F **OH YES** F>..yes..their breakfasts are very big
16. and the grapefruit is very sweet
17. it's totally <F **DIFFERENT** F> from Taiwan's
18. <P because Taiwan's...maybe taste a little salty P>..yah....yah
19. <acc like their juice very much
20. I also..when I come back to home stay
21. I also drink about two cup of orange juice
22. it's fresh acc>
23. I also maybe..errh..I also maybe..errh
24. <P when I got hungry...maybe bake some potatoes...in the midnight
25. when our roommate is always asleep P>
26. because I get hungry..<F **ALWAYS** F>
27. I am lucky to live in our pilot's house
28. because our home mama is very <F **NICE** F> yah
29. she always take cares of our feelings and our healthy..yah
30. T: just like a <F **PRINCESS?** F>
31. C: @ yeah..just like a princess in the USA@ [**Laughter**]
32. because..errh..home stay always prepares everything for you..
33. just like a princess in the USA..yah
34. because you want something..
35. and home mama will find something for you
36. Mod: your parents would <F **NEVER** F> do that for you?
37. C: ermm..our parents are quite different..quite different
38. when I went to look for lipstick..to a shop that sells limited action products
39. and errh..it doesn't sell in Taiwan
40. (I) asked home mama <Q can I buy more in another place?Q>
41. and home mama just..to tell her friend..her friend
42. and so I feel <F **SURPRISED** F> ..
43. and feel very <F **WARM** F>..just to talk about this kind of thing
44. and home mama always ask..asked me <Q did you get it?Q>
45. <Q did you get it? Q>
46. <acc home mama..always..looking for it for me
47. I <F **ALWAYS** F>..like a princess acc>
48. yeah..and finally..errh...our home mama exchange some gifts
49. and she also give out..<acc letters..cosmetics..lipsticks..and erh..perfume
50. yah..and also <F **EASTER EGGS** F> acc>

### **TEFL 17: Shopping in America**

- 1 C: my American mum walked very..fast
2. she is..full..full of energy.. <F **SHOPPING** F>
3. we don't have..enough..time..in America
4. so we have to..walk fast..to save time
5. because there are hundreds..< F **THOUSANDS** F> stores in north America
6. there maybe are over..<F **500** F> stores
7. the main..the main topic is <F **SNOOPY..SNOOPY WORLD** F>
8. because there are a lot of characters of Snoopy in the recreation..in the center..in the center of the mall
9. yes..it was locate..it was located in the center of the mall..for children to play
10. Mod: you felt as if you were a child again..<F **RIGHT?** F>
11. C: yes..so we always bought clothes for children..about children
12. V: because the..the size is quite..<F **BIG** F>
13. so we can..we can wear children's size
14. C: and it's cheaper..much <F **CHEAPER** F>
15. because the size is so small
16. and I remember the last day during home stay..ermm
17. we also teach..how to..write calligraphy
18. <acc because they cannot write the Chinese words acc>
19. so we teach them..how to write..the Chinese words
20. but our home stay want to.. wants us to help them to write their names..their wishes and to..translate them into Chinese
21. Mod: did you make any new friends?
22. C: because we were in the north of the campus..eleven people from Kaohsiung campus..and the others from Taipei campus
23. in the beginning..we don't..we don't know each other
24. and we all..we come back in Taiwan
25. V: yes.. we <F **CONTACT** F>with each other
26. T: yes..keep in touch
27. Mod: what about <F **NEW AMERICAN** F> friends?
28. C: Jerry..she's..**HE'S** also exchange student from Taipei campus
29. he's studying a <F **MASTER DEGREE** F> in America
30. and we went together..to a pub..the next day
31. it's quite different from Taiwan's..just drinking..and playing some games
32. it wasn't their <F **MAIN** F> night
33. maybe Friday is
34. my friend went to America for almost eight..maybe for eight month
35. she stayed..she every time when she..she have free time
36. she will went to see the movie
37. because it's very cheaper
38. she is my roommates
39. when I was a freshman
40. @ but she <F **MISSED** F> the food in Taiwan @ **[Laughter]**
41. she think..ermm..how do they?
42. the food is very...

43. there are..a lot of kinds of food in Taiwan
44. she was homesick
45. and she saw us
46. and she was..so happy and <F SCREAM F>
47. sometimes she will go to Chinatown..or..Chinese restaurant
48. it's quite..a little expensive for her
49. yes..sometimes she will cook
50. she will cook by herself..to <P save P> some money

### British English Narratives (BE)

#### BE 1: Culture Shock

1. R: I'm studying social anthropology...Indian culture
2. religion is related...to my research...Hinduism especially...errh
3. an Indian student told me...that when he first came here...Leicester
4. that everything was <F REALLY NEW F> for him..errh
5. everything was completely different to him
6. he was surprised to see so many..erm...<F INDIAN F>-looking people
7. and to find that the British-born Indians had a...erm..<F DIFFERENT F> point of view from him
8. like..uh..they have lost touch ...
9. <F LOST TOUCH F> with..their culture
10. H: <F REALLY? F>
11. when I go to Birmingham airport
12. I usually see about 20 or 30 Indian-looking people all going or arriving
13. and errh.. they never congregate in groups of one or two
14. there's usually one <F MASSIVE F> group consisting of a mother..a grandmother..a great grandmother..the great grandchildren
15. and they're all hugging each other
16. I was under the impression that there was a constant flow of families @ between India and here@ [Everyone laughs]
17. R: yeah..like...he said .. that in Leicester...most Indians are <F BUJARATI F>
18. what you will find about these people who have come to Leicester is that
19. they don't actually come..directly..from India
20. so they don't have many relatives <F IN F> India
21. and that's why they are so cross-cultural like especially <F HINDUS F>
22. you see...they are very good at...adapting to a different environment
23. so they are not very <F FUSSY F> about..a particular point of view
24. so that's one of the main reasons why he felt
25. @ as if he was <F REALLY F> in India
26. there were so many Indians@ [Laughter]
27. S: yeah..errh..he thought he was really <F IN F> India @ [Everyone laughs]
28. R: yep...he started to speak to them
29. then realized that he could not really be...critical of them
30. they were <F BRITISH F> citizens

31. could not <F **BLAME** F> them if they had lost touch with their Indian culture
32. perhaps when he went back to India
33. many people might say that of him as well
34. S: yeah...<F **LOST TOUCH?** F>
35. R: <F **YEAH** F>...lost touch
36. that's the way it happens
37. it <F **EVOLVES** F>
38. so..culture is all about how you <F **LIVE** F>

## **BE 2: Chinese Taboos**

1. H: I remember one time
2. when I was invited..to dinner by..my Chinese..<F **CHINESE FRIEND** F>..to celebrate Chinese New Year
3. I was amazed to discover that Chinese food is so <F **IMPORTANT** F> in their culture
4. it is more or less..a <F **PHILOSOPHY** F>
5. it expresses the Chinese way of life
6. it even has its own <F **SYMBOLIZATION** F>
7. the way that Chinese people <F **THINK** F>
8. they think...they.. simply use food.. as symbolization.. of their culture
9. Mod: The symbol of a fish has an important <F **SYMBOLIC** F> role during Chinese New Year's celebrations
10. Chinese usually cook fish..at the New Year
11. the Chinese word for fish is pronounced <F **EXACTLY** F> the same as another word...meaning to <F **HAVE** F> something
12. something..that <F **BELONGS** F> to you
13. so although Chinese cook the fish...they don't actually <F **EAT** F> it as part of the new year celebration
14. H: <F **REALLY?** F>
15. Mod: Yes...Chinese display the uneaten fish on their tables...as a symbol of wealth...the promise of <F **GOOD FORTUNE** F>
16. you have...something that you
17. H: @ you have something nice to eat ..but you don't have to eat it@  
[Everyone laughs]
18. R: so...it's like...because fish is a <F **SYMBOL** F> of prosperity
19. so you...<F **DON'T** F>eat it
20. H: <F **INTERESTING** F>
21. because the symbol of a fish is one..one of the earliest <F **CHRISTIAN** F> symbols
22. Mod: <F **REALLY?** F>
23. S: <F **YEAH** F> ...<Q **FISHERS**...of **MEN Q**>...something...like that
24. H: the actual symbol::for <F **CHRIST** F> ...was a fish..in terms of food
25. Jesus was also depicted as a lamb...the <Q **LAMB OF GOD Q**>
26. something to be sacrificed...the fish evolved into the lamb
27. the early Christians scratched the images of fish on the catacomb walls in Rome as secret codes



28. to other Christians...< F **ICHTHUS**<sup>17</sup> F> ...it has a double meaning
29. the food analogy has spiritual connotations
30. S: What else?
31. Mod: Chinese don't like to use the number 4 in their addresses
32. or when naming floor levels
33. they also get rid of the number 4 from their vehicle license numbers
34. yeah...they prefer to spend more money on getting a new license number
35. they don't like to use it
36. it connotes <F **DEATH** F>
37. @ <acc it's a kind of <F **TABOO** F> acc>@ [**Everyone laughs**]
38. H: it's really interesting

### **BE 3: Sharian Law**

1. S: I worked..in Nigeria..as a journalist
2. Christianity is the dominant religion in southern Nigeria...because of British colonization...somehow
3. Islam has become established in the north
4. they obey the Sharian laws...under <F **SHARIAN** F> law
5. there have been two recent incidents
6. two women...condemned to be <F **STONED** F> to death for adultery
7. according to the Koran...some NGO's and international human right groups protested
8. they asked what about the man?
9. according to the bible...Jesus said not to stone adulterers
10. @ <F **DON'T KILL HER** F>...<acc **BLAH..BLAH..BLAH** acc>@  
[**Everyone laughs**]
11. she appealed to the.. international community
12. it caused an international debate
13. Nigerians are not a.. <F **HOMOGENEOUS** F> group
14. so the ritual taboos.. are different
15. <acc adultery is a <F **BIG** F> taboo there acc>

### **BE 4: Polygamy**

1. S: My wife watched a documentary last week..Chinatown::something like that
2. and urh...you know it was...it was.. a documentary on how..how the Chinese people were trying to <F **SURVIVE** F> in London
3. <acc and they chose a few case studies...y'know acc>
4. <acc the documentarians...they filmed them::the way they lived in London acc>
5. <acc and followed two of them to China acc>
6. <acc to try to establish what ..had led them to come to the UK acc>
7. < acc and one of the two case studies was a woman who had had <F **TWO** F> babies in China acc>
8. <acc and she was being <F **HOUNDED** F> because the law states that you cannot have more than one child acc>
9. so...she had to return to London...or something

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<sup>17</sup> In early Christian and ecclesiastical art, an emblematic fish, or the Greek word for fish.

10. I mean...y'know::all these things happen
11. there were a number of Nigerian generals
12. one of them said that because the population explosion and stuff like that
13. no family was allowed to have more than four children
14. <F **YEAH** F>...going back to taboos and stuff like that
15. children are a <F **GIFT FROM GOD** F>
16. and no one can decree...y'know how many::y'know how many kids you can have...< F **BLAH..BLAH..BLAH** F>
17. but it was interesting
18. because my Nigerian friend didn't actually see it as a legal issue
19. he didn't think that you could <F **LEGISLATE** F> that...y'know..errh
20. < acc the interesting thing was that the general who originally suggested that families should be restricted to four children
21. actually had only <F **FOUR** F> children
22. but after he resigned
23. another general took over acc>
24. @ guess how <F **MANY** F> the general had?@ **[Laughter]**
25. R: How many?
26. S: @ the general had <F **ELEVEN** F>from <F **ONE** F> woman@  

**[Everyone laughs]**
27. I discovered that...that polygamy in Nigeria...was no longer fashionable
28. no longer the <F **NORM** F>
29. but..but eh...but it is still very rampant there...yeah..well
30. polygamy is being <F **REDEFINED** F> every day...really
31. and if you were married with two children and got divorced
32. y'know..and you married another woman
33. < acc and somehow you reconciled with your former wife
34. you were still seeing her..or something
35. or even if you were married and had a girlfriend...an extra-marital relationship
36. and that woman becomes <F **PREGNANT** F> to you
37. and that happens frequently in Nigeria
38. they are not what we usually label <F **SINGLE PARENTS** F>
39. these women are <F **CHOOSY** F>
40. they prefer to have children out of wedlock to a rich guy who can take care of them
41. even if they realize that the sacrifice..that they have to make is outside the matrimonial home
42. they are <F **SATISFIED** F> with the kid bearing the man's name acc>
43. y'know...they are satisfied with the man buying them a house::or car
44. they are satisfied with a monthly allowance for the kid
45. and the woman is content to play second-fiddle...playing the <F **OTHER** F> woman
46. and refer to the father of her child as <Q **MY MAN** Q>
47. <acc but the man will <F **NOT** F> admit to being a polygamist
48. he has only one <F **OFFICIAL** F> wife acc>
49. H: the <F **OFFICIAL** F> wives accept this?
50. S: the official wives..in most cases don't know

51. but they <F **SUSPECT** F>
52. H: <F **YEAH** F> but..if the guy has..say ..an argument with his unofficial second wife...and refuses to support her
53. S: <F **YEAH** F>
54. H: does..she..urh..have any recourse to the government.. or legal system...to claim money...financial support?
55. S: <F **ABSOLUTELY NOT** F>
56. <acc nobody has any **RECOURSE** in Nigeria acc>
57. <F **NOBODY...NOT** the elderly..**NOT** infants..**NOT** F> the unemployed
58. <F **NOBODY** F>

### **BE 5: Family Loyalties**

1. H: family loyalty has a very strong tradition in the Far East
2. it's <F **EMBEDDED** F>
3. it's embedded in their psyches
4. I remember...I was discussing marriage as an <F **INSTITUTION** F> with a Chinese student at this university
5. he <F **SURPRISED** F> me
6. he said <Q I will marry a girlfriend who I will probably **LOVE**
7. but my mother <F **MUST** F> like her
8. my mother must like her
9. if my mother...if my mother..does <F **NOT** F> like her
10. I'm <F **NOT** F> going to marry her
11. because we <F **HAVE** F> to live together when my mother gets old
12. and I don't want to get into any trouble Q>
13. @ I mean...I mean.. that's the ..that's the <F **BOTTOM LINE** F> @ [Laughter]
14. Mod: yes...in Taiwan...there are constant problems with young couples and mothers-in-law
15. sometimes it can lead to < F **DIVORCE** F>
16. there are many conflicts problems because the young wife continually complains about her mother-in-law's behaviour
17. but the young husband will say <Q my mother is old you have to listen to her Q>
18. S: yeah...you need to show more patience...more <F **UNDERSTANDING** F>
19. R: yeah...this is typical in India as well
20. they have a tradition of having < **FLARGE** F> family systems
21. traditionally most families used to live in the same town...the same village
22. and they all used to work together
23. so they all lived in a large house...<F **ALTOGETHER** F>
24. the trend now is for people to move to large modern cities
25. and you can't really take 30 people with you...to live there
26. <acc now it is the tradition of the < F **NUCLEAR FAMILY** F> acc>
27. <acc there is an emphasis on the sense of < F **COMMUNITY** F> not so much <F **FAMILY** F> acc>
28. it's not really that sense of family now
29. an Indian student told me..that..that...despite the problems with overcrowded families

30. for example...in Bombay...when his mother was young
31. <acc she had to live with her twelve siblings...and her aunts and uncles acc>
32. but there were <F **BENEFITS** F>
33. you learn to interact with people
34. < F **NOW** F>...when you go to Bombay...the typical family consists of the  
parents and one kid
35. erm...and the parents go to work
36. <acc and the kid has to interact with the baby-sitter acc>
37. another benefit is that there is a sense of...<F **INDEPENDENCE** F>
38. and you can learn how to survive on your own
39. you're not always <F **CLOSE** F> to your family
40. <acc when you need support
41. people realize that they are on their own acc>
42. the reason why the concept of large families evolved was that...erm
43. people used to stay in < F **ONE** F> place
44. and they used to work together...say...in the same field..in the same industry
45. so that was the <F **MAIN** F> reason why they lived together as opposed to living  
in different houses
46. <acc but as that is < F **NO LONGER** F> the case
47. that's the main reason why people are having nuclear families
48. and they <P prefer P>to live in modern cities acc>
49. so although there are benefits in living in a nuclear family...erm
50. there are also some <P drawbacks P>
51. little chance to <P socialize P>..in large groups
52. the old way of living...was more <P holistic P>

#### **BE 6: Religious Fundamentalism**

1. H: this...this reminded me of the idea of religion being...erm...having a dual nature
2. it's...<F **DICHOTOMOUS** F> nature
3. it has two bodies...a good spiritual side...<F **METAPHYSICAL** F> and an  
<F **ACTIVIST** F>...physical side
4. and people identify with the spiritual side...with religious leaders like Mohammed  
and Jesus...and other prophets
5. but when it comes down to reality...the other part...religion is..errh...<F **TWO-  
FACED** F>
6. take <F **NORTHERN IRELAND** F> for example
7. I mean all these people are professing..to be...<F **CHRISTIANS** F>
8. but they have been <F **KILLING** F> each other for <F **OVER 500 YEARS** F>
9. R: <F **YEAH RIGHT...EXTREMISTS** F>
10. H: yeah...extremist fundamentalists
11. <acc I remember watching a TV program several years ago acc>
12. on about the atrocities committed on Pakistani women...by their own families
13. it was...<F **SHOCKING** F>
14. I was watching it with my mother
15. @and she said..that she would <F **NEVER** F> go to Pakistan @

[Everyone laughs]

16. I mean...the fathers...the brothers were <F **KILLING** F> the daughters ..the sisters
17. R: well...<F **ACTUALLY** F> I disagree
18. H: but...there was no <F **PROOF** F>
19. S: for doing <F **WHAT?** F>.. for
20. H: just for suspicion...<F **SUSPICION** F> for even <F **TALKING** F> to another guy who they suspected...y'know
21. R: <acc I am not very clear about <F **ISLAM** F> acc>
22. S: about what?
23. R: <F **ISLAM** F> <acc but like what you said earlier about throwing stones and killing someone acc>
24. but what they say is::that the stones that are thrown should <F **NOT** F> be too small
25. otherwise it will take:: <F **TOO LONG** F> to kill the woman
26. they shouldn't be ..too big
27. otherwise..they will be killed:: too quickly
28. <acc so they should be medium sized acc>
29. S: is that .. the interpretation.. of the Koran?
30. R: I don't think anything like this is mentioned in the Koran
31. it is just..it is just the perception of the rituals
32. like..if you just read any book..just <F **ONE** F>book
33. that book:: is just going to tell you a few things
34. after that.. the followers start making their own beliefs.. and regulations
35. that's the <F **SAD** F> part
36. that <F **COMES** F>with it
37. I think it is mainly due to <F **THAT** F>

### **BE 7: Experiencing the 2006 World Cup Final in Venice**

1. A: <acc we sat as we were watching the football acc>
2. <acc we were sat outside a pizza take-away joint at the end of the street on a bench..watching the football through the window acc>
3. <acc on the telly behind the counter..with the patron...the patron and his friends..leaning against the rail..next to the main road acc>
4. <acc we sat on this bench acc>
5. < acc there was three of them acc>
6. there was his wife..the <F **WIFE** F>
7. it was <F **AMAZING** F>to be in <F **ITALY** F> for the World Cup <F **FINAL** F>
8. a <F **LIFETIME** F> experience...there was just six or seven of us there
9. F: hmm..we went to the England versus Portugal game
10. <acc England lost acc>
11. <acc we watched it around the corner in a Leicester pub with a large screen acc>
12. <acc and I tell you...there was some violence at the end of it acc>
13. when we went out..there were several guys and girls..came out
14. they were <F **SHOUTING** F> and <F **KICKING** F> things
15. but it must have been <F **AMAZING** F> for you to be there
16. just like being in <F **BRAZIL** F> when Brazil <F **WON** F> the World Cup

17. C: that woman was crying...< F **RIGHT?** F>  
 18. at the bus stop...remember?  
 19. <acc her husband acc>  
 20. F: yes...a woman was crying at a bus stop  
 21. <acc she was sixty  
 22. she was around sixty-five acc>  
 23. her husband ..her husband was sitting <F **COMATOSE** F>  
 24. her husband said <Q I'm <F **NEVER** F>going to watch another football game in my life Q>  
 25. and..she started <F **CRYING** F>  
 26. she held his hand..and started crying...and that  
 27. AM: <F **CRYING?** F>  
 28. C: I was so <F **SURPRISED** F>  
 29. A: @ it does seem to be a bit of an <F **OVER-REACTION** F>@ [**Laughter**]  
 30. F: you might think this is exaggeration  
 31. but it's <F **TRUE** F>...isn't it?  
 32. A: I <F **CAN BELIEVE** F> it  
 33. I can believe it  
 34. some people are so <F **COMMITTED** F> to the cause of football  
 35. that they would be..as they say as <F **SICK AS PARROTS** F>  
 36. <F **GUTTED... WE WUZ ROBBED** F>  
 37. <acc it's <F **CRAZY** F>acc>  
 37. AM: but in Italy..errh  
 38. A: <acc it was a spectacle ..hardly just the seven of us outside this pizza joint  
 39. and we walked up  
 40. this wasn't the main road...and then we walked up to the main road acc>  
 41. AM: we walked around the block ..to see if there was any reaction  
 42. we walked up to the main road  
 43. all this traffic..just kept coming...<F **ALL AT ONCE** F>  
 44. A: <acc <F **BEEPING** F> their horns acc>  
 45. AM: @ it was just like races in a movie...Cannonball Run...<acc **DI DI DI DA DA DA** acc>@ [**Laughter**] [**imitates noises from car engines**]  
 46. hundreds of cars...flags...people going crazy...celebrating  
 47. A: flags..flags flying out of sun-roofs  
 48. people all over the cars...<F **SITTING** F> on the doors..sitting on the tops  
 49. AM: people < F **PILED** F> on each other on motor bikes with flags flying around their necks  
 50. A: <acc <F **CHARGING** F> down the street acc>  
 51. AM: <acc we stood there for about half-an-hour  
 52. it wasn't getting quieter  
 53. it was constant traffic acc>  
 54. they had flags all over Venice..just like in England...photographs in windows  
 55. F: in contrast..in <F **CONTRAST** F>..to the..Italian experience..there was a certain amount of <F **MELANCHOLY** F> in France  
 56. A: @ <F **OH REALLY?..REALLY?..WHAT A SURPRISE** F> @  
 [Everyone Laughs]

### **BE 8: Photographic Memories of Venice**

1. A: I took this one of a mural in Venice because it looks like murals at home
2. it went on for another fifty yards..consisting entirely of pastiches of Renaissance and pre-Renaissance artworks
3. it was an <F **EXTRAORDINARY** F> thing
- 4.AM: that's Saint Mark's Square [**points to another photo**]
- 5.A: birds are <F **EXTRA** F>
6. @ you had to <F **PAY** F> for the birds...yeah@ [**Laughter**]
7. F: did you notice a big difference in the weather...in the summer?
8. A: oh yeah
9. AM: yeah...it's <F **TERRIBLE** F>
10. it's a bit <F **SMELLY** F>
11. the water <F **STINKS** F>
- 12.F: but...the architecture is beautiful
13. I <F **LOVE** F> the architecture
14. AM: yeah::
15. M: look at those <F **PINKS** F>
16. the variety of colours is great [**points to another photo**]
17. A: <acc the only difference between winter and summer is the colour
18. the colour of the sunlight is different in the winter
19. the only thing that changes
20. the only thing that changes acc>
21. AM: when you go to Venice you <F **HAVE** F> to buy a mask..**<F MASKS F>**
22. C: so...masks..are everywhere?
23. A: it's a city... partly geared towards tourists..so
24. AM: they have a tradition..once a year
25. everyone dresses up in masks and dresses..in February <F **CARNEVALE** F>
26. F: the <F **GREEN** F>...I don't like the green water
27. it's a bit <F **SPOOKY** F> to me
28. reminds me of that horror movie
29. in Venice...y'know..the one ..where the parents search for the ghost of their dead daughter...the green reminds me of that
30. A: it's come out very much
31. the green..there are some extraordinary colours in the water
32. C: it's a professional camera?
33. AM: it's a <F **DIGITAL SLR** F>..a <F **SLR** F>..the lens
34. F: is this a church? [**points to another photo**]
35. A: it's the <F **SALUTE** F> [*Santa Maria della Salute*] which is on the..errh  
<F **DORSODURO** F>.. which is on the other side of St. Mark's Square
36. so if you stand under the two pillars..St.Mark's Square..that's...that's one of the things you can see
37. AM: Saint Mark's Square is one of the most marvelous places I have ever been in the world
38. to go there for the first time is <F **MAGICAL** F>
39. A: the <**THING IS** F>...that you can <F **NEVER** F> be alone there
40. because there is <F **ALWAYS** F> somebody else

- 41 it's <F **FRUSTRATING** F>  
 42 to stand there by yourself would be the most <F **WONDERFUL** F>  
 thing...but...unfortunately...it's not possible  
 43. AM: maybe..<F **EARLY** F> in the morning?  
 44. A: even then..<F **EVEN THEN** F>...what are they called?  
 45. <F **THOSE RUBBISH COLLECTORS** F> would be out...servants of the city  
 46. they have <F **THOSE** F> everywhere  
 47. <F **SHRINES** F>..built into walls outside of buildings  
[Points to another photo]  
 48. AM: still very <P Catholic P>  
 49. A: there are <F **SOME** F> real people in Venice as well  
 50. we went out looking for them...like all foreign tourists  
 51. we tried to find the bits where the ordinary Venetians live  
 52. F: @ so...these people **REALLY** do **EXIST**? @ [Laughter]  
 53. A: <F **EXACTLY** F>..the whole city.. Venice is <P mystique P>...is based on  
 its history...a place of < P mystique P>  
 54. there's plenty to see in Venice even if you don't see..hmm  
 55. the bits that you are supposed to see  
 56. the architecture is < F **EVERYWHERE** F>  
 57. the whole city is beautiful  
 58. the tourist bits.. bits in someway are worst  
 59. but there are....there are real Venetians  
 60. but they...they live in the < P outskirts p>  
 61. < acc there's <F **PLENTY** F> to see in Venice acc>

### **BE 9: Fatima Conspiracy**

1. F: the photograph of the priest reminds me of this...a photograph of  
 < F **FATIMA** F>...y'know...the <F **MIRACLE** F> of Fatima  
 2. AM: You mean... where the <F **VIRGIN MARY** F> appeared?  
 3. F: yeah...where Mary appeared...you had the three children..Lucy..Jacinta and  
 Francisco  
 4. AM: two girls and a boy...wasn't it?  
 5. F: yeah...they were all <F **FAMILY** F>..and Mary disclosed to Lucy..the..the..three  
 secrets about the future of the world  
 6. this happened in 1917...predicted World War One and World War Two and the  
 great <F **CATASTROPHE** F> of a potential <F **WORLD WAR THREE** F>  
 7. < acc but there **EXISTS** a photo of Lucy they are disputing  
 8. she became a nun  
 9. the eldest girl Lucy...became a <F **NUN** F>  
 10. her brother and her sister died a few years later..after the apparitions  
 11. this is <F **REAL X-FILES STUFF** F>...a conspiracy theory  
 12. and you got..you got..what happened was..they put her into a convent  
 13. and she went voluntarily..became a <F **RECLUSE** F>  
 14. but they..they have photographs of her  
 15. she died..supposedly ..when she was..ninety-seven years of age  
 16. but they are analyzing photos at the moment



17. and they're...they're <P even P> thinking of doing forensic tests
18. <acc because even though she was <P supposed P> to have died at ninety-seven acc>
19. the two photos of her do not look like the same person
20. the photo before 1960 is <P different P> from the photo taken of her after 1960 which was... supposed to be.. the year in which the secret
21. the Fatima secret was supposed to be revealed to the world
22. and inform the world of a final <F APOCALYPTIC F> vision
23. A: so...many people reckon there were..<F TWO F> Lucys
24. that there was some kind of conspiracy..to hide the..<P real truth P>

#### **BE 10: My Italian Mathematics Programmer**

1. A: we used to have an Italian mathematics programmer
2. and uh..and.. he would look at you.. and say in Italian
3. <Q IL LATO SCURO Q>
4. which means <@ YOU DON'T KNOW THE  
POWER OF THE DARK SIDE @ [Everyone Laughs]
- 5 you don't realize that these..that THESE ..phrases we have
6. <Q YOU DON'T KNOW THE POWER OF THE DARK SIDE Q>
7. which is all very well
8. < acc if you are <F JAMES EARL JONES F>
9. or if you are someone who has seen Star Wars in English acc>
10. but..for an Italian to come out with this phrase in Italian
11. <F IL LATO SCURO F>... sounds <F MENACING F>
12. @ it sounds even <F MORE MENACING F> in Italian than it <F DOES F> in English @ [Everyone laughs]

#### **BE 11: Fear of Insects**

1. F: I was..standing outside the lift
2. several..several students...and we were waiting..and just above the door
3. there was this beetle
4. I mean..<F HANGING F>..y'know
5. <F THAT F> size [uses hands for dramatic effect]
6. and it was so <F THICK...GREEN...EMERALD...JADE F>
7. AM: @ it sounds..<F BEAUTIFUL F> @ [Laughter]
8. F: <F ACTUALLY F>..it looked <F BEAUTIFUL F>
9. and y'know...the spiders..the spiders...<F TARANTUAL-SIZED F>spiders
10. I'm not...I couldn't <F BELIEVE F> it
11. opened the drawer door...slid my hand in to get a pen...in the desk
12. it wasn't a Tarantula
13. but it was <F TARANTUAL-SIZED F>..uggh
14. but what < F REALLY F> annoys me are <F MOSQUITOES F>...and..errh
15. I have a sister who lives in Corfu
16. I went there on holiday
17. <acc and I'm telling you acc>
18. <acc I was eaten alive acc>

19. <acc I was <F **EATEN ALIVE** F>acc>
20. <acc I couldn't believe it acc>
21. <F **AND** F> I had taken medication
22. I had taken the tablets
23. I had taken everything
24. when I went to the local Greek doctor in Corfu
25. I said <Q could I make an appointment? Q>
26. <Q I am in great pain here Q>
27. he said...his secretary...receptionist said <Q no problem..that will be 55 Euro Q>
28. <Q you'll have to pay another 20 Euro for medication Q>
29. and I said <Q I'll suffer in pain and go back to England Q>
30. <F **BEFORE** F> I pay some Greek doctor 55 Euro to see him Q>
31. <Q and another 20 Euro for <F **SOME TABLETS** F> that I can get in Leicester for about two pounds fifty Q>
32. A: **EXACTLY...**just because he thinks if you are a local
33. it's free presumably?
34. F: @ <F **YEAH** F>...if you're <F **GREEK** F> @ **[Laughter]**

#### **BE 12: Bastille Day in Paris**

1. F: we went to Paris
2. everyday we walked for ten miles through Paris
3. we walked to every place.. and then we'd get a taxi back
4. C: it was very <F **DIFFICULT** F>
5. F: I mean and it was the <F **HOTTEST** F> time
6. the hottest records in Paris for a hundred years
7. <F **EVEN** F> in England it was the hottest
8. <acc but in Paris it was even <F **HOTTER** F> acc>
9. <acc ten people dropped dead...<F **REALLY REALLY HOT** F> acc>
10. in our hotel..remember? @ **AFTER EATING THE CROISSANTS?**@  
**[Laughter]**
11. so we had...we walked every day for four or five hours
12. the first one was <F **INCREDIBLE** F>
13. we walked right across...right along the Seine
14. oh god...we walked <F **EVERYWHERE** F>
15. the taxis in bloody Paris
16. you couldn't get a taxi
17. unless you go to a taxi stand...which was <F **VERY** F> inconvenient
18. <acc so you can't get a taxi stand acc>
19. A: you <F **CAN'T** F> pick up a cab?
20. F: no..you can't
21. you <F **CAN'T** F>...and <F **NOT** F> only that
22. they are <F **SELECTIVE** F>
23. they'll turn to you and say <Q I'm not going that way Q> **[Laughter]**
24. we went to see the Eiffel Tower and we were **THERE** for the Bastille Day celebration
25. I'm telling you...it was..it was <F **INCREDIBLE** F>

26. < acc it's on the internet  
 27. it's on the internet acc>  
 28. we've got a website  
 29. we were right underneath the trees where this particular one  
 30. I've seen some firework displays  
 31. but this was all done to <F **FRENCH MUSIC** F>  
 32. I'm telling you...we <F **THOUGHT** F> we were in heaven...<F **RIGHT?** F>  
 33. < acc we were just standing holding each others' hands  
 34. we were right in front of it and the music sound <F **EFFECTS** F>  
 35. <F **EVERYTHING WAS CHOREOGRAPHED** F>  
 36. and they did Stravinsky's Feu D'Artifice..OP. 4 to...to the fireworks  
 37. it was building up to an <F **INCREDIBLE** F> crescendo  
 38. I mean it was <F **ABSOLUTELY AMAZING** F> especially with the French music  
 39. and that...that was on Bastille night  
 40. < acc we never experienced anything quite like that  
 41. if you have a chance to go acc>  
 42. you must go sometime in your future to...to Paris..to the Eiffel Tower...for the  
 <F **BASTILLE FIREWORKS** F>  
 43. it's <F **UNBELIEVABLE** F>  
 44. A: I would <F **AVOID** F> Paris on Bastille Day  
 45. it's just <F **MAD** F>  
 46. F: no...we went to the Champs Elysees  
 47. and urhh...we were..<F **BORED** F> that morning  
 48. they had these jet airplanes flying over..tanks coming up the Champs Elysees..urh..to the...to the Arc De Triomphe  
 49. <F **BORING..BORING..BORING** F>  
 50. we were bored and we went back and so...and urh  
 51. we thought..we just decided.. at the last moment to go to the Bastille fireworks  
 52. <F **AHH...**it was **AMAZING** F>  
 53. you know it reminded me of that scene in the movie..in that movie  
 54. C: what movie?  
 55. F: of the movie...<F **CLOSE ENCOUNTERS OF THE THIRD KIND** F>  
 56. that's <P exactly what it's like>P [hushed tones]  
 57. that encapsulates the whole feeling...the < F **WHOLE** F> experience  
 58. A: yeah...the lights  
 59. F: I mean...<F **SEVENTY...EIGHTY** F>...thousand...I don't know  
 60. I lost count...maybe one hundred twenty thousand people  
 61. maybe <F **MORE** F>...maybe half a million...<F **UNCOUNTABLE** F>  
 62. you were sitting underneath the Eiffel Tower as dusk fell  
 63. <F **BEAUTIFUL** F>  
 64. suddenly the lights came and the Eiffel Tower went on and started to  
 <F **TWINKLE** F>  
 65. I mean you could <F **HEAR THE BUZZ OF THE CROWD...HUNDREDS** F>  
 of thousands of people  
 66. and it's like that anticipation factor in the movie

67. I mean..when it eventually gets dark...the Eiffel Tower lights up completely..about fifteen minutes later  
 68. the fireworks start to go off <F **DIFFERENT..DIFFERENT..DIFFERENT** F> designs of fireworks  
 69. <F **AAH** F>...I've never experienced anything like it  
 70. the French people celebrating their national day  
 71. forgetting about the politics...  
 72. it was just..<F **ABSOLUTELY.. ABSOLUTELY..TOTALLY FREAKING AMAZING** F>

### **BE 13: My Very Special Christmas**

1. F: I have one special memory about <F **CHRISTMAS** F>  
 2. it's not..it's not because of the present I got...ughh  
 3. remember when I was ten  
 4. <acc when I was about ten or eleven acc>  
 5. it was <F **CHRISTMAS MORNING** F>...and errhh..my mother..had to  
 6. there was a very  
 7. <acc we always had to go to church on Christmas morning to celebrate Christmas acc>..the birth of Jesus  
 8. and I have always had this special memory of ..errh..my mother..my mother  
 9. there was a very early morning..church service..and it started at six am  
 10. <acc because Christmas day is usually very busy  
 11. there are usually many...many services  
 12. many people go to church to celebrate Christmas acc>  
 13. and there's a mass ...what we call a <F **MASS** F>  
 14. <acc it's at 6 am..7 am..8am..9am..10am..11am..12 am..and 1 pm acc>  
 15. and this was the time before midnight masses midnight services  
 16. <acc today you can go..at night..<F **BEFORE** F> Christmas  
 17. but you could go to church then  
 18. and that meant..you didn't have to go to church on Christmas Day acc>  
 19. <acc and so you could relax on Christmas Day  
 20. you didn't have to go to church  
 21. you could go at midnight on Christmas Eve acc>  
 22. C: do many people go at midnight?  
 23. F: yeah..<F **MANY** F> people go now  
 24. but when I was a child...you couldn't go...errh  
 25. there was no such thing as **MIDNIGHT MASS**  
 26. so..my mother told me..errh..errh..she wanted to cook the turkey::get everything ready for Christmas Day  
 27. so she said let's go early in the morning...to the very first..religious service::the first mass  
 28. so..errh..I remember...I was sleeping  
 29. and it was a very::very::cold morning  
 30. and she woke me up  
 31. she said < Q let's go to church Q>  
 32. so...I was very tired

33. I was..I was..<F **VERY** F> young  
 34. and..errh..I didn't really appreciate being <F **AWAKENED AT SIX O'CLOCK** F> in the morning  
 35. so I remember that this is a very <F **SPECIAL** F> thing in my memory  
 36. A: it must be <F **REALLY** F> special in your memory  
 37. F: yeah... because..errh...after...after taking a cup of tea we had to walk to church  
 38. and we had to walk along this..errh..new road to the church  
 39. and the road wasn't completed...the road  
 40. y' know the road for the traffic..wasn't completed  
 41. AM: why not?  
 42. F: it wasn't...it was all stones::not cemented...not tarred  
 43. it was all rough  
 44. < acc you had to walk on these <F **BIG** F> stones  
 45. we had just moved to a new housing area  
 46. and the area wasn't completed  
 47. so..they were still building the roads acc>  
 48. so..I have this special memory of walking..walking along this road..in the  
 <F **DARK** F>  
 49. there were <F **NO** F> lights  
 50. I was worried...y'know..about my mother..< F **FALLING** F>..falling over..and  
 about myself falling  
 51. because they were really big <F **JAGGED** F> stones  
 52. and if you had slipped or fallen...you would have been seriously injured  
 53. she...she could have been <F **SERIOUSLY** F> injured  
 54. so <F **EVENTUALLY** F>...eventually..we made it to the church  
 55. we arrived at the church...and...there was no one there  
 56. but just outside the church..because it was <F **CHRISTMAS** F>  
 57. they had a crib...or..what we call...a <F **MANGER** F>  
 58. you know..little statues...of the baby Jesus and Mary  
 59. this is a special tradition ...outside the churches  
 60. so and they had..lights...neon..spotlights...illuminating the manger  
 61. so it looked really special  
 62. it was <F **DARK** F>  
 63. it was...<F **VERY** F> early..in the morning  
 64. it was extremely cold  
 65. it was even <F **TOO COLD** F> to snow  
 66. it was really <F **FREEZING** F>...freezing about <F **MINUS 6** or **MINUS 7** F>  
 67. it was really cold...and errh..my mother and I were waiting on the church  
 opening  
 68. <acc there was no one else there  
 69. but even when we stood in the church entrance  
 70. it was <F **SO** F> cold acc>  
 71. we decided...that the <F **WARMEST** F> place to be..was the manger  
 72. <acc because the heat from the lights would give us some warmth  
 73. there was heat coming from the spotlights  
 74. you see..so we went over to the manger acc>...and errh

75. we looked at the statues of the baby Jesus and Mary...and the cows...and Saint Joseph...and the sheep...and the shepherd boys
76. the traditional images::of Jesus being born
77. and we just stood there
78. and we stood there
79. we were <F **FREEZING** F>
80. but even though it was so cold::
81. <acc and it was so uncomfortable
82. it was a <F **SPECIAL** F> memory acc>
83. because..errh the heat..the <F **HEAT** F>...the <F **LIGHT** F> were giving us some heat
84. and it was almost
85. it was almost...as if...<P as if P>...we were there to witness the birth
86. <acc it was like an illusion
87. there was no one else present acc>
88. we were the only persons to <P witness P> the birth of Jesus
89. AM: <F **WOW** F>
90. F: there was no traffic...<P pure silence..darkness P>
91. it was almost as if...<P we P> were watching Jesus being born again
92. we were <P present P>
93. we were <P there:: alone P>
94. C: what an <F **AMAZING STORY** F>
95. F: just my mother and I::being present at the birth of Jesus in a manger outside the church
96. y'see..even though we knew they were only statues
97. but it just gave me this special feeling
98. this special notion that we were close to Jesus that morning
99. that <P Christmas P>
100. so...<P my mother and I were standing outside the church P>
101. <P we had this really special feeling P>
102. <P we were totally isolated and P>
103. <P we had this unique feeling of being close or present at the birth of Jesus P>
104. we eventually realized..that my mother had made a mistake ..about the time::
105. the first..the first church service was supposed to be at six o'clock in the morning
106. < acc but she had got up
107. she had misjudged it acc>
108. in actual fact...we had gotten up...at <F **4 O'CLOCK...4 AM** F>
109. and we had probably...probably arrived at the church...at maybe 4:30 am.
110. so..we had to stand outside the church in the <F **FREEZING COLD** F> for one and a half hours before the church opened
111. <P so for one and a half hours we were alone with Jesus and Mary and Joseph and the sheep P>
112. that's the <P one P> really special memory I have of Christmas <P in my life P>

#### **BE 14: Retaking A-Levels**

1. T: I always that I wanted to do English Literature...for a degree.. at university...errh
2. but I didn't really do very well...in my English Literature A-Level
3. <acc I only got a C grade acc>
4. and to do it at university...you really need to get a B or an A
5. I was <F **PREDICTED** F> a B
6. but I didn't < F **GET** F> a B
7. so....erm...I had this < F **BIG** F> family discussion about what I was going to do
8. ermm...my Dad wanted me to...erm...sort of <F **QUIT** F> the whole learning process..and go off and get a job
9. and maybe do my A-Level again...erm...in evening classes
10. and then go to university...erm
11. I decided <P not to P>
12. I decided to stay on at sixth-form college for another year
13. and to retake my A-Level at college...which ..ermm...was quite difficult
14. because all of my friends...had <P gone P>
15. <acc they had all gone away to university acc>
16. and I thought I was going to be...sort of...left on my own in sixth-form college
17. and wouldn't really know anybody anymore
18. P: so...you felt really lonely at that time?
19. T: well...<F **ACTUALLY** F>...when I did it...it was absolutely <F **FANTASTIC** F>
20. <P and I had my best year at sixth-form P>
21. and I made loads of new friends..and erm
22. <acc I studied harder and got better grades acc>
23. I ended up taking extra classes because I just couldn't do English
24. you <F **HAD** F> to have a full timetable
25. I had...so I did the English
26. and I also did psychology
27. and I took geology as well
28. it was like the only other subject that I could take for the timetable
29. so I ended up doing that...which was a bit <F **WEIRD** F>
30. but yeah...it meant...it meant that I did psychology...which I...discovered that
31. P: you found it interesting?
32. T: <F **YES** F>
33. P: you fell in love with psychology?
34. T: I <F **FELL IN LOVE** F> with psychology...<F **YES** F>
35. I am still doing it now
36. so yeah...that was a <F **BIG** F> learning experience going back to college
37. and being one of the upper-sixth..the <F **SHAME** F> of going back for another year
38. because there's only...there's sort of like...the normal lower-sixth
39. and then you have the upper-sixth
40. and then you have...one class of people who...are staying on for another year
41. or who did GCSEs for another year
42. and so on...sort of like.. a year behind everybody else
43. so...<P it was a terrible class >P @ [Whispers and Laughs]

44. P: <acc why did you think it was a terrible class? acc>  
 45. <acc do you have bad memories of it? acc>  
 46. T: no..because...I mean...I think...we all <F **KNEW** F> about the existence of the  
 <F **CLASS** F>  
 47. ermm..beforehand...and oh..y'know  
 48. <F **WHAT DID THEY DO WRONG?** F>  
 49. and why did they end up staying at college for another year?  
 50. erm...but then... when you are <F **ACTUALLY IN** F> the class  
 51. you've got people there who are staying on for sorts of.. different reasons  
 52. <acc one girl was staying on because her family had gone to Australia acc>  
 53. <acc and she couldn't join them yet acc>  
 54. <acc so she would just stay around in sixth-form college for another year acc>  
 55. and see what she could do in a year with some ...some different A levels which  
 were one-year courses  
 56. <F **SO** F>... actually <F **BEING** F> in the class...<F **NOT** F> a problem at all  
 57. no <F **HORRIBLE** F> experiences at all

### **BE 15: Motivation in Learning**

1. D: an important experience for me was what provided motivation...for getting into  
 higher-education...hmm  
 2. because...I was...errh...because I was...ermm  
 3. I used to be...find myself in jobs which I didn't like  
 4. and so I used to work in factories and stuff  
 5. so..I used to get up at...erm...half-four...and then drive  
 6. sitting in a van for hours  
 7. work <F **ALL** F> day  
 8. get home about 6 am  
 9. so..and after...quite a few months of that...errh...provides you with motivation  
 10. like nothing else will...can do::so essentially...that's been my motivation for years  
 11. now...erhh...that's <F **WHY** F> I came  
 12. I did an access course  
 13. so...y'know...now...I am doing a degree  
 14. that's why I am doing a degree ...next in October  
 15. so...so it's...it's something I always remember...what it used to be like  
 16. T: friends of mine always kept...errh  
 17. they ended up having to work in a <F **PERFUME** F> factory for a period of time  
 18. and they have always kept...like...one of these perfume bottles in their house  
 19. so...every now and again...they can <F **LOOK** F> at it  
 20. and think <Q **OH GOD I'M NOT DOING THAT ANYMORE.. ITS GOT TO  
 BE BETTER THAN THIS** Q>  
 21. D: I...it's worth doing...a degree  
 22. <acc you have the freedom to do what you want...which is quite remarkable acc>  
 23. it's not like what I have done before...at all  
 24. so...I did work a few years beforehand  
 25. because now...I can appreciate being a student doing a degree...being a student  
 26. T: I think..I had a similar experience



27. because when I finished...erm...my undergraduate degree
28. <acc I went and worked in Manchester for a year acc>
29. and I was just doing
30. I was in offices and it was really...do have to get up at half-past one in the morning
31. but it was <F **HORRIBLE** F> in other ways
32. you just.. it's soul destroying
33. and it is really <F **EXACTLY** F> the same as every other day
34. <F **AND** F>...you kind of feel that you don't learn anything
35. because it is the **SAME** every day
36. I mean....<F **WHAT'S NEW?** F>
37. <F **WHAT'S** F> there?
38. <F **WHERE** F> are the challenges?
39. <acc it's all the same <F **DAY IN...DAY OUT** F>acc>
40. and the...<F **STUFF** F>...when they <F **DO** F> ask you to do something
41. it's <F **LIKE** F>...can you file this in a slightly different way?
42. P: really...the <F **SAME** F> every day?
43. T: not <F **EXACTLY** F> the same every day...hmm
44. y'know...erhh...can you set up a thing...a new system for them
45. it's like <F **WOW..YES** F>
46. but then it's like...it's <F **NEW** F> for ten minutes
47. so then...it's the <F **SAME** F> again
48. whereas...like at least in... research or academia
49. <acc people are finding out new things all the time acc>
50. and so...it <F **DOES** F>change...because I am doing the lecturing
51. and you are responding to the needs of students
52. and <P my god P> they can up with some <P weird and wonderful things P>
53. so..it is new all the time...<F **REALLY** F>

#### **BE 16: Making Presentations**

1. T: I had to give presentations...erm
2. <acc that was a learning experience acc>
3. <acc it was the <F **FIRST** F> ever presentation I had to do acc>
4. @ I **FAINTED** with fear @ [**Laughter**]
5. it was very <P embarrassing P>
6. it was in my first year...erm...but
7. it was like you've got to do a presentation
8. and then they didn't tell us anything else
9. like ...it wasn't like...<F **HERE'S A LECTURE ON HOW TO GIVE PRESENTATIONS** F>
10. or here's some reading material on <F **HOW TO GIVE PRESENTATIONS** F>
11. and they didn't really have the...erm....educational development thing...with all its handy leaflets
12. <acc and so I did the <F **AWFUL** F> thing of standing up and reading off a piece of paper
13. < P and not looking directly at anyone P>
14. and not trying to make it...interesting or interactive or accessible...or anything

15. actually...when I came to do it...my first year
16. I had never really done one before
17. @ I was <F **TERRIFIED** F> out of my mind @ [Laughter]
18. D: it's quite <F **ASTONISHING** F>
19. what goes in....in your mind when you just...you come to a few people
20. < acc how terrified you are
21. it makes no sense to me acc>
22. T: no.. it's like that...erm...<F **AUTO-FLIGHT** F> response
23. it's like the thing you used to use when...uh....you were going to get attacked by a  
<F **RHINOCEROS** F>...or something
24. <P and you're trying to tell yourself to calm down
25. and ..it's all going to be okay...erm P>
26. but it didn't work
27. and @ I **FAINTED** @ [Laughter]
28. and you've got all the members of your department there
29. and I just kind of <F **SANK** F> to the ground
30. and...everybody just <F **SAT** F> there...<F **LOOKING** F>
31. **AS IF** ..it was like **THIS** has never happened before...what do we **DO**?
32. I think it took a bit...a bit of time for it to sink into them
33. and I was kind of...like...**MORTIFIED**...**SITTING** on the ground
34. and my tutor went to get me a drink of water
35. and then my tutor said <Q oh don't worry...erm...you can have my slot in  
three weeks time..so you can still do it then Q>
36. and I thought at least by fainting
37. I had got <F **OUT OF IT** F>
38. but...I had to do it all again three weeks later
39. and I think I drew quite a big crowd
40. everyone was wondering..if I would do it again
41. but I didn't...so...learning experience?
42. what <F **NOT** F> to do when making a presentation
43. P: yeah...sometimes a learning experience can be **NEGATIVE**
44. T: @ **YEAH**...I learnt the **HARD** way @ [Laughter]
45. P: even though we may be nervous...we <F **NEED** F> the experience
46. T: yeah...I know...I mean...y'know...I've given lectures to the first and second year  
undergraduates now
47. <F **SO F**>... I couldn't stand up in a room of fifteen people and give a  
seminar...and <F **FAINTED** F>
48. but now I can stand up in front of one hundred and fifty people and give a lecture
49. it's something...y'know
50. I had...I <F **HAD** F> to get over it
51. I knew I was going to have to do presentations again
52. and I knew it was silly to be that scared @ [Laughter]
53. so...I forced myself ...to get over it
54. but to a certain extent...that's left me without sympathy
55. well.. erm...when my third-year project students have...y'know...have to  
give a presentation at the end of their project...which I < F **TOTALLY** F>

- remember having to do from when <F **I HAD TO DO IT** F>
56. and when they're all doing their
57. <Q I can't do it Q>
58. I'm really <F **NERVOUS** F>
59. I'm...I'm just like
60. well...yeah...<F **EVERYBODY** F> feels nervous
61. so on one level I sympathize with them
62. but on the other I'm like..well...I was more terrified
63. you are probably not to <F **GET UP AND FAINT** F>
64. so therefore...y'know...you can get over it
65. because I kind of feel that I was... @ at the <F **WORST** F>...the worst level of...of fear of presentations @ **[Laughter]**
66. Mod: <acc did you have any similar experiences in making presentations? acc>
67. D: yeah...the first presentation I gave was in my access course..was
68. I was actually...I just couldn't look at anyone
69. <acc I just stared at the door and reeled off what I had remembered acc>
70. erm...so fortunately I had a biology degree to do
71. so you get...you get <F **LOADS** F>
72. so.. I average...perhaps one every semester...to give a presentation
73. so...it kinds of gets easier every time you make a presentation...errh
74. you just got to practice...if you practice a lot
75. I guess you...you can...just stand there and reel it off...erm
76. so you don't have to worry about being nervous...or anything
77. T. yeah...you kind of feel more <F **CONFIDENT** F>...don't you?
78. it's like...even if the <F **WORST** F> comes to the worst at least I can remember
79. what I am going to say
80. I still have to have a safety net though
81. @ so I always have...erm...the **NOTES**...that I have made @ **[Laughter]**
82. I always take them with me and I have them right next to me...on the stand
83. so I had to...I went to a conference in London at the beginning of January
84. and I don't think I used them...to start off with
85. I think I wasn't using them but I was turning them over
86. and then...I forgot about them
87. and I think that's the first time in all these years..that I've actually managed to make it that far..of not continually turning over my pages of notes
88. erm...y'know...@ I was **GETTING THERE** @ **[Laughter]**
89. y'know...<F **NEARLY THERE** F>...so that was...that was alright
90. but...if you can...if you stood up...and practiced it out **LOUD**...like it really is going to be...in the presentation
91. I think that really helps because I think the first time I was doing it
92. I was...erm...I was reading it through a lot
93. and I was saying it in my head
94. and that's..**STILL**..kind of completely different to actually standing up there hearing your voice
95. say all normal things
96. get confused

97. put in the wrong order and everything
98. P: yeah..it takes years of practice...but experienced people can make good use of eye-contact to reinforce their presentations
99. T: Well...<F **THAT'S THE THING** F>
100. it's...it's kind of better to do it in a lecture theatre because you <F **DON'T** F> look at anybody
101. you look ...at areas and you make sure you do the front and the back...and the sides
102. and you move your eyes around
103. but you're <F **NEVER** F> looking at anybody
104. because...because you never want to stare a student down
105. because it's kind of uncomfortable
106. but..erm...like everybody else will think you're looking there
107. but you're not...really
108. it's quite strange
109. D: now... yeah...now that you mention it...the presentation I was most comfortable with...was a huge theatre with loads of people that answered back
110. and for some reason...I wasn't...I wasn't <F **THAT** F> bothered
111. I looked at the screen...sort of looked around
112. reeled it off...and it was <F **FINE** F>
113. T: hmm..I kind of..what..what scared me was...y'know..all the members of the department
113. after the <F **FAINTING** F> episode..and..y'know <F **WORDS OF WISDOM** F>..and you get all these people
115. and y'know..I know they've been lecturers for ages
116. and yeah..I'm <F **STILL** F> terrified...before I give a lecture
117. like..<Q **OH GOD WHAT CHANCE IS THERE FOR ME?** Q>
118. but I think..I think..there must be a very **SMALL** proportion of the population who doesn't get slightly terrified
119. before standing up in front of people and talking
120. P: so..<F **EXPERIENCE** F> is important
121. T: yeah...to a certain extent that you've got...y'know
122. I've done it ten times now
123. and I've <P **SURVIVED** P> each time
124. @ so it will probably be all right after this one @ [Laughter]

### **BE 17: Failure and Success**

1. T: I remember when I first started...erm
2. there was a course...the <F **BEHAVIOURAL PHARMACOLOGY** F> modules
3. I just could not..< F **GET IT** F>..because it was all about...erm..the neurotransmitters in the brain
4. and.. erm.. the physical make-up of the brain..hypocampuses whatever and
5. y'know..how neurotransmitters work..the electrical signals in the brain causing this..that and the other
6. and all these < F **REALLY LONG** F> names of..neuros..and whatevers
7. and then..I couldn't even write them down

8. so I was onto a <F **REAL LOSER** F> with that one
9. and it just ...<F **DIDN'T CLICK** F> with me
10. I couldn't ...couldn't make myself...learn it
11. whereas..y'know..I said I ended up doing Geology A-Level...AS-Level
12. that wasn't ..wasn't something that I had really wanted to <F **DO** F>
13. or had a particular interest in
14. and when I started doing it some of it involved
15. <F **CHEMISTRY** F> of < F **ALL** F> things and how the different <F **BITS AND BOBS** F> in the volcanoes..type..**<F WHATEVER F>**
16. but..I did still did all right with that
17. <acc and **EVEN** though I wasn't particularly interested in it
18. or didn't..yeah..having never really thought about it before
19. I could still do it acc>
20. and it clicked on a certain level
21. but...other stuff...like this...<F **BEHAVIOURAL PHARMACOLOGY** F>
22. there's nothing @ **JUST DIDN'T UNDERSTAND IT** @ [Laughter]
23. and the exam was a struggle
24. it's <P weird P>
25. P: you said earlier that your decision to study psychology was unintentional that your first choice was English literature
26. T: <F **EXACTLY** F>..I always wanted to do it...erm
27. so...but the timetables...wouldn't work
28. <acc so I ended up having to do sociology
29. I didn't particularly want to do sociology
30. but I couldn't fit psychology into my timetable with the other subjects that I had chosen acc>
31. so..erm...<P failing P>...well...not doing as well as I had hoped to in English literature..meant that I got to do psychology which turns out
32. @ I like much better than English literature ..anyway @ [Laughter]
33. P: that reminds me of a biblical quotation...some thing like
34. when God closes a door...he <F **OPENS** F> another one
35. it encourages people never to give up
36. T: yeah..I've heard that
37. P: so...sometimes a negative learning experience can have a positive outcome
38. D: yeah..**<F ACTUALLY F>** you've just reminded me
39. I did..when I first applied to do a degree
40. I'd...erm..Derby..and..I applied to do the course and
41. and then they said no
42. <Q you can't do this. you have to do this instead Q>
43. <acc and I didn't want to do that acc>
44. so I applied..erhh...to a load of other places which actually turned out for the better
45. because..I got into a better university..and..erm
46. and it probably means that I've got a better degree than I would have done at Derby
47. so I mean..I was disappointed when I didn't get..the course I wanted at Derby

48. so it turned out alright  
49. T: yeah..it kind of makes you <F **STRONGER** F> as a person as well  
50. if you get knocked down...get knocked back  
51. you kind of...keep going anyway  
52. it's like @ this is something I really want to do  
53. I don't care  
54. I'm going to try and do it this way @ [Laughter]  
55. makes you feel a bit <F **BETTER**...**SWEETER** F> achievement in the end

## **APPENDIX 7**

### **LEARNER IDENTITY INTERVIEWS**

#### **Kevin**

MJ: When did you start to learn English?

Kevin: When I was at elementary school we didn't have English class. So many classmates went to cram school to learn English. My parents were worried that if I didn't learn English earlier my English ability might be behind other students. So, my mum took me to a cram school when I was at the fifth or sixth year at elementary school.

MJ: Why did you want to learn English?

Kevin: I needed to pass junior-high school English exams. But I think everyone has his or her own beautiful dream. I wanted to learn English very much and I usually can get a sense of accomplishment from learning it. I really enjoy the feeling. I had a dream and it was the biggest dream I had.

MJ: What career did you want?

Kevin: I wanted to be an English teacher. Everyone knows that English is a global language and many people want to learn it. But it was not the main reason - English is the final frontier - these AEL students are on a continuing mission to seek out new English vocabularies to explore strange new worlds - to boldly go where no AEL student has gone before! [Laughing]

MJ: What was your main reason?

Kevin: My biggest dream was to share my happiness of learning English with others. I wanted to make it easier and happier for my students to learn English. Everyone knows there are too many qualified teachers now and they are still waiting for a job.

MJ: Really?

Kevin: Y'know, it is not easy to get a teaching job in Taiwan any more. Then many people beside me also didn't agree my dream. Being a teacher is a difficult challenge for everyone. But for me, I will not give up my dream easily. Even if I can't be an English teacher, I still believe that there still are other jobs in my future I would be qualified to do. Maybe I could get a job in America if I get a higher degree and improve my English.

MJ: So, how did you try to improve your English language skills?

Kevin: I entered English poetry and drama competitions. My classmate Alex and other roommates had a special "English" time every night in our dorm. We only spoke English - usually for about thirty minutes. I think every AEL student should do this.

MJ: Anything else?

Kevin: I watched American TV shows and movies lots. And I surfed on CNN and BBC websites and read *Newsweek* once in a blue moon. I also volunteer to be a host for the American exchange students from our sister-school and went with them on trips around Taiwan.

MJ: Do you think it is important to speak English like a native English-speaker?

Kevin: Yes - otherwise why shall we learn it? But sometimes, some teachers use some textbooks which are too easy too simple to develop real conversation skills. I think teachers should use more advanced books. They got to give students a challenge. If we don't, then where is the challenge?

MJ: Did you practice your English conversational skills with your foreign teachers?

Kevin: Of course. I worked as an editor for the AEL newspaper. Y'know, edited articles by AEL students. I practiced my conversation skills with an American professor and he helped me correct grammar mistakes. I talked to foreign teachers a lot. I liked to talk about American and British culture with them.

MJ: Did you find some teachers more helpful than others?

Kevin: I found one teacher was very helpful. Sometimes, I phoned him at night. It was funny because I kept phoning him after nine o'clock at night and he kept complaining that he needed to get sleep (Laughing). I even invited him to lunch or dinner. I kept contact with him after university.

MJ: What about your employment history?

Kevin: I got part-time jobs as an assistant in a language centre and a teaching assistant to an professor. And I got a teaching job in a cram school in Meinong.

MJ: Did you travel overseas?

Kevin: I visited America during summer vacation. I got a job in McDonald's.

MJ: So, you got many opportunities to practice your English there?

Kevin: Actually, some people there think I can't speak English well. They joked about my pronunciation and strange accent. So, I tried to develop an American accent. When my Italian-American manager showed me how to do the job he told me in English. I learned a lot from him.

MJ: Did you practice your English with anyone else?

Kevin: I also speak English to other workers and customers. I think my English improved. Now when I speak English, I also think in a certain way in English - to be more precise in an American way - like "give-and-take" or "meet-in-a-half-way" and such.

MJ: Do you sometimes feel uncomfortable when speaking English?

Kevin: Actually, I never have that feeling. Because using English as a second language is just like breathing to me.

MJ: Did you practice your English skills when you were in the army?

Kevin: When I was in the army I spoke English to army friends. But I needed to improve my English vocabulary because I wanted to become an air-traffic controller. When I went to the medical test they told me I had *Hodgkin's Disease* so I have to get chemotherapy treatment. Y'know, I was baptized last year and became a Christian.



MJ: A Christian?

Kevin: Yes. My ex-girlfriend is Christian and also her family. They influenced me a lot. I like to read the English Bible in hospital.

MJ: So, reading the Bible in English helped you?

Kevin: Yes. This helped me lots when I was sick in hospital.

MJ: Did you speak in English to anyone else?

Kevin: Yes. I talked to some Taiwanese doctors who had studied in America. I spoke to some English-speaking patients. Sometimes when I was feeling better, I was invited to read the Bible in English in church. I think English and reading the Bible gave me some power – strength - when I was really sick. But I am stronger now.

### **Vicky**

MJ: When did you start to learn English?

Vicky: I think it's from kindergarten. I remember when I was very young the teacher used to teach us English alphabets and sang the song: ABCDEFG. Then I went to elementary school, my mother want me to go to cram school to learn English.

MJ: Why did you want to learn English?

Vicky: Because I think English is the most important language in the world. And I wanted to go to America to improve my English skills so I went to our sister-school in Wisconsin.

MJ: Do you think it is important to speak English like a native English-speaker?

Vicky: I always hope I can speak English like an English native-speaker. I think if someone can't speak like a native-speaker then their English is not good enough. It's also important for me to find a good job in Taiwan if my English is good.

MJ: Any other reasons?

Vicky: Yes. I learn English to join an English-speaking company in Taiwan. Working in an English-speaking country will probably make me homesick but I am want to work in the environment and that's why the English-speaking company in Taiwan is the top choice for me.

MJ: So, learning English is very important to you?

Vicky: Yes. But in the first university, I think I was a lazy student.

MJ: A lazy student?

Vicky: Yes. I didn't study - didn't go to classes so I didn't do well on my English exams.

MJ: So, what happened?

Vicky: My parents got a letter. When they gave it to me I saw words with red color that told me I had been kicked out of university. I have to go to university and transact the procedure of drop-out school. Then my parents knew I was a lazy student.

MJ: How did your family react?

Vicky: I cried almost every day. My father cried. But he told me to do the transfer exam. He think I have talent in language learning.

MJ: Why did you have problems in learning English?

Vicky: All those English I have learned is dead English, not live English. Learning English for me is to learn another English speaking country culture and custom. I had made many wrong ways in learning English.

MJ: In what ways?

Vicky: I recited many words and phrases but I didn't know how to use them correctly. I used to play CD or listen to English radio all day long but I did not know what they were talking about. Or when I spoke English by myself no one corrected me immediately. I think it wasted my time.

MJ: So how did you try to improve your English language skills?

Vicky: After I learned what mistakes I already made I changed the ways in learning English. I watch foreign movie. I will do my best to know their culture or humour.

MJ: So, why do you think Taiwanese students have problems in learning English?

Vicky: When Taiwanese students learn to speak English they are still controlled by English grammar. That's why Taiwanese students' English ability already rank almost the worst in Asia.

MJ: Really?

Vicky: Yes. English teachers used just like teaching math formula. The teacher explained grammar very detail and required us to remember all those rules. We are just like machine to cram all these dead formula to our brain. When I was in high-school I used to learn English like learn math. I recited most of the grammar and used them in the exams because I thought it was easy to put some standard grammar rules and get the right answers.

MJ: Did you practice your English conversational skills with your foreign teachers?

Vicky: Yes, but I am very nervous. My English grammar is very bad. I always make big mistakes. I still use Chinese thinking when I speak English. I am very afraid that I only can listen to foreigners and cannot speak to them because they speak too fast.

MJ: Did you find some teachers more helpful than others?

Vicky: Some teachers work very hard to teach us but others don't. In my first-year English conversation class, the teacher just introduce lesson and practice some key questions and vocabulary and do some grammar exercises from the course book. But my second-year teacher separate us into groups and we practice more.

MJ: What about your employment history?

Vicky: I was assistant of English teacher at a cram school and private English tutor. I did those part-time jobs in vacations and salary was not enough to pay my university fees. Actually, my parents helped me to pay university fees during my university years. I am a full-time teacher now.

MJ: Did you have much opportunity to speak English then?

Vicky: Yes. I talk to students and some native-English speakers.

MJ: Did you experience any problems when teaching English?

Vicky: Sometimes. First, I don't have much experience in teaching so I am nervous, of course. I got to pretend to be very experienced, though I don't look like that. Another problem is from students' parents. Sometimes I am under stress from parents - mothers.

MJ: Mothers?

Vicky: Most of the students come with their mothers. Some mothers will ask me to improve their children exam result. And some students' English ability is really really poor. The mothers think it should be all my responsibility if their children don't make any progress in the tests at their schools. Though I got to take some responsibility for that but it shouldn't be all my responsibility - students should study hard themselves. I can be the helper but I can't do the exam for them.

MJ: Any other problems at work?

Vicky: Sometimes, I am also under stress from other teachers. Because I am a full-time teacher at this cram school now, I just got some stress from one teacher. She is still studying doctoral degree in Kaohsiung some university. She thought herself is the best teacher here. Just because she has the highest degree. She hasn't graduated yet! She is still a doctor student. She gives me lots pressure because whenever she talks to me she always mention her doctor degree - I really hate that!

MJ: Do you think studying English has changed you in any way?

Vicky: Maybe I am more responsible. I don't want to disappoint my father again.

### **Martina**

MJ: When did you start to learn English?

Martina: I learn English in junior high.

MJ: Did you ever go to cram school to learn English?

Martina: No, I don't like to go to cram school.

MJ: Why did you want to learn English?

Martina: I decide English will be my major when I was a senior-high and I continue my decision when I go to university. I learn English not only for getting a good job in the future but also for my own interest.

MJ: What kind of job did you want?

Martina: I wanted to be dental nurse. If I could I want to have many trips to some foreign countries. Then, I would have a lot of opportunities to speak English. I went to university late because I had a job in a shop. But I still decide to go further education. I quit my job then.

MJ: That must have been a difficult decision to make.

Martina: I find it difficult to give up the job and then preparing the test of university entrance. Or, just keeping the job in the shop to earn more money to study English. Many Taiwanese people calculate their life changes according to a social clock whether they are 'on-time' for their age or 'off-time'.

MJ: Really?

Martina: I don't agree with this. I think if I could choose 'right time' to marry - start work - and have a baby or what I want to do - my life would be wonderful.

MJ: Did your family pressurize you?

Martina: My father always blamed me for not going to university at right age. He always warned me when I finish my university study I will become too old and nobody want to marry me or no company want to hire me.

MJ: So, you didn't get any support from your family?

Martina: Many people including my friends and relatives didn't support me to quit my job. I knew that leaving familiar and secure environment was fearful - full of risk. I thought lots about what I might gain and what I might lose.

MJ: Really?

Martina: Maybe my life would be like my classmates in vocational school or the shop. I would have a comfortable salary. I could wait for promotion. If I never go back to school I think I probably married early then I might have a different lifestyle such as traveling - buy lots thing or have several children. But it is not the life I want. So I decided to study English at university.

MJ: So, you made major sacrifices to study English?

Martina: I borrowed lots of money for tuition fee from the government to study English. I was married to nobody. I did not buy any clothes for a long time. I lived a dog life in order to maintain a balance between schooling and the part-time job. I worried a lot about how my life would develop in the future. I was afraid of not finding any job during the high unemployment period and I would become too old after graduation.

MJ: Did you practice your English conversational skills with your foreign teachers?

Martina: I was lucky to have many foreign teachers. They always encouraged me. Sometimes, they gave me extra material for reading. Some came from UK, Europe, Russia and America. I tried to talk to them outside class as much as possible. But sometimes I can't understand what they said - they have strange accents. And they talk too quick, so I don't understand them.

MJ: How did you improve your English language skills?

Martina: In summer vacation, I always improve my speaking skill in an English cram school. The library is important as it has all kinds of English magazines which helped me to solve the problem of my tough homework and also helped me get two scholarships from an advanced English magazine..

MJ: Do you think it is important to speak English like a native English-speaker?

Martina: Yes. To have a good accent the correct pronunciation and intonation all are important for me. I dream that one day, I can speak English fluently and correctly. Sometimes I watched cable TV. My target is to speak good English just like a native in the future. The only thing to prevent me to learn English that is the accent. I try to do my best on speaking. I found out the speaking ability will go backward if I am not practicing it very often. Anywhere in Taiwan if you want to speak English people might think you are weird. Why not just speak Chinese? This is Taiwan!

MJ: What about your employment history?

Martina: I work as an English teacher in cram schools twice. That was in my winter and summer vacation.

MJ: Did you speak in English to your students?

Martina: I need to phone my students and ask them some English questions or encourage them to spell some vocabularies and read some articles from the book. Then I will give the point to judge their ability. I need to teach the student individually who was absent from the class. After class they have to recite the dialogue vocabularies or some short article in front of me. Although I worked for a child English cram school but I still learn a lot from it.

MJ: Do you have many opportunities to speak English in your job as a dental nurse?

Martina: Some foreigners come to the clinic. I always greet them in English. I can have small conversations with them when they are in the waiting room. Sometimes, I make jokes with them so they relax before the treatment. It is a good way for me to practice my English.

MJ: Do you sometimes feel uncomfortable when speaking English?

Martina: I don't like my Mum ask me to talk to foreigners who are strangers for me. She always think I should catch every chance to practice my English. I think it's very rude to talk to a foreigner in English just for practicing English. For example when we go out for dinner if my mum see any foreigners in the restaurant she will force me to talk to them immediately. I hate it. What a stupid behavior!

### **Daniel**

MJ: When did you start to learn English?

Daniel: I don't really remember the correct time. What I remember is when I go to junior high-school - at the same time my mother took me to a cram school to improve my English.

MJ: Why did you decide to study English?

Daniel: My dream is to study doctorate in computers and get a job in America. I need to speak English to get a job there. When I learn English at cram school I think I was bored.

MJ: Why was it boring?

Daniel: Because the main reason for me to go to cram school is just to pass the entrance exam and go to a better high-school.

MJ: When did it stop being a boring experience for you?

Daniel: In university, I made more friends - studied more subjects and broaden my perspectives. I learn how to think about my future life. I become more confident and know more about what to do in the future. I learn more knowledge about English and more experiences in English teaching. I begin to learn English for my interest not for the test.

MJ: Have you traveled overseas?

Daniel: No. But I really hope I can travel to English-speaking countries - America or Australia.

MJ: Do you think it is important to speak English like a native English-speaker?

Daniel: Yes. It is my goal. But I need more vocabularies and my grammar is poor.

MJ: Did you practice your English conversational skills with your foreign teachers?

Daniel: Yes. I got to say I was really really lucky to meet so many foreign teachers in my university. I speak English when I talk to the AEL Chairman and other foreign teachers. I try to speak English all the time.

MJ: Were you afraid of speaking English to foreigners?

Daniel. Actually, at the beginning I am really afraid to talk to foreigners because I think my English is poor and they might not understand. But after speaking English to foreigners I am not afraid at all. I gradually feel that they will listen to me and slow down their speaking speed.

MJ: Do you think that most Taiwanese students are afraid of teachers?

Daniel: Well y'know - Taiwanese educational system - most of the students are afraid of teachers. I remember when I was young my teacher gave some students physical punishment (corporal punishment) because their exam result was really bad or bad behaviour.

MJ: Did you find some foreign teachers more helpful than others?

Daniel: I became very friendly with one foreign teacher. He is very very kind to arrange several hours to meet me every week. Then he helped me to improve my English speaking and writing. My listening comprehension improve lots too. But I still have big problems with English grammar.

MJ: So, how did you try to improve your English language skills?

Daniel: I kept a habit of listening to English radio programs every day. I also tried to increase my chances of speaking English to foreign teachers. And I watched CNN News on TV but it was boring – boring adverts!

MJ: Anything else?

Daniel: Well, I surfed the Internet and it help me to learn more English. I also watch lots of American movies and listen to Western pop music. And I spent time talking to one of the foreign teachers and he help me in his free time.

MJ: Did you find the Internet useful?

Daniel: Yes. I chat in English on Internet. But afterwards I found those net pals all chat for gossip and use informal English. Besides that, I need to prepare my entrance test for graduate school at that time. So, I don't go to that chatting room often. I know if I want to learn English well, I need to stay in all-English environment.

MJ: What about your work experience?

Daniel: Actually, I did three types of part-time jobs. The first was to work in our department office. My job is answering the telephone and type documents. I also work for the university newspaper. I edit the newspaper. And I was a part-time English teacher in the cram school. Frankly speaking, I love teaching English because I can practice my English - and make money at the same time!

MJ: Have you had much opportunity to speak English since leaving university?

Daniel: I speak English to my cram school students but I experience some problems there.

MJ: Really?

Daniel: My boss get some complaints from parents – my appearance! [Laughing]

MJ: Your appearance?

Daniel. Because I look very young for my age! And they doubt my teaching ability and experience. So, they complain about spending money to pay a young teacher help their children pass high-school entrance exams and they also complain about my teaching style.

MJ: Teaching style?

Daniel: I want to improve the students' listening skills but my boss and the parents just want me to make sure the students pass the exams. I am very angry but I don't want to lose the job. So, I prove to them I can teach.

MJ: So, how did you do that?

Daniel: I prepare my lessons well and I give them thirty minutes extra lessons. I try to help the weaker students. They all pass the exams but I still think I am correct improving their listening skills.

MJ: Any other problems about teaching or speaking English?

Daniel: During my Master degree study, I still like to study English all the time. English becomes one important part in my life. In the future I will keep learning it. When I first started my Master degree many classmates think I am weird.

MJ: Weird?

Daniel: Because I speak English in class. They are suspicious. Maybe they think I am showing off.

MJ: Did all the students think you were “showing-off”?

Daniel: Actually, some classmates asked me to help them research. Every classmate read many research papers. Most are printed in English so reading them is a tough job for my classmates who didn't major in English. For me, I didn't have such problems.

MJ: So your English skills proved useful?

Daniel: Yes. I was pleased that I have four years studying English and get good training in English four skills. I can read more and more papers from Internet and it help me lots in completing my master degree. Many latest and advanced information are published in English language then translated in the Chinese version later in Taiwan. If your English is better than others then you will get ahead of them.

MJ: Did anyone else ask for your help?

Daniel: Yes. A professor asked me to translate his conference paper into English.

MJ: Will you continue to use English in your future life?

Daniel: Yes. I will work in military research section. And English will become more and more important when I go on my army life. I need to read more of the latest and advanced research papers related to computer science.

MJ: Will you stay in Taiwan?

Daniel: I really hope I can go to an English-speaking country like America or work for an English-speaking company in Taiwan. To work there I don't have to practice my English every day - I just need to use English naturally. Sounds great doesn't it? By the way, my dream is to work for Google in the future. [Laughing]

## **Bonny**

MJ: When did you start to learn English?

Bonny: Junior-high school.

MJ: Why did you want to learn English?

Bonny: I want to be a teacher or work in an international trading company or work abroad. I dream to travel the world after I retire. So I need to keep learning English. If both dreams couldn't come true then I would find a job as an English teacher. Anyway it got to be a job related to English. I didn't want to learn anything not useful for the future career. Otherwise, I think it just wastes my time for years at school.



MJ: How did you try to improve your English language skills?

Bonny: By traveling abroad in the summer. When I was at university, most of time I had to help my parents with their business. So I just went abroad once in summer to our sister university in America.

MJ: What else did you do to improve your English?

Bonny: I bought English magazines and contacted my foreign friends writing e-mails. Although I thought it wouldn't help lots in improving my English ability I thought it would help in some way. I watched American movies and listened to English songs. I wanted to understand what the actors talked about in the movie. I don't like to watch subtitles. When I listen to the songs, I want to know the meanings without reading the lyrics.

MJ: So, you really like American culture?

Bonny: Yes. I went to America and practice my English there. I went there with my university classmates for one month. Every classmate lived in the home-stay. I found my English improved the most because I rarely met my Taiwanese classmates except some times going to the museum or some sore of famous tourist attraction together.

MJ: So, you spent a lot of time with American students?

Bonny: I was with American students and I had to speak English with them. We often chatted about their culture or their hometown. Even when we played games we had to speak English.

MJ: Did you practice your English conversational skills with your foreign teachers?

Bonny: I enjoy talking to foreign teachers no matter in classroom or outside the class. But in the beginning I was nervous about speaking to foreign teachers. But maybe it's my personality that I like to talk to people. One foreign teacher even made a joke on me. He told me that I always talk too much.

MJ: Did your classmates speak to their foreign teachers a lot?

Bonny: I think other students don't really talk to foreign teachers. The teachers in the university are friendly and nice. Sometimes students just wave to teachers and say "hello" and "goodbye". Maybe students are too shy. It is a Taiwanese culture.

MJ: Did you find some teachers more helpful than others?

Bonny: Yes. I enter AEL poetry contest with three classmates. A British teacher helped us to practice pronunciation many times.

MJ: What about your employment history?

Bonny: My first part-time job was when I was a freshman. I also worked part-time in AEL office. I think it was a really a good chance for me to learn English there because many foreigner teachers were in the AEL. I got lots chance to practice my English.

MJ: Any other jobs?

Bonny: I had part-time teaching job in a cram school near the university. I taught elementary school and junior high-school students English. Now, I work in international trading company.

MJ: Did you ever experience any problems at work when teaching English?

Bonny: When I worked part-time as an English teacher in the cram school, I was popular there. The students like me. They think I know lots about English language and grammar. Actually my knowledge about English grammar is quite good. I spent lots time in practice my grammar.

MJ: So, what was the problem?

Bonny: I remember one girl is very good in English. She asked me English grammar questions quite often. When she asked me grammar I always gave her the correct answer. One day she asked one grammar question. She took it from a grammar testing book. Four answers for the choice so I deleted two impossible questions immediately. But I am not sure the other two answers. I told her I had to check the answer and I will give her the correct answer next time when I met her. She just laughed.

MJ: Why did she laugh?

Bonny: She said "Oh there is one grammar question you don't know the answer." Then she left. I just feel uncomfortable - the feeling of being used. I don't know. Maybe I was wrong to have the thought.

MJ: Do you have much opportunity to speak English in your new job?

Bonny: Of course, I work in international trading company. Mainly I write e-mail to communicate with our foreign clients. Sometimes I got our clients phone call - most in urgent situations. And the problem is some clients' accent are much different. We have many clients from different countries - some with Germany accent and some with Indonesia's accent. Though I can't quite understand what they are talking about, but I try to catch their key words and repeat what they said or ask them to send e-mail again to confirm. I still work on it and try to do my best.

MJ: Is your boss happy with your English language ability?

Bonny: My boss also satisfied with my English ability. That's a great honor to me. It's really hard to do a good job. Life is not so easy when we're not longer a student.

MJ: Do you think it is important to speak English like a native English-speaker?

Bonny: You don't need to speak English the way exactly like a native speaker but at least you got to achieve around 70-80% like a native speaker.

MJ: Do you think studying English has changed you in any way?

Bonny: Actually, I think the experience for learning English has changed me in some way in my personality. I become more confident in asking questions in class. When I was in cram school the way the teacher taught us was quite like the way when I was in America. The teachers encouraged students to ask questions in class group discussion.

MJ: So, American universities are different?

Bonny: It is different from that in university in Taiwan. I think maybe I was affected lots by these teachers. Then I am used to be more brave and confident to ask questions in class when I don't understand. If I didn't have such learning experience before I might be just like some of my classmates. They always keep quiet and dare not to ask when they don't understand in class. It really helped me lots in improving my English learning.

### **Sharon**

MJ: When did you start to learn English?

Sharon: I began learning English at elementary school. My parents sent me to a cram school after class.

MJ: Why did you want to learn English?

Sharon: In Taiwan there are still lots of jobs that need good English skills. This situation let me think learning English well can get a good job and get more payment in the future. For me interest is important. I think without interest everything will be difficult to keep going. I think English is now a global language and is also important for my future job. I wanted to be a flight attendant.

MJ: Why did you want a job as a flight attendant?

Sharon: I think people who learned English can interact with foreigners and can know the cultural difference. And it's interesting to learn new language and converse with other country's people. On the other hand, the salary is higher than other jobs. I like this job because I think it is very interesting. And I can use my language skill to communicate with passengers. I got to tell you one more thing. I don't need to pay the flight ticket. I could get free travel.

MJ: What problems did you have in learning English?

Sharon: The different grammar rules and pronunciation. Grammar is the biggest problem for me. I still make some mistakes on this part. My writing is the worst one. This may be because that I don't really practice it and maybe because I can't find people to correct my writing.

MJ: So, how did you try to improve your English language skills?

Sharon: My high-school teacher told me to read English magazines. And I watch Western movies. Also, I listen to Western music.

MJ: Do you think it is important to speak English like a native English-speaker?

Sharon: Yes. My goal is to speak English like a native-English speaker.

MJ: Did you practice your English conversational skills with your foreign teachers?

Sharon: I liked native speaker's pronunciation so I would listen to my foreign teachers' pronunciation and learn some skill from their conversation. I try to speak to many foreigners as possible.

MJ: Did you find some teachers more helpful than others?

Sharon: Yes. When I was invited to attend an interview for the flight attendant job, I asked my home-room teacher to help me for the interview. He is a native English speaker from UK. We practice interview many many times for four weeks. I think because I practice well, I got the job.

MJ: What about your employment history?

Sharon: Before, I worked part-time as an assistant teacher in a cram school. In this job I help students to learn English and I could also practice my speaking skill. Although the pay was not enough to pay my university fees it still help me to learn to interact with students. I think this is a very good experience for me.

MJ: Have you had any problems in speaking English to passengers?

Sharon: Sometimes, I worry passengers do not understand my accent and grammar.

MJ: For example?

Sharon: I remember one passenger laughed about my pronunciation. He thought I said “fright” - F-R-I-G-H-T, but I mean “flight” - F-L-I-G-H-T.

MJ: That’s funny! Can you give me an example of how you helped a passenger using your English language skills?

Sharon: Yes. I remember an Australian passenger lost his travel wallet. He was very worried because his passport and ID were in wallet. He panic but I told him “Calm down, calm down”. We search in the toilets but his wallet wasn’t there. I ask him to go back to his seat. I found it underneath the seat. He was very happy. See, I have many opportunities to practice my English. But I still have strong accent and my grammar is very bad.

## **Grace**

MJ: When did you start to learn English?

Grace: In junior high school. But my mother also sent me to a cram school to learn English.

MJ: Why did you want to learn English?

Grace: Everyone should have their own desires, I did too. I was very greedy because I have two desires.

MJ: Two desires?

Grace: Yes. I want to be a teacher but at the same time I also want to be a translator. I think the translator is a wonderful job. You have to listen to foreign languages and translate them immediately. I really hope one day I can achieve that dream.

MJ: Which job did you really want?

Grace: I have bigger possibility to be a teacher. Teachers told me that I should learn and study. I want to learn English for career. I want to get a good job. I want to find work that near my home and without tech-skill.

MJ: Do you think it is important to speak English like a native English-speaker?

Grace: Yes. I also want to learn about the culture.

MJ: Did you practice your English conversational skills with your foreign teachers?

Grace: Not much. I enjoy speaking to them but I am very nervous because I am afraid that I will make grammar mistakes.

MJ: Did you find some teachers more helpful than others?

Grace: Some teachers are more friendly than others. I tried to speak to nice teachers on campus in class or outside class. But some teachers seem too busy. We can't really have long conversations during the day because we have many classes. I remember an American teacher told me that she was too busy to talk because she had to do research. So, it is difficult to arrange a special time for conversations with foreign teachers.

MJ: What about your employment history?

Grace: I had many part-time jobs. I worked as a clerk of store, teacher of community centre, assistant to a professor, assistant of university office and make websites for the university. I also got a job as salesperson in a bike factory.

MJ: Did you speak to your customers in English?

Grace: Yes. I always had conversation with my customer in English. But my English is poor so I worry about misunderstand of my customer's intention. I was a teacher assistant in the school English Study Society. At the beginning I was very nervous because I think it was terrible to teach. But gradually I became familiar with everything.

MJ: Did you like this job?

Grace: I like this job very much. I got many teaching experiences. I know how to use the better teaching style that students can understand. I know it is hard to be a teacher but I prepare many things and get experience as much I can.

MJ: How did you try to improve your English language skills?

Grace: I go to America. I learn English in order to communicate with international student. I make friends in the world by speaking English. I listen to English news. I will talk to Americans and Englishmen because I will learn some new words when I work with foreigners.

MJ: Did anyone help you?

Grace: Yes. My father posted pictures of foreigners in my bedroom. And above he wrote hopeful words like "You will speak English fluently like them!" I went to the local library every week to borrow English books and CDs. But my family didn't think it would be good enough when I only went to the library.

MJ: So your family encouraged you?

Grace: My old brother couldn't read any English words used his hard-earned money to hire an expensive tutor. My tutor tried her best to teach me. She taught me from the basic letter to words and she knew not to rush when I was trying to talk. She would always wait patiently for me to finish my sentences. Sometimes I felt annoyed. No matter how much time I spent - my English skills didn't develop.

MJ: Really?

Grace: Although I've struggled with languages I don't regret the problems I experienced in my English. In fact I'm glad I had such a rich and interesting learning process. Now I'm in the fortunate position of understanding and appreciating two different cultures.

MJ: Do you think it is important to speak English like a native English-speaker?

Grace: Yes. I have a classmate from South Africa who is native speaker. I envy her English skill. In fact some words are different but I cannot recognize. If I'm an English native speaker I will easy to know the words meaning.

MJ: Do you sometimes feel uncomfortable when speaking English at work?

Grace: Usually Taiwanese tease me when I speak English. I know a lot of English words but pronounce them incorrectly. On the other hand my colleague always hate when I speak English with my customer.

MJ: Really?

Grace: I feel uncomfortable when I make mistake speaking English in meetings. Because when I was high school student, one day my English teacher had just asked me to read some text out loud. The whole class was waiting for me to begin. I stared at the words on the page but I didn't know how to say them. Some students started to laugh. I feel very shameful. I wanted to hide under my desk.

### **Jamie**

MJ: When did you start to learn English?

Jamie: I think it's from junior high school.

MJ: Why did you want to learn English?

Jamie: Most of the Taiwanese consider English as the most important language to learn. Comparing the people have ability to speak in English with those don't the previous ones clearly receive much salary. So we know that Taiwanese culture force our citizens to be capable of speaking English and this kind of requirement increase the amount of English learning facilities and cram schools. If I learn English maybe I can get a good job.

MJ: What type of job did you want?

Jamie: I want to work for an English-speaking company in Taiwan. Working in a foreign company will help me learning more practical knowledge about international business which is very important in Taiwan. Also, I will have more chance to go abroad for job training. Learning English for me is to learn another English speaking country's culture and custom. We got to learn English as a language not a school subject. If we still use

the way we learn Mandarin to learn English then we just learn the surface of English. I realized I had made many wrong ways in learning English.

MJ: So, how did you try to improve your English language skills?

Jamie: I already recite many vocabulary idioms and phrases before I went to Australia and New Zealand to learn English. It can help me to improve my English-speaking skills because some situation force me to speak English.

MJ: What situation?

Jamie: I need to answer the questions in English at customs in airports or I need to say something when I need to buy something.

MJ: Anything else?

Jamie: I think home-stay is the best way to improve my English. Home-stay was the special experience in New Zealand. I talked a lot and those family members give me confidence to speak in English as well.

MJ: What about your work experience?

Jamie: Because I had to pay all my tuition fees and my life expenses, I had several part-time jobs at the same time. I had to work at 7-11 convenient store from 6 to 12 four days a week. I want to earn more money but they are not allowed me to work from 12 to 7.

MJ: Why not?

Jamie: Because it's dangerous for a girl after midnight to work there. I also work at school cafeteria at lunch time. They just pay me seventy dollars but I can get free lunch. That's why I work there because I have to pay about seventy dollars to buy lunch food.

MJ: Any other jobs?

Jamie: On weekend I work as beer-girl. They just call us "beer-girl." And we have to dress - how to say- sexy! We have to make up, dress short skirt, just look young - beautiful and sexy. We sell the customers beer around the beach. And the more we sell the beer, the more we can get the commission.

MJ: So, you took a job to earn extra money to study English?

Jamie: Yes. It's really good pay - much more than I work at 7-11 and school. But I don't really like to work there. Because it make me uncomfortable because sometime if some customers get drunk they might - sometimes they might want to touch us.

MJ: Did you practice your English conversational skills with your foreign teachers?

Jamie: I think I am shy in some way. When I talk to foreign teachers they talk too quick. Most of the teachers are too busy and we always had heavy class schedules. Because I lived in dorm on campus, so sometimes at night I can speak to foreign teachers. They all live on campus.

MJ: Did you find some teachers more helpful than others?

Jamie: My home-room teacher is a foreigner. But I didn't really have long conversations with him. I feel very nervous speaking to foreign teachers. My English grammar is not that good, I am afraid if I make lots mistakes in grammar. To tell you the truth, I don't really talk to teachers that much. No matter Taiwanese teachers or foreign teachers.

MJ: Really?

Jamie: Yes! I think I am afraid of talking to them. When I was in high school, I was really scared of my home-room teacher. He or the other teachers punished us if we didn't have good result in exams. I remember he used a stick to beat our hands.

MJ: But your university teachers do not use physical punishment?

Jamie: No, no, they don't punish us. But I still remember the experiences with cruel teachers. Though the teachers in university are nice, I just...not close to them.

MJ: Did you ever experience any problems when speaking English at work?

Jamie: Yes. I remember I got a phone call from a customer. He spoke English really quickly and he had a strong accent. He is from Middle East. I really don't understand his English. What I can understand is he seems to ask some price of our company products. He just spoke English quickly, really quickly. I can't answer him any question. So he just hang off.

MJ: Really?

Jamie: Yes. After the phone call my boss's wife ask me about the phone call. I was embarrassed because I don't know how to answer her. I don't want to tell her I don't understand his English. I major in English but I don't know his English. It's a shame. But it's a truth. I really don't know his accent. It doesn't sound he is speaking English for me.

MJ: Do you think it is important to speak English like a native English-speaker?

Jamie: In my opinion, I don't really think so. It is not essential in that priority thing because English is used for communication and make people to understand what you mean.

MJ: Do you sometimes feel uncomfortable when speaking English?

Jamie: Yes. My friends or relatives ask me to speak English because they think I have learned English for many years and they require me to speak in English with other Taiwanese. They say "show us a short conversation in English." I don't like to pretend that it is real talk because the communication is not so real.

MJ: Really?

Jamie: Many people stare at two of us. The atmosphere is always awkward and I normally feel embarrassed. In fact I don't like to speak English only for fill their curiosity. On the other hand when I have interview and I required speaking English I feel very uncomfortable and nervous.



MJ: Why did you feel nervous?

Jamie: Because I am afraid my answers are not the right answer. I worry about every word. I know I just need to practice the interview questions again and again. But actually when I really have interview, I just feel uncomfortable to speak English when everyone look at me.

### **Lucy**

MJ: When did you start to learn English?

Lucy: My mum took me to the cram school. They name the cram school as language school. I remember when I study at elementary school I went to that language school.

MJ: Why did you go to a cram school?

Lucy: I need to get good grades to enter the best high-school.

MJ: Why did you want to learn English?

Lucy: I didn't like learning English at first. My parents give me lots of pressure so I study English for my career. It is important if I want to get a good job. My Mum want me to work in father's company. I can sharpen my English. And I get chances to speak with people from other countries as well as learn to get along with them.

MJ: How did you improve your English language skills?

Lucy: I go to Canada and America. Canada was for tour study and America for exchange student. It broadened my mind and I have more guts to speak out. I always remember that a Mexican boy told me "If you are afraid of speaking English and you never know where you are wrong then you won't improve."

MJ: Did you practice your English conversational skills with your foreign teachers?

Lucy: I enjoy talking to foreign teachers outside class but only for a short time. Sometimes, I don't understand what they say because they talk too quickly. Besides I am too shy to speak to foreigners for a long time. It is part of Taiwanese culture not to "lose face" especially in front of teachers.

MJ: Did you find some teachers more helpful than others?

Lucy: Not really. But they are all very friendly.

MJ: What about your employment history?

Lucy: I don't really have part-time job because my mother don't like the idea.

MJ: Why?

Lucy: She think I have to focus on study. But I worked as part-time assistant secretary at the AEL office. I got this job not for paying university fees but for my working experience.

MJ: Do you have much opportunity to speak English at work?

Lucy: I have many opportunities to practice English in my job. I have to speak on the telephone to foreigners doing business. But I feel stupid when foreigners don't understand what I say. I think I have some problems in pronouncing some English words. And I find it difficult to understand some foreigners' accents.

MJ: Do you think it is important to speak English like a native English-speaker?

Lucy: I hope I can speak like a native speaker so I ask myself to pronounce properly so that people can correctly understand what I say. I need to speak English correctly in my father's company.

### **Claire**

MJ: When did you start to learn English?

Claire: My mother took me to some cram school to learn English when I was really young. I was about at elementary school at the third year.

MJ: Why did you study at a cram school?

Claire: To pass – to get good grades for high-school entrance exam.

MJ: Why did you want to learn English?

Claire: Basically, to pick up English as the major was my parents' decision. At the beginning I don't like to learn English because that was not my interest. As time went on when I talked with foreigners I couldn't express what I wanted to. That annoyed me. It was the main motivation for me to learn English.

MJ: Did you like learning English?

Claire: Now, I love to learn English. Probably some students may study English for exams. In my case, English is the tool for communication with foreigners. I think it's also useful for my job.

MJ: So, how did you improve your English language skills?

Claire: My grammar is not good. I visited America so I can improve my English language skills. And my home-stay family helped me a lot. I also learn a lot about American culture. I watched American TV and bought some English novels and magazines.

MJ: Did you practice your English conversational skills with your foreign teachers?

Claire: Not much. If I met some foreign teachers at night time, I talk to them. But the conversation is not long. I think students don't dare to say something when they have questions in class. Most of people are afraid of speaking foreign language because they are afraid of speaking wrong answer or wrong grammar and it results people learning English.

MJ: Did you find some teachers more helpful than others?

Claire: Yes, my thesis supervisor give me lots help to improve my writing skills and we have long conversations in English.

MJ: What about your employment history?

Claire: I remember when I graduate from senior high-school, I did not know what I would do during my summer vacation, so I decided to get a job. However my parents didn't want me to go to work in a bad cram school, but luckily my cousin also work there. When I entered this job the first time I was nervous because I never had any part-time job before.

MJ: What exactly was your job?

Claire: To introduce this cram school to new students. That was a big challenge for me because I didn't like to talk to stranger. But this job you had to talk to everyone detail for a long time and not only to students but also to their parents.

MJ: Did you experience any problems at work speaking English?

Claire: At first, I had many problems. I was always being cut off when I phone the clients. But if you call anyone you have to write down what they said. So, I often wrote down they just hang up. I felt shy at that time because someone could do this job very well. They always talk to students for a long time even get agree to come to our cram school. In my workplace, I always feel much pressure so I don't like to work there but my father encouraged me.

MJ: What did you do?

Claire: I tried to develop more skills to communicate with my client on the phone. And my cousin also shared his experience about how to speak fluently. Sometimes I even stopped calling people on my phone and listened to others speaking on their phones to improve my English. Every time when I met some problem I really wanted to give up but my cousin encouraged me not to give up. He told me if I stay for a long time I could increase salary.

MJ: Did anyone else encourage you?

Claire: I decided to change my work attitude then I felt this job is not too difficult and I make a lot of friends there. They often took good care of me and I learned a lot at the job because I had to solve many problems by myself. At last my boss told me I could do the job well.

MJ: Do you think it is important to speak English like a native English-speaker?

Claire: Yes. It is important to speak like an English native-speaker because it will make you have confidence and people can understand what you say easily.

## **Eva**

MJ: When did you start to learn English?

Eva: I first learn English when I go to cram school. Because I was going to junior high-school and they have English subject so I have to prepare English well before I go to junior high-school.

MJ: Why did you want to learn English?

Eva: It was for future career. English is important now. Everybody have to speak English. If I want to make much money with foreigners I have to speak English. I want to work for an English-speaking company in Taiwan. If I speak English just like an English native speaker people will think I have professional activities in my working field. My father often told me that I have to enjoy the hard process then I will feel my pay is deserved.

MJ: So your family always encouraged you to learn English?

Eva: Yes. In my family every member has high education. Some are doctors or businessman. My father is also a high educated person and he hope someday I can be as good as him but I am not a smart daughter so that I usually has low grades in English. In my father and mother's opinion they both think English is easy subject. Why their daughter can't get higher grades all the time?

MJ: So, your family put a lot of pressure on you?

Eva: Both of them believe that their child got low grades because she didn't study hard. But I am not like what they think. I always practice again and again about English exercise problems. My father usually compares me with other people such as my cousins. I remember one time I got a very bad English test grades again and my father blame me about two hours.

MJ: So, how did you react to your father's pressure?

Eva: I cried and I decide not to talk to him about two months. I hate my father and I do not want to talk to him.

MJ: Did anyone else put pressure on you?

Eva: When I am an elementary school student my Mom took me to English cram school. I hate to learn English very much at that time because the teacher gave us test every week. So you had to practice it. I was not interested in it so my grades were very low then.

MJ: So how did you improve your English language skills?

Eva: I visit America so I can practice English. I also watch TV programs with my family. Some Western movies or news, they don't understand what they mean, and I will translate them to my family. Sometimes, my friends have some English homework and they will ask me to check it. I think Taiwanese learn English just for many tests for example entrance exams GEPT or TOEIC.

MJ: Really?

Eva: Some of them learn English not because of interesting. In the bookstores or libraries, there are many English learning books and magazines. I can go to buy or borrow them and go home to study them.

MJ: Did you practice your English conversational skills with your foreign teachers?

Eva: When I was in America, I tried to speak to many foreigners. I think it's a good chance to practice English speaking. I like to talk to one foreign teacher. He is very kind. Whenever I meet him on campus I always do my best to chat with him.

MJ: Did you find some teachers more helpful than others?

Eva: Yes I mentioned just now the foreign teacher also helped me lots to practice my English pronunciation for my drama competition.

MJ: What about your employment history?

Eva: I was English teaching assistant in cram school in winter or summer vacation. I work as a secretary for an international company now.

MJ: Do you have many opportunities to speak English in your new job?

Eva: Yes. I have to speak to foreigners in my office and I also need to phone foreign customers for making some meetings or some appointment with my boss.

MJ: Did you ever experience any problems in speaking English to them?

Eva: Yes. Sometimes they talk too quickly and I don't understand what they say.

MJ: Can you give me an example?

Eva: Once, I made a big mistake about the price of a product and the customer got a wrong receipt. My boss was really angry with me but he gave me another chance. The other workers in the office laughed at me but I just do my best not to make another mistake. When I have to talk to some customers who I am not really familiar to, I will be under lots stress. I am afraid of making mistakes again.

MJ: Do you think it is important to speak English just like an English native speaker?

Eva: Not really. Because English has been an international language and many many people in the world speak English with their own country's accent. I think it is acceptable. If you can't speak like a native speaker, I don't think it's a serious problem. The priority thing of communication is making people to understand what you mean. Not just imitate native speakers' accent. Even the native speakers they still have their own accent.

MJ: Do you sometimes feel uncomfortable when speaking English?

Eva: To stand in front of crowds - it would not be a big problem to give a speech in Chinese. But I will feel uncomfortable when speaking English under this circumstance. And also when my parents stand by my side that will make me feel uncomfortable as well.

### **Teresa**

MJ: When did you start to learn English?

Teresa: I remember it was about fifth year at elementary school. I went to a cram school with some of my best classmates.

MJ: Why did you want to learn English?

Teresa: English is the global communication language. I would like to express myself well while talking with others. I hoped that I could find a job much easier than others if I studied English. My goal was to be an employee in English-speaking company or to be an interpreter but I need to improve my English.

MJ: So, how did you improve your English?

Teresa: I went to America and Holland to improve my speaking. Everybody knows that Dutch people really speak good English. I learned lots of oral speaking. While I was abroad English was really helpful if I got into trouble. I needed to communicate with others in English while I was in vacations.

MJ: Do you think it is important to speak English like a native English-speaker?

Teresa: Yes, especially for getting good job.

MJ: Did you practice your English conversational skills with your foreign teachers?

Teresa: Yes. I think it's a good chance to practice my English skills. I like two foreign teachers. They are very friendly with me. When I was at speaking class I always do my best to talk to them. Both of them live on campus. If I saw them on campus, I am not shy - I just walked to them and talk to them directly (laughter).

MJ: Did you find some teachers more helpful than others?

Teresa: I like one teacher from UK. He is a very good teacher. Whenever I ask him for help he always help me as soon as possible.

MJ: What about your employment history?

Teresa: When I was a sophomore I had a part-time job as a tutor at cram school. I also worked in the university 7-11 convenient store. I work for a Taiwanese business organization but I study part-time for Master's in Business Management.

MJ: Did you have many opportunities to speak English when doing these jobs?

Teresa: Sure. I had to speak English when teaching. Many foreign teachers shopped at the store and I always chatted to them. I always tried to practice my English when they came to the store. But I couldn't speak to them for a long time. Otherwise customers complained.

MJ: Do you have many opportunities to speak English in your new job?

Teresa: Of course. It is my job to speak English to foreigners. I love to chat with people who are from English-speaking countries so I can improve my English ability and realize what differences in how people think in some things between Taiwanese and Western cultures. I still continue to study English in my free time because I love English. I won't and never give up learning English. It's part of my life.

MJ: Have you experienced any problems in speaking English as a secretary?

Teresa: Sometimes. I am still thinking in Chinese when I speak English. I have Chinese thought first and translate it into English immediately. So sometimes, I don't know how to say some business term in English. I got to keep reading some relevant books related to business and English business letters.

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