English Language & Literature Teaching, Vol. *14*, No. 2 Summer 2008

Korean Students' Perception of English Word Order

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Kim, Hye-Sook & Dammers, Kim. (2008). Korean students' perception of English word-order. *English Language & Literature Teaching*, *14*(2), 67-86.

Koreans learning English have trouble with ordering word pairs in the target language. We surveyed 207 Korean university students to test their ability to order words in English in set phrases. We wanted to see if the word order of the Korean pairs influenced the order given for the English phrases, i.e., if transference and interference occur. The written instrument contained 40 word pairs, half of which have the same order in both languages. The students were asked to choose what they thought was the correct English order. Word pairs included both phrases of adjacent words (e.g., in class) and ones conjoined by *and* (e.g., East and West). TOEIC scores were provided by 149 students, which were used to test for a correlation between general English level and ability to correctly order pairs. Even students with low TOEIC scores (under 300) correctly ordered almost all items where English order corresponds to Korean, whereas they correctly ordered less than half of the reversed ones. High scorers (700 and over) actually scored slightly less well on the same-order pairs but much better on the reversed order ones. We conjecture that initial transference of the Korean model is over-corrected in a feedback series, moderated by individually learned items.

[English word-order/transference/interference/error/university students/word pairs]

I. INTRODUCTION

As every EFL teacher in Korea – or anywhere else – knows, teaching English is more than just giving facts and patterns. Students repeatedly make mistakes in all language domains despite repeated explanations or drills. This is true even of advanced learners using common features of the language (Lee, 2007). If we know *why* the errors are made, we have a better chance of being able to help our students overcome these mistakes. One area of mistake that both of us have noticed is word order. In this study, we examine whether Korean word order affects the English word order for Korean English learners. Since this is an exploratory study, we have restricted our research to the simplest possible

word-order examples, that is, word pairs.

We investigated this one area of mistakes in the hopes of finding a pattern or patterns in errors so that suggestions can be made in how to attack these problems. Word order in Korean and English differ in many ways, most noticeably in that English is an SVO (subject-verb-object) language and Korean an SOV one. But we wanted to look at simple cases first, so we asked students to choose between possible word order of two-word phrases (e.g., big enough) and parallel pairs (e.g., hot and cold). We chose an equal number of pairs where the pattern was the same in English and Korean (i.e., a word-for-word translation gave a correct answer) and where it was reversed. We chose pairs from various domains, such as geography (e.g., north and south) and social pairs (e.g., ladies and gentlemen).

II. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Learning a language is not a mechanical process. In both learning one's first language and another language, we go by fits and starts and even make errors where we previously didn't. Exactly why this is so in learning a second language (L2) has been the subject of research and much discussion. Explanations have tended to fall into either of two models or a mix of both. The first model is Comparative Analysis (CA) and sees 'transference' as the major mode of learning a second language, in which the speaker's first language (L1) is used as a model for constructing the components (phonemics, grammar, vocabulary, etc.) of the target language (L2). But since all languages are different, the model provides false data or patterns (called 'interference') that result in errors. The second model, Universal Grammar (UG) theory, posits that we learn a second language much the way we learn our first language. Drawing on research in L1 learning, this theory finds the sources of errors in other areas, most particularly and commonly in 'overgeneralization'. Languages are patterned but include exceptions, some of which can be explained by special-case rules and others which cannot. Herein lies the source of errors according to the generalization model.

Intuitively, based on experience teaching in class and from our own experience learning foreign languages, and based on research by others, it seems most likely that neither model is the perfect explanation. Because both models predict nonlinear changes in errors, we tried to control for level of English. This was done by asking for the students TOEIC scores.

Simply put, we wanted to see whether Korean word order predicted L2 English word order. In addition, we wanted to know if advanced students have a lower rate of error production than lower-level students, and – if so – is it greater or less where transference should interfere (i.e., where Korean and English do not have parallel structure).

1. Transference and Interference

Transference is the carrying over of speech habits from L1 into L2. Interference is the "errors made by carrying over the speech habits of the native language or dialect into a second language or dialect" (Hartmann & Stork 1972). Interference is the basis of the Contrastive Analysis hypothesis, which assumes that 1) "...the native language of the learner interferes in specific and predictable ways at each step in acquiring a second language" (Bolinger, 1971 cited in Younes, 1984, p. 2 and 8). "The elements that are similar to the learner's native language will be simple for him and those elements that are different will be difficult" (Lado, 1957, pp. 1-2, cited in Younes, 1984, p. 8).

Research on transference strongly suggests that it is a significant factor in learning L2. In the semantic realm, "the evidence for the presence of semantic interference across languages and distractors is now overwhelming" (Ehri & Ryan, 1980). As a consequence, interference causes errors where L1 and L2 diverge (Grosjean, 1982, pp. 289-307; Talamas et al., 1999). Still, simple transfer and interference cannot account for all of the patterned errors in L2 (Lee, 2007, pp. 111-131, p. 124). For example, Younes (1984) found firm contradictory evidence in the realm of pronunciation. Arabic speakers learning English generally produce (erroneous) stress patterns that mirror those of Arabic. But this is *not* the case for words ending in CVCC: here, stress errors are made even though Arabic and English agree on stress pattern (which is generally not the case). While Younes was undecided as to the cause of these errors in what should be a simple transfer of a parallel pattern from L1 to L2, her conclusion was that some L1 features are *not* being transferred and the contrastive analysis theory (i.e., interference theory) fails to explain what is causing the errors, since "either case [i.e., explanation] contains counterexamples to the CA hypothesis" (p. 13). It is interesting to note that both these challenges assume or demonstrate transference but argue for a more complicated process of mis-learning than simple carrying over of the L1 model or unit.

Traditionally, L2 errors were seen as stemming from interference from L1, but research and theoretical shifts in the last quarter of the twentieth century led for a while to a rise in the alternative idea of errors coming at least in part from the Chomskyan ideas of innate ability to speak a language but also from observations that a number of error patterns are not explained by the contrastive analysis used to ferret out and predict mistakes assuming transference and interference, and that some of the predictions were wrong. According to this alternative idea, errors such as overgeneralization are due not to misapplying patterns from L1 but to a more basic ontological language-skill evolution that mimics that of L1 *in character* rather than being a transference, conscious or unconscious, of the specific patterns found in L1 to L2 (Hamers & Blanc, 1989, p. 224). Thus, mistakes were attributed to and studied in terms of the target language alone ("error analysis"). In the 1980s, though,

a reassessment of the role of interference seems to have stemmed from the realization that errors in an L2 will vary according to the L1 (e.g., a Korean learning English will make different kinds of mistakes than a German learning English will – *and* these differences seem to reflect the character of the L1). The presence of interference in L2 production is now widely accepted (Talamas et al., 1999, p. 46). Grosjean (1982, pp. 289-307) and Nicholls (2002) give various examples in a number of domains, including syntactic, idiomatic and lexical, of specific interference patterns specific to the given L1. This realization combined with the evidence in the opposite direction (i.e., that a UG effect was causing transitory errors) then led to the explicit formulation that "contrastive analysis needs to work hand in hand with error analysis" (Ellis 1985, p. 24; cited in Hamers & Blanc 1989, p. 225). What's more, research and reconsiderations have led to a view that the role of each cause of mistakes, interference and ontological evolutionary errors, (and probably others) varies with such factors as the individual learner, learning background, learner's age (Celaya & Torras, 2001), stage in L2 acquisition (Talamas et al., 1999; Zobl, 1982), setting of the error production, nature of the mistake (Younes, 1984; Zobl, 1984), and the relationship of the two languages (Ervin-Tripp, 1974; Hamers & Blanc 1989, p. 225). Still, recent studies, including those dealing with Korean English learners, have shown that in a number of areas, L1 influence alone is a significant factor in error production (Suh, 2001, p. 39; Yun & Lee, 2005, p. 98, p. 116).

Since English has a subject-verb-object (SVO) basic word order and Korean a subject-object-verb (SOV) word order, it is not surprising that word order constitutes a challenge for Korean EFL learners. For not only is the verb in a different place, but there are a number of other differences in word order in the two languages. Among these are the typical SVO use of *pre*positions as opposed to SOV languages' use of *post*positions (Shaffer, 2003; Pyles & Algeo, 1993, p. 82) and idiomatic and syntactic word-pair patterns that are in some cases the same in Korean and English, sometimes different, and sometimes flexible in one or both languages.

Adult Korean learners of English are aware of the problem of different word order in English. For example, Jung & Oh (2005) report that 14 of 15 adult learners in their interviews concerning barriers to communicating in English discussed word order differences (p. 9), and in their larger survey of 132 learners word order ranked sixteenth of 33 inhibiting factors (3.26 on a Likert 1-5 scale with 3 neutral and 4 agree) (p. 13).

Schaffer (2003) has observed and commented on some of the pair order issues we are concerned with, analyzing them in terms of grammar (e.g., postpositions) and sociolinguistic factors, on a theoretical basis, correctly, we feel, interpreting errors in grammar as (basically) due to the interference of Korean grammar and the application of Korean rules (e.g., seniority, authority and "the greater" all going first in pairs and lists). He does not provide any actual research data indicating the prevalence of the errors, either

in general or at various stages in learning English. In our study, we look at these issues in a more quantitative light as well as looking to see if there are trends over level of learning.

In reality, we can assume that there is at least a kernel of truth in both the UG and the transference models, that in fact they both play a role in causing errors in learning and using a foreign language. Ideally, we would want to plot the two on a Cartesian space. But in this preliminary study, we simply explore the apparent role of interference.

2. Research Questions

Our primary hypothesis was that Korean word order influences learners' L2 English word order. Specifically, in word pairs, the Korean word order would be chosen over the inverted one regardless of whether this is in fact the proper word order in English or not. Where the word order is the same (e.g., East and West, black and white), there should be few or no errors; where the word order is reversed (e.g., North and South, hot and cold), there should be consistent reversals.

Our second hypothesis was that transference and the concomitant interference would decrease with increased English skill level as measured by TOEIC scores. Thus, both overall percentages correct and the percentages correct for reversed-order should go up with an increase in English skill.

III. PROCEDURES AND METHODS

1. Participants and Questionnaires

1) Participants

The participants in this study were 207 university students in South Chungcheong Province in Central Korea including 105 English majors and 102 non-English majors. Only Korean students were included. The academic years of university students varied. Freshmen (36.7%) participated slightly more than sophomores (29.0%) and seniors (21.3%), with juniors (13.0%) the least[1] (See Table 1). One hundred five English majors consisted of 38 freshmen, 42 sophomores, 5 juniors and 20 seniors, and 102 non-English majors were composed of 38 freshmen, 18 sophomores, 22 juniors and 24 seniors. Non-English majors who participated in this study major in Child Education, Korean Language

[1] A majority of juniors in the English Department study at sister universities in the English speaking countries under the 3+1 system.

and Literature, Interior Design, Hospital Management and Global Commerce. They were taking English Communication courses at the time of this study.

TABLE 1

Participants: English Majors and non-English Majors

Year	Freshmen		Sophomores		Juniors		Seniors	
Majors	Eng	Non-Eng	Eng	Non-Eng	Eng	Non-Eng	Eng	Non-Eng
No. of students	38	38	42	18	5	22	20	24
Subtotal	76 (36.7%)		60 (29.0%)		27 (13.0%)		44 (21.3%)	
Total	207							

Of the total of 207 students, 149 (72.0%) reported TOEIC scores. Sophomores (37.3%) reported scores the most, freshmen (26.2%) the second most, seniors (21.3%) the third most and juniors (14.7%) the least. Slightly more non-English majors (54.4%) had taken TOEIC than did English majors (45.6%)[2] (See Table 2).

TABLE 2

TOEIC Scorers: English Majors and non-English Majors

Year	Freshmen		Sophomores		Juniors		Seniors	
Majors	Eng	Non-Eng	Eng	Non-Eng	Eng	Non-Eng	Eng	Non-Eng
No. of students	2	37	42	14	5	17	19	13
Subtotal	39 (26.2%)		56 (37.3%)		22 (14.7%)		32 (21.3%)	
Total	149							

The TOEIC scorers were divided into four categories: Lowest, Low, Middle and High (See Table 3). Most students fell into the Middle (49.3%) or Low (28.7%)[3] category. The percentage of Lowest (10.7%) and High (10.7%) was the same. English majors scored higher, as was expected. No English majors were in the Lowest category. The scores of English majors ranged from 330 to 820 and the mean score was 611. The average TOEIC scores of freshmen, sophomores, juniors and seniors were 688, 591, 574 and 655 respectively. The scores of non-EFL majors ranged from 165 to 810, with 433 as the mean score. The average TOEIC scores of freshmen, sophomores, juniors and seniors were 312, 553, 573 and 473 respectively.

[2] This is due to the first-year English students who have not yet taken the TOEIC exam. Only 2 out of 38 freshmen had taken the TOEIC exam.

[3] When some of the students reported more than one score, we took the higher score.

TABLE 3

TOEIC Score Ranges

TOEIC Ranges	Lowest		Low		Middle		High	
TOEIC Scores	0-299		300-499		500-699		700-990	
Majors	Eng	Non-Eng	Eng	Non-Eng	Eng	Non-Eng	Eng	Non-Eng
No. of students	0	16	7	36	49	25	10	6
Subtotal	16 (10.7%)		43 (28.7%)		74 (49.3%)		16 (10.7%)	
Total	149							

2) Questionnaires

(1) Questions

Written questionnaires were distributed to participants in the first week of April 2008 to examine how Korean students order the given English words. There were 40 questions in the questionnaire. The questions were equally divided into same-word-order pairs and opposite-word-order pairs. That is, 20 pairs were chosen where the word order of Korean and English is the same (e.g., 동서 East and West). The other 20 were chosen where the word order was reversed (e.g., 남북 North and South). For the selection of our 40 items, the researchers (one Korean and one American) selected terms we believe were common and simple in English. We avoided technical and uncommon terms such as 'flora and fauna' although the phrase was a good example for the opposite-order pair. When the order of either English or Korean is not fixed, we did not include the item in the list. For example, we discarded 'fruit and vegetables' because the phrase can be either way in Korean although it is rather fixed in English. After the selection, we relied on Google to check frequency rates for the final decision (See Appendixes B and C). Only pairs that were at least five times as common as their reverse were used.

Most of the questions were parallel structures with the coordinating conjunction *and*. The number of parallel questions was 26. Along with the parallel structures, the questions included 5 names with title, mountains, rivers and falls; 4 numbers; 2 prepositional phrases; 2 noun phrases; and 1 adjective phrase.

For the parallel questions, students were asked to translate the given Korean phrase. They were provided with two English words in parenthesis. So all they had to do was to put the given two English words into two blanks which were joined with *and* (in one case, with *or*) in the order they thought was right in English (e.g., 냉온 _____ *and* _____ (*cold, hot*) (See the questionnaire in the Appendix A).

The parallel structures in the questionnaire include *East and West, black and white, hot and cold, cup and saucers, juniors and senior, pepper and salt, ladies and gentlemen, big*

and small, up and down, North and South, near and far, here and there, in and out, good and bad, entrance and exit, life and death, love or money, my elder brother and I, my younger brother and I, pro and con, middle and high school, hands and feet, happiness and unhappiness, sun and moon, before and after, and *back and forth.*

Questions with names consist of title+name (e.g., *Prof. Kim*), names of mountains (*Mt. Everest* and *Rocky Mountains*), river (*Mississippi River*) and falls (*Niagara Falls*). Two kinds of mountain categories were included because we wanted to know whether Korean students can differentiate 'an individual mountain,' (e.g., *Mt. Everest*) where Mt. is placed before the name, and 'mountain ranges' (e.g., *Rocky Mountains*), where 'Mountains' is placed after the name. Questions related to numbers are fraction (1/8), address (*119 Nae-dong, Nonsan, Chungnam*), time (*2 p.m.*) and date (*April 15, 2008*). Prepositional phrases are *in class* and *within hours*[4] and noun phrases are *fried egg* and *something big.* And the one adjective phrase is *big enough.*

(2) Word Order

There can be five different kinds of order pairs: Same-order pairs in both Korean and English, opposite-order pairs, fixed English order but flexible Korean order, fixed Korean order but flexible English order, and flexible order in both languages. In this study we only included first two kinds of orders: that is, the same-order pairs and the opposite-order pairs. That is because we wanted to examine whether or not Korean word order affects English word order. By excluding variable-order phrases, we could focus more clearly on the issue of transference. As was mentioned earlier, the 40 questions were divided into half: 20 same-order questions and another 20 opposite-order questions. The same-order pairs are as follows:

① 20 Same-order Pairs

17 Parallel pairs

East and West, black and white, cup and saucer, salt and pepper, big and small, up and down, here and there, in and out, good and bad, life and death, my older brother and I, pro and con, middle and high schools, hands and feet, happiness and unhappiness, sun and moon, before and after

3 Personal names and names of mountains, rivers and falls

Mississippi River, Rocky Mountains, Niagara Falls

② 20 Opposite-order Pairs

9 Parallel pairs

hot and cold, juniors and seniors, ladies and gentlemen, North and South, near and far, entrance and exit, love or money, my younger brother and I, back and forth

[4] No students made mistakes with *in class* and *within hours* although Korean uses postpositions.

4 fraction, date, time and address
1/8; 2 p.m.; 119 Nae-dong, Nonsan, Chungnam; April 5, 2008
2 Personal names and mountain names
Prof. Kim, Mt. Everest
2 Prepositional phrases
in class, within hours
2 Noun phrase
fried egg, something big
1 Adjective phrase
big enough

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Results

Of our total sample of 207[5] university students, 149 reported TOEIC scores. We examined this subsample to see whether higher TOEIC scores, which should be a measure of overall ability in English, correlate with greater ability in one specific area of English ability, to wit: choosing the correct order of forty common word pairs. We looked at two groups of 40 word pairs: twenty that follow the same order in both Korean and twenty that have the reverse order. In addition, we looked at the two groups as a whole. There was a gradual increase from the Lowest TOEIC scorers to High scorers: The Lowest, Low, Middle, and High averaged 70%, 71%, 73% and 77% correct respectively on the overall scores.

Using a finer comparison, though, things look different. Within the Lowest group, there was in effect no difference between lower and higher TOEIC scorers (r=-0.07) in pairs where the word order was the same in L1 and L2 (partly because the percentage correct was near 100); whereas in the opposite-order pairs, the correlation was 0.50, indicating a strong relationship between general English skill and ability to correctly answer these "harder" pairs. Likewise, the High group had its own dynamic: same-order pair scores improved with higher TOEIC scores (r=0.41), while opposite-order pairs dropped (r=-0.20) The correlation between TOEIC scores and the percentage of all word pairs put in correct order was 0.34 (see Figure 1 for the full distribution). However, this result masks two opposite trends that can be seen when the two groups are pulled apart. Word pairs that are

[5] Our total sample did not differ appreciably from the subgroup that reported TOEIC scores in either same-order or opposite-order pairs: Total sample scored 85% overall, and TOEIC reporters scored 86% overall; For opposite-order pairs, the rates were 57% and 59%, respectively.

different caused a severe problem for students with low scores. For example, only one student with a score below 400 got over 75% correct. In fact, the students with the 16 Low scores (ranging from 160 through 295) averaged only 46% correct. This compares to 70% for the 16 High scoring students (TOEIC: 700-810) (Table 4). This difference seems unremarkable: One would expect the strongest students (as measured by TOEIC scores) to do appreciably better than the weakest.

TABLE 4

Percent Correct for All Pairs

TOEIC Ranges	Lowest		Low		Middle		High	
	0-299		300-499		500-699		700-990	
TOEIC Scores	Possible Scores	Actual Scores	Possible Scores	Actual Scores	Possible Scores	Actual Scores	Possible Scores	Actual Scores
Same-Order	317	292(92%)	856	744(87%)	1469	1239(84%)	320	270(84%)
Opposite-Order	311	147(47%)	849	459(54%)	1452	900(62%)	314	220(70%)
Overall	628	439(70%)	1705	1203(71%)	2921	2139(73%)	634	490(77%)

The correlation between percent correct on our questionnaire and TOEIC scores for opposite-order pairs was 0.46. However, the general trend and the weakness of this fit are best seen in the scatter plot of all the values (See Figure 2).

The correlation between TOEIC scores and the percentage of correctly ordered word pairs that are in the same order in the two languages was -0.24. That is to say, with improved English skill there seems to be a slight trend toward losing the ability to correctly order the pairs *when they are in the same order* in both the mother tongue and the target language. Again, both a look at the highest and lowest scoring students as well the scattergram (Figure 3) give a clearer picture of what is going on. The 16 Lowest TOEIC scorers averaged 92% correct, whereas the High students actually did worse, averaging 84%.

FIGURE 1

Scattergram of Percent Correct for All Pairs

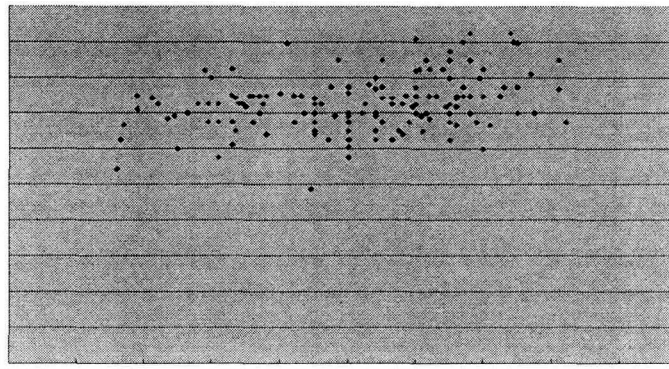


FIGURE 2

Scattergram of Percent Correct for Opposite-Order Pairs

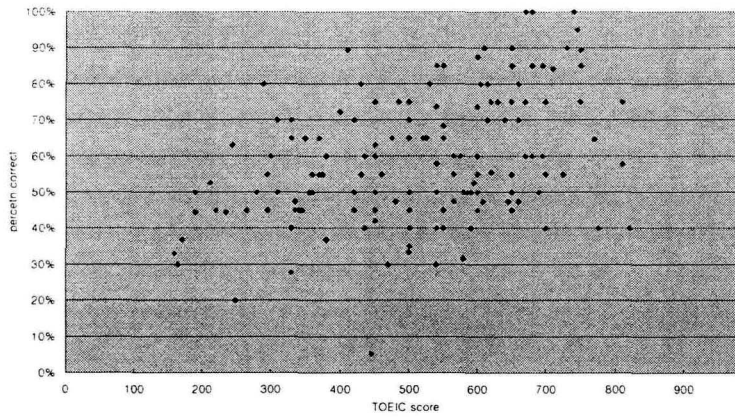
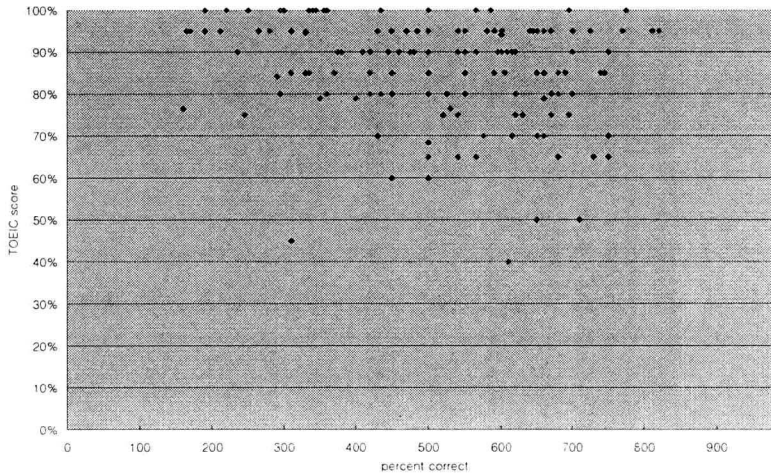


FIGURE 3
Scattergram of Percent Correct for Same-Order Pairs



2. Discussion

Our first hypothesis was only partially substantiated by our data. In some cases, markedly more advanced users of English do not match up to the weakest users in the surveyed group. Clearly the most surprising result was the *negative* trend in accuracy of ordering for correct pairs that have the same order in both languages. The second hypothesis, that both overall and reversed-order scores would rise with TOEIC scores, was also only partially supported, since same-order pairs' lack of improvement lowered the overall scores despite markedly better scores on reverse-order pairs.

What is going on here? Teachers like to think that our students are improving over-all when we teach them, but, while the more difficult opposite-ordered pairs are put in the correct order much more often (70% vs. 47% for top and bottom 10 percent) – and even this trend is muddied in the middle 80% – the *simpler* same-order pairs are actually matched up *better* by the students with lower TOEIC scores (and lower total scores for pair ordering). A straight-forward application of transference and interference theory would account for early learners doing well with the same-order pairs and poorly on the opposite-order pairs (students simply use the same word order as they do in Korean). In and of itself, though, this does not explain why the pattern is not complete or why the trend line is not smoother. More interesting *and disturbing*, though, is the down-trend for the simpler, same-order pairs. One would hope that language learners would be able to learn exceptions or harder material without losing control of the simpler, consistent, material. At least with these materials, though, this is not going on. What is happening appears to be similar to

what a small child does when first learning his or her native tongue: After first learning irregular forms, children later learn regular forms and then over-generalize, resulting in a temporary loss of their previously correct forms (e.g., *went*, **goed*. See Radcliffe, 2004:11).

In our case, it would seem that the students have applied a generalization (English word pairs are to be put in the same order as their Korean counterparts) at a low level of English skill. As their skill improves, they learn of exceptions, and this introduces errors in word pairs of the type and even specific content that at a lower level they produced correctly. While it appears that some of the errors with same-order pairs in the target language are due to a second generalization ("put English pairs in the opposite order of the way their Korean counterparts are ordered"), an examination of specific individuals' responses shows that this cannot account for all of the scores, since the errors are neither consistent nor universal. It seems that something somewhat similar to what Younes (1984) found in Arabic-English pronunciation is happening. In both instances, a simple transference explains some, "easy" cases, but the pattern is not repeated for perhaps less transparent easy cases: four-syllable words in the case Arabic English pronunciation and for more advanced Korean English speakers. In one case, the simple rule seems obscured by the length of the words; in the other, the simple rule seems partly obscured by advanced learning.

It should be remembered that both the poorest and the best TOEIC scorers did better with same-order pairs than with the opposite-order pairs, even though the better students' scores are lower than those of the poor students. It should also not be forgotten that the *over-all* percent of correct answers generally increases *despite* the problem with same-order pairs.

A note of caution in our interpretation must be given. Our study ranked students who took the questionnaire at the same time. Therefore, it is only a *pseudo*-longitudinal study, since the reason or reasons for different scores could be due to some other factor or factors, such as innate language ability (e.g., those people in our survey with higher TOEIC scores might never have had the great disparity between the two groups of pairs).

V. CONCLUSION

It seems that interference (due to simple, direct transference of the Korean syntactic-semantic model) creates problems for Koreans learning English word-pair order, in particular when the learner's level is not very high and the word order in English is opposite that in Korean. However, advanced learners achieve a level of proficiency in dealing with these initially difficult pairs. On the other hand, advanced learners have less proficiency than much-less advanced ones in word-pair ordering where the two languages

have parallel pair order. The exact cause of this latter phenomenon is not clear, though at least part of it seems to be due to reverse generalization after transference. In any case, regardless of the theoretical reason, while, as expected, Lowest level students scored much better on ordering the pairs where keeping the Korean word order gave the correct result than they did for the reverse, this contrasts markedly with the High TOEIC scorers. These latter students scored only slightly better for same word-order pairs than they did for opposite pairs, with the former scores actually lower than those of the Lowest level students. While Lado's oft-cited claim that laid the foundation of contrastive analysis is thus true for our weaker learners: "The elements that are similar to the learner's native language will be simple for him and those elements that are different will be difficult" (1957, pp. 1-2); in mastering the more difficult pairs, the advanced learners loose some of the accuracy in the simple examples.

If some way can be found to "isolate" the two kinds of word pairs from each other in the learner's perception of them, then it might be possible for the learner to either skip the stage of *incorrect* reverse generalization or move through it more quickly. This would significantly smooth and speed up the learning of English. It is plausible that by helping more advanced learners be conscious of the principles they are employing (e.g., big-to-little, seniority first) and the different principles – where present – in English, we can do just that, as Shaffer has argued from a more theoretical position (Shaffer, 2003, p. 8). It would seem that a qualitative follow-up, discussing with a sampling of the students their rationales for their various choices would throw more light on exactly what is taking place. In addition, a study of even lower level learners (middle-school students) that we have begun should help explicate the issues. Specifically, it should indicate whether simple transference and interference do in fact play an even stronger role in pair-ordering for Koreans when they first learn English.

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APPENDIX A

Questionnaire

Hello,

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Hye-Sook Kim and Kim Dammers. Please take about 15 minutes to fill in the two blanks with the English words in the parentheses in the order you feel natural in English. This questionnaire is designed to see in what order Koreans put two English words. Responses will be used only for academic research purposes. Thank you for your cooperation and participation![6]

Name: _____ Year: _____

Department: _____ Double Major ( ) / Minor ( ): _____

Email: _____@_____ Mobile Phone: _____

Sex: Female ( ) / Male ( ) *TOEIC* Score: _____

1. $\frac{1}{8}$ _____ *(eighth / one)*
2. 동쪽과 서쪽 _____ *and* _____ *(east / west)*
3. 냉온 _____ *and* _____ *(cold / hot)*
4. 흑백 _____ *and* _____ *(black / white)*
5. 선후배 _____ *and* _____ *(juniors / seniors)*
6. 컵과 받침 _____ *and* _____ *(cup / saucer)*
7. 신사숙녀 _____ *and* _____ *(gentlemen / ladies)*
8. 소금과 후추 _____ *and* _____ *(pepper / salt)*
9. 김 교수님 _____ *(Kim / Professor)*
10. 크고 작은 _____ *and* _____ *(big / small)*
11. 남쪽과 북쪽 _____ *and* _____ *(north / south)*

[6] The introduction to the questionnaire was given in Korean. It is translated here for the readers' convenience.

12. 위아래 _____ *and* _____ *(down / up)*
13. 멀고 가까운 (원근) _____ *and* _____ *(far / near)*
14. 미시시피강 _____ *(Mississippi/ River)*
15. 에베레스트산 _____ *(Everest / Mount)*
16. 로키산맥 _____ *(Mountains / Rocky)*
17. 2 시 _____ *(p.m. / 2)*
18. 여기저기 _____ *and* _____ *(here / there)*
19. 충남 논산 내동 119 번지 _____
_____ *(Chungnam / Nae-dong / Nonsan / 119)*
20. 나이아가라 폭포 _____ *(Falls / Niagara)*
21. 2008 년 4 월 15 일 _____ *(April / 15 / 2008)*
22. 안팎으로 _____ *and* _____ *(in / out)*
23. 출구와 입구 (출입구) _____ *and* _____ *(entrance / exit)*
24. 옳고 그른 (선악) _____ *and* _____ *(bad / good)*
25. 돈과 사랑 _____ *and* _____ *(love / money)*
26. 삶과 죽음 (생사) _____ *and* _____ *(death / life)*
27. 나와 내 남동생 _____ *and* _____ *(I / my younger brother)*
28. 내 오빠와 나 _____ *and* _____ *(I / my older brother)*
29. 에그후라이 _____ *(egg / fried)*
30. 찬반 (찬성과 반대) _____ *and* _____ *(con / pro)*
31. 수업에서 _____ *(in / class)*
32. 중고등학교 _____ *and* _____ *schools (high / middle)*
33. 충분히 큰 *The jacket is* _____. *(big / enough)*
34. 손과 발 _____ *and* _____ *(feet / hands)*
35. 몇 시간 안에 _____ *(hours / within)*
36. 행복과 불행 _____ *and* _____ *(happiness / unhappiness)*
37. 큰 것 *I want to have* _____ *(big / something)*
38. 해와 달 _____ *and* _____ *(moon / sun)*
39. 앞뒤로 _____ *and* _____ *(back / forth)*
40. 전후 _____ *and* _____ *(before / after)*

APPENDIX B

Google Search: Same-order Pairs

1	East and West	5,170,000	동쪽과 서쪽	90, 700
	West and East	883,000	서쪽과 동쪽	5,960
2	Black and white	55,400,000	흑과 백	81,400
	White and black	2,760,000	백과 흑	3,410
3	Cup and saucer	1,090,000	컵과 찻잔	78
	Saucer and cup	6,630	찻잔과 컵	4
4	Salt and pepper	6,100,000	소금과 후추	123,000
	Pepper and salt	16,400	후추와 소금	4,940
5	Big and small	2,100,000	크고 작은	1,060,000
	Small and big	290,000	작고 큰	26,100
6	Up and down	32,300,000	위아래	464,000
	Down and up	441,000	아래위	64,600
7	Here and there	13,800,000	여기저기	2,920,000
	There and here	232,000	저기여기	0
8	In and out	5,710,000	안팎으로	400,000
	Out and in	273,000	밖안으로	2
9	Good and bad	8,510,000	옳고 그른	63,400
	Bad and good	380,000	그르고 옳은	71
10	Life and death	8,230,000	삶과 죽음	628,000
	Death and life	645,000	죽음과 삶	39,400
11	My older brother and I	35,200	오빠와 나	17,100
	I and my older brother	5,690	나와 오빠	7,600
12	Pro and con	768,000	찬성과 반대	164,000
	Con and pro	10,400	반대와 찬성	7,550
13	Middle and high school	580,000	중학교와 고등학교	43,400
	High and middle school	26,800	고등학교와 중학교	3,640
14	Hands and feet	3,220,000	손과 발	97,800
	Feet and hands	345,000	발과 손	5,570
15	Happiness and unhappiness	50,600	행복과 불행	248,000
	Unhappiness and happiness	4,470	불행과 행복	19,900
16	Sun and moon	13,090,000	해와 달	123,000
	Moon and sun	437,000	달과 해	6,630
17	Before and after	30,900,000	전과 후	108,000
	After and before	155,000	후와 전	795

APPENDIX C

Google Search: Opposite-order Pairs

1	Hot and cold	4,160,000	온냉	4,180
	Cold and hot	522,000	냉온	285,000
2	Juniors and seniors	902,000	후배와 선배	1,670
	Seniors and juniors	76,600	선배와 후배	22,200
3	Ladies and gentlemen	5,580,000	숙녀와 신사	524
	Gentlemen and ladies	174,000	신사와 숙녀	1,680
4	North and south	7,580,000	북남	119,000
	South and north	767,000	남북	6,000,000
5	Near and far	1,830,000	가깝고 먼	5,680
	Far and near	417,000	멀고 가까운	12,200
6	Entrance and exit	489,000	입출구	10,500
	Exit and entrance	92,200	출입구	510,000
7	Love or money	64,600	사랑과 돈	7,680
	Money or love	1,010	돈과 사랑	12,600
8	My younger brother and I	51,900	남동생과 나	147
	I and my younger brother	79	나와 남동생	906
9	Back and forth	19,500,000	뒤와 앞으로	· 403
	Forth and back	695,000	앞과 뒤로	5,580

Examples in: English
Applicable Languages: English
Applicable Levels: Secondary education

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Received in April, 2008
Reviewed in May, 2008
Revised version received in June, 2008