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The effect of context on the use of gender pronouns by ESL learners

Vanessa Marie Fleshner
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The effect of context on the use of
gender pronouns by ESL learners

by

Vanessa Marie Fleshner

A Thesis Submitted to the
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Classroom teachers as well as those who have had frequent exposure to English as a second language learners have certainly encountered the phenomenon of pronoun errors. For example, a student referring to a female classmate as "he" or vice versa is not a rare occurrence in an ESL classroom. In some cases, such as the previous example, a listener can easily see who the pronoun was meant to refer to, and therefore compensate for the speaker's mistake. However, at times using an incorrect pronoun can cause confusion and misunderstandings between the interlocutors, such as a situation where the ESL learner is discussing someone who is not in the immediate vicinity, and the listener has not been given enough information to compensate for the error.

Because pronoun errors in an ESL classroom are not a rarity and can lead to a breakdown in communication, I began to question the reasons for or causes of these errors. Through discussions with other ESL instructors and through my own observations, I am able to suggest three possibilities for the occurrence of pronoun errors, these include: language transfer, transfer of training, and background knowledge.

One possible reason for pronoun errors is related to language transfer. For example, my mother, a native speaker of German, always calls my female dog "he": "Abbie-he's such a nice dog." No matter how often I correct her, she persists in using the masculine pronoun. She reminded me, "Well in German it is "der Hund"-"he"
masculine gender." I have not observed her using pronouns incorrectly in other contexts.

There is the question, however, of the effect of natural vs. grammatical gender. The grammatical gender of masculine, feminine and neuter nouns in German is arbitrary. For example, the pronoun for "the girl" in German "Das Maedchen" would be the neuter pronoun "it", even though the natural gender of "girl" is feminine. However, when thinking of the girl, the speaker is aware that the natural gender of the girl is feminine and not neuter. Similarly, my mother thinks of my dog as feminine, although she transferred the pronoun "he" from the grammatical masculine "Der" in "Der Hund." Therefore, the most likely hypothesis is that her error in using "he" instead of "she" is directly related to grammatical language transfer from L1-L2. When instructors are familiar with their students' native languages, they can recognize similar pronoun errors of language transfer.

When there is not a difference in grammatical gender and the use of pronouns between the L1 and L2, but a pronoun error still occurs, then a simple explanation of L1-L2 language transfer can no longer be valid. For example, ESL students will at times use "he" when describing their mother, where "mother" is feminine in both natural and grammatical gender in their L1 and in the L2; such an error cannot be caused by first language transfer. However, as suggested later in the research review, the LLFH hypothesis by Gundel et al. (1984) states that if a linguistic aspect is not the same in all natural languages, even if it is the same in the L1 and L2,
then the use of that element is not certain. Therefore, learning to use pronouns, which are not treated the same across all languages, cannot be assured.

Another suggestion for pronoun errors is in the area of language transfer of a student's L1 phonological system, which may make it easier or more difficult to pronounce "he" or "she". For example, if the "sh" sound is not found in the learner's L1, but the "h" sound is common, then there might be a tendency to use the more easily pronounceable "he." However, if a speaker uses both pronouns incorrectly then pronunciation would appear not to be a cause.

Another interesting question concerning language transfer of pronouns arises when the speaker's L1 treats gender pronouns differently then the L2. Lukoff (1982) explains that in Korean, for example, one word is often used to represent either "he" or "she". However, the pronoun is also likely to be "left out altogether" (p.55). The context is expected to clarify the pronouns' reference. Will native Korean speakers then have difficulties when acquiring the English "he" and "she" pronouns which do represent masculine and feminine gender separately?

A second possibility for pronoun errors is transfer of training, that is, the second language learner has formed a stronger mapping for one pronoun or the other depending on amount of exposure to the pronouns from textbooks and instructors. For example, ESL learners exposed to textbooks from twenty years ago which contain more examples and uses of "he" than "she," or who have a teacher who consistently uses John/he as the subject in examples, may have a
stronger mapping for "he" than "she." Therefore, the pronoun "he" may seem more common or less awkward than "she." In my experience of learning German in Germany, and being exposed to the familiar "you" or "du" form, I found the formal "Sie" form difficult to use. However, in learning German later in the classroom in the United States, I observed most students to find the "Sie" form easier to access.

Finally, a third possibility for pronoun errors may be related to a student's background knowledge or pragmatic knowledge. That is, errors may occur from interference of the student's knowledge of her/his world. If for example, a female or male student has a strong stereotype of a businessman being a male, then s/he may make fewer errors discussing a male/businessman than a female/businessman.

There may be many causes or reasons for pronoun errors in addition to those discussed here. Although pronoun errors are a problem for ESL learners, the causes or reasons for these errors seem not to have been given serious attention in second language acquisition research. Context can help the interlocutors overcome confusion when a pronoun error occurs; however, when the context is not sufficient or unclear, then a breakdown in communication is possible. Even if the context is sufficient in determining the reference, pronoun errors are distracting to the native listener.

The purpose of the following thesis research was to investigate how stereotype and opposite stereotype contexts affect Korean ESL learners' use of the "he" and "she" pronouns. A stereotype
context was a role which is considered to be strongly associated with either men or women. An opposite stereotype context was a role strongly associated with one sex but performed by the opposite sex. The hypothesis of the study is that gender pronoun use is influenced by contexts containing stereotypes or opposite stereotypes, which are part of the learner's pragmatic knowledge.

Three aspects to this question will be analyzed:

1. Whether contexts which involve stereotypes and opposite stereotypes influence pronoun use.
2. Whether written input which exposes the learner to the target pronoun in the above contexts affects the learner's use of pronouns.
3. Whether the learner's pragmatic competence contains stereotypes.

To investigate these questions, three tasks were performed. The first task involved describing four pictures, two distractor pictures and either two stereotype or two opposite stereotype pictures. The purpose of the task was to analyze whether stereotype or opposite stereotype contexts, in a visual modality, not containing linguistic input, affected the use of pronouns. In task two, subjects were asked to read two texts pertaining to the stereotype or opposite stereotype pictures that they had described in task one. After reading the text, subjects were asked to recall as much information as possible about what they had read. The purpose of task two was to determine whether linguistic input affected the subjects' use of pronouns. And finally, task three involved all
subjects completing ten fill-in-the-blank sentences, and after completing these sentences, discussing their responses with the interviewer. The purpose of task three was to determine the nature of the participant's stereotypes as part of their pragmatic knowledge.

The expected results were that subjects in the stereotype group would produce fewer errors than the opposite stereotype group. The subjects would produce fewer errors in the stereotype group because a strong mapping between the context and pronoun would exist. However, the opposite stereotype group would produce more errors since the pronoun and context would not be as strongly associated. In addition, it was expected that both groups would produce fewer errors when discussing the text as opposed to the picture, because of the influence of the linguistic input. Finally, subjects in both groups were expected to respond to the fill in the blank tasks by using their pragmatic knowledge of stereotypes.
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

In Chapter One, I suggested that pronoun errors may be caused by language transfer, sex bias in textbooks, and/or interference from one's pragmatic or background knowledge. Literature was therefore reviewed in three areas pertaining to the research question: the first area was that of background knowledge, usually referred to as schema theory; the second area was that of sex bias in language; and the third area was that of language transfer.

Background Knowledge

Studies specifically concerning background knowledge and its effects on pronoun use were not found. However, the principles of schema theory are related to the research question, so research in this area was reviewed.

Carrell and Eisterhold (1983) provide an overview of schema theory. The authors illustrate how background knowledge can be "culturally based and culturally biased," and therefore cause difficulties in comprehension. According to Carrell et al., "...reading comprehension is an interactive process between the text and the reader's background knowledge" (p. 553). It therefore seems that a reader's background knowledge, which may include stereotypes, might also interact with the text s/he was reading.

Carrell et al. (1983) also discuss the difference between formal and content schemata. The former is concerned with organizational aspects and the latter with content of a text. If lack
of comprehension occurs it may be because of a failure to access a correct schema.

In a later article by Carrell (1987), the effects of culture-specific content schemata and formal schemata on ESL reading comprehension were investigated. Carrell discusses how "...content is generally more important than form" for ESL reading comprehension (p. 476). She explains further how content schema may be "culture-specific" (560); in other words, a failure in reading comprehension may be due to cultural differences between the reader and the text.

Stereotypes may be culture-specific; however, many stereotypes may be shared across cultures. Whether stereotypes are the same or different across cultures, knowledge of stereotypes are included in our pragmatic knowledge.

A study by Johnson (1981) examined how a story's cultural origin affected ESL students' reading comprehension. She investigated how 46 Iranian intermediate/advanced ESL students at the university level comprehended Iranian and American folklore. The stories were either from the reader's cultural background or from the target culture. The English language complexity of the texts depended on whether they were adapted/simplified, or unadapted. She found that cultural origin effected a reader's comprehension more than language complexity.

A later study by Johnson (1982) investigated how an increase in background knowledge might affect reading comprehension. She examined how two areas, type of vocabulary and the topic's cultural
background, have an impact on reading comprehension. According to Johnson, when a reader's background knowledge does not coincide with the text, "the reader may reread the text or may not believe the information" (p. 503-504). One subject tested in the present study needed to re-read the opposite stereotype text. Johnson also states, "ESL readers...may not recover in such a successful manner [from wrong guesses for textual meaning which] may lead to inaccurate later predictions for meaning" (p. 504). Although the subject referred to above re-read the opposite stereotype text, the meaning of the text was still misunderstood.

Steffensen et al. (1979) studied the ability of subjects from the United States and India to recall information about an American and Indian wedding. They found that comprehension and recall were influenced by a reader's background knowledge. Subjects were better able to understand content from their culture. The study showed that background knowledge has a strong effect on how "...the discourse will be comprehended, learned, and remembered" (p. 19).

In summary, these studies show the importance of background knowledge in reading comprehension. Background knowledge seems to be even more crucial than language complexity in comprehending and recalling information. Texts of the same cultural background as the reader will be better understood and remembered. Texts then which contain background knowledge of stereotypes may be better understood and remembered than texts containing opposite stereotypes. When recalling the text with the familiar content schema, the learner may produce fewer pronoun errors. On the other
hand, the unfamiliar content schema, or that of an opposite stereotype text, may result in poorer comprehension and recall, and therefore, result in a breakdown in the correct production of pronouns.

Sex Bias

The research on sex bias in language offers interesting insight into the interaction of language and thought. For example, Stericker (1981) studied the effect of the generic "he," "he or she," and "they" pronouns on subject's attitudes toward job descriptions. She investigated the hypothesis which states that the generic "he" causes the reader to think "male" rather than "male or female." Her results did not yield strong support for this hypothesis.

Six job descriptions were written in three pronoun variations of either "he," "he or she," or "they." These six jobs described had been judged previously as "highly feminine, highly masculine, or neutral" (p. 639). The subjects read these six descriptions which used either the generic "he," "he or she," or "they" pronoun variations.

After reading these job descriptions, subjects responded to the interest and perceived difficulty for the following to obtain the job: "Black Person," "Mexican-American Person," "Woman," "Person over age 60," "Handicapped Person (in wheelchair, can perform duties of the job)," and "Man" (p. 639). Although the pronoun condition did not significantly affect the subjects' responses, there were some significant effects concerning the sex of subject and pronoun
interaction; for example, females viewed masculine pronouns as narrowing their opinion about the topic.

An explanation given for the lack of effect of the pronoun condition on subjects' responses was that, "...the use of the masculine pronoun as a generic versus the use of alternative forms does not in fact influence the attitudes of readers significantly about the topic at hand" [emphasis mine] (p. 640). Perhaps then the reader's background knowledge concerning the job, or topic, overrode the effects of the pronoun influence. Stereotypes as well as neutral jobs seem to be aspects included in that background knowledge.

In a study by MacKay et al. (1979), four experiments were conducted in order to investigate whether the generic "he" was being understood generically by the subjects. In experiment one, subjects listened to a sentence and responded "yes" if it could refer to a female; in experiment two, subjects heard the same sentence but were asked to respond "yes" if it could refer to a "male;" in experiment three, subjects responded to "she" used generically; and in experiment four, the pronouns were taken out.

MacKay et al. explain that there are two general hypotheses concerning the comprehension of pronouns: the pronominal dominance hypothesis, which states that the pronoun affects the interpretation of the antecedent; and the pronominal surrogate hypothesis, which states that the antecedent affects the interpretation of the pronoun. Their study supported the pronominal dominance hypothesis.
The authors claim that pronouns contribute a meaning of their own to their antecedent; and thus, the generic "he" might influence the meaning of the antecedent. However, the generic "he" does not seem to misrepresent "our cognitive map of the world" (p. 669); in other words, our experiences in the real world have a strong influence on our judgements. For example, subjects in the MacKay et al. study who were influenced by the generic "he" to perceive "male" for "pedestrian" knew from their knowledge of the world that a "pedestrian" could be either a "male" or a "female."

A study by Fisk (1985) looked at three questions concerning sex bias and pronouns: if male-biased responses would be given to the generic "he;" whether pronouns such as "they" and "he or she" influenced responses, and finally, how the use of pronouns affected memory.

Fisk (1981) studied 36 kindergarten and 36 first grade boys and girls in order to compare the results with those studies involving college students as suggested by Stericker. Each child listened to the reading of a neutral content passage. In the passage, there were thirteen pronouns among three groups: "they," "s/he," "and "he." After the story was read, the children were asked to tell the examiner what the person in the story did. The pronoun and key parts of the story retold by the child were recorded. Finally, the child was asked to choose either a picture of a boy or a girl which s/he thought the story was about.

The author found that children did not consider the pronoun "he" as generic. The results support, as in Stericker's study, the
pronominal dominance theory. Using the "they" pronoun in the passage resulted in more use of "they" by the children. The use of "s/he" resulted in lower memory scores. In addition, no significant differences were found between the boys' and girls' responses. An interesting finding was the fact that the children didn't differentiate but older subjects in similar studies did exhibit sex-bias in their responses, which suggests a critical age for sex-bias responses.

Gastil (1990) investigated whether the generic "he" called forth more male images than "he/she" or the plural "they." The subjects were undergraduate college students. They read aloud sentences and then explained what they pictured. Gastil concluded that more male images were thought of when the generic "he" was involved. The pronoun "they" seemed to function generically, but "he/she" was seen by men as similar to "he."

The above studies examine sex bias in relation to the generic "he." Stericker did not find that the generic "he" evoked "male" rather than "male or female" images by the reader. MacKay et al., however, found opposite results, showing that pronouns affected the interpretation of the antecedent. Fisk's study of children also supported the pronominal dominance hypothesis. Finally, Gastil also found that more male images resulted from the generic "he." The majority of research involving native English speakers reviewed seems to suggest that the generic "he" is not in fact "generic." A question then arises of how second language learners are affected by the generic "he." The present study does not directly respond to this
question; it does, however, examine how gender pronouns and context interact. That is, whether both the pronoun and the antecedent, that of a person in a stereotype or opposite stereotype role, interact and influence the learner's use of the gender pronouns in speech.

Language Transfer

Besides background knowledge and sex bias in language, pronoun errors may be due to language transfer from L1 to L2. Gundel et al. (1984) discuss the L1-L2 Facilitation hypothesis (LLFH) (cited in Gundel et al.) in relation to their study. According to the authors, the LLFH states the following:

A. When all natural languages are alike with respect to some linguistic property, L1-L2 facilitation is guaranteed. Such properties do not have to be (re)learned.

B. When L1 and L2 are alike with respect to some linguistic property, but no [sic] all languages are alike with regard to that property, L1-L2 facilitation is not guaranteed in learning that property in the L2 (p. 216).

The purpose of the Gundel et al. (1984) study was to test the LLFH hypothesis. They studied six English-speaking children in a French immersion program for two years at the end of grades 1 and 2. Two of the six subjects were also tested at grade 5. Subjects described pictures, and transcripts were made and analyzed of their use of direct object pronouns. Results did seem to support the second part of the LLFH hypothesis.
Two studies were later conducted, one with seven adult learners and the other with four native French speakers. The adult learners varied from the children but also among themselves depending on educational background or task. Their responses differed from the native French speakers, in that the native speakers used the SVNP pattern less than the adult learners, suggesting a possible avoidance of pronouns by using a full NP. Gundel et al. claim that the data collected from these studies provides evidence for the LLFH hypothesis.

Thomas (1989) examined 96 ESL students' responses to a 30-item multiple-choice questionnaire, which asked them to choose a reflexive pronouns' antecedent. The results showed that a transfer from the subject's first language grammar into second language grammar did not seem to occur. Thomas claims that second language learners' interpretation of English reflexive pronouns cannot be accounted for by only a transfer of L1-L2 grammar hypothesis.

Hirakawa (1990) investigated Japanese ESL learners' ability to "acquire syntactic properties of English reflexive pronouns" (p. 60). She discusses the role of Universal Grammar (UG) and parameters in relation to second language acquisition. UG is thought to be held by all human beings. There are two aspects of UG: principles, which are true for all languages, and parameters, which vary from one language to another. The parameters are set on the basis of positive evidence. These principles and parameters help a child acquire her/his first language. Hirakawa examined two parameters: the Governing Category Parameter and the Proper Antecedent Parameter.
(cited in Hirakawa). She found that the L1 parameter setting was first transferred to the L2. However, Hirakawa suggests that some learners could eventually reset the parameter to the L2.

These studies address some questions concerning language transfer. Gundel et al. suggest the LLFH hypothesis. Thomas claims that errors made by the subjects point to there being more than an L1-L2 transfer of grammar. Hirakawa claims that the L1 parameter seems to be transferred to the L2, but that the parameter could be reset by some learners. The present research is concerned with the notion of language transfer since the subjects' L1-Korean deals differently with pronouns than their L2-English. According to Lukoff (1982), one way gender pronouns are different in Korean than English is that the third person personal pronoun is often a word used for both (masculine or feminine) to represent "he," or "she."

Background knowledge, sex bias, and language transfer appear to affect second language acquisition. Our background knowledge would seem to include that of stereotypes, and therefore be a factor in text comprehension. The role of content schema has been shown to be important in the comprehension of texts. The present study examines the effect of stereotype and opposite stereotype context in two modalities, story and picture, on ESL learners. Specifically, how this content affects their use of gender pronouns. The studies concerning sex-bias dealt with the interaction between language and thought. The present study examines the interaction between language and thought. The present study examines the interaction between gender pronouns and context—that is, how the gender
pronouns interact with the stereotype and opposite stereotype contexts. Finally, the notion of language transfer is pertaining to analyzing pronoun errors. The native language of the subjects, Korean, deals differently with gender pronouns than in the L2-English. Many questions concerning language transfer continue to be studied. The complexities of which add to the question concerning ESL learners whose L1 varies in pronoun use from the L2. In addition, if the LLFH hypothesis is correct, then the fact that not all languages use pronouns or use them in the same way, means that there could be errors when acquiring them in the L2 regardless of L1.

The present study examines the interaction between gender pronouns and stereotype and opposite stereotype contexts in varying modalities in order to investigate the question of pronoun errors.
CHAPTER THREE: METHODS

In this chapter, the methods of the research project will be discussed. These include a discussion about the subjects, materials, and procedures of the project.

Subjects

The subjects were adult Korean students enrolled in the Intensive English Orientation Program (IEOP) at Iowa State University. A total of thirteen subjects, nine males and four females were tested. The results of one male subject were not included due to an error in the testing procedure, specifically an omission of one of the tasks. The subjects' language level varied from beginning to advanced as classified by IEOP placement procedures (see Table 1). All subjects participated in the study on a volunteer basis. Subjects were given a small honorarium for their participation in the research project.

Materials

For the project the following materials were used: six magazine pictures, four written stories and a fill in the blank exercise (see Appendix A).
Table 1. Subjects by language level and sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IEOC Language Level</th>
<th>Male/Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stereotype/Group One</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1-Intermediate B</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2-Intermediate C</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3-High</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S4-Advanced</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S5-Beginning</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S6-High</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Opposite Stereotype/Group Two | |
| OS1-Intermediate A | Male |
| OS2-Intermediate C | Male |
| OS3-High           | Male |
| OS4-Advanced       | Male |
| OS5-Intermediate   | Female |
| OS6-High           | Female |

The six pictures were selected from a search of over one hundred magazines; two were chosen to illustrate the distractor pictures, two the stereotype pictures, and two the opposite stereotype pictures. Subjects in Group One described the two distractor pictures, and the two stereotype pictures. Subjects in Group Two described the same two distractor pictures as Group One, and two opposite stereotype pictures.

The two distractor pictures selected for Group One and Group Two represented a male and female not in a strong stereotype role. One picture depicted a man sleeping in an armchair, and holding a paper he'd just been reading. Outside it is dark and rainy. This picture was chosen as a distractor because the subject matter,
falling asleep in an armchair, is not uncommon for either men or women, therefore, not a sex role stereotype. The other picture shows a woman from the orient holding a sword, and perhaps floating in the sky. This picture was chosen as a distractor because it is also not a sex role stereotype of the target culture. Subjects were, however, somewhat familiar with this imagery; it therefore offered a further distraction, since it was very different from the first picture shown, that of the man asleep in the armchair.

The two stereotype pictures selected represented a male/businessman and a female/waitress. In the first picture, the male/businessman is sitting at a desk, talking on the phone and looking over his shoulder. He is also holding a document which he apparently had been reading.

This picture was chosen to represent the male stereotype role for several reasons. First, the morphological form "man" found in the term "businessman" seems to add a quality of "maleness" rather than a generic "human" quality to the meaning. A second reason for choosing the businessman picture was because it visually represented the stereotype of men as active rather than passive. For example, the man in the picture is actively talking on the phone, reading a document, and looking around. Finally, the picture seems to clearly represent the occupation of businessman by the aforementioned activities of the man, his white collar dress, and objects such as the computer, desk, and files in the room.

The female/waitress picture was found to represent a stereotype female role. In the picture there is a female waitress in
a restaurant. She is leaning against the counter with her hand on her hip. She appears to be listening to two of the customers. This picture was chosen to represent the female stereotype role for the following reasons. First, the morphological form of the term "waitress" helps to support the stereotype role because of the "ess" suffix which commonly indicates "female". In addition, this picture appears to represent the opposite of the active stereotype male role—that of the female as passive listener. For example, the female/waitress is not active in the picture; this is apparent by her posture. Finally, the occupation of waitress is clearly represented in the picture because the woman is wearing a typical waitress uniform, and she is behind a counter in a restaurant.

One difference between the male/businessman and female/waitress picture is the number of subjects in each. There is only one subject in the former and seven in the latter. However, the main subject in this picture appears to be the waitress, since most of the customers are watching her, and she is the most prominent figure in the picture.

The two opposite stereotype pictures selected were a male/housekeeper and a female/doctor. In the male/housekeeper picture, there is a man working behind a kitchen counter preparing a meal. A child is playing on the floor and a woman wearing a dress and heels is setting a bag of groceries on the counter. The woman is looking down at the child, and the man is concentrating on his cooking.
This picture was chosen to represent a male/opposite stereotype role for the following reasons. First women have predominantly been stereotyped as housekeepers, that is, working in someone else's home for money, while men seem not to have been so stereotyped. However, recent television shows such as "Mr. Belvedere" or "Who's the Boss" can be noted as having popularized men as housekeepers. Although seeing a male as a housekeeper is common on T.V., the role of male/housekeeper, on the latter program, is portrayed as being unusual, therefore, this role seems to be an opposite stereotype.

In the male/housekeeper picture, the man is clearly cooking a meal. The activity of cooking has been stereotyped as "women's work." Although men cooking, such as chefs, is not unusual, cooking in a kitchen in a home seems to represent an opposite stereotype.

The female/doctor picture represented the opposite stereotype female role. The picture depicts a woman wearing a stethoscope and a lab coat. She also has on a button up blouse, and earrings. She has grey hair and is smiling.

This picture was chosen to represent the opposite stereotype female role for the following reasons. First, the occupation of doctor is clearly represented by the stethoscope and lab coat that she is wearing. Secondly, the occupation of doctor has been stereotyped as male dominant, while the female stereotype has been in the role of nurse.

Other materials used were stories written by the researcher about the stereotype and opposite stereotype pictures. These
stories contain three main characteristics: first, the occupation of the main character is explicitly stated; second, the pronoun representing the stereotype/opposite stereotype person is used repeatedly in conjunction with and more often than the proper name; and finally, common stereotypes or opposite stereotypes about the main character are included as often as possible. In addition, information is included in the stories that seems "memorable" in order for the subjects to recall as much as possible therefore, increasing oral output. Each of these three main characteristics will be discussed in detail for both the stereotype and opposite stereotype pictures.

The two stereotype stories were based on the businessman and waitress pictures. The three main characteristics are manifested in the businessman story as follows. First, the occupation of businessman is stated in the opening sentence, "John has been a businessman since he graduated from Harvard." Next, the pronoun "he" was used as often as possible, specifically the "he" personal pronoun was used twenty-one times, while the proper noun "John" was used four times. Therefore, the second characteristic, that more pronouns than proper nouns be used, was met. Finally, stereotypes were included as often as possible in the story. Some stereotypes about the businessman included the following: he works long hours; he is intelligent; he is successful; he explains things to others; he is organized; he is admired and respected; he gives orders to others; his work is important; he is very busy; he is competent; his job is challenging, and he is ambitious.
The waitress stereotype story also contains three main characteristics. First, her occupation is given in the first line, "Mary has been a waitress for 10 years now." Also, the pronoun "she" was used eight times, more than the proper noun "Mary" used four times. It may be noted that the total number of pronouns used is less than in the businessman picture; this may be due to the increased number of characters in the waitress picture without an increased length in text, therefore, the total number of pronouns for the waitress was less than in the businessman story.

Finally, stereotypes of a small town diner waitress were used in the story, for example: she serves the customers; she listens to gossip; she is a good listener; she hears what others say, and her life is not exciting (not challenging).

The opposite stereotype stories describe the housekeeper and doctor pictures. In the opening of the housekeeper story the occupation is clearly stated, "John has been working as a housekeeper for five years now." Second, the personal pronoun "he" was used sixteen times, while the proper noun "John" was used five times. Finally, the opposite stereotype story incorporated housekeeper stereotypes to discuss the male's opposite stereotype job, for example: he likes to cook; he serves the family; he cleans (the bathroom, dusts and vacuums); he takes care of a child, and he watches daytime T.V. shows.

In the opposite stereotype doctor story, the first statement exclaims that, "Dr. Mary Johnson has been working as a doctor since she graduated from Harvard twenty years ago." Next the personal
pronoun "she" was used seventeen times, while the proper name "Dr. Mary Johnson" was used three times. Stereotypes of a male doctor, which are then opposite female stereotypes included the following: he is intelligent; she is successful; she explains things to others; she is respected and admired; her work is important; she is very busy; her job is challenging, and she is ambitious. In addition, in the story she is a heart surgeon, an area and occupation where males are normative.

Finally, task three involved a written exercise. This exercise was composed of ten fill in the blank sentences. Each fill in the blank sentence was preceded by a complete sentence, for example, "The President signed the bill. Why did ______ sign it?" Each of the ten questions was formed in the above manner.

Procedure

Prior to the testing, subjects were informed that participation in the study was voluntary, and that the study was for the researcher's Master's Thesis project. The project was approved by the ISU Human Subjects Committee on March 6, 1992. It was explained that they would be videotaped while performing three simple language tasks and would receive five dollars as compensation for their participation.

Each subject met individually with the researcher at a predetermined time. Six subjects comprised Group One, working with the stereotype pictures and texts, and six subjects comprised
Group Two, working with the opposite stereotype pictures and texts. Subjects were assigned to groups in the following manner: subjects who signed up for the first day of testing received the stereotype tasks, subjects who signed up for the second day of testing received the opposite stereotype tasks, and finally, subjects who signed up for the third day of testing were evenly distributed between the two groups.

Although this study did not compare subjects' language level and use of pronouns, as all subjects were considered as a group of non-native English speakers, it was attempted to have similar IEOP language levels distributed throughout both groups: Group One consisted of 1 beginning subject, 2 intermediate and 2 high subjects, and 1 advanced subject, and in Group Two, there were three intermediate and 2 high subjects, and 1 advanced subject. Both groups also were comprised of four males and two females.

There were three tasks in the experiment: describing pictures of a male or female in either a stereotype or opposite stereotype role, reading and orally recalling a written story about the male or female in the stereotype or opposite stereotype pictures, and completing a fill in the blank exercise. The purpose of these tasks was to elicit the use of the gender pronouns in varying contexts and modalities. The first task involved the subjects oral use of these pronouns to describe four pictures, two distractor, and two stereotype pictures in Group One, and two distractor and two opposite stereotype pictures in Group Two; task two required subjects to read two texts, containing the proper use of the pronoun,
about the stereotype or opposite stereotype pictures they had just described, and then to recall that information orally to the researcher; finally, in task three, subjects completed a fill in the blank exercise requiring the use of the gender pronouns, and discussed their responses with the researcher.

The hypothesis of the study was that the subjects would produce more errors in task one, describing the pictures, than in task two, discussing the text, where positive evidence, or rather the correct use of the pronoun was involved; and in task three, filling in the blanks, subjects would respond by relying on stereotypes similar in background to that of the researcher. In addition, when describing the pictures and texts the stereotype group would produce fewer errors than the opposite stereotype group, and both groups would produce fewer errors when discussing the texts than when describing the pictures.

The first task was to describe four pictures to the researcher. The first two pictures shown were the distractor pictures. The function of these two pictures was to first help the subjects to "warm up" to the task, and second, to distract the subjects from any pattern in the task. The next two pictures were of a man and a woman in either a stereotype or opposite stereotype role depending on whether the subjects were in Group One or Group Two respectively. Subjects were asked to describe the pictures to the best of their ability to the researcher.

The second task required subjects to read two stories about the last two pictures they described. While reading each story they
could look at the picture about which the story was written. They were informed that after reading the story they would have to tell the researcher as much as they could remember about what they read. The subjects were also informed that they could ask questions about any vocabulary that was unfamiliar. After reading the story, they were asked to hand it back to the researcher, but they were allowed to look at the picture while recalling as much information as possible about what they read.

Finally, in task three, subjects were asked to complete a fill in the blank exercise of ten sentences. Subjects were instructed to complete the sentences in any way possible. In addition, they were informed that after completing the task, the responses would be discussed with the researcher. The purpose of this activity was to determine if or what stereotypes the subject had or did not have, and whether the stereotypes were similar to those found in the United States.

Data collection

The data were gathered by videotaping the subjects, and transcribing the responses. The videotape allowed the researcher to more accurately transcribe responses, including nonverbal communication. For example, in one case it was unclear which person a subject was discussing in a picture, therefore, making it difficult for the researcher to determine whether the correct pronoun was being used. The videotape offered the unique
opportunity to ask the subject to point to the person they were discussing, and still allow this information to be recorded.

**Transcriptions** The transcription method (see Appendix B) follows some of the guidelines suggested by Jefferson (1978). Transcriptions were necessary in order to analyze the subjects' spoken English. Transcriptions were not made of task three since subjects' responses were in a written form. Using transcriptions to analyze the data is beneficial in order to accurately calculate the number of pronouns used, how they were used, and to analyze the surrounding context. If a subject produces an incorrect pronoun, the transcription can be used to analyze the surrounding context to observe if a pattern of contextual errors exists. The researcher is able to examine whether there are similar utterances before or after the errors occurred. The transcriptions were particularly helpful in analyzing for false starts. False starts are a correction of an incorrect pronoun within an utterance. Since more than one pronoun then occurs within an utterance, using a transcription allows the researcher to judge whether the thought was completed before a pronoun change occurred, thus counting the pronoun as incorrect, or whether the pronoun correction occurred before the utterance was completed, resulting in a false start count.
CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

The transcripts of the twelve subjects were analyzed to determine the frequency of correct and incorrect pronoun use and false starts. A false start was defined by the researcher as a correction by the subject of an incorrect pronoun use within an utterance. For example, "She also he also (has) a house..." would be counted as a false start since the correct pronoun "he" was attained finally in the utterance. The pronouns used in false starts were not calculated into the totals for correct and incorrect responses. The statistical procedure chi-square was used in order to determine whether there is a relationship between context and frequency of correct and incorrect responses. In addition, the phi coefficient was used to analyze the strength of the relationship between the variables, and Cramer's phi was used for tables with more than four variables.

Tables 2 and 3 show the individual and group response totals in the stereotype and opposite stereotype contexts for the picture and story modalities. In Table 2, frequency of responses by the six subjects in the stereotype context (S=stereotype) for the picture modality are shown first individually and then totaled by group. In the opposite stereotype (OS=opposite stereotype) context for the picture modality, the correct, incorrect, and false start responses are also shown, in addition to the group total.
Table 2. Responses in stereotype/opposite stereotype contexts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stereotype Context: Picture Modality</th>
<th>Correct</th>
<th>Incorrect</th>
<th>False Starts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S1:</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2:</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3:</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S4:</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S5:</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S6:</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Opposite Stereotype Context: Picture Modality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Correct</th>
<th>Incorrect</th>
<th>False Starts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OS1:</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OS2:</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OS3:</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OS4:</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OS5:</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OS6:</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 3, the responses in the stereotype and opposite stereotype are shown for the story modality. For example, when discussing the two stories in the stereotype context, one subject (S1) used the correct pronoun nine times and the incorrect pronoun seventeen times. When discussing the stories in the opposite stereotype context, one subject (OS1) used the correct pronoun twelve times, the incorrect pronoun six times and produced seven false starts.
Table 3. Responses in stereotype/opposite stereotype contexts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stereotype Context: Story Modality</th>
<th>Correct</th>
<th>Incorrect</th>
<th>False</th>
<th>Starts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S1:</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2:</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3:</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S4:</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S5:</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S6:</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opposite Stereotype Context: Story Modality</th>
<th>Correct</th>
<th>Incorrect</th>
<th>False</th>
<th>Starts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OS1:</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OS2:</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OS3:</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OS4:</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OS5:</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OS6:</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The statistical procedure chi-square was used to determine the significance of the difference between the frequency of correct and incorrect responses in the picture modality for the stereotype and opposite stereotype contexts (see Table 2). A chi-square value of 5.03 (d.f.=1; p<.05) was found, indicating a relationship between the contexts and language use. A phi coefficient was then calculated to measure the strength of the relationship between the stereotype
and opposite stereotype contexts and language use. A coefficient of .27 was found, suggesting that the relationship between the two variables, although statistically significant, is not in fact very strong.

In addition, when chi-square was used to evaluate the frequency of correct, incorrect, and false start responses in the picture modality for the stereotype/opposite stereotype contexts a significant chi square value of 6.82 (d.f.=2; p<.05) was also found. A Cramer’s phi coefficient of .30 was calculated, again suggesting the relationship is not a strong one.

For the story modality, (see Table 3) the frequency of correct and incorrect responses in the stereotype and opposite stereotype contexts were measured resulting in a nonsignificant chi-square value (chi-square=.38; d.f.=1). However, when correct, incorrect and false start responses were analyzed, a chi square of 15.03 (d.f.=2; p<.0025) was found. The strength of the relationship is shown by a Cramer’s phi coefficient of .24.

Chi square was also used to analyze the significance of the difference between false start responses in the stereotype and opposite stereotype contexts across both story and picture modalities (see Table 4). A significant chi-square value of 6.19 (d.f. = 1; p<.05) was obtained. A phi of .57 suggests a moderately strong relationship between context and modality as they affect false starts.
Table 4. False start responses in stereotype/opposite stereotype contexts and picture/story modality.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Stereotype</th>
<th>Opposite Stereotype</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Picture</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Story</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, results from task three were analyzed (see Table 5) to determine whether subjects had similar stereotypes as the target culture. The subjects' responses to the fill in the blank task were expected and seem to indicate a similarity in knowledge of stereotypes with that of the L2 culture. Only the responses to question eight concerning a teacher of children were unexpected (He-5, She-3, He/She-2, Her-1, The children-1), since elementary school teachers in the United States tend to be mostly women; but some of the subjects attended elementary schools which were taught mostly by men. Therefore, the expected "She" was used by the subjects only 3 times, while "He" was used five times.

Discussion

The results of the chi-square and phi statistics suggest that a relationship between the stereotype and opposite stereotype contexts and language use exists, but that the relationship appears
Table 5. Responses to fill in the blank task by the twelve subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>He-10</td>
<td>She-9</td>
<td>His-7</td>
<td>He-7</td>
<td>He-9</td>
<td>She-10</td>
<td>Him-6</td>
<td>He-5</td>
<td>He-10</td>
<td>She-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President-2</td>
<td>Nurse-3</td>
<td>His/Her-1</td>
<td>The doctor-4</td>
<td>He/She-2</td>
<td>Was-1</td>
<td>Him/Her-3</td>
<td>She-3</td>
<td>The scientist-1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>She-0</td>
<td></td>
<td>Child-2</td>
<td>He/She-1</td>
<td></td>
<td>The memo-1</td>
<td>Her-1</td>
<td>He-5</td>
<td>He/She-1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A white-1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The professor-1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>It's-1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

not to be strong. This relationship may be due to the effects of context on language use. The following discussion offers an analysis of the above results including speculations by the researcher as to their possible source.

The results of correct and incorrect pronoun use obtained in the picture modality for stereotype and opposite stereotype contexts were analyzed. As discussed previously, a significant chi square was found suggesting a relationship between language use.
and context; however, the relationship appears not to be strong. More errors occurred in the stereotype context (6) than in the opposite stereotype context where no errors were made. It appears then that more errors occurred when describing the stereotype pictures. This is contrary to expectations. However, the opposite stereotype picture of the male housekeeper seemed to have been "stereotyped" by the subjects when discussing the picture as simply a husband at home with his family. Many subjects did comment on the unusual kindness of the husband in helping his wife cook dinner. The oddity of the situation had the same effect, that of subjects producing no errors, as the other opposite stereotype picture.

In addition, in the picture modality, when the number of false starts was included with the correct and incorrect responses, it appeared that a relationship existed but was also not strong. This seems to be due to the number of false starts being almost equal in both contexts (Total: S=2/OS=3).

In the story modality a significant chi square was not found when analyzing correct and incorrect responses for both contexts. More errors occurred in the stereotype context (17) than the opposite stereotype context (10). However, the results may be misleading since the errors in the stereotype context were made by the same subject, S1, who used the pronoun "she" for both male/female contexts and never used "he"; therefore, errors occurred when talking about the businessman in both modalities. If the results from S1 in the story modality were removed, then no errors or false starts would be found in the stereotype context as
compared with 10 errors and 14 false starts in the opposite stereotype context.

The story modality, therefore, would seem to show opposite results than the picture modality, since the stereotype context would have, with the removal of S1, no incorrect or false start responses; whereas in the picture modality the opposite was true, with the stereotype context receiving more errors (even with the removal of S1) than the opposite stereotype context.

In the story modality when false starts are analyzed along with correct and incorrect responses a significant chi square was found as stated previously but a strong relationship was not found. More false starts occurred in the opposite stereotype context (7) than in the stereotype context (0). The increased input, from picture to story, seems to have increased the number of false starts for the opposite stereotype context (3 to 14), whereas the number in the stereotype context (2 to 0) decreased.

False starts were analyzed to compare contextual relationship with modality. A significant chi-square value and phi of .57 suggests that a moderately strong relationship exists between the subjects' performance in both contexts across modalities. For both the picture and story modalities subjects made more false starts in the opposite stereotype context. For example, in the opposite stereotype context 14 false starts were made as opposed to no false starts in the stereotype context. False starts seem to be treated differently across contexts and modalities. The highest number of false stars occurred when subjects discussed the opposite
stereotype context in the story modality. The opposite stereotype text seemed to affect the subjects' use of pronouns, resulting in a higher number of false starts.

Finally, results from the fill in the blank task suggest that the subjects had similar stereotypes as those found in the United States. Since most of the stereotypes were found to be similar in both cultures, the opposite stereotypes would also be the same. Other contexts containing stereotypes or opposite stereotypes may then have a similar affect on the subjects' use of pronouns as found in the present study. As indicated, one exception to the similarities in stereotypes of the two cultures was the role of the elementary school teacher, found in question eight; this role was not stereotyped for women as was expected, since according to the Korean subjects, this role is also commonly found among men. Only some possible stereotypes were among the questions to the fill in the blank task. Although similarities were mostly found in the present study between the two cultures as to stereotypes, there are probably also other additional differences.
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

Pronoun errors are made by some ESL learners. Occasionally the students may correct themselves, which has been referred to as false starts in this study; other times, the students will not realize that they have used an incorrect pronoun. Although they can inhibit, disrupt or cause a breakdown in communication, pronoun errors and false starts seem not to have received serious attention by researchers. In an ESL classroom, I've observed students laugh at one another or miscommunicate their ideas to their classmates and teacher because of pronoun errors. Even when the students make corrections, I have observed their false starts to disrupt the flow of the utterance.

The purpose of the present study was to try and find some possible causes of these pronoun errors. The hypothesis was that gender pronoun use is influenced by contexts containing stereotypes or opposite stereotypes, which are part of the learner's background knowledge. From the results of the present study, it can be concluded that contexts and language use, specifically pronoun use, have a relationship; that is, how subjects used pronouns seems to be related to (1) the context, either stereotype or opposite stereotype, that they were discussing, and (2) the modality of presentation, either picture or story. It was suggested in the introduction of this study, that language transfer, transfer of training, and/or background knowledge might have an influence on pronoun errors by ESL learners. Suggestions for future research of pronoun errors are
related to these three areas. In addition, limitations of the present study will be examined.

In order to study further whether language transfer is accountable for these errors, more studies are needed with subjects whose L1s are both the same and different in respect to pronoun use in English. For example, a comparison of subjects whose L1 is more similar in the use of pronouns in English than Korean is might show the affects of language transfer. I chose in this study to keep the L1 constant in order to narrow questions concerning the influence of various L1s on pronoun errors. In that way, the influence of transfer of L1 would be the same for all subjects of the study, and therefore, the effect of background knowledge could be more easily observed. However, the effect of transfer of training could not be controlled since subjects varied greatly in the types of teaching and teaching materials to which they had been exposed.

In addition, studies of ESL learners' pronoun use at different language levels might shed light on whether and when these errors diminish. For example, a beginning ESL learner may make pronoun errors but at an intermediate level the learner might produce more false starts. Longitudinal studies, which follow a learner as their English language level developed, could show whether a developmental pattern of errors existed.

The question of transfer of training might be difficult to examine since many ESL students have already received years of instruction before attending classes in the United States. This fact would cause difficulties in a researcher's ability to judge the type
of exposure to pronouns by the learner. It may even be the case that a learner had been exposed to incorrect usage of these pronouns by her/his instructor whose first language was not English.

Transfer of training may also involve exposure to sex bias in the classroom; for example, the more common use of "he," such as generically, may cause a stronger mapping of the "he" pronoun to occur. An evaluation by teachers of text books for sex bias, and a critical look at whether examples frequently used in class are biased towards one pronoun might offer additional insight into students' errors.

Finally, the idea of background knowledge affecting a student's use of English pronouns needs to be further investigated. If, for example, the role of females are seen in the learner's culture is seem as being of less importance than that of males, it might also follow that the masculine pronoun would be more predominant for the learner.

Research concerning the effects of the generic "he" on first language learners has received serious attention by researchers in various fields. However, studies concerning how the generic "he" affects English as a second language learners is noticeably lacking. Research in this area would offer a unique opportunity to study the interaction of thought and language use.

This study examined whether stereotype and opposite stereotype contexts, which seem to be a part of our background knowledge, had a relationship with the use of pronouns in English by ESL learners, specifically Korean native speakers. The results of
this study suggest that there is a relationship but that it does not appear to be a strong one. Continued research in this area may lead to interesting results concerning the interaction of pragmatic knowledge and language performance.
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Stericker, Anne. "Does this 'He or She' Business Really make a Difference? The Effect of Masculine Pronouns as Generics on Job Attitudes." *Sex Roles* 7.6 (1981): 637-641.

APPENDIX A: TESTING MATERIALS

Distractor Picture: Male
Master Artisan Ling Xue-bing's "Lady White"

Actual diameter: 8½ inches

"1989 Imperial Jingdezhen Porcelain"
Stereotype Picture: Businessman
Stereotype Picture:  Waitress
Stereotype Story: Businessman

John has been a businessman since he graduated from Harvard. He works at a large company in New York. He has been working for the same company for twenty years. He works long hours. Sometimes he is the last person to leave the office. Because he is very intelligent and works so hard he has made a lot of money for the company. Last year he made one million dollars! At the office, he is often on the phone talking to customers. He explains to them about the company. He also works with the computer in order to keep everything organized. Everyone in his office thinks that he is an excellent businessman. For these reasons, John is now the vice president of the company. As Vice President he must tell the employees what to do. Everyone listens to him because he knows how to get a job done. He has the respect of everyone in the office.

John has an important meeting today at 4:00. He is in a hurry to get everything finished on time. Of course he will get everything done because he always does. John enjoys his job because it is very challenging. Also, he can use his mind to solve problems. He is an ambitious man. He will probably become president of the company some day.
Stereotype Story: Waitress

Mary has been a waitress for 10 years now. She lives in a small town called Maddock. She gets up at 5:30 a.m. every morning in order to get to her job for the 6:00 early bird breakfast special. She serves the truckers their coffee before they drive their huge trucks across the country. Actually, all the residents of the town come to the Diner at least once a week. Mary keeps up with all the gossip of their lives. For example, Betty, who is always sitting at the counter at 12:00 sharp for lunch, told her about a new recipe made from Kraft mayonnaise. Of course, Mary listened with interest to Betty as she does with all the customers at the Diner. Mary is a good listener. Just the other day, she was listening to Joe tell about his winning ride at the rodeo. She heard from Betty that Joe really hadn't won at the rodeo at all, but his ride for 3 seconds on the bull was famous for his landing. He ended up in the hospital for a week!

As a waitress, Mary's life is not that exciting. She does however enjoy seeing all the people, listening to their stories, and serving them the food that the Diner is famous for in the small town of Maddock. If you're ever in Maddock, stop in and say hello to her; she will serve you just as if you were a resident of the town.
Opposite Stereotype Picture: Housekeeper
Opposite Stereotype Picture: Doctor
Opposite Stereotype Story: Housekeeper

John has been working as a housekeeper for five years now. He has lived and worked for the Johnson family for the past two years. John enjoys working as a housekeeper. He enjoys his job for many reasons. One reason is that he likes to cook. He serves Mr. and Mrs. Johnson breakfast at 6:30 every morning during the week. He usually makes eggs, bacon, and toast for them. Also, he needs to feed their little girl Mary. She wakes up at 7:00 a.m. every morning. He feeds her and gets her dressed for the day. John also cleans the house. He cleans the bathroom once a week. He also vacuums the rooms in the house every week. He usually dusts the furniture every other day. It is difficult to keep everything clean while taking care of little Mary at the same time. Mary can make a mess! For example, today while he was cooking dinner, Mary made a mess playing. Mrs. Johnson stopped by the store on her way home from her office. She brought home some groceries. Mr. and Mrs. Johnson think that their housekeeper, John, is a good worker. He keeps the house clean and takes good care of Mary. They pay him 200 dollars a week. He also has his own room. He enjoys serving the Johnsons. He would like to keep working for them for many years to come. John thinks that being a housekeeper is a great job. He can clean, take care of little Mary and watch his favorite daytime T.V. shows!
Dr. Mary Johnson has been working as a doctor since she graduated from Harvard twenty years ago. She has been working as a surgeon at the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minnesota for the past ten years. As a surgeon, she often performs operations which are extremely complicated. Her specialty is heart surgery. She is one of the best heart surgeons in the nation. Often she gives lectures at medical universities explaining about her work. Physicians listen to her to learn new ideas. She has also given lectures in other countries. She just got back from giving a lecture in France. There were over 250 doctors at the lecture! Dr. Mary Johnson is respected by all the physicians in the hospital where she works. Also, she is respected by physicians across the country and the world. At the hospital she works very long hours. Sometimes she must work through the night. She enjoys her work as a heart surgeon because it is very challenging. Because she is very intelligent and ambitious she has accomplished a lot in her career. She was even recognized by the President of the United States for a new technique in heart surgery which she developed! Dr. Johnson will continue her work as a surgeon at the hospital. She will probably win a Nobel Prize some day!
Questions for task three

Please fill in the blanks to complete the following sentences:

1. The President signed the bill. Why did ___ sign it?
2. The nurse helped the patient. Why did ___ help the patient?
3. The children were playing ball. One child owned the ball. It was ___ ball.
4. The doctor prescribed the medicine. ___ hoped it would help the patient.
5. The runner stopped for a drink of water. The runner stopped because ___ was thirsty.
6. The housekeeper was doing the laundry when ___ noticed that the washing machine was not working.
7. The mathematics professor stopped to talk to the student. The student wanted to ask ___ a question.
8. The children liked their teacher. They thought ___ was very nice.
9. The scientist liked working in the lab. Yesterday, ___ worked for almost 10 hours in the lab.
10. The secretary could type 70 words a minute. ___ was a good typist.
APPENDIX B: TRANSCRIPTIONS

Method of transcription

1. Simultaneous utterances
   Utterances beginning at the same time are linked by double left-handed brackets: [[

2. Overlapping utterances
   Utterances that overlap and do not start at the beginning of the utterance are shown by one left-handed bracket: [ 

3. Contiguous utterances
   Utterances which end and begin immediately following the they are indicated by an equal sign at the end and beginning of the utterances connected: =

4. Pauses
   A short pause within an utterance is shown as a dash: -
   A lengthy pause within or between utterances is indicated by two parentheses and the word pause: ((pause))

6. Actions
   Other actions or descriptions such as laughing, coughing, pointing or whispering are written in double parentheses where they occur: (laughter)

7. Words or sounds that are inaudible or not understandable
   When a word cannot be heard or is unintelligible to the researcher are indicated by a single parentheses: ( ) or (other).

8. Lengthening of a sound
   Lengthening of a sound is indicated by a colon: m:

9. Beginning of an utterance
   A capital letter is used to indicate the beginning of an utterance or thought group.
Businessman/Picture

S1: Maybe she is in office=
R: =M hm
S1: She's-uh-talking um to someone m: on line=
R: =M hm
S1: m: ((pause)) maybe she can m: operate computer=
R: =M hm
S1: Yea
R: Okay thank you-and this picture?

Waitress/Picture

S1: M: ((pause)) this is very party picture
((laughter))
R: Party picture?
((laughter))
S1: M hm interesting
R: Interesting huh? ((pause)) Anything about it
S1: Oh, I don't know ((laughs)) waitress is uh smiling=
R: =M hm
S1: And one lady re:recommends-salad? ((points))
R: Celery
S1: Celery=
R: =M hm
S1: ((pause)) m: ((pause))
R: Can you describe what they are wearing or anything?
S1: M hm this place is uh restaurant=
R: =M hm
S1: =uh restaurant-I don't know
((laughter))
R: Is that about it? okay that's good-alright

Businessman/Story

S1: Umm she uh she has uh worked at one company since uh=
[...
R: mhm
S1: =twenty years years ago=
R: =M hm m hm
SI: Uh she's very intellegence in-uh she's very intelligent=
R: =M hm
SI: And-uh-she uh ((pause)) she uh graduate from Harvard University=
R: =M hm
SI: M:-she-uh m:-uh sometimes um-sh-uh was last person to leave uh office=
R: =M hm
SI: =and she worked very hard last year she she made one million dollars for company=
R: =M hm
SI: And then she-m:-she-became uh vice president?=n
R: =M hm
SI: She uh she can operate umm computer=
R: =M hm
SI: =and the and she uh she try to keep m: everything m:-under
( )=
R: =M hm
SI: M:-today m: she has uh appointment uh-four o'clock p.m. umm=
R: =M hm
SI: but m:-m:-she-have uh much works she has uh much work and then she uh she uh in hurry=
R: =M hm
SI: But m: always-m: always she was she was in hurry and then she-she-did a lot of work=
R: =M hm
SI: Maybe someday she'll become president of the company

Waitress/Story

SI: Mary she is uh Mary=
R: =M hm
SI: =m: she's m: um-she-has uh been uh waitress for 10 years=
R: =M hm
SI: Everyday she M: gets up-umm 5:30 p.m. a.m.-5:30 a.m. and then-m: get her her job m: um 6 a.m.=
R: =M hm m hm
SI: M: for uh for serve uh trucker ( ) uh trucker ( ) trucker ( ) people uh trucker drive their trucks-m: Betty she uh she is uh sitting at the uh counter=
R: =M hm m hm
S1: And then she she likes to tell about food new food Betty m: umm-m: Mary Mary is uh m: always listen to um Betty's uh speech =
((laughter))
R: =M hm
S1: She is very good uh listener=
R: =M hm
S1: Uh-uh and then-uh Joey Joe Joe talked about Rodeo-ro
R: =M hm
S1: She umm she m: was ( ) on Rodeo race but m: but she uh sh was second or third I'm not sure=
R: =Oh uh huh-who is Joe in the picture? Can you point to Joe?
S1: Maybe ((subject points))
R: Okay-the person with the hat?
S1: Yes uh she was in hospital uh for one week and-uh ((pause)) older residents of uh Maddock residents?= 
R: =Uh huh residents
S1: =at least uh at least uh come come uh come restaurant on time uh week uh week she's job is not exciting-but she enjoys listening-and then talking m: ((pause)) everybody uh like uh like her-if you or someone meets Mary on the streets uh always uh hello hi=
R: =M hm
S1: ((pause)) If I were in Madock she treats me like Maddock's people
Businessman/Picture

S2: Computer yes I like it very much computer yea

R: ((laughter))

S2: Uh-uh-the man is very busy now uh-in my country uh my major
is uh physics but uh I want to uh change my major uh finish in
IEOP I'm applying to computer science in Iowa State University
and uh this is uh computer company I think m: the man is busy
now and uh m: now this time is three eh twenty-four-p.m. and
uh uh before she: called uh she-called-to somebody uh she she
he must be (reading a book)=

R: =M hm

S2: =m: think uh-uh tonight she will-be (wait)=

R: =Be ( )

S2: She will-she will m: she will um he will he will uh:=

R: =Be

S2: =he will come back ah home=

R: =Oh uh huh

S2: Lately=

R: =Oh um hum

S2: =lately-yea yea that's okay=

R: =Okay ((laughter))

S2: He look like very gentlemen

R: ((laughter))

Waitress/Picture

R: Okay last picture

S2: Wow! ((laughter))

R: ((laughter))

S2: Oh yea

R: Interesting picture?

S2: Yea interesting picture uh I think it looks like uh uh
t.v. comedy drama um um this time is uh oh this is
advertisement oh uh ((pause)) okay=

R: =It's okay ((laughter))

S2: Three womens is uh very ( ) have now and uh some other
men m: is uh coming here in this house m: and uh-um-I don't
know exactly is in a restaurant=
R: =Yea it's in a restaurant
S2: This is restaurant=
R: =M hm

Businessman/Story

S2: Uh Uh he is uh vice president in a com-in company graduate
Harvard University=
R: =M hm
S2: =m: um: some some day um sometime he earned uh uh one
million dollars=
R: =U hm
S2: And uh he has uh important appointment today at 4:00 he uh uh:
his is is very env-ambitious man and uh he likes his job=
R: =M hm
S2: Uh he is always uh ha: always uh (work) about many kinds of
jobs=
R: =M hm
S2: =like computer or his job and uh uh m: m: he m: ((long pause))
uh ( )
R: That's okay you got about everything anything else that you
S2: Uh twenty minutes twenty minutes
R: Twenty minutes?
S2: Uh I can't remember
R: Oh that's okay ((pause)) is that about it?
S2: Okay yea yes

Waitress/Story

S2: Her name is Mary=
R: =M hm
S2: Mary is um always get up um at five thirty a.m. =
R: =M hm
S2: =because uh at six a.m. six a.m. six o'clock a.m. she have to go
to Maddock (his) job-place um she's uh working at Maddock m:
oh and uh ((pause)) ((laughs)) m: ((laughs)) I'm sorry next
sentence I can't understand I can not exactly
R: Oh just tell me what you remember
S2: Oh if you uh eat Maddock food uh stop and say hello to Mary=
R: =M hm
S2: =and if ((laughs)) and uh said to you uh ( ) that you about
(5:30) uh server come to you

[ ]

R: Mhm

S2: Anything eles you remember?
R: =U huh-is that it?
S2: About Mary Mary?=
S2: In fact I don't know anything about you testing
Businessman/Picture

S3: It's commercial—yes (is) working oh yea computer with a ( ) copy machine yea-three-twenty-three minutes=
R: =M hm
S3: =its a hard time-to work
R: Can you describe=
S3: =yea
R: =the person a little bit
S3: The person yes ( ) when he's when he's uh answering answering the phone somebody called to him they say what's what's happening so he worked double side you know=
R: =M hm
S3: =he's on the phone now but he when he when he talking by phone he heard the some calling in backside says (what happen) and then he's reading the paper actually he's working three three side you know=
R: =Uh huh
S3: =the phone and uh reading the paper and hearing the (other) [ ]
R: Uh huh
S3: Geez I I never do that like him

Waitress/Picture

S3: It's a typical yes very typical celery right?= R: =M hm
S3 =celery ((pause)) I make a story okay the the girl who work in the restaurant=
R: =M hm
S3: =asked her could you taste this celery with the mayonnaise=
R: =M hm
S3: She said no no I have a better idea I give to you just taste and then please tell me this=
R: =Uh hm
S3: =the mayonnaise the mayonnaise so she says (separate) to her ( ) she think about that (shakes his head) not good=[
R: ((laughter))
S3: =so she smiled to her and her friend yea it's a very
interesting thing here what's this what's this going on in here yea and just looking like this=

R: =((laughter)) okay good

Businessman/Story

S3: Yea he's very hard worker like he works like a dog=
R: =((laughter))
S3: You know everytime he work work work work now he's the vice president in his company=
R: =Mhm
S3: =yea sometimes he he leaves his a company at a most late person means that he left to lately=
R: =Mhm
S3: =everybody left the company but he works until about 9 or 10 or 11 o'clock or 9 or ( )=

R: Mhm
S3: =so he when he called no somebody called to him said I think this situation is he's explain to his company you know he's very good salesman so he's ex: explain to (how) his company and what is going on and what to do that=
R: =Mhm
S3: =or something and uh he deep in mind and buy the paper you know to to have to meetin or ( ) meeting executive meeting (or something) and then he has a computer you know on his table for to keeping his every information about his work=
R: =Mhm
S3: Yes
R: Okay?
S3: Yes so finally he works very hard so in the future someday he can-be president in this company

Waitress/Story

S3: Uh the her name is Mary she she works for a small town in ( ) small town who name-which name is uh Madlock=
R: =Maddock
S3: =okay Maddock Maddock yea Maddock yea she has to get up uh five thirty to go to (hi/e) her job her job start at six o'clock
in the morning (to) always so she has to get up five thirty
(and preparing other people) to her job for for serving
breakfast for the people who works in the truckers in trucks=
R: =M hm
S3: =yea truckers so past by the street and stop and they just
getting the you know the snacks or some eggs or small small
breakfast=
R: =M hm
S3: And and Mary Betty is always stop twelve o'clock and has has
lunch in there=
R: =M hm
S3: =small restaurant with Mary s:someday says Mary one day uh
Betty brought Mayonnaise-is a new one so could you taste it
and and then please tell me about this mayonnaise? (or
something) ( ) but uh now so Mary uh her job is not
exciting you know it's a very s:(settlement) it's a fixed up
everyday has to get up early in the morning to prepare and uh
meet people people but she likes and she enjoying her job
because in there in small restaurant s:she can (do it)
everybody she can knows all people yea and she can get some
gossips or some information about someone and things=
R: M hm
S3: =so the even is uh just restaurant and city is small but not
too exciting but-is life=
R: =Okay ((laughs))
S3: But someday if if if I'm going to Maddock City=
R: =M hm
S3: =and I can say like residents people say to her hello how's it
going or something
R: Okay good
Businessman/Picture

S4: No he's he's uh very busy and-and-he's working for-some company-uh-can use uh computers and uh-from this clock we can see what time uh-
R: =M hm
S4: ((pause)) He's uh he's very he's uh typical uh worker modern worker ((laughter))
   
R: ((laughter))
S4: Uh he's uh he's middle aged=
R: =M hm
S4: He's work for-his family or something like that yea he looks very busy=
R: =Okay
S4: =that's (the) impression
R: Okay anything else?
S4: No no

Waitress/Picture

S4: In a restaurant-and uh-three old uh women-they just talk about every-m: every conversation=
R: =M hm
S4: =nothing nothing special they just sit around (watch) going on because women usually talkative ((laughter))
   
R: ((laughter))
S4: They just they like they like talking talking with the neighborhood=
R: =M hm
S4: =and ((points)) it's very looks very delicious ((laughter))
   
R: ((laughter))
S4: I'm getting hungry ((laughter))
   
R: ((laughter))
S4: And uh-they're-m: they're very friendly
R: Okay
S4: (No more)
R: Was that it? Okay
Businessman/Story

S4: He's now vice president of uh one company=
R: =M hm
S4: =and he's very busy and he's very successful=
R: =M hm
S4: Everybody in the company respect-respects him=
R: =M hm
S4: =because he's very intelligent he's very hard worker so everybody think uh in the future he will be eh president of the company=
R: =M hm
S4: and he he love he loves the he loves his job because the job uh gives him challenging (I don't know)=
R: =M hm
S4: And he has appointment today ((laughs)) 4:00
R: ((laughs)) Uh huh
S4: So now he's very busy=
R: =Uh huh
S4: =and he has to finish something before the meeting=
R: =M hm
S4: I think he may may have much bigger office than this ((laughter))

Waitress/Story

S4: She's she's name is uh Mary=
R: =M hm
S4: She she-work uh she has worked uh in in a small restaurant small restaurant for 10 years=
R: =M hm
S4: =and uh she she like she likes to listen to somebodys and uh ((long pause)) ((laughter))
R: That uh happened to another person um
S4: Yea yea yea I forget her name-anyway neighbor(hood)
R: Oh Betty?
S4: Yea Betty? Betty everyday visits her at exactly the same time=
R: =M hm
S4: =from 10 o'clock ( ) every-they arrive to talk about everything about ((pause))=
R: =M hm m hm
S4: Yea nothing special ((laughs))
R: Anything else about do you remember anything about this person ((points)) or anything else?
S4: No no nothing special
R: Nothing special huh ((laughs)) okay good good then
Businessman/Picture

S5: Wow! ((laughs))=

R: ((laughs))

S5: =uh he is telling telling with somebody-eh he's hold telephone and um important important paper and there is uh computer=

R: =M hm

S5: =watching many other box and chair and desk-uh I think he is uh he is officer no officer he is-salesman no salesman ((laughs))

R: =M hm

S5: Yea-you think you think no? ((laughs))

R: Uh whatever ((laughs))

S5: This time is uh three-two-four three-twenty-four=

R: =M hm

S5: Yea okay um: uh uh he's uh hair is uh little (curly)? little curly?

R: Grey

S5: Grey and curly is

R: Curly!

S5: No curly and grey

R: Uh hm

S5: I know curly hair and she wear the shirts and maybe I think is necktie necktie=

R: =M hm

S5: And no ((laughs)) he think um maybe important to thing thing he got uh important thing important thing

R: Okay

S5: No I ( ) uh box is brown ((laughs))=

R: =Okay

S5: And carpet is grey and chair is with m: no I I don't know ((makes a spinning motion gesture))

R: Wheels

S5: Wh: wheels? okay-no I'm sorry ((laughs))

R: Okay good good job good

Waitress/Picture

S5: Wow very funny ((laughs))
R: ((laughs))
S5: I think uh uh it is restaurant cafeteria there is uh three woman three women women one women is uh hold the pretty hat=
R: =Uh huh
S5: And oh m: hold the-vegetable-
R: Celery
S5: Celery
R: Uh huh
S5: And uh she give another woman uh-another woman ((laughs))
celery=
R: =Uh huh
S5: And uh and this one is uh uh (h ) no ( ) service woman? I don't know-what's mean?
R: What what's her job?
S5: Yea what's her job
R: Waitress
S5: Ah waitress I know ((laughs))
R: Uh huh
S5: Waitress is look look at uh celery
R: Uh huh
S5: Waitress (work) is very simple no simple m: waitress is very funny I think ((laughs))

R: ((laughs))
S5: Ah uh I think uh she is m: old old woman and ( ) grand mo mother and I don't know sh: I don't know his ( ) oh she hold the very strange hat flowers is flowers made flowers
R: Uh huh
S5: ((laughs)) and on the table is mayonnaise and glasses glasses glass and delicious food ((laughter))

R: ((laughter))
S5: Napkin box and salt=
R: =M hm
S5: Sugar and ((laughs))=
R: =M hm
S5: Customs cus no customer
R: Uh huh
S5: Some customer is in the cafeteria and I think this cafeteria is no expensive
R: M hm
S5: Very cheap=
R: =M hm
S5: I think oh uh this cafeterias wi wall wall is m: no stripe
R: Oh plaid?
S5: Plaid? no plaid ((makes hand motion))
R: Checked
S5: Check check
R: Uh huh
S5: Yea m: the curtain is red=
R: =Uh huh
S5: =waitress clothes waitress clothes is red=
R: Uh huh
S5: =almost red=
R: =Uh huh
R: =and chair is red m: she uh look look at um ((these women))
she think they are very strange very fun ((laughs)) um she is
enjoy m: she is enjoying m: look at the woman=
R: Okay
S5: You know ((laughs))
   [   Uh huh
S5: Ah the woman look at him=
R: =M hm
S5 I think they they are meeting today's they are meeting=
R: =M hm
S5: M: kay this is a place very country country=
R: =M hm
S5: And uh this man is hold the newspaper and look at the three w
women=
R: =M hm
S5: =and she look too ((laughs)) and she think very found of the
three womans you know?
R: This person? ((points))
S5: Yea the person is look at the three women

Businessman/Story

S5: M: he is he is a businessman=
R: =M hm
S5: He's tall he's tell with a customer about ( ) his company
R: Uh huh good
S5: He's uh he's always busy because uh he worked very hard everyday he worked every (late) uh everybody uh respect respect to him uh no I can't remember ((laughs))
R: It's good
S5: He is very very intelligent he likes the work his work he worked (computer) about (computer) no he worked (other) about (computer) no?
R: Oh computer
S5: Computer ( ) computer he will come he will become uh president of his company ((laughs)) no
R: Yes
S5: And he works uh in New York ten years
R: Mhm
S5: ((laughs)) No? ten years and m: uh (all) I can remember-he a-always busy-because he's challenger ((laughs))
R: Uh huh
S5: He's challenger and no I can't remember I'm sorry
R: Very good that's excellent you did a good job
S5: ((laughs))

Waitress/Story

S5: Mary worked uh small town restaurant=
R: =Uh huh
S5: =for ten year years-Mary is good waitress and good lis listener=
R: =Mhm
S5: Somebodys (find) visit no (find) her no find visit visit no ((laughs)) yea somebody m: find is no find I know same visit visit
R: Visit means to come somewhere
S5: Visit I know but customs came to the restaurant what's mean?
R: Oh to be served?
S5: No! customs um c come to the restaurant=
R: Uh huh
S5: =visit visit is m: person is-family family visit person is visit family but ((laughs))
R: You can visit a restaurant too
S5: Okay somebody visit talk to her Mary
R: Yea visits her
S5: Yea then Mary is always good listen to them m: one day uh I
don't know (Berry? Berry is visit her-M: (I can't remember)
((laughs)))=
R: Good
S5: And oh!-okay I can remember but uh okay she get up
((laughs))
R: Uh huh
S5: At five thirty
R: Right
S5: ((laughs)) Always uh I think he's very oh (I'm
sorry) ((whispered)) very good waitress waitress waitress=
R: =Mhm
S5: =waitress but she served the somebody company? Some
someone somewhere comany=
R: Mhm
S5: Oh I can't remember I'm sorry m: ((pause)) okay a person a
woman uh visit every uh at noon=
R: =Uh huh
S5: =everyday-eh she she talking she's tlking is uh about receipt
about receipt re recep recep
R: Recipe
S5: Recipe ((laughs))=
R: Uh huh
S5: Recipe uh Mary always good listener I can't remember that's
all
R: That's great excellent good job
Businessman/Picture

S6: Um maybe this is in something process of his company
((laughs))=
R: M hm
S6: =and he's uh ((pause)) he's busy he looks like busy-with
someone in phone
R: M hm
S6: ((shakes head no))
R: Anything else?

Waitress/Picture

S6: Oh this is in restaurant and-uh two ladies are (order some
sandwiches) and and I don't know what is this?
R: Celery
S6: Yea they they thought celery was very delicious ((laughs))

R: ((laughs))
S6: So they want it they wanted to uh wait waitress they wanted
to m: the waitress taste it=
R: =M hm
S6: ( ) the picture and the waitress looks like looks like
((laughs)) enjoys this situation ((laughs))
R: Uh huh
S6: Yea (is all) ((laughs/puts the picture down)
R: Okay anything else?
S6: Um maybe they talked very loudly so the other person looked
them
R: Okay
S6: Yea is alright

Businessman/Story

S6: Um he's been working since he graduate Harvard University
and he's in his company (at) twenty years and ((laughs)) uh
he's now vice president of this company he ha he has and he's
very ambitious man and he's very intelligent and he work
very hard and now he talk with customer (the) customer
about uh his company and everyone respect him because uh
he's very intelligent and work hard and m: everyone think uh someday he will be president of company and he have he he has meeting at four o'clock today so he have to hurry up (bought that) and he has a lot of work about uh work for everyone because he's know um: about the work what how to get how to get ((laughs)) how to get ( ) how to get?

R: Things done?
S6: Things done yea right ((laughter))

R: ((laughter))
S6: Uh and he's very-uh excellent businessman he made big money for his company last year he made one million dollars and sometimes um he often working with computer ((pause))

R: M hm
S6: Yea
R: Good
S6: I can't remember anymore

Waitress/Story

S6: Um she's sh her name is Mary=
R: =M hm
S6: =and she she's um waitress in small town uh small town named named right?
R: ((nods))
S6: Named Maddock Maddock=
R: =M hm
S6: =Maddock and uh she's she's been she's been waitress of a ten almost ten years-and
R: Uh huh
S6: She have to get ( ) wake up she have to wake up at five thirty because of um because of her job and she went to restaurant at six because the um she have to prepare some break breakfast for trucker um so-and- ( trucker) um ( ((pause)) sometimes she's not exciting ((laughs)) her job=
R: =uh huh
S6: Because always she have to listen see and talked about her customer so and this is maybe Betty ((points))=
R: =M hm
S6: I don't know who is Betty but uh she's she's always went that restaurant at twelve sharp
S6: And she told she told uh Mary about recipe or m: I don't
know oh yea she told uh she told uh to Mary about Kraft
Mayonnaise=
R: =Uh huh ((laughter))

S6: ((laughter))=recipe so but-yea and Mary m: Mary like
to listen listen about a recipe and this this town people went
to this restaurant for dinner at least once for week-and he's-
I don't know name-Tom? ((laughs)) right?
R: Joe
S6: Joe yea=
R: =((laughs)) it's okay
S6: Yea he's Joe and he (I don't know) Betty told about Joe
because uh-before Betty told to Mary about Joe Joe said to
Mary oh yea and he'd win the game or their game=
R: =Mhm
S6: =but Betty told her he didn't win he says he just (hang) there
just for three seconds and ((pause)) (seconds) ((pause)) and
he's in hospital-he was in hospital for a week almost for a
week=
R: =Mhm
S6: Yea and if the traveler visit there they should go to
restaurant ((laughs))
R: Uh huh ((laughs))
Housekeeper/Picture

OS1: This picture show-me the typical American family style=
R: =M hm
OS1: Family life style the man the husband work and the wife work together ((pause)) this family is very happy=
R: =M hm
OS1: Their child their children their child uh (these) very yea (  ) very-yea funny no is uh like playing in something- um ((pause)) uh he he uh I don't know is uh suitable words this uh
R: A mess
OS1: Yes this is the mess but uh he uh the child the child like to do this something
R: Oh okay
OS1: Yea yea ((pause)) and uh ((pause))
R: Can you tell me what they're doing?
OS1: Yea oh-um maybe-umm-this time is uh this time they prepare for their lunch=
R: =M hm
OS1: Um S: on Sunday m: the the man hm: I don't know they uh they they will uh go to the picnic ((laughs))=
R: =M hm
OS1: For uh uh they prepare prepare something for their picnic ((laughs)) I don't know

Doctor/Picture

OS1: She she seems to be doctor?= 
R: =M hm
OS1: Um he look he look happy she look happy-the he she satisfied hi hi her job ((long pause)) his uh her teeth her teeth is uh very no is not very his teeth is good and clear and arranged=
R: =M hm
OS1: =arranged well ((pause)) okay I don't find anything else

Housekeeper/Story

OS1: John um John-John is a houskeeper uh for 5 years=
R: =M hm
OS1: Uh uh he lived uh he hi he has lived uh and uh worked is
working m: two-two years in in Mrs Johns uh in Mr. and Mrs. Johnson house=

R: =M hm
OS1: =he he like cook and uh m: he uh the Johns uh Mr. and Mrs. Johnson think-uh uh he is very nice housekeeper uh he uh take care of his daughter his name her name is Mary uh he uh he clean uh clean his house uh their house very well example um the Mary uh everytime (the) Mary mess=

R: =M hm
OS1: everything but uh he don't he don't be angry he he take care of her and uh clean up very well m: ((pause)) and uh ((pause))

R: Good
OS1: (there/their) he ((pause)) he uh he is preparing for-dinner=
R: =M hm
OS1: dinner uh the Mrs. Johnson-uh have uh take uh something such as the groc groc (grocepy)? grocery?= 
R: =M hm
OS1: ((pause)) sh he clean up-once a week the whole house and the furniture he clean the furniture everyday ((laughs))=
R: =M hm
OS1: I am confusing uh hm oh ((pause)) he-daytime in the daytime he he can watch the t.v. with the with the Mary Mary like to watch the t.v.-show ((pause)) um yea
R: Okay very good very good

Doctor/Story

OS1: Uh doctor doctor Johnson ((cough)) work for m: work for-m: his uh her job uh during twenty years-for twenty years=
R: =M hm
OS1: =after after graduate eh uh university uh uh ((pause)) May Mayo clinic=
R: =Yes
OS1: =Mayo clinic center-he uh in the in the Mayo clinic center he worked he worked for ten years=
R: =M hm
OS1: =uh his uh his his major is uh heart ((pause)) heart to uh
R: Surgery
OS1: Yea heart surgery ((pause)) sometimes he uh um he go to another place he teach and uh lect uh lecture to another person person example m: for example pi (pisicion pisicion)?
R: Physician
OS1: Yea physicians and um the uh some people who ((pause)) like this
R: Mhm
OS1: Sometimes uh he give uh information from another country uh especially the France ((pause))
R: France
OS1: Yea France uh uh (h ) she is one of the famous doctor uh for heart surgery uh-I I don't know exactly um he uh she cure sh h she cure- the president he-he uh she like uh she like her job and satisfied her job uh he has um ambitious his life-no no his life hers life m:
R: Mhm
OS1: Sometimes uh somedays uh he uh she will give a noble uh he uh she will be given uh noble prize
R: Good-very good
Housekeeper/Picture

OS2: Yea I don't like this picture ((laughs))
R: You don't like this picture?
OS2: Oh!-I'm sorry I like this picture because I like m: to make uh food=
R: =Ahh
OS2: =because when I came here I have I lived in a self cooking house=
R: =M hm
OS2: =lived in a self cooking house so six months or seven months uh uh I had a self cooking m: this picture is I imagine that mother or father and children but children is m: never mind ((laughs)) never mind? ( ) never mind and m: husband is make cooking and m: the wife is uh shopping after shopping the coming came the kitchen=
R: =M hm
OS2: =the uh especial the husband is ( ) help his wife=
R: =M hm
OS2: And and the children is very m: peaceful peaceful or he he like playing anything ((laughs))=
R: =M hm
OS2: And yea
R: Okay good
OS2: He's very peaceful ( ) family ((laughs))
R: Anything else you want to say I don't want to rush you
OS2: No

Doctor/Picture

OS2: Yea m: yea m: I came here ((laughs)) same situation I have I had same situation small time small period cause uh so I can imagine this some situation um um the fir uh I made twenty years old I I was twenty years old m: I entered medical school=
R: =M hm
OS2: =but I don't like ((laughs))
R: ((laughs)) You don't like?
OS2: I didn't like ((laughs))=
R: ((laughs))
OS2: so nowadays the women or the doctors they're help many people because they're learn about the rescue or remedy ah something like that and help the other people another people=
R: =M hm
OS2: so ah he may she like she ((laughs)) she uh very m: accomplishid? acco? accomplish?=
R: =Accomplished
OS2: Yea accomplished his uh hers uh work after that m: the patient uh rescued the patient=
R: =M hm
OS2: some patient (his/he smile) yea ((pause))
R: Okay good

Housekeeper/Story

OS2: Yea m: ((long laughter)) yea um I like uh I explain (about) this (paper)?
R: Yea explain to me what you read
OS2: M:-m:-m: he doesn't have a job and because uh so so yea hers wife uh working for hers company-so maybe m: he's hou housekeeper maybe I think is m: housekeeper is usually the woman ((laughs)) and wife but now (that) some teacher said that that man-maybe small percentage or ( ) percentage uh uh husband uh is housekeeping taking care of their children or keeping a house or clean or cleaning house and m: his life he live only his house or and his his (boundary) is very small but uh so um hers uh his his wife working at a m:
R: He works for her she's married to someone else
OS2: Someone else
R: He's a housekeeper he gets paid to come
OS2: Oh: oh! I didn't ( ) oh ((laughs)) oh m:
R: =M hm
OS2: Maybe this housekeeper is maybe his her is paying for?=
R: =M hm
OS2: =to him=
R: =M hm
OS2: Ah ha ah-my I think is their couple ((laughs))=
R: =Oh
OS2: Ah maybe I see I see ah maybe I m: his or the other thing is his or her she is a single mother?
R: She is married to someone else
OS2: Someone else? (pause)
R: Do you want to look at this again? Do you want to look at it again
OS2: Yea confusing
R: Okay
OS2: (while reading) two hundred dollars ah a week ah
R: Okay let's try it again
OS2: Ah I I I don't know exactly the housekeeper maybe somewhat somewhat the housekeeper means I think m: I thought that maybe m: wife ah or the husband=
R: =M hm
OS2: =but this word is very m d: different types h: h: housekeeper
R: Some housekeepers go to other peoples houses=
OS2: =Ah
R: =and work for them=
OS2: =Ah I th thought that he's ((laughs)) he's especially he's John and he's (Mrs.) Johnson John and Johnson is very=
R: Oh I see
OS2: Ah yea
R: Okay
OS2: Yea m: he's name is John m: he's he's a housekeeping housekeeper and m: I don't know exactly but Mrs. Johnson and Mr. Johnson m: they have they have a job so they have a m: much time taking care of their children or their keeping the house cleaning the house so they want uh m: helping help then someone so m:
R: M hm
OS2: So-uh he (and) I don't know but uh he uh he started he started to uh helping them m: so m: he likes to cooking or cleaning the house taking care of children=
R: =M hm
OS2: =something like that because Mrs. Johnson uh-some m: food shopping after that came the kitchen he bought uh food=
[R: ]
R: =M hm
OS2: =she brought food ((laughs)) some food-and Mrs. miss uh the Johnson the Johnsons uh pay-to him pay to him uh twenty dollars maybe he want money twenty dollars a month a week=
R: =M hm
OS2: ((pause))
R: Okay good anything else?
OS2: ((shakes head no))

Doctor/Story

OS2: Hers name is doctor Mary Johnson=
R =M hm
OS2: and she graduate graduated from Harvard medical school=
R =M hm
OS2: And then uh: he's very s: succ she she is very successful succeed in his wor in hers work uh especially his uh hers major in uh m: surgeon ha ha heart=
R =M hm heart surgeon
OS2: Yea yea heart surgeon and m: s: succeeding his uh the hi hers major so m: uh he uh she m: have a (lecture) many times and this and this picture is m: so m: after the lecture and many countries physicians or in the United United States physicians or surgeons m: surgeons respect her and then especially the m: United Sta the president of the United States also respect her=
R =M hm
OS2: =and then yea uh uh before I read-this paper uh I can't I could explain to you the he she accomplished hers work so m: she may she like hers work and then he's m: by by hers heart by ha he worked she has been working by her heart=
R =M hm
OS2: =and so m: maybe someday ((laughs)) she win the Nobel Prize
R: Uh huh
OS2: M hm ((pause))
R: Good good very good
Housekeeper/Picture

OS3: Hm: they look like a happy family=
R: =M hm
OS3: Yea this th this pic-like family are is a typical American style
R: M: yea I guess it could be some families it's typical others it isn't ((laughs))
OS3: Yea he's very kind if he's cooking for cook for his his wife=
R: =Uh hm
OS3: Yea this baby is very cutie
R: ((laughs))
[ OS3: ((laughs)) ((pause)) it it is helping it's a it's parents=
R: =M hm
OS3: =to cook she went shopping just uh minutes ago=
R: =M hm
OS3: ((pause)) I didn't think this (way)
R: You don't-what? I didn't hear it
OS3: I didn't think ( ) test th the-this way ((laughs))
R: Oh you don't like it ((laughs))
OS3: I didn't think-
R: Is it okay? are you okay?
OS3: Yea okay

Doctor/Picture

OS3: She's a doctor she's a smiling=
R: =M hm
OS3: =she looks like very kind=
R: =M hm
OS3: What do what do you call this?
R: Um Um complicated-stethoscope ((laughs))
OS3: Stethoscope stethoscope ((mispronounces))
R: ((coughs)) um excuse me-stethoscope
OS3: Stethoscope oh stethoscope ((laughs))
R: ((coughs))
OS3: Um hm listen to your heart
Housekeeper/Story

OS3: He he has been working for as a been working working as a housekeeper for five year and she likes to cook and then this is this house is a (Jacksons) family house=
R: =Uh hm
OS3: (Jackson family house) this is Mrs. (Jackson) and this is Mary but she likes uh he likes his job because he likes to cook and then and then she she clean this she clean the house with vacuum=
R: =M hm
OS3: =also he take care of this little Mary=
R: =M hm ((pause)) anything else?
OS3: ((long pause)) it is very difficult to keep house clean because Mary because Mary can make mess=
R: =M hm m hm yes good alright anything else
OS3: It's a ( ) story

Doctor/Story

OS3: She's a heart surgeon=
R: =M hm
OS3: =she had she had work she had working she has been working=
R: =M hm
OS3: =in hospital for ten years (up) until she graduated from Harvard=
R: =M hm
OS3: And she's very intelligent so she she's very respected by many physicians and and also physicians in her in her hospital=
R: =M hm
OS3: And also by physicians in the world=
R: =M hm
OS3: ((coughs)) Uh and many physicians physicians called to her to to get a new idear=
R: =M hm
OS3: So-and ((long pause)) and she she she ((pause)) recognize um she is recognized by President (in) the United States=
R: =M hm yea-good
OS3: It said uh someday ((laughs)) she will have Nobel Prize
R: Okay ((laughs))
Housekeeper/Picture

OS4: ((laughs)) Oh he likes (her/his) wife=
R: =((laughs))
OS4: In Korea usually man doesn't make uh food=
R: =M hm
OS4: Oh naughty boy=
R: =((laughs))
OS4: Naughty girl? naughty boy?=
R: =I think it's a girl ((laughs))
OS4: Girl? and nice dog=
R: =Uh huh
OS4: Oh they looks he looks very happy ((pause)) oh she's hungry she bought a lot of food ((whispered)) what is this little girl doing
R: ((laughs))
OS4: Here is a kitchen ((shrugs and hands picture to researcher))

Doctor/Picture

OS4: Oh she is a doctor I don't know why she's a smiling
R: =M hm
OS4: She looks at least over forty=
R: =M hm
OS4: =years old and ((pause)) she has an earring ((laughs))
R: =M hm
OS4: She has nice teeth ((laughs))
R: Yea
OS4: Oh! ((laughs/shrugs and hands picture back to researcher))

Housekeeper/Story

OS4: He's a housekeeper=
R: =M hm
OS4: He (served) in Johnson's house=
R: =M hm
OS4: So he can (give) two hundred a week
R: Uh huh
OS4: He clean-he clean bathroom one-time a week
R: Uh huh
OS4: He-clean furniture-every other days-she's uh she's her
daughter and uh her name is Mary=
R: =Uh huh
OS4: It's it's uh difficult to clean same time and clean house and
take care of Mary (for) she like to serve in in Johnson house
R: M hm
OS4: She also he also (has) a house (his own) house
((shrugs/laughs and whispered)) that is all

Doctor/Story

OS4: She graduated Harvard ten years ago and she work in the
hospital in Minnesota=
R: =Ah ha
OS4: Rochester Minnesota and-she also-lecture just she also give
lecture in university=
R: =M hm
OS4: And and uh sometimes in in other country=
R: =M hm
OS4: She just came back from France sh sh she gave lectures to
twenty two hundred and fifty doctors all they respect her
((pause/laughs))=
R: =M hm
OS4: And um the people who work in the same hospital also
respect her (I'd like to say) she'll probably can get a Nobel
Prize ((shrugs and hands the picture to the researcher))
OS5: Yea oh! =
R: =((laughs))
OS5: This picture is maybe modern american life=
R: =M hm
OS5: Oh! there is a dog and baby ah! =
R: =((laughs))
OS5: And all the family-cook the baby play uh flour or yea=
R: =M hm
OS5: Maybe the baby want to cook=
R: =M hm
OS5: And the husband help the husband helped to cook oh! he's a very good husband=((laughs))
R: =M hm ((laughs))
OS5: And yea m hm ((pause))
R: Okay
OS5: Yea-strange in the kitchen she take a long I mean high heel shoes and her her dress is a very formal dress=
R: =Uh huh
OS5: Maybe she changed um informal clothes=
R: =M hm
OS5: And (she/he) took take apron=
R: =M hm
OS5: Yea=
R: =Okay
OS5: And very uh-modern kitchen very-a convenient and modern kitchen yea! maybe city life?= 
R: Uh huh
OS5: This picture is city life
R: Okay good

Doctor/Picture

OS5: Oh she's a doctor yea maybe she's uh um very famous doctor now she uh she sees the patient=
R: =M hm
OS5: Yea
R: Okay
OS5: Yea and she take a gown white gown yes ((starts to set
picture down))=
R: Okay alright good
OS5: Um very intelligent woman
R: Okay
OS5: Very wise woman maybe ((gives picture to researcher))
R: Okay good
OS5: Her job is that=
R: =Alright
OS5: Maybe her position is very high high position=
R: =Okay good
OS5: Yes

Housekeeper/Story

OS5: His job is uh housekeeper=
R: Uh huh
OS5: He is not hus husband ((laughs)) He's housekeeper=
R: =Uh huh
OS5: He choose this job=
R: =Uh huh
OS5: =because he likes cooking ((laughs)) and uh serving and take care of this child every morning he wakes up early in the morning six: thirty=
R: =Uh huh
OS5: And prepares the eggs bread and for this family's breakfast=
R: Uh huh
OS5: And wake up the baby and and take care of the baby feed the baby=
R: =Uh huh
OS5: =and or-wearing the dress the baby dress ( )=
R: =M hm
OS5: All things and m: he he cleans the bathroom=
R: =Uh huh
OS5: Uh ev one time a week
R: Uh huh
OS5: Uh huh and vauum a week one time a week=
R: =Uh huh
OS5: He he can vacuum and every other day every other day every other day ((laughs))=
R: =Uh huh
OS5: Dusts the furniture=
R:  =Uh huh
OS5:  =((laughs))=
R:  =Uh huh
OS5:  And he receives the money that uh mis-mister and Mrs. Johnsons family Mr. Johnsons paid to him uh two two hundred dollars a week=
OS5:  Yea and ah! he he has he has worked in this family uh during four uh during four years=
R:  M hm m hm
OS5:  Yes and now m: ah sometimes ah (he's) very difficult because he had to cook and clean and vacuum but take and also take care of the child=
R:  M hm
OS5:  But sometimes the child uh make a mess =
R:  =M hm m hm
OS5:  Yes it's very difficult but he likes this job now m: he's cooking and the child is playing with the flour or toys=
R:  =M hm
OS5:  And Mrs. Mrs. Johnson go uh go shopping and take uh some (grocery) and basket=
R:  =M hm
OS5:  M hm he's working now he's satisfied ((laughs)) his job=
R:  Uh huh uh huh
OS5:  Maybe! this not not maybe

Doctor/Story

OS5:  Uh she's a doctor her specialat is hear surgery and m: (he) she has worked ah since:-twenty years ago?
R:  =U hm
OS5:  Maybe grad since graduated Harvard medical medical Harvard
Harvard medical center ((laughs))=
R:  =M hm
OS5:  Yea and she has worked twenty years old and how she worked in the Rochester clinic=
R:  =M hm
OS5:  =hospital and ten years ago maybe during ten years she worked in ah Minnesota=
R:  =M hm
OS5:  Minnesota m: and she's a very famous doctor um uh many uh in um in her hospital many doctors listen to her give lecture and
also she teach um other university medical medical univer
medical college=
R: =M hm
OS5: Sh: she teach and m: now she return ah from the France=
R: =M hm
OS5: There is a lecture m: there are two hundred and fifty doctors
R: M hm
OS5: Listen listen her lecture m: she was respected by other
doctors=
R: =M hm
OS5: Where she worked she worked the hospital=
R: =M hm
OS5: And also she was respected another foreign nations=
R: =M hm
OS5: Yea and she was she enjoys this job because uh a heart
surgeon is a very m: difficult=
R: =M hm
OS5: And maybe challenging for her=
R: =M hm M hm
OS5: Yea she like her like it and she enjoy it and when she
developed uh difficult heart surgeon um she was founded by
United the president of the U.S.A.=
R: =M hm
OS5: So she is very famous and someday she will win a Prize
Nobel=
R: =M hm
OS5: That's all
Housekeeper/Picture

OS6: Very busy family uh-this is uh I think uh actually the western house it's a little it's very different situation between the Korean and the American or the European

R: M hm

OS6: Usually American people d-men doesn't bother they cook in in the kitchen so uh the atmosphere um maybe this is on weekend and the husband cooking day and the wife went shopping and buy some materials to cook=

R: =M hm

OS6: =that the husband want something and uh also the child can help (dad) something ((laughter))

R: ((laughter))

OS6: I don't think to help or not

R: Uh huh

OS6: Very good very good situation to them I like this lifestyle ((laughter))

R: ((laughter))

OS6: (I envy that) I don't want to cook every day every night all the day all week all of my life ((laughter throughout))

R: Anything else?
OS6: Uh uh

Doctor/Picture

OS6: Maybe she's doctor and this is also ( ) she writes some essay about uh medicine or patient=

R: =M hm

OS6: But this picture looks like good health maybe they describe that=

R: =Uh uh

OS6: M: she look very health m: very peaceful and her smile look make the people m: health health too ((laughs))

R: Okay

OS6: Finished
Housekeeper/Story

OS6: His name is John he's housekeeper=
R: =Uh huh
OS6: =as of five years but he serve he's (serves) for Johnson's family for two years m: ((pause)) he wakes up 6:30 every morning and he makes breakfast eggs uh bacon and toast for Mrs. Johnson and uh she wakes up seven a.m. every morning he prepare dresses and her breakfast too and then he feeds Mary-her little girl ((laughs)) and uh uh he like houseworking and he enjoy m: take care of Johnson family so also he hopes he like to serve m: for long time to come and ((pause)) Mary- but he thinks it not easy to clean the house every day to clean he vacuum uh once a week and clean furniture every other day also he take care of Mary everytime=
R: =Uh huh
OS6: Ah he enjoy his life finished
R: Good excellent

Doctor/Story

OS6: Doctor Mary Johnson is a surgeon heart and um she's uh working from graduate Harvard University twenty years ago uh uh=
R: =M hm
OS6: She's working m: Mayo Clinic Rochester Minnesota for ten years=
R: =M hm
OS6: And she has a lot of lecture in the University she-she (i) she like her job because uh her sh job heart surgeon heart surgeon she think her's her job is very challenge challenging and also she's very intelligent and ambitious m: also she (went to France) lecture about her job um there there are two hundred fifty physicians physicians learn many thing about her job and new idears m: she's got back from France and also sometimes she work late um she never hesitate that m: also United States president president knew um recognized=
R: =M hm
OS6: =her her um what she did and um someday she she gonna get uh Nobel Prize
R: Uh huh