CONTRASTING APPROACHES TO CLASSROOM RESEARCH: QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF LANGUAGE USE AND LEARNING [1]

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Introduction

Traditional concerns with foreign and second language education have been with instructional methodology, curriculum based on needs assessment, and occasionally well-grounded linguistic studies of acquisition. However, in recent years, applied linguists working in the area of education have dramatically expanded the scope of their research to address critical areas of practices and problems in language acquisition and use in classrooms. The purpose of this paper is to examine some of the recent research on language form and language choice and use, with respect to the theoretical basis and investigative methodology adopted to study these topics. The stage for understanding these is best set by first looking at developments over the past 20 years.

Old Model of Classroom Research

Even a decade ago, the conceptual model seen in Figure 1 (from Dunkin & Biddle, 1974, p. 38) was still a generally adequate way of depicting research on classrooms. Groups of variables concerning classroom processes and outcome products were related to one another, along with variables involving the school context, and *presage* variables concerned with teachers' background and characteristics. This model still serves reasonably well to classify different types of research, although even from research on the effectiveness of *methods* in the late 1960's, it was clear that the notion of a teaching *method*, or a school *program*, constituted a special set of variables comprised mainly of very specific *context* variables.

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[1] This paper is slightly shorter version of a plenary speech given at the Asociación Española para la Lingüística Aplicada, Universidad de la Rijoa, Logroño, 1998. Parts of this talk were also presented in a plenary address at the American Association for Applied Linguistics in Orlando, Florida, 1997.

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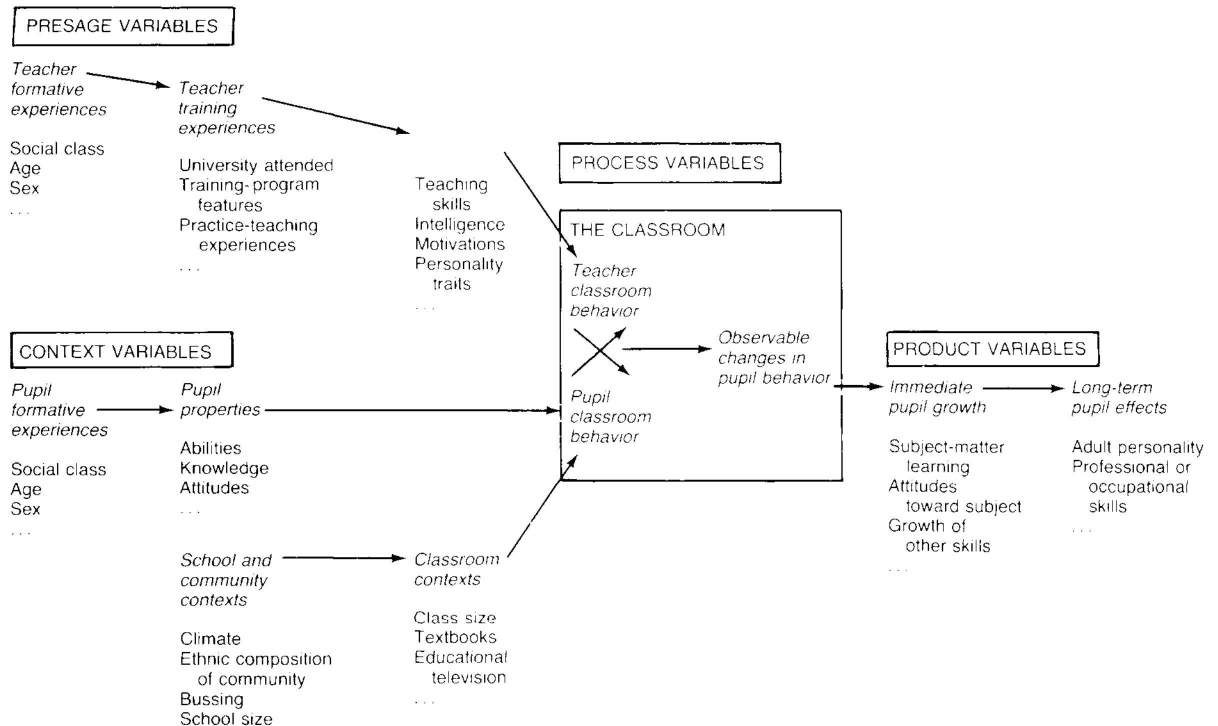

Figure 1. A Model for the Study of Classroom Teaching (From: Dunkin & Biddle, 1974, p. 38)

Trends in research on the second language classroom had evolved by the mid-1970's from a focus on such Program-Product relations to a focus on Process-Product or Process-Process research, in other words, the dynamics of classroom interaction processes and some of their learning outcomes, as seen within the principal box here (which, however, has become anything *but* the *Black Box* it may once have been considered to be). This focus engendered a substantial amount of research over the next 15 years, much of which has been summarized in books and other publications from the end of the 1980's (see Adamson, 1993; Allwright & Bailey, 1991; Brumfit & Mitchell, 1990; Chaudron, 1988; Courchêne, et al., 1992; Cumming, 1994; Edwards & Westgate, 1987; Freed, 1991; Green & Harker, 1988; Harley, et al., 1990; James & Garrett, 1991; Johnson, 1995; Long, 1991b; McGroarty & Faltis, 1991; Nunan, 1989, 1991, 1992c, 1996; Philipson, et al., 1991).

Coinciding with these developments, due to a number of forces at play in society, with respect to language use and needs in multicultural contexts, and in education, with respect to the relationship between research on L2 classroom learning and the, perhaps, lack of success in its application and dissemination in schools, researchers

and practitioners in language classrooms began to adopt broader political and social-psychological perspectives in their work. Many researchers are no longer merely concerned with the traditional norms, the standardized language, the mainstream, the well-off second or foreign language learners, but rather much more with the learning problems and social-political opportunities of immigrant populations, marginalized minority groups, and with the maintenance and regeneration of the first language of indigenous peoples around the globe. Given these developments, a number of innovations and discoveries in classroom-oriented research have contributed greatly to our understanding of learners' social engagement with the language of education. Thus, the items listed in the model here under *Presage* and *Context* variables prove to be woefully inadequate, despite the ellipses implying other variables, to characterize the important features of the societal milieu and individual teacher and learner perspectives that influence language acquisition.

At the same time, developments in the study of second language acquisition and cognitive psychology, as well as trends in curriculum theory, have led researchers to take a more focused look at the internal cognitive processes which learners engage in as they encounter a communicatively oriented classroom, aiming at new goals of understanding the association between instructional events and learners' development in the target language. Here, theory and empirical findings from classroom-based research have been instrumental in demonstrating the effectiveness of language teaching and the particular efficacy of certain approaches to engaging learners in communicative processes aimed at learning second languages. By the end of the 1980's, research had shown that classroom processes were heavily influenced by the structure of classroom organization, in which different patterns of teacher-student interaction, group work, degrees of learners' control over their learning, and variations in tasks and their sequencing, played a significant role in the quantity and quality of learners' production and interaction with the target language. As a consequence, greater interest has arisen in the topic of learners' implicit cognitive processes, and their awareness and metacognitive operations with the target language.

Recent Changes in Research Focus on the Classroom—Collaborative Research, Teacher Research, Action Research

In order to contextualize the methodological approaches that have accompanied these developments, brief mention will be made of some lines of research that have emerged relatively recently, which are frequently considered to fall within the broader tradition mainly spoken of as *qualitative* research, but which are currently known as *collaborative research*, *teacher research*, and *action research.* (See representative L1

work in Brady & Jacobs, 1994; Branscombe, et al., 1992; Brookes & Grundy, 1988; Burton & Mickan, 1993; Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993; Gitlin, 1994; Goswami & Stillman, 1987; Schecter & Ramirez, 1992; Schensul & Schensul, 1992. And compare L2 discussion and reports in Allwright, 1993; August, 1987; Bailey, et al., 1992; Bailey & Nunan, 1996; Crookes, 1993; Edge & Richards, 1993; Freeman, 1992; Jacob, et al., 1996; Kreeft Peyton & Staton, 1993; Montero-Sieburth & Gray, 1992; Murray, 1992; Nunan, 1988, 1990, 1992a, 1992b, 1993; Richards & Nunan, 1992; Staton, 1993; Sturman, 1992; Ulichny & Schoener, 1996; Woods, 1993, 1996.) Generally speaking, these approaches do not imply any particular theory or consistent methodology of research, although actual practices may be oriented toward certain social or philosophical traditions, such as critical theory, or phenomenology.

Collaborative research typically refers to the cooperative arrangement between a practicing teacher and a *researcher*, namely, someone whose professional status (through institutional connections or by way of renown through publications) establishes him or her as an expert in the domain of language instruction or the methodology of classroom research. The theory and practice behind it are nicely illustrated in first language classroom research, such as that reported in Schecter and Ramirez (1992), Schensul and Schensul (1992), or Brady and Jacobs (1994), and in second languages by, for instance, Ulichny and Schoener (1996). The goals of such research can be as many as are adopted in other approaches to be described, although the typical immediate goal is for the teacher to gain new perspectives on his or her actions through the dialogic process of observation and reflection carried out between the teacher and researcher in their collaboration.

One can also find collaborative research growing out of teachers' *own* research on their students, in what can become a teacher-student collaboration. This approach is one evolution of what is known as *teacher research*, which can be seen illustrated in several articles in Edge and Richards (1993), Nunan (1992b), and others cited above.

Finally, the notion of *action research* deserves clarification. As Crookes (1993) has pointed out, action research has come to mean a variety of activities, including the various forms of collaborative and teacher research just mentioned. But Crookes makes clear, and such pioneers in educational action research as Kemmis and McTaggart (1988) have outlined in some detail, that research oriented toward *social change*, toward the empowerment of learners and teachers, and their surrounding communities, is the broader import of the teacher- and collaborative research endeavor. We have yet to see much of such research in second language education, though it is clearly taking place in research and practices with minority immigrant groups and indigenous language maintenance and revitalization programs. A recent

good example of such work is a 1997 publication of our University of Hawai‘i's Center for Second Language Research (Davis & Jasso-Aguilar, 1997).

But the key point to make about these recent trends is that they rarely illustrate any generalized theoretical position regarding language learning *per se*, although they may draw on some independent social, or most often, political theory of action and change; rather, they deal with local resolution of moment-by-moment problems and concerns of actors in a given context. It is difficult to find any such studies that adequately apply the principles of qualitative research that I will outline later on.

Presage and Context Variables as Influence on Class

A further domain of research that has had bearing on our improved understanding of Presage and Context variables has become the background social and political frameworks for educational research on minority and indigenous groups. Most of these studies provide a perspective on how socio-cultural and political differences between majority groups in power and minority groups contending with the institutions under the majority's control can lead to linguistic and educational disadvantages, or how linguistic inequality and discrimination might be overcome at least in school practices. Some of these issues play a role in the research on language choice in classrooms, although space does not allow a full explication of them here (see Chaudron, 1998). Especially the efforts of bilingual education specialists who have implemented curricular and instructional changes have been fruitful in this regard. (See Amastae & Elías Olivares, 1982; California State Department of Education, 1986; Durán, 1981; Eastman, 1992; Eastman & Stein, 1993; Escobedo, 1988; García & Padilla, 1985; Gee, 1990; Heller, 1992, 1995a, 1995b; Homel, et al., 1987; Kalantzis, et al., 1990; LeCompte & McLaughlin, 1994; Macedo, 1994; McGroarty, 1986; Minami & Ovando, 1995; Montero-Sieburth, 1993; Morales, 1991; Myers-Scotton, 1993a, 1993b; Ogbu & Matute-Bianchi, 1986; Peirce, 1989, 1995; Rivera & Nieto, 1993; Skuttnab-Kangas & Cummins, 1988; Wiley & Lukes, 1996).

Commonalities of Research Approaches

Regardless of the differences in research approaches to be contrasted here, we must all recognize that the primary goals of educational applied linguistic research have been for all, in the pragmatic, ethical sense, to achieve the social well-being of learners. Intrinsically, in addition, researchers strive for knowledge and understanding of phenomena in the world. In all cases, furthermore, implications of research are recognized that go well beyond the immediate context of the classroom, with respect to independent learning, school program change, occupational development, family

and community growth, and general social progress.

Moreover, the means of achieving such knowledge and outcomes lie in part in the proper conduct of research, which entails a *systematic* process of inquiry that leads toward rational analysis of empirical observations, and the achievement of understandings which lead to both theoretical development and clarification of decisions for action. The two main approaches are termed here, for simplicity's sake, *quantitative* and *qualitative* research, although it is acknowledged that there is a multiplicity of terminology used to distinguish the wide range of approaches to research, with the often quite distinct philosophical traditions underlying them. The brief description I have provided in Figure 2 of the paradigmatic qualitative and quantitative approaches in theory development and methodology is a sketch of how differing research trends may eventually arrive at similar goals. (See, for example, general research methodological treatments such as Seliger & Shohamy, 1989; Watson-Gegeo, 1988.)

	QUALITATIVE METHODS (ETHNOGRAPHY)	QUANTITATIVE METHODS
OBSERVATION & COLLECTION OF DATA	In data collection, ethnographic research (as the most typical and concrete example of qualitative research) doesn't usually use "instruments," rather "processes" that are supposedly free of bias and prior assumptions: free, prolonged observation, at times "participant observation," open-ended interviews, "triangulation" of information and interpretation, "informant checking," access to existing documents.	The observations in quantitative research (whether tests, attitude scales of the subjects observed, behaviors categorized and counted according to instruments, etc.) usually are based on an observation scheme or descriptive categories that have been developed prior to the research. Moreover, these observations are made in a planned way, according to an order determined by the design of the research, and with categories that cannot be changed once the research is underway.
NATURE OF DATA	Ethnographic research considers those data most relevant which arise from the natural events in the research context. The topics of greatest interest for qualitative researchers are human behaviors and socio-cultural patterns and norms which underlie the behaviors. Data are viewed in a "holistic" fashion, without attempting to separate them into their components, and preferably following the interpretations of the people who are the object of the research ("emic" interpretations).	Data tend to be limited by the type of observation that is planned, and according to the method of observation; depending on the design and the effects of a "treatment," the data usually indicate stability or variability and development in events, attitudes, abilities, skills, knowledge, performance or production, etc., with respect to a language and its use. These are interpreted according to the theoretical model or hypotheses of the researcher, and not necessarily according to the views of the subjects involved ("etic" interpretation).
USE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THEORY	The qualitative researcher does not want to verify or prove theories; what she/he attempts is to observe without bias nor narrow perspectives. However, the researcher always takes account of the relevant theories regarding the context or topic under study, and normally will remain aware of her/his own assumptions during observation and interpretation. Proper methodology will include the appropriate degree of "objectivity." In the end, the researcher will develop a "grounded" theory which helps to relate the observations to one another and to larger contexts, or she/he will attempt to revise and perfect the conceptual framework which was adopted at an earlier stage. In the most radical form of qualitative research (from the tradition of phenomenology), causal explanations are not sought, but only a better "understanding" of the phenomena.	The researcher constructs a design to prove some aspect of a theoretical framework (forming hypotheses about the goals of the research), and the results tend to either confirm or disconfirm the hypotheses. Although it is recognized that the researcher's subjectivity can influence interpretations, in order not to generalize beyond the research context, the design, which includes the means of sampling the subjects, should control the limits of conclusions to be drawn. Thus, a theoretical framework is slowly developed.

Figure 2. Research Methods—Qualitative and Quantitative

To exemplify the contrasting applications of quantitative and qualitative research, we will compare two highly notable areas of classroom investigation addressing both some of the strengths and some of the weaknesses of these two approaches, in order to suggest ways in which both may perhaps be developed to obtain results with a greater degree of reliability, validity, and application to decision-making in applied linguistics and language teaching.

For both approaches, the studies (coincidentally 27 in each set) are reviewed in Tables 1A through 1C, and then in Tables 2A through 2D following a sort of *domain* analysis of *data collection procedures* and *sources*, *analyses adopted*, and a categorization of the *focus of each study*. In both sets of tables, the studies are arranged in ascending chronological order, in order to illustrate how certain aspects of data collection and focus have or have not changed over the past 10 or 15 years.

Effects of Instruction and Focus on Form

The studies in Tables 1A through 1C include a selection from the past ten years of studies comparing instruction in which either an explicit or an implicit *focus on form* was incorporated, against one or more treatments in which traditional instruction with no specific formal focus was involved. Some of these were obtained in natural classroom contexts, with perhaps some prepared lessons implemented by the researcher, while some were explicitly prepared as experiments.

For those who may not be familiar with this line of investigation and the psychological and curricular theories underlying it, a digression on what is involved in *focus on form* may be helpful. The issues and empirical basis for *focus on form* are outlined best in Doughty and Williams (1998), with their own article within it and the article by Long and Robinson (1998) being the best theoretical presentations of the topic. The general source of form-focused instructional theory in Second Language Acquisition are psycholinguistic theories grounded in the notion that learners' internal representations of the target language are influenced by and develop in specific ways from their perception of the input. These perceptions are believed in the simplest case to be directly affected by the salience of the input, but in more complex cases, learners are viewed as being involved in an active process of obtaining meaning from the input and only implicitly or indirectly noticing forms when the forms in input or output fail in some way to confirm the learners' expectations, or when meaning is not comprehended by the learner or interlocutor. This theoretical position is closely linked to *analytic* curricula, or curricular/ instructional practices in content-based and task-based language teaching, which are largely meaning-based, rather than form-based instruction, and which draw the

learning objectives not from a synthetic structuring and presentation of language form*S*, but from real-life needs and other functional performance objectives. The argument for form-focused instruction mandates that some degree of focus on form is required, but that it should derive naturally from communicative operations with the target language. The teacher or teaching materials are responsible in this case for a highly sensitive and selective treatment of language form*S* only insofar as they appear to be absolutely necessary for achieving other communication and as the learners show a *readiness* to deal with them. (See more discussion on interaction, feedback, and learning in Bardovi-Harlig, 1995; Beretta, 1989; Bygate, 1988; Carr & Curran, 1994; Chaudron, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1991a; Courchêne, et al., 1992; Crookes & Chaudron, 1991; DeKeyser & Sokalski, 1996; Doughty, 1993; Doughty & Pica, 1986; Eckman, et al., 1988; N. Ellis, 1994; R. Ellis, 1992, 1994a, 1994b; Foster & Skehan, 1996; Gregg, et al., 1997; Harley, 1993, 1994; Hauptman, et al., 1988; Herron & Tomasello, 1988; Hulstijn & DeGraaff, 1994; Hulstijn & Schmidt, 1994; Johnson, 1991; Kinginger & Savignon, 1991; Kumar, 1992; Lambert, 1991; Lapkin & Swain, 1996; Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991; Lightbown & Spada, 1994; Long, 1991, 1997, in press; Long & Crookes, 1991, 1993; Loschky, 1994; Loschky & Bley-Vroman, 1993; Musumeci, 1996; Newton & Kennedy, 1996; Ortega Alvarez-Ossorio, 1995; Pica, et al., 1993; Robinson & Ha, 1993; Schachter, 1991; Sharwood-Smith, 1991, 1993; Skehan, 1996; Schmidt, 1995; Slimani, 1989; Snow, 1993; Thornbury, 1997; Tomasello & Herron, 1988, 1989; Tomlin & Vila, 1994; VanPatten, 1996; Yule, 1997; Yule & Powers, 1994.)

The first domain, *Data Collection*, in Tables 1A to 1C relates to what sort of sources have been used in this research to verify the focus on form. Looking across Tables 1A and 1B especially, we see the tendency of this research to either audio-record the interaction in order to document form-focus later, or to assume, by virtue of the nature of the *imposed* or natural lesson content or materials, that a form focus was present. As seen in the column *Analysis* in Table 1B, not even half of these studies follow up with a discourse analysis of the lessons to ensure that such a focus occurred, although obviously, the nature of imposed or experimental lessons can often guarantee the intended focus.

Table 1A
Classroom Studies of the Effects of Instruction *[See abbreviations at bottom]

	Data collection																		
	RECORDING							SITE INTERVIEW (FOLLOW-UP)					DOCUMENTS (FROM SCHOOL or COMMUNITY)						
	Audio		Video		On-line writing			Interviewee					Source/Subject						
	Individ.	Group	Group	Central	Observ. sched.	Check-list	Free notes	Student	Teacher	School staff	Parent	Com-munity	Lesson plan/mater.	Student products	retro.	Teacher notes	retro.	School	Community
	[Codes: X = this features in the study; (X) = not mentioned, but implied/to be assumed; ? = not clear whether this features, but possible]																		
Harley 1989						?	?		X				X						
Lightbown & Spada 1990		X			X														
Mangubhai 1991	X							X							X				
White, et al. 1991		X							X										
White 1991	[None on Table 1A]																		
Doughty 1991													X						
Day & Shapson 1991						?	?		X										
Slimani 1992		X					X	X					X		X				
Carroll, et al. 1992		X																	
DeKeyser 1993		X																	
VanPatten & Cadierno 1993a,b													(X)						
Trahey & White 1993		X											(X)						
Spada & Lightbown 1993		X																	

Carroll & Swain 1993						X		
Fotos 1993, 1994	X						X	
Yip 1994						(X)		
Master 1994						(X)		
Ellis, et al. 1994	X			(X)				
Lyster 1994			?	?		(X)	X	X
Cadierno 1995						(X)		
Palmeira 1995	X						X	
Roberts 1995		X			X		X	
Leeman, et al. 1995		X				(X)		
Alanen 1995					X		X	
Robinson 1995							X	
VanPatten & Oikkenon 1996						(X)		

* [Abbreviations used: Individ.=Individual, Observ. sched.=observation schedule, mater.=materials, retro.=retrospection]

Table 1B
Classroom Studies of the Effects of Instruction

	Data collection EVENTS OBSERVED										**Analysis**		
	Small Group or Single	Classroom		Experimental/ Laboratory			Outside Classroom				Quantitative	Qualitative	
	Small Group or Single	Naturalistic	Imposed lesson	Oral exercise	Paper/ pencil	Computer	Play- ground	Peer groups	Home	Com- munity	Tests & Question- naires	Discourse/ Conversa- tional analysis	Interpretive framework
	[Codes: X = this features in the study; (X) = not mentioned, but implied/to be assumed; ? = not clear whether this features, but possible]												
Harley 1989			X								X		
Lightbown & Spada 1990		X									X	X	
Mangubhai 1991			(X)	X							X	X	
White, et al. 1991			X								X		
White 1991			X								X		
Doughty 1991						X					X		
Day & Shapson 1991			X								X		
Slimani 1992		X									X	X	
Carroll, et al. 1992				X							X		
DeKeyser 1993			X								X	X	
VanPatten & Cadierno 1993a,b			X								X		
Trahey & White 1993			X								X		
Spada & Lightbown 1993			X								X	X	
Carroll & Swain 1993				X							X		

Fotos 1993, 1994		X				X	X
Yip 1994		X				X	
Master 1994		X				X	
Ellis, et al. 1994			X			X	X
Lyster 1994		X				X	
Cadierno 1995		X				X	
Palmeira 1995	X					X	X
Roberts 1995	X					X	X
Leeman, et al. 1995		X				X	X
Alanen 1995				X		X	
Robinson 1995					X	X	
VanPatten & Oikkenon 1996		X				X	

Table 1C
Classroom Studies of the Effects of Instruction *[See abbreviations below]

	Focus of Research															
	SUBJECT SPEECH				INTERACTION						COGNITIVE/KNOWLEDGE					
	Learner		Teacher		Learners		Teacher-Learner		T &/or S		SLA (learner)		Teacher		Academic/Achievem't	
	Inner speech	Product-linguistic	Measur. of Talk	Explaining/ Form focus	Peer	Tutor	Feed-back	Quest-ions	Lang. Choice	Other	Form	Aware-ness	Knowl-edge	Plans/ Beliefs	Learner	Curriculum
[Codes: X = this features in the study; (X) = not mentioned, but implied/to be assumed; ? = not clear whether this features, but possible]																
Harley 1989		X									X					
Lightbown & Spada 1990		X	X	X			X	X			X					
Mangubhai 1991(X)	(X)	X									X	X				
White, et al. 1991		X									X					
White 1991		X									X					
Doughty 1991				X							X					
Day & Shapson 1991		X									X					
Slimani 1992		X					(X)	(X)		topicalization X	X	X				
Carroll, et al. 1992		X					(X)				X					
DeKeyser 1993		X					X				X	X				
VanPatten & Cadierno 1993a,b		X									X					
Trahey & White 1993		X									X					
Spada & Lightbown 1993		X					X	X								
Carroll &																

Swain 1993	X			X			X		
Fotos 1993, 1994	X	(X)		(X)		negotiation X	X	X	
Yip 1994	X						X		
Master 1994	X	(X)					X		
Ellis, et al. 1994	X	(X)	(X)	(X)		negotiation X	X		
Lyster 1994	X		(X)	(X)	(X)		X		(X)
Cadierno 1995	X		(X)				X		
Palmeira 1995	X						X		
Roberts 1995	X			X			X	X	
Leeman, et al. 1995	X						X		
Alanen 1995	X						X	X	
Robinson 1995	X		(X)				X	X	
VanPatten & Oikkenon 1996	X		(X)				X		

* [Abbreviations use: Measur.=measurement, Lang.=language, w/res.=with researcher, funct. X lang.=function by language, class.=classroom, interpret.=interpretation]

Table 2A
*Classroom Studies Inovlving Language Choice and Codeswitching** [See abbreviations at bottom]

Data collection

[Codes: X = this features in the study; (X) = not mentioned, but implied/to be assumed; ? = not clear whether this features, but possible]

	RECORDING							SITE INTERVIEW (FOLLOW-UP)					DOCUMENTS (FROM SCHOOL or COMMUNITY)						
	Audio		Video		On-line writing			Interviewee					Source/Subject						
	Individ.	Group	Group	Central	Observ. sched.	Check-list	Free notes	Student	Teacher	School staff	Parent	Com-munity	Lesson plan/mater.	Student products	retro.	Teacher notes	retro.	School	Commun-ity
Zentella 1981, 1982	X	X					(X)	X	X										
Genishi 1981	X				X		X				X								
Sapiens 1982		X					X		X	X		X							
Hudelson 1983			X				X												
Chesterfield, et al. 1983		X			(X)		X												
Cleghorn & Genesee 1984					(X)		X		X	X									
Saville-Troike 1984	X		X	X		X	X	X	X		X								
Saville-Troike & Kleifgen 1986	X		X	(X)		X	X	X	X		X				X		X		
Saville-Troike 1987	X		X				X												
Kleifgen 1989	X		X	X		X	X	X	X		X				(in L-1–video) X		X		
Ramírez & Merino 1990		(X)			X													(X)	
Weber & Tardif 1991		X		X	(X)	(X)	X	X	(X)		X				X	X			
Merritt, et al. 1992		X		?			X		X	(X)			X					X	

Farris 1992			X			X	X	X		X								
de Courcy 1993		X				X	X	(X)				X	(X)					
T. Ochs 1993						?	?	?	?			?					(X)	
Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo 1994		X				X		X		(X)	(X)	(X)				?	X	
Harklau 1994		?				X	X	X	X			X		X			(X)	
Pease-Alvarez & Winsler 1994		X			(X)	X	X	X		X								
Lucas & Katz 1994				X	X	X		X	X			X			(X)	X	X	X
Thompson 1994	X			X		X												
Polio & Duff 1994		X						X								X	(X)	
Pennington 1995					(X)	X		X				(X)				X		
Adendorff 1995		X						X	X							(X)		
McKay & Wong 1996					(X)	X	X	X				X	X				(X)	(X)
Gaudart 1996		X				(X)		X								X		(X)
Martin 1996		X															(X)	

* [Abbreviations used: Individ.=Individual, Observ. sched.=observation schedule, mater.=materials, retro.=retrospection]

Table 2B
Classroom Studies Inovlving Language Choice and Codeswitching

	Data collection										**Analysis**		
	EVENTS OBSERVED										Quantitative	Qualitative	
	Small	Classroom		Experimental/ Laboratory			Outside Classroom				Tests &	Discourse/	
	Group or Single	Naturalistic	Imposed lesson	Oral exercise	Paper/ pencil	Computer	Play- ground	Peer groups	Home	Com- munity	Question- naires	Conversa- tional analysis	Interpretive framework
	[Codes: X = this features in the study; (X) = not mentioned, but implied/to be assumed; ? = not clear whether this features, but possible]												
Zentella 1981, 1982	X	X										X	
Genishi 1981		X					X		(X)			X	
Sapiens 1982		X										X	(X)
Hudelson 1983		X	X									X	X
Chesterfield, et al. 1983	X	X										X	
Cleghorn & Genesee 1984		X						(teachers) (X)					
Saville-Troike 1984	X	X					X	X			X	X	
Saville-Troike & Kleifgen 1986	X	X					X					X	X
Saville-Troike 1987	X	X					X					X	X
Kleifgen 1989		X										X	X
Weber & Tardif 1991	(X)	X					X					X	X
Ramírez & Merino 1990		X										X	
Merritt, et al. 1992		X										X	

Farris 1992	X	X	X					X	
de Courcy 1993		X						X	
T. Ochs 1993	?	?		(X)		X		?	X
Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo 1994		X				X		X	X
Harklau 1994	X	X		X	(X)	(X)		X	X
Pease-Alvarez & Winsler 1994	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Lucas & Katz 1994	X	X	(X)	X	(X)	(X)	X		
Thompson 1994	X	X						X	
Polio & Duff 1994		X						X	
Pennington 1995		X						(X)	
Adendorff 1995		X						X	X
McKay & Wong 1996	X	X	X	X	(X)	(X)	X	X	X
Gaudart 1996		X						X	X
Martin 1996		(X)						X	X

Table 2C

Classroom Studies Inovlving Language Choice and Codeswitching *[See abbreviations at bottom]

	Focus of Research															
	SUBJECT SPEECH				INTERACTION						COGNITIVE/KNOWLEDGE					
	Learner		Teacher		Learners		Teacher-Learner		T &/or S		SLA (learner)		Teacher		Academic/Achievem't	
	Inner speech	Product-linguistic	Measur. of Talk	Explaining/ Form focus	Peer	Tutor	Feed-back	Quest-ions	Lang. Choice	Other	Form	Aware-ness	Knowl-edge	Plans/ Beliefs	Learner	Curriculum
[Codes: X = this features in the study; (X) = not mentioned, but implied/to be assumed; ? = not clear whether this features, but possible]																
Zentella 1981, 1982					X				X	(w/ res.) X			(X)			
Genishi 1981					X				X							
Sapiens 1982		X	(funct. X lang.) X						X							
Hudelson 1983	(X)	X			X				X			X				
Chesterfield, et al. 1983	X	X			X				X		X					
Cleghorn & Genesee 1984									(teacher/teacher) X					X		
Saville-Troike 1984	(X)	X			X				X		X				X	
Saville-Troike & Kleifgen 1986					(X)				X	(class. norms) X		X				
Saville-Troike 1987					X				X			X				
Kleifgen 1989					X				(X)	(interpret.) X		X		X		
Weber & Tardif 1991		(X)	X		X				X		X					
Ramírez & Merino 1990				(X)			(X)	(X)	X	(function) X						
Merritt, et al. 1992				(X)					X				(X)			X
Farris 1992			(X)						X							

de Courcy 1993	X	X		X					X	X	X			
T. Ochs 1993									X		X			
Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo 1994			X	X			(X)	(X)	X				X	
Harklau 1994				X			X		X				X	X
Pease-Alvarez & Winsler 1994	X			X					X		X		X	X
Lucas & Katz 1994			(X)		X	X			X			X	X	
Thompson 1994				(X)					X					
Polio & Duff 1994			X						X			X	X	
Pennington 1995			(X)						X			(X)	X	
Adendorff 1995					(X)			(X)	X				X	
McKay & Wong 1996					X				X			(X)	X	X
Gaudart 1996					(X)		(X)	(X)	X				X	
Martin 1996					(X)		(X)	(X)	X				X	

* [Abbreviations use: Measur.=measurement, Lang.=language, w/res.=with researcher, funct. X lang.=function by language, class.=classroom, interpret.=interpretation]

Table 2D

Classroom Studies Inovlving Language Choice and Codeswitching

	Focus of Research SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL							SOCIO-CULTURAL						
	Attitudes/Identity					Social Relations		Knowledge	Empowerment / Status Change					Professional
	Learners	Teachers	Parents	Majority Community	Minority Community	Learners' Group Choices	Social Control	Norms & Roles	Learners	Teachers	Community	Curriculum	Public attitudes	Success
	[Codes: X = this features in the study; (X) = not mentioned, but implied/to be assumed; ? = not clear whether this features, but possible]													
Zentella 1981, 1982		(X)												
Genishi 1981	[none identified in these areas]													
Sapiens 1982	X	X						X						
Hudelson 1983	X					X	X	X						
Chesterfield, et al. 1983	(X)					X								
Cleghorn & Genesee 1984		X		(X)	(X)					(X)	(X)			
Saville-Troike 1984						X								
Saville-Troike & Kleifgen 1986	X		X			X	X	X						
Saville-Troike 1987							X	X						
Kleifgen 1989								X						
Weber & Tardif 1991								X						
Ramírez & Merino 1990	[none identified in these areas]													
Merritt, et al. 1992		(X)		(X)										
Farris 1992		X						X						

de Courcy 1993	[none identified in these areas]													
Ochs 1993	X		(X)			X	X	X	X	(X)				(X)
Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo 1994		X			(rural/urban) (X)			X	X	X	X		X	
Harklau 1994	X	X	(X)	X	X	X			X	X	X			(X)
Pease-Alvarez & Winsler 1994	X	X	X	(X)	(X)	X								
Lucas & Katz 1994		X		(X)	(X)	X						X		
Thompson 1994	(X)				(X)	X		X				(X)	(X)	
Polio & Duff 1994	(X)	X												
Pennington 1995		X		(X)	(X)									
Adendorff 1995		X		(X)										
McKay & Wong 1996	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X			(X)	X	
Gaudart 1996		X				(X)								
Martin 1996		(X)		X								(X)		

It must also be noted that only *four* studies involved a naturally occurring lesson with no imposition of focus (Table 1B, first column of X's), and that only a few, though increasingly many in recent years, have made use of student or teacher information or retrospection (Table 1A). However, *all* of them conduct analyses of outcomes on tests and/or questionnaires, which we will shortly see is *not* the case in the studies in Tables 2A–D.

Looking at Table 1C, regarding the specific *Focus* of research, given the limits set for inclusion in the table, it should not be surprising that all the studies are concerned with the learners' linguistic output, and some resulting measure of knowledge of form. Understandably, many focus on aspects of teacher talk and feedback, questions, or negotiation in interaction. A few have been concerned with learners' cognitive processing—awareness, or *noticing*, and *uptake* of forms in the input, whereas only one study (Lyster, 1994) leaves the impression that teacher beliefs or planning was a concern for the researcher.

The rather consistent findings from the studies cited here, overlooking for the moment various divergent claims and theoretical differences, is indeed that learners improve in target language accuracy when some formal focus is required in the learning activity, and usually especially when the activity has a meaningful, communicative intent so that the focus of the learner's attention is not entirely devoted to the form alone. There is always the limitation, however, that the learner's developing grammar must have attained an appropriate level for a specific form to be noticed or used in restructuring their internal representations. A somewhat disappointing finding from this research, however, has been that in the few studies which examined long-term learning after the focused instructional period, the superiority of instructional focus on form is not maintained, and other learners in control or other training groups tend to catch up. This is an incidental weakness either in research design or in the ability of researchers to control instructional events longitudinally, owing to logistical limits in access to classrooms and data collection and analysis procedures. There is no inherent reason, however, why we could not investigate groups of learners receiving consistent communicative, form-focused instruction for longer periods in the sort of quasi-experimental designs that educational contexts allow us.

In addition to the overall consistency with respect to empirical findings, what is distinctively impressive about this line of research from a theoretical viewpoint is that, following the model of (experimental) psychological and educational research, over the years a highly focused set of theoretical issues has been developed, with various increasingly refined procedures and designs being used to test the theoretical

predictions. Also, as in any self-respecting developing science, the descriptive apparatus for analyzing instruction and classroom interaction has been elaborated substantially in the course of such studies and related SLA research (see research by Long, 1985, 1991a, 1991b, 1996, 1997; Pica, 1992, 1994; Gass & Varonis, 1994, and many others). By discriminating a variety of features of interactive discourse, researchers can tease out the independent effects of types and dimensions of tasks or teacher-learner interaction according to theoretically or empirically motivated guidelines. For example, Doughty and Williams (1998, p. 258) and Lyster and Ranta (1994, p. 44) illustrate these descriptive developments, one with respect to the key dimensions of tasks, and the other with respect to types of feedback provided in classroom interactions.

As a result, with the power of adopting systematic, reliable descriptions of instructional plans and classroom behaviors, we have come to a much more thorough understanding of the dynamics of acquisition in a classroom environment, as specific hypotheses can be tested and re-tested, or modified in slight ways to examine the influence of distinct factors. This is in considerable contrast with the developments in the second area to be examined below, qualitative research on language use.

In spite of the potential power of such studies, there are a number of important methodological weaknesses in these studies of Focus on Form, some of which are related to the suggestion summarized in Figure 3 from Chaudron (1991a) on the observation of formal language use in classrooms. This relates first and foremost to the question of the *internal validity of observation*. Recall from the observation above on Table 1A, that the data collected for these studies have tended to be limited to certain analyses of class events or lesson plans and materials, but rarely have they attempted to look in detail at the mental processes or perceptions of the teachers and learners, by way of retrospective protocol analysis or careful discourse analysis. So several of the ways in which a focus on form could be delivered, or may not have been delivered, may have been omitted from consideration across the studies. At each level of analysis of the delivery of a focus on form indicated in Figure 3, researchers could establish more rigorous data collection procedures to verify the delivery and effects of a focus on form in instruction.

A further methodological weakness pertains to the *external validity* of this research: these findings still do not have the *generalizability* that we would like to achieve in scientific research. That is to say, the more typical population involved in such research has been well-off, middle class university students or adults in North America or Europe. Furthermore, the number of target features studied thus far is still limited to a few syntactic and morphological structures, and very little to other

aspects of language use such as phonology or lexis. And until recently, most such findings have been related to the acquisition of English or French as a second language, but fortunately there have been an increasing number of studies of other target languages, especially Spanish and now German and even Japanese and Hawaiian.

I. Evaluation criteria in observation
    [focus on form; contingencies for attaining effective/valid results]
  A. Accuracy in target structure description
  B. Match of structure with learner stage of development
  C. Frequency of behavior
  D. Reliability of observations
II. Types of behavior/evidence for observation [of focus on form]
  A. Syllabus content or materials
  B. Explicit instruction and rule formulation
  C. Teacher focus and reference
  D. Teacher correction
  E. Teacher formal explanation
  F. Teacher follow-up with learner practice/transfer
  G. Learner inquiry
  H. Learner overt application
  I. Learner covert application

From Chaudron, 1991a

Figure 3. Observation of Formal Language Use in Classroooms

Nevertheless, the power of this research lies in the theoretical development which guides it, for thus far, there is little reason to suspect that the current extent of findings favoring a focus on form in communicative language teaching will not be generalizable to other contexts, learner populations, target features, and languages.

Language Choice in the Classroom

The second area of research contrasts with these experimental studies; this is the *micro*-ethnographic research on language choice in the classroom, which stems from the socially and politically motivated research on background context variables referred to in the beginning of this paper. What is commonly referred to as *ethnographic* research is the paradigmatic type of interpretive-qualitative research,

although in practice we actually see a broad band of quite diverse approaches to the analysis and interpretation of classroom processes. The classic understanding of *ethnography*, not always well exemplified in the studies cited in Tables 2A through 2D, requires typically (a) a long-term involvement in the classroom, with (b) the collection of multiple sources of information from the participants and the surrounding context and community, and (c) a constant working-out of the norms and implicit rules that the members of the classroom community use to achieve their interactions and to interpret one another's behaviors. Such research is qualitative and interpretive in the sense that the local events are only understood from a framework developed by the researcher on a richly textured description of the participants' behaviors and personal explanations and interpretations of them. Rarely does such research lead to broad generalizations beyond the specific context under investigation, although more global conceptual frameworks can be confirmed through persistent extension of the findings from individual studies. (Illustrative discussion and examples of such research are found in Alton-Lee, et al., 1993; Benson, 1989; Canagarajah, 1993; Carrasco, et al., 1981; Crago, 1992; Duff, 1995; Erickson, 1992; Ernst, 1994; Flanigan, 1991; García, 1980; Garrett, et al., 1994; Genesee, 1994; Genesee, et al., 1996; Gibson, 1987; Gibson & Ogbu, 1991; Igoa, 1995; Lin, 1988; Markee, 1995; Martin-Jones, 1995; McClure, 1981; Mora, 1995; Muyskens, et al., 1996; Poole, 1992; Robinson-Stuart & Nocon, 1996; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986; Tarone & Swain, 1995; Trueba, 1991; Trueba & Wright, 1981; Ulichny, 1996; van Lier, 1996a; Vásquez, 1993; Vedder, et al., 1996; Wolcott, 1987; and Willett, 1995.)

The case of differential *language choice* is shown as the principal illustration of the broad nature of this qualitative research on language classrooms. This is a particularly timely topic, owing to the volatile political debate on official languages and educational policy throughout the world—notable with the *English Only* movement in the United States, and other evidences of linguistic imperialism in North and South America, Europe, Oceania, and the not-so-*post*-colonial world in Asia and Africa. (See for example, Arias & Casanova, 1993; Auer & di Luzio, 1984; August, 1987; Bickley, 1988; Collier, 1992a, 1992b; Crawford, 1991; Dabène & Moore, 1995; Damhuis, 1993; Day & Shapson, 1991; Delgado-Gaitan, 1987; Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991; di Luzio, 1984; Duff & Polio, 1990; Eldridge, 1996; Extra & Verhoeven, 1993; Fazio & Stevens, 1994; Fernández de Rota y Monter & Irimia Fernández, 1990; Finnan, 1987; Foley, 1988; Freeman, 1996; Genesee, 1987; Gersten & Woodward, 1995; Gimbel, et al., 1988; González, 1996; González & Maez, 1980; Guthrie, 1984; Hakuta & D'Andrea, 1992; Hancock, 1997; Huerta-Macías, 1983; Hurtado & Rodríguez, 1989; Jacobson, 1990; Jørgensen, et al., 1988; Kwo, 1989;

Lambert & Taylor, 1996; Landry & Allard, 1991; Latomaa, 1993; Lo, 1988; Lucas, 1993; Mar-Molinero, 1989; McKay & Wong, 1988; McKay & Weinstein-Shr, 1993; Milroy, et al., 1991; Milroy & Muyskens, 1995; Milroy & Wei, 1995; Ogbu, 1987; Padilla, et al., 1990; Padilla, 1979, 1980, 1981; Pease-Alvarez, 1991; Peñalosa, 1980; Philipson, 1992; Ramírez, A. G., 1981, 1985; Ramírez, 1992; Rampton, 1988, 1991; Swain & Lapkin, 1989; Trueba, 1989; Valdés, 1995; van Lier, 1996b; Wald, 1985; Walker, 1990; Wong Fillmore & Valadez, 1986; and Yau, 1989.)

In twenty-seven studies of differential language choice and code switching in classrooms, since the arbitrary starting date of 1981, the most striking contrast seen in Tables 2A and 2B, compared with 1A and 1B, is the extensive use of multiple sources of data. This is obviously in keeping with qualitative methodology, although one or two studies might not be viewed as very qualitative, being rather quantitative in their data collection and analysis (e.g., Polio & Duff, 1994; Ramirez & Merino, 1990). In general, there is considerable use of audio and some video recording, as well as almost consistent use of observational free notes and interviews with students or teachers, or other related individuals. In addition, documents or information is frequently used from the school and community, and consistently *natural* classrooms are the site of observation, with frequently only one or a small number of individual students involved. Further in contrast to the focus-on-form instruction studies, in the analysis of data or results, almost unique use is made of discourse or conversational analysis, and frequently interpretive frameworks stemming from theories of language use in social interaction are applied.

What makes some of the studies cited here less than completely *ethnographic* is often the more limited nature of their focus of study, that is, less than a complete understanding of the entire system of rules for behavior in the community in question, the lack of long-term engagement with the participants, the lack of use of participants' own subjective interpretations of events, and so on. We see this, for example, in the otherwise quite ambitious and informative study of Saville-Troike (1984, and see the following research by her and Kleifgen, 1986, 1987, for more interpretation), where a considerable amount of analysis is devoted to interpreting what the young L2 learners were doing in their classrooms and with their assimilation of the target language (English), but the researchers never report any efforts to obtain the children's perspectives (or those of others who may know them) on their experiences. Yet most of these studies do illustrate to one extent or another the intention to describe classroom events in great detail and with an eye to their meanings to the other participants in that context.

But of great positive value in this form of research is the much broader range of

focuses of interest displayed. In fact, Table 2D includes a range of focuses that were not found in any of the studies of focus on form (with some justification, owing to the need for experimental rigor in the latter). This table displays the considerable social-psychological and socio-cultural focuses (increasingly many in recent years) that have guided researchers in this discipline.

The highly varied findings that have resulted from these studies are reviewed in Chaudron (1998). As a main general trend, the use of language forms within classrooms can be seen to be affected strongly by the societal and political status of the different languages in use. That is, as may already have been inferred from the results of bilingual education research, the language of the dominant majority rarely suffers any stigma if used in the classroom, whereas minority group languages do. In addition, political and educational decisions from outside the classroom can determine the programmatic guidelines for the *correct* language to be used within the classroom. But it is only when research has focused on the learners' or the teachers' own choice of language and use of code-switching within the classroom (a focus of the majority of the studies here) that one begins to understand the complexity of these phenomena.

The conscious and not so conscious functions of code choice by teachers on the whole have been shown to be derived from either a pedagogical-strategic source or from a social-interactive, pragmatic source. In both cases, either the first language of the learners or the target language of the classroom can be used to achieve important pedagogic or social goals. Similarly, learners in different circumstances can use their first or second language to fulfill their own social and academic needs. Related research on learners' use of their native or second languages in outside-school encounters has shown enormously important psychological benefits that can be gained by the learner being able to switch from one to the other (cf. Rampton, 1995).

In spite of such valuable suggestions on language choice, these studies display a number of methodological flaws. Just as the experimental research on focus-on-form may have failed at times to actually document the *delivery* of the instructional focus, there are numerous instances in these *ethnographic* studies, of failures on the part of the researcher to report or document the source of their claims. The evidence for claims about teacher preferences or learner choices could be displayed, for instance, in the words spoken, quantified tallies of speech acts, or other such concrete evidence. Aside from the reader's need to see the actual data that are the source of the *interpretation* of the researcher, so that one can reliably judge whether the interpretation is justified, one can note with entirely too great frequency the abuse of *quantitative* claims about data in these studies, the use of words such as *more*, *a great*

deal, *rare*, even *significant*, with not a single indication of any form of quantitative measurement of the phenomena in question.

A further quantitative lack is that virtually never do these qualitative studies conduct anything beyond an impressionistic assessment of the learners' academic or linguistic performance or *achievement* (Saville-Troike, 1984 is a notable exception), so that little can be concluded about the *relationship* between language use and eventual success in the target language or maintenance of the mother tongue.

A particularly serious problem, owing to the single-case nature of most of these studies, even though they may be longitudinal, is that due to the limited ability of the researcher to *be everywhere all the time*, significant events that may transpire and affect the longitudinal evolution of learners' attitudes or their approach to interaction may be missed and undocumented. For instance, in Harklau's (1994) otherwise fascinating and well-documented study of several ESL students in high school, her ability to draw conclusions about the *transition* of ESL students from ESL classes to mainstream classes, one of the supposed targets of her study, is entirely limited by her lack of data about the learners' initial contacts with the school environment. She began to observe them in their 2nd and 3rd years in ESL, not their first. It might also be pointed out that there is a distinct lack of critical analysis in her study of the impressions or perspectives of either the majority population students or their teachers in the school in question, which leads to only a one-sided view of the complexity of the ESL students' experience. These are problems of internal validity, if you will, which seriously undermine the researcher's or reader's ability to provide adequate interpretations or explanations of the phenomena in question.

Furthermore, as has frequently been pointed out relative to qualitative research in general, the findings of a given study can appear to have broad coverage, yet because the number of subjects actually examined in most of these studies is typically no more than four or five, a class group at the most (compared with *hundreds* represented in the focus on form studies), the *generalizability* of the research is in question. Added to this problem is that, just as was pointed out in the case of the experimental research, each of these studies takes place in a specific school context, with little opportunity for looking across the studies to find appropriate factors or characteristics to compare them on. So the ability to extend or modify the findings to other situations is highly limited.

More significantly, from the theoretical perspective as well, one can begin to be critical of these studies, in that the researchers have too frequently begun each one in a relative vacuum, having failed to review the prior literature on code choice and code-switching (since often enough, some new descriptive or locally derived problem

is their starting point). Thus, as information about code-switching develops, the data are not collected or analyzed in any systematic way to allow them to be compared with prior findings. So, unlike the demonstrated reliability of descriptive terminology, and the cumulative theoretical evolution seen in the focus on form studies, the language choice research has somewhat the appearance of constantly *reinventing the wheel*. With the excuse of wanting to be fresh in observation, qualitative researchers too frequently seem not to want to be bothered to do a little homework and identify plausible theoretical and descriptive frameworks that may apply to their targets of investigation. It is indeed difficult to find in any of the studies cited here very much of an effort to come to some broader theoretical perspective on the issues surrounding language use and choice in the classroom. There are, however, an increasing number of such studies that have benefited from prior research and begun to adopt frameworks for investigation (e.g., Pennington, 1995) which allow them to be compared, on at least some level, with other similar research.

It is finally worth pointing out that at times, well-conducted large scale quantitative research can lead to findings regarding the effects of social factors on language learning which are very similar to those of the narrower case studies, but which have the additional positive value of being generalizable across a much larger population. Worthy of note, for instance, are Fazio and Stephens (1994), Hakuta and D'Andrade (1994), and Lambert and Taylor (1996), studies that found direct correlations between factors involving entire communities, which have only been surmised by smaller case studies of learners.

CONCLUSION

Aside from personal intrinsic interests, all parties to the study of classroom research share, in the end, similar goals of understanding and commitment to improving the conditions and pace of learning achievement, whether in a comfortable university environment or in the increasingly challenging conditions of a multilingual, multicultural society in which too few resources for educational advancement are available for those who need them most.

To develop the knowledge of how to improve educational practices, we of course need a critical understanding of society and a fundamental appreciation of each individual's personal needs and awarenesses. We also can discover a considerable amount more about how learners acquire the knowledge and skills of advanced language abilities within an instructional setting. Classroom research can enhance our understanding then of how to put into action the most effective, yet most sensitive

way of improving learners' second language ability so that they can exit from their more closed educational environment and contribute as multilingual citizens in our highly complex and demanding world.

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