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THE FREQUENCY AND FUNCTION OF *JUST* IN NEW ZEALAND ACADEMIC AND GENERAL SPOKEN ENGLISH

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Abstract

The word just *is used frequently in spoken English with a number of different functions. This article shows its use mainly in New Zealand academic spoken English, but also in a small amount of general English. This small corpus comprises recorded and transcribed New Zealand university lectures and seminars from two different disciplines, those of Art & Design and Nursing, and examples from the Wellington Spoken Corpus (WSC). As found in a previous study of the Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English (MICASE),* just *occurred most frequently in academic English as a minimiser, to soften or mitigate the utterance. However, it is used slightly differently in Art & Design than Nursing lectures, and in different ways by lecturers than by students. For example, lecturers in both disciplines used* just *mostly as a minimiser in metadiscursive frames or 'teacher talk', Nursing lecturers used* just *in definitions, and with its locative function while Art & Design students used* just *more as an emphasiser. In comparison, speakers in the WSC still use it mostly as a minimiser with the next largest category designated as ambiguous uses. It is hoped that information such as this might be useful for EAP lecturers aiming to get learners ready for university study.*

Introduction

People use words in different ways, and the meaning of the words often depends on the context and delivery. High frequency words such as *just* may be used unconsciously and users may be unaware of the variety of meanings. And while the word *just* appears frequently in both spoken and written English, surprisingly little is known about its occurrence in spoken English in academic contexts (Lindemann & Mauranen, 2001). Only in the last decade has it been possible to investigate the frequency and function of words like *just* in academic spoken English corpora, such as the Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English (MICASE, Simpson et al., 2002) and the British Academic Spoken English (BASE, Nesi & Thompson, 2006) corpus. However, little is known about its occurrence in either academic or general spoken English in New Zealand. This study attempts to address this by examining occurrences of *just* in a small number of recorded and transcribed lectures from two distinctly different disciplines – Art & Design, and Nursing – at one New Zealand university. Then, to identify how these findings compare to occurrences in general spoken English, 100 extracts with *just* were taken from the Wellington Spoken Corpus (WSC, Holmes et al.,

1998). In addition, it is hoped that the findings will contribute to a wider understanding of *just* for both English for Academic Purposes/English for Specific Purposes (EAP/ESP) teachers, and English as an additional language (EAL) students preparing for university study.

This article begins by reviewing the literature on using a corpus and on the different meanings of *just,* followed by a description of how the data was collected and analysed. The frequency and functions of *just* are examined in Art & Design lectures first, followed by Nursing lectures and then general New Zealand English. Finally overall results are compared, and the implications for teaching *just* are briefly discussed before the article is concluded.

Literature review

A corpus provides examples of language, often spoken or written by a range of people during a certain period of time. Biber, Conrad, and Reppen (1998) claim that a corpus should be a collection of texts which can be used for both qualitative and quantitative analysis. Kennedy (1998, p.4) notes that corpora have been compiled for many different purposes, and it is "the use to which the body of textual material is put, rather than its design features, which define what a corpus is." Additionally, a corpus can demonstrate that teachers' and textbook writers' intuitions about which words to focus on are often incorrect (Biber & Conrad, 2001). Although this small collection of lectures and seminars from only two academic disciplines from one university and limited examples from one general corpus cannot be argued to be truly representative of academic or general New Zealand English, it is one example of how *just* functions in these particular contexts.

A decade ago Lindemann and Mauranen (2001) examined occurrences of *just* in MICASE and established categories to describe how it functioned in American academic spoken English. Their examination of three-word clusters with *just* revealed two things:

1. that *just* occurred in 'metadiscursive frames' (let me *just*, I *just* want to, etc),
2. *just* tends to co-occur with hedges (mitigators like 'a little bit' and vagueness indicators like 'sort of', 'kind of', 'or something', 'or so') (p. 463)

They looked at 361 examples of *just* from a sub-corpus of five different speech events. Findings revealed that *just* was used in a variety of ways, mainly as a minimizer, a category which they sub-divided into 'limiters', 'mitigators' and 'neutral', and which could be paraphrased with 'only', 'simply', 'merely' (if they're *just* enrolled for one month / he *just* piled them in a corner of the office / clearly that's *just* two alpha). *Just* also occurred with an emphasising function meaning 'absolutely, really' (this is *just* mindblowing), with a particularizing function meaning 'exactly' (she's getting out *just* at the right time), with a specificatory function – taken from Lee (1987) – which combines 'temporal' (our

new receptionist *just* moved to town) and 'locative' (*just* this side of the switch region). Their 'ambiguous' category included utterances which were repaired before completion, making it difficult to be certain of the speaker's intention. Table 1 shows the frequency of *just* in the five different speech events in the categories they established:

Table 1: *Just* in 5 speech events in MICASE

Event	No.	Rank	Min %	Emph %	Part %	Spec %	Amb %
Music defense	67	28 (0.5%)	70	10	3	4	12
Physics lecture	93	25 (0.7%)	89	0	4	3	3
Philosophy discussion	63	15 (0.9%)	78	6	0	5	11
Immunology lab meeting	41	43 (0.5%)	66	5	0	12	17
Administrators' meeting	97	29 (0.6%)	63	11	3	15	7
Total/averages	361		74	7	2	8	9

Flowerdew (1991) previously found that university lecturers used *just* in definitions to mean 'simply', to show that the definition is no more complicated than the speaker says it is.

As noted, Lindemann and Mauranen (2001) found that *just* occurred in 'metadiscursive frames'. Swales (1990, p.188) described "commentary on the text in the text" as metadiscoursal while Hyland and Tse (2004, p.156) explained metadiscourse in academic writing as discourse that "focuses our attention on the ways writers project themselves into their discourse to signal their attitude towards both the content and the audience of the text." With regard to attitude, *just* appears on a list of what are called 'stance' words whose function, according to O'Keefe, McCarthy and Carter (2007, p.38), is to "represent speakers' and writers' attitude and stance towards the content communicated", something they argue is central to good communication and to maintaining appropriate social relations. All of this could also be applied to the academic classroom where the metadiscourse could come under the umbrella of 'teacher talk', defined previously as a variety of language that teachers sometimes use when in the process of teaching (Richards, Platt & Platt, 1992).

The frequency of *just* has been established in British spoken general English, with it being the 44th most frequent word in the Cambridge International Corpus (CIC), and the 31st most frequent word in the Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English (CANCODE) spoken corpus (O'Keefe et al., 2007). It has, however, previously proved difficult to give precise and shared meanings of *just* (Aijmer, 1985, 2002, 2005; Lee, 1987, 1991; Kishner & Gibbs, 1996), so the function categories established by Lindemann and Mauranen (2001) will be adopted here for both academic and general English.

Data collection and methodology

The Art & Design (A&D) data comprises six monologic recorded or videoed lectures, plus two recorded discussions where staff members gave advice to

postgraduate students and one recorded interactive undergraduate seminar where students did presentations and got feedback from their lecturer and classmates. The Nursing (N) data comprises five monologic recorded or videoed undergraduate lectures plus two more interactive seminars. All the recordings are from the same New Zealand university, and all the transcriptions were done by a professional transcribing service. All transcription examples are written in lower case, with the exception of proper nouns and the pronoun 'I'. During the recording process, microphones were not strong enough to record many student questions, resulting in the majority of the data being from lecturers and only a minority from New Zealand-born students in the Art & Design lecturer-student discussions and student presentations, as well as the Nursing seminars. Tone and emphasis used in the recordings by lecturers and students were used to guide the decisions on the emphasising function.

In addition, a subcorpus of 100 extracts was developed from the WSC, a corpus of general New Zealand spoken English which was chosen for contrast with academic English, starting with the fifth corpus utterance with *just* and then every fiftieth utterance (5, 55, 105, 155, etc), as shown in Table 2 below. If *just* was repeated in the utterance (*just just* so that I could...), it was counted as one occurrence, but if there were words between occurrences (*just* so *just* that I...) it was counted as separate occurrences.

Table 2: The New Zealand lectures, seminars and general English examined in this study

Academic Division	*Number of Lectures / Seminars or WSC Extracts with* just	*Number of Hours of Lectures / Seminars or WSC Occurrences examined*	*Number of Words in Lectures / Seminars and Corpus Extracts*
Art & Design	6 lectures, 3 seminars	15 hours	91,708
Nursing	5 lectures, 2 seminars	12 hours	91,338
Subcorpus from Wellington Spoken Corpus (WSC)	100 extracts with *just* (extract 5 and every 50th following extract)	146 occurrences of *just*	6,517
TOTAL	11 lectures, 5 seminars 100 WSC extracts	27 hours of lectures/seminars, 146 corpus occurrences	189,563

The function of *just* in some WSC extracts was clear in a single utterance, while others required more context. The expanded extract often contained more than one occurrence of *just*, which explains the 100 extracts but the 146 occurrences. The programme *Wordsmith 4* was used for the corpus search.

As explained, the Lindemann and Mauranen (2001) functions are being adopted for this study: minimising (merely, only, simply – used as limiters, mitigators/softeners or in a neutral capacity), emphasisers (really, absolutely), particularisers (exactly), specificatory (including both temporal and locative) and ambiguous. The ambiguous category mostly comprised incomplete sentences with *just*. An extra category was added, that of occurrences of *just* as part of a multiword unit (MWU). To ensure that occurrences of *just* were accurately recognised as belonging to one of these categories rather than another, an inter-

rater reliability test was used. Thirty samples of academic speech containing *just* were taken from both disciplines and two staff members from different universities were asked to put them into the different categories. Results showed a 97% agreement of assigning occurrences of *just* to one of the categories.

Findings and discussion

The initial quantitative study gives a more detailed picture of the frequency of *just* in all the New Zealand lectures and seminars examined, as well as in the whole WSC, shown below in Table 3.

Table 3: Frequency of *just* across the whole New Zealand academic corpus

Academic Divisions and Corpus used	*Number of Words in Lectures / Seminars or WSC*	*Number of occurrences of* just	*Frequency of* just *per million words*	*Percentage* just *comprises of total data*
Art & Design	91,708	445	4,852	.49%
Nursing	91,338	416	4,555	.46%
Wellington Spoken Corpus	1,000,000	6,953	6,953	.70%

The number of occurrences of *just* and the proportion per lecture or seminar was fairly equal across both academic divisions, but across the whole WSC *just* appeared more frequently. The higher number of occurrences in general, compared to academic, English might be a reflection of unplanned conversational English, which is likely to contain hesitations, repetitions, repairs, and so on. A closer analysis of the three areas will show whether the function of *just* was similar in general and academic English, and whether *just* was used differently by lecturers and students.

Just in Art & Design lectures

A closer analysis of the 445 occurrences of *just* in these six monolingual lectures and three interactional discussion/presentation seminars showed that *just* functioned in a number of different ways. Some of this 'teacher talk' metadiscursive language from the Art & Design lectures includes *just* used by lecturers (lct) with a minimising function:

1. also ***just*** a reminder that / ***just*** to see how you're doing with / let me ***just*** give you an example / let's ***just*** have a look at / I ***just*** want to um point out / ***just*** want to talk a little bit about (lct)

In addition, some of this 'teacher talk' was in the form of directives:

2. ***just*** don't complicate it too much / ***just*** run through some of the context / ***just*** do your exercises / ***just*** pair off with the person next door / ***just*** finish that off / ***just*** look over the section (lct)

The intention seems to be for the lecturer to minimise the imposition of what is being said to, or asked of, the students. O'Keefe et al. (2007) found that *just* is commonly used as a hedge in requests, or 'directive acts', but could also be an intensifier in directives, depending on the intonation used.

With regard to the 'limiters' subgroup of minimisers, many with *just* included 'not', with contrast and comparison used by lecturers to clarify the point being made:

3. you're ***not just*** trying to / ***not just*** collect them but actually look / this was ***not just*** a visual trickery / is ***not just*** something that we say / is ***not just*** youth-based protest/ ***not just*** because of their looks (lct)

Other examples of *just* are with a 'particularising' (exactly) function, only one by a student (std), where again *just* is used as a comparison to clarify the statement:

4. ***just*** like the video you saw / I like her ***just*** the way she is / media form is dying off ***just*** as television is dying off (lct) / that's ***just*** what I was trying to explain (std)

However, it was students in Art & Design who used *just* with an 'emphasising' (absolutely/really) meaning:

5. they're ***just*** graphically quite cool / he's ***just just*** a sucker / I ***just*** really need to get onto it / I ***just*** prefer black and white / everybody ***just*** had to do lots of work every day (std)

This student usage gives limited support to Aijmer's (2002) findings from the Corpus of London Teenagers (COLT) where teenagers used *just* as an emphasiser.

The 'specificatory' function, again used mostly by lecturers, included both temporal (6) and locative (7) functions of *just*:

6. which we've ***just*** been doing / which has ***just*** arrived / I've ***just*** forgotten what I was going to say / that you've ***just*** described / I was ***just*** looking at it (lct) / they've ***just*** heard about it (std)
   (Temporal)
7. ***just*** up there (lct)
   (Locative)

Here lecturers were providing a time frame for when something happened or a location for where it happened.

Some examples with *just* were ambiguous because both lecturers (8) and students (9) changed direction or were interrupted in what was being said:

8. ***just*** well sorry I have to re-read it / the students ***just*** they the year three students / ***just*** sort of- / they're ***just*** it's sort of more / some photocopies or ***just*** yeah unless they're really well known (lct)
9. they ***just*** like for example for the dog you could / they're ***just*** it's sort of more / what you've ***just*** I think most of us / ***just*** way- / yeah I was ***just*** that's kind of (std)

Still other examples showed *just* functioning as part of a multiword unit (MWU), either to give an approximate number or amount, or a condition:

10. just about (x5, lct) / just in case (lct)
11. just in case (std)

Comparing lecturer and the limited student usage, students mostly used *just* the same way that lecturers did, with some differences. They used *just* as an emphasiser more but did not use contrast ('not just') or the sort of metadiscursive frames containing *just* (let me *just*, I *just* want to) that are typical of 'teacher talk'. Students also used *just* more frequently, as this example from a student presentation shows. The longer extract is given in Appendix 1, with *just* used 13 times in 513 words or over 2.5% of that particular utterance:

12. I was looking at the jaffa rolling down the stairs I like I was looking at ***just*** the way which they graphically like simplify it and um that's going to be they're ***just*** graphically quite cool the rain and also kind of dissecting it looks like panels but I think that's ***just*** one frame but it looks like separate anyway um so yeah I was ***just*** playing around with um I want to use both views like being the jaffa um from the side and also a bird's eye view um was me ***just*** yeah ***just*** playing around

Another example from a different project presentation reinforces the idea that young people may often use *just* in a short utterance:

13. there'll ***just*** be I'll show the passengers climbing in and fumbling in the chair over a few panels ***just*** to show you know maybe like two three hours so you're getting bored and yeah and I've ***just*** been doing little doddles and things like that ***just*** to sort of incorporate this one here I was thinking of maybe doing trying like a bird's eye view of everyone in the car um it was ***just*** a rough sketch

The breakdown of functions of 445 occurrences of *just* in the Art & Design lectures by lecturers and students is given in Table 4 below, with numbers showing occurrences of *just* in each function category and percentages showing the proportion of *just* occurrences performing this function.

In the 445 occurrences in the Art & Design lectures – approximately 80% by lecturers and 20% by students – *just* was used mostly by lecturers in the function of a minimiser (68%), the largest subcategory being 'teacher talk' (33%).

However, students also used *just* mostly as a minimiser (14%), though never in metadiscursive frames or in combination with 'not' to compare a point being made, both typical of 'teacher talk'. In addition, both lecturers (5%) and students (4%) used *just* in ambiguous unfinished utterances, perhaps a reflection of the often informal conversational nature of some lectures and seminars.

Table 4: Overall functions of *just* in Art & Design by lecturers and students

Minimising		*Minimising (with 'not just')*		*Minimising (Teacher talk)*		*Specific. (Temporal / Locative)*		*Emphas*		*Partic/ Exactly*		*Ambig*		*MWU*	
Lecturer		Lecturer		Lecturer		Lecturer		Lecturer		Lecturer		Lecturer		Lecturer	
142	32%	13	3%	146	33%	7 /4	2%/1%	4	1%	4	1%	22	5%	7	2%
Student		Student		Student		Student		Student		Student		Student		Student	
62	14%	0	0%	0	0%	5/0	1%	6	1%	4	1%	18	4%	1	.2%

Just in Nursing lectures

The Nursing lectures were monologic while the seminars were more interactional, although the data is approximately 93% lecturers and 7% students. A closer analysis of these 416 occurrences in the five Nursing lectures and two seminars revealed that *just* also occurred as part of the same metadiscursive 'teacher talk' frame, which has a minimising function:

14. just bear with me / so in pairs I just want you to / okay so just to repeat that / I'll just give you an example / I'm going to give you just a rough outline / I'm just highlighting that (lct)

Again, lecturers were attempting to reduce the imposition of their statements, or of the often directive 'teacher talk' examples below:

15. ***just*** get the water out of a tap / ***just*** ask away / ***just*** read and read and read / ***just*** go and put it over there / ***just*** listen to the news in the morning / ***just*** sit there and try to do it / so ***just*** ask questions (lct)

Several of the limiters used by lecturers included 'not', for comparison purposes:

16. it's ***not just*** our administration it's the hospital administration / ***not just*** Asian men / ***not just*** psychology but / it's ***not just*** two poles of something / you ca***n't just*** pick this up and run with it (lct)

Other lecturer examples are of *just* with a 'particularising' (exactly) function, with the comparison again providing clarity:

17. ***just*** like when you get pregnant / ***just*** like this / ***just*** like if you leave this down / ***just*** like you're probably aware of your breathing now / ***just*** like you have lobes in your lungs (lct)

The smaller amount of student data meant that utterances which had an 'emphasising' (absolutely, really) function were mostly by the Nursing lecturers:

18. it's ***just*** so painful / it's ***just*** too sore / oh because I ***just*** do / you're going to have to bite the bullet folks and ***just*** get it / a lot of the nurses ***just*** are too busy (lct) / ***just*** real different (std)

Once again the judgement of which occurrences of *just* had an emphasising function was based on the stress and intonation used in the recordings.

Other occurrences of *just* had the 'specificatory' – temporal (19) and locative (20) – functions:

19. who ***just*** put that there / exam that you've ***just*** done / two statements that you ***just*** made / you've ***just*** had a lecture on it (lct) / she ***just*** went out of the room / oh I've ***just*** been to the loo (std)
    (Temporal)
20. rotate it ***just*** above the sympathesis / then you might squeeze ***just*** behind the gland / you feel it give way ***just*** below (lct) / Toilet? ***Just*** before the stairs (std)
    (Locative)

Here both students and lecturers are using *just* to provide a time frame, or location/situation.

Several utterances with *just* were ambiguous because the lecturers (21) or students (22) changed direction and did not complete what was being said:

21. they've got a back in injury or they're ***just*** not they're very very heavy (lct) / did you ***just*** – / your brain is ***just*** you're fit enough not to / there we are that's ***just*** but again we've got (lct)
22. ***just*** put it in the- / it ***just*** sort of- / I ***just***- / ***just*** said- / it's ***just*** like- / they could I don't know ***just*** say um- (std)

Still other examples, all by lecturers, showed *just* functioning as part of a MWU:

23. that would stick on a Barbie doll ***just about*** / ***just in case*** you need to email me / I've ***just about*** got you all sorted / ***just a sec*** / ***just a minute*** (x2) / ***just a second*** (x2) / ***just kidding*** (lct)

Again, the MWUs provide an account of amount (e.g., almost), time, or how serious the statement was.

Previously Flowerdew (1991) noted the role of *just* in definitions in lectures, where *just* is used as a minimiser to mean 'simply', to show that the definition is

not complicated. *Just* was also used in New Zealand Nursing (Pharmacology and Psychology) lecturer definitions where the lecturer explained some medical terms:

24. control ***just*** means you go to the toilet and then you don't drink anything / leukocytes in your urine it ***just*** means there's white blood cells in the urine / a nuclei membrane would be around the nuclei material in a human cell it's ***just*** this spaghetti sitting there in a clump / portal ***just*** means like an entry point (lct)

The breakdown of the different functions of *just*, in numbers and percentages, in these Nursing lectures and seminars is shown in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Overall functions of *just* in Nursing by lecturers and students

Minimising		*Minimising (with 'not just')*		*Minimising (Teacher talk)*		*Specific. (Temporal / Locative)*		*Emphas*		*Partic/ Exactly*		*Ambig*		*MWU*	
Lecturer		Lecturer		Lecturer		Lecturer		Lecturer		Lecturer		Lecturer		Lecturer	
241	58%	13	3%	62	15%	6 /11	1%/3%	19	5%	7	2%	19	4%	9	2%
Student		Student		Student		Student		Student		Student		Student		Student	
11	3%	0	0%	0	0%	3/3	.7%/.7%	1	.2%	0	0%	11	3%	0	0%

In the 416 occurrences of *just* in the Nursing lectures, the 'teacher talk' metadiscursive function used by lecturers was smaller (15%) than in Art & Design lectures but minimising remained overwhelmingly the largest function (76%) of *just.* However, *just* was also used slightly more in the Nursing lectures and seminars with a locative function (3%) than in the Art & Design lectures, often with more explanation of exactly where something, such as an organ, could be found.

Just **in general English**

One obvious difference between these 146 examples in general English from the WSC is that there are no examples of *just* in a 'teacher talk' metadiscursive frame (let me *just*, I *just* want to). There were, however, several examples of *just* used as a minimiser or hedge with the speaker attempting to reduce the imposition or minimise what was being said:

25. shouldn't you ***just*** have a copy that's like stuck to the computer / he he ***just*** might happen to be in there when I'm over there / it was ***just*** down to countdown or something

Some of the minimisers functioned in the subcategory of limiters (only):

26. the present will be ***just*** small present / it'll be ***just*** a handshake / for ***just*** that tree / Luke's grandparents are bringing down a heater ***just*** for us / you didn't have to take a jersey or anything ***just*** a big tee shirt

However, none of the extracts taken from the WSC showed *just* used in combination with 'not', indicating that this is more often a part of 'teacher talk'. Other examples are of *just* with a 'particularising' (exactly) function:

27. I'm a journalist and I've gone to Makma to find out ***just*** how bad things were / oh the camp there yes it was ***just*** like the ones here / if he'd been there it would have been ***just*** like mcdonald's

These occurrences of *just* are used to clarify the statement by providing a comparison.

Some utterances showed *just* with an 'emphasising' (absolutely, really) function:

28. it was ***just*** so easy / he was ***just*** crazy eh / I don't know it ***just*** looks cool / it's ***just*** a waste of time / this ***just*** isn't BELIEVABLE / it's ***just*** absurd / but she ***just*** handled it really really badly

Judgement on the emphasis was subjective as the WSC contains written transcripts, not audio recordings.

Other occurrences of *just* had the 'specificatory' – temporal (29) and locative (30) – functions:

29. I'll ***just*** get him he's ***just*** coming / I've ***just*** put my final payment on the visa / my mate ***just*** bought one for about five hundred dollars / I ***just*** remembered
(Temporal)
30. Western Samoa right wing throw ***just*** inside the Auckland twenty two / it's her dad's fiftieth on Saturday night ***just*** round from me Paremata / Tukino skifield which is ***just*** by Turoa
(Locative)

Several utterances with *just* were ambiguous because the speaker changed direction and did not complete, or repaired, what was being said:

31. oh man no I was ***just*** I liked er watching the skill level in these guys eh / yeah it was ***just*** that- / and he you know whereas I ***just*** think money's ***just-*** / you know but um the second one was ***just*** it's rad

Still other examples showed *just* functioning as part of the same kinds of MWU used in academic English:

32. yeah I'll be ***just about*** off to Germany by that stage / ***just in case*** a little bit comes his way / oh yeah cos it ***just just in case*** there's a slight chance a tidbit will be there yeah / dogs moult ***just about*** all year

These MWUs occur commonly in conversational English. The combined number and percentages of occurrences of *just* in the WSC extracts is given in Table 6 below:

Table 6: Overall functions of *just* in extracts from the Wellington Spoken Corpus (WSC)

Minimising		*Minimising (with 'not just')*		*Minimising (Teacher talk)*		*Specific. (Temporal / Locative)*		*Emphas*		*Partic/ Exactly*		*Ambig*		*MWU*	
95	65%	0	0%	0	0%	4/6	3%/4%	7	5%	12	8%	18	12%	4	3%

Analysis of the 146 occurrences of *just* in WSC revealed that there are no examples of the 'teacher talk' metadiscursive frame, or of the 'not just' function often used by lecturers. However, minimising still remained the largest function (65%) of *just.* In addition, *just* was also used at least four times as often with its particularising (exactly) function and three times as often with an ambiguous function as in the academic English examples. The higher usage of the particularising function in general English might be because we describe one thing in terms of it being like another to clarify the description, while the higher usage of *just* with an ambiguous function might be a reflection of the informal nature of spontaneous conversational English.

Just in Academic and General Spoken English

Overall, analysis of the 861 occurrences of *just* in this small New Zealand Art & Design and Nursing lecture corpus plus the 146 occurrences in extracts from the WSC showed that in the majority of occurrences from the Art & Design (68% lecturers, 14% students), Nursing (76% lecturers, 3% students) and WSC (65%) data, *just* functioned as a minimiser an average of 70% of the time. As speakers, we try to reduce the imposition of what we are saying to, or asking of, others. *Just* appeared to be used next most often in academic English, but with much smaller percentages, with an ambiguous function because the statement was unfinished, repaired or interrupted. In the WSC general English examples, *just* occurred comparatively often with its particularising function where the speaker clarified a description by using a comparison (***just*** like McDonalds) and slightly more often still with an ambiguous function.

The main difference between lecturer and student use of *just* in spoken academic New Zealand English was lecturers using the metadiscursive 'teacher talk' frames where *just* served to minimise or hedge the imposition of what lecturers were asking of students, in both Art & Design presentations (can I ***just*** get you to elaborate a bit on / can you ***just*** explain it a bit more) and Nursing lectures (so ***just*** try and remember what they are / so if you'd ***just*** be quiet for a moment please). In addition, lectures in both disciplines used 'not just' to make comparisons or contrast clear to students, a technique that students had no need to use.

Furthermore, lecturers often define or explain terms, so if a lecturer was putting forward a definition or explanation, *just* functions as a minimiser to mean 'simply', to show that the definition is not complicated. Students, however, have less need to define terms and in general express themselves sometimes with frequent use of *just* as examples from Art & Design student presentations showed.

Implications for teaching

The fact that *just* occurs frequently and has a role to play in both academic and general New Zealand – as well as American and British – spoken English means that greater attention might need to be paid to the teaching of it to EAL students. Also important in the teaching is the stress or emphasis placed on *just*. In American academic spoken English when used as a mitigator to soften something being said, *just* was more likely to have reduced stress, often with no vowel, while when used as a particulariser (exactly), the full vowel was more likely to be used (Lindemann & Mauranen, 2001). Learners should also be made aware that *just* can be used as a hedge to reduce the imposition of a request, but that the intonation used with *just* can make it an intensifier in directives (O'Keefe et al., 2007). However, the fact that it is likely to be used more often with reduced stress means that it may be less visible to learners. As a result, EAL students may need to learn to 'notice' where and how *just* is used and said in both academic lectures and informal conversation. Furthermore, EAL students who use the wrong stress or emphasis could find themselves giving the wrong message and appearing to be impatient or rude. They have a right to know the result of such usage and the attitude it might express so they can choose to use it or avoid using it in this way. Also important for students is knowing how to recognise and use *just* themselves with a minimising or mitigating function to reduce the imposition of a request or suggestion when participating in lectures, seminars and conversations.

Conclusion

One aim of this study, despite the limitations of its size, was to contribute to the previous research on *just*, and increase our understanding by studying how it functioned in New Zealand academic and general spoken English. The Lindemann and Mauranen (2001) functions applied to the New Zealand data with no new meanings emerging, other than its occurrence in multiword units. However, because of its frequency and wide range of meanings in spoken English, *just* deserves greater attention in English for Academic or Specific Purposes (EAP/ESP) courses. The use of *just* in frames such as 'let me just' could also be included in the discussion of hedges (Lindemann & Mauranen, 2001; O'Keefe et al., 2007), and its use in definitions could be brought to students' attention. Furthermore, textbook writers and language teachers may need to take account of the various functions that *just* performs, to better prepare EAL students for understanding and using it appropriately – and with the correct intonation and stress – in educational and social contexts. Additional research on its use in other

corpora – both spoken and written – would further contribute to our understanding of the frequency and functionality of adverbs such as *just*.

Notes

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Appendix 1: Example of *just* used in one Art & Design student presentation

okay um so I was dealing with the myth of the five second rule with dropping food um as far as the narrative I've kind of simplified it to a girl buys a box of jaffas after school and all her friends want some and then so she shares them out generously and is left with only two in the box and so I kind of want the moral of my myth to be oh of the story to be um it's better to share that's ***just*** kind of an underlying thing. um so after she shares them out she's left with two and she eats one and um I go through showing the facial expressions of that which I haven't um photographed the girl yet but I've ***just*** been looking at it on its own um so yeah so you'll see the facial expressions of her chewing it I did some kind of this very rough sort of close up I'm doing the black and white image with ***just*** the red jaffa and um then and then she looks into the box um to see the last one and decides most people usually want to suck the last one because um you regret not sucking the rest of them and she goes to pour it and she drops it on the ground and that's when I go into um looking at the motion of jaffa dropping um obviously I'd ***just*** been looking also at like comics with and stuff I don't want to have the type looking like um like when she's munching I don't want it to look like I ***just*** I want to um have it in more of a straight sort of type so um these are ***just*** some of the comics I was looking at like these are the myth of batman and that sort of thing I really like this one um and I might incorporate it how there's like a story going on and then there's these close ups of the red blood of the knife and it's like, um you see the story but there it's kind of happening in between oh yeah I like because I was looking at the jaffa rolling down the stairs I like I was looking at ***just*** the way which they graphically like simplify it and um that's going to be they're ***just*** graphically quite cool the rain and also kind of dissecting it looks like panels but I think that's ***just*** one frame but it looks like separate anyway um so yeah I was ***just*** playing around with um I want to use both views like being the jaffa um from the side and also a bird's eye view um was me ***just*** yeah ***just*** playing around I'm not quite sure how I'm going to tackle it going down the stairs yet because I was doing like tricky stuff with different frames so it looked like it dropped from there but it ***just*** ended up looking like I'd taken a photo with a jaffa sitting on that step

A FREQUENCY BASED WORD LIST FOR TEACHING THE SAMOAN LANGUAGE

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Abstract

This article looks at a Samoan word frequency list made from a modern corpus of the Samoan language. The article describes the making of this list and the corpus on which it is based and its possible uses in the learning and teaching of Samoan.

Introduction

New Zealand's Samoan community is a relatively young community with two thirds of its population under 30 years old. In 2006, 60% of the Samoan population living in New Zealand were born in New Zealand. 56% of this New Zealand-born group were aged under 15 years (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). Currently, Samoan is the third most spoken language in New Zealand after English and Maori.

An increasing number of these young Samoans, particularly those in the New Zealand-born group, are losing their language due mainly to the powerful influence of English at school, in the media, as well as in the wider society around them. The 2006 New Zealand Census of Populations and Dwellings figures support this concern. In 2006, there were about 77,106 speakers of the Samoan language (63%) from a population of 131,100 Samoans in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). Also, while 90% of overseas-born Samoan people aged five years and over claimed that they could speak Samoan, only 44% of those born in New Zealand claimed that they could have a conversation about a lot of everyday things in Samoan (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). This reflected a 4% drop in the number of New Zealand-born who could speak Samoan (48% of New Zealand-born Samoans spoke the language in 2001, while 44% spoke it in 2006). It would appear that language loss increases as the New Zealand-born numbers increase, a feature that would appear typical of minority groups migrating to larger metropolitan centres such as New Zealand. As Spolsky noted (1988, p. 15-16), "Increasingly, Samoans in New Zealand have come to recognise that there is a serious threat of language loss, and have started to work against it."

Responses by the Samoan community to counter the loss of their language included the setting up of *A'oga 'Amata*, Samoan language preschools (Burgess, 1998). These preschools are often set up within church communities, run by parents as well as trained Samoan preschool teachers who speak fluent Samoan. These centres provide an important opportunity to launch serious attempts at

curbing language loss by extending the domains where Samoan is used. The community has as long ago as 1974 begun to ask for its language to be included in classrooms for the education of their children. An educational policy was approved by the Ministry of Education in 1995 to include Samoan as an optional subject in New Zealand schools, mainly high schools. This led to the publishing of the document "Samoan in the New Zealand Curriculum" (Ministry of Education, 1996) on the teaching of the Samoan language. The document, revised in 2009, was written to provide guidelines in the teaching of Samoan from preschools to the high school level.

In 1998, Samoan was approved to be offered as a School Certificate (now superseded by NCEA) subject in the public examination system. Samoan was also offered as a subject at Victoria University of Wellington in 1989, and at Auckland University three years later. It has become part of the BA degrees of these universities. The implementation of these programmes within the education system in New Zealand recognised the importance of the Samoan language to its community in New Zealand. To assist in the teaching of Samoan in schools and universities, a series of resources such as readers and a school journal, *Folauga* and the TUPU series have been developed. Publication of these unfortunately has just been paused for review by the Minister of Education, Ann Tolley, as she wants to know if "these are the most effective resources to support Pasifika education" (Parliamentary Debates, 2010).

Classroom programmes prepared by teachers to implement the curriculum require further input to help define what language content should be included. In particular, appropriate vocabulary content is one of the important components of such planning, if the language is to be taught successfully in New Zealand. This research into Samoan vocabulary is the first to produce a frequency list from a systematically created corpus of Samoan. The list should provide a useful basis for learning the Samoan language in classrooms in New Zealand and elsewhere. Its use in the classroom and outside of it could also contribute to the long-term goal of maintaining the Samoan language in New Zealand.

The role of frequency lists in vocabulary learning

To gain the best results from a vocabulary-learning programme, learners need to focus on the vocabulary that will give them the greatest return for their learning effort. That is, they need to focus on words which they will be able to use in a wide variety of circumstances and that they will be able to use frequently. In word frequency studies a distinction is typically made between high-frequency vocabulary and low-frequency vocabulary. High-frequency vocabulary occurs typically in a wide range of language uses. Typically, the high-frequency words make up a relatively small amount of different words, but cover a very large proportion of the running words. Low-frequency vocabulary on the other hand consists of a very large number of different words, which cover only a very small

proportion of the running words. To illustrate, Table 1 is taken from an analysis of a four million running word corpus (Nation & Webb, 2011, p. 143).

Table 1: Tokens, types and families in the 4,000,000 token corpus

Word List		Tokens/%	Types/%	Families
1		3339537/ 79.92	5697/ 7.69	1000
2		290181/ 6.94	4923/ 6.65	1000
3		153475/ 3.67	4405/ 5.95	999
4		66780/ 1.60	3646/ 4.92	999
5		42226/ 1.01	3093/ 4.18	999
6		28259/ 0.68	2837/ 3.83	996
7		19028/ 0.46	2571/ 3.47	996
8		13599/ 0.33	2244/ 3.03	991
9		12109/ 0.29	1947/ 2.63	976
10		8190/ 0.20	1504/ 2.03	856
11		5817/ 0.14	1419/ 1.92	848
12		4638/ 0.11	1270/ 1.72	831
13		3465/ 0.08	1097/ 1.48	766
14		2758/ 0.07	914/ 1.23	701
15		2282/ 0.05	807/ 1.09	633
16		1803/ 0.04	654/ 0.88	556
17		1657/ 0.04	601/ 0.81	507
18		1393/ 0.03	576/ 0.78	499
19		1158/ 0.03	518/ 0.70	440
20		755/ 0.02	392/ 0.53	342
21	Proper nouns	81836/ 1.96	7918/ 10.69	7896
22	Marginal words	39003/ 0.93	60/ 0.08	4
23	Transparent compounds	9363/ 0.22	1447/ 1.95	1004
24		139/ 0.00	71/ 0.10	64
25		2062/ 0.05	841/ 1.14	841
not in the lists		46995/ 1.12	22596/ 30.52	
Total		4178508	74048	25744

Note in column 2, how the first 2000 words (word lists one and two) cover well over 86% of the tokens or running words in the corpus. Note also that each of the word lists from the sixth 1000 onwards covers only a fraction of a percent of the running words in the corpus. In English, the high-frequency words are represented by the first 2000 words. All beginning learners of English need to have these as their first and most important vocabulary learning goal. These high-frequency words give learners familiarity with a very large number of the tokens or running words.

The majority of words in any corpus are low-frequency words, which cover only a very small percentage of the running words. In English these are represented by the third 1000 onwards.

Knowing what words make up the high-frequency words of a language is very useful for course designers and language learners. When designing material for their learners, course designers choose to focus on the high-frequency words,

largely excluding the low-frequency words wherever possible until learners are ready to learn them.

If learners have access to a frequency list, they can then make their own decisions about what words to learn. When they begin to learn the language, learners are faced with an overwhelming number of unknown words. If they have some guide in their choice of what words to learn initially, they may get a better return for their learning effort.

There are cautions, however, associated with frequency lists. First, a frequency list is only as good as the corpus from which it is made. If the corpus does not represent the kind of language that learners need to learn, then word lists made from it can quickly become irrelevant. Secondly, a word list should be a guide, not an inflexible sequence for learning. The most frequent words in a word list based on normal language use are typically the function words of the language, and these usually carry only a small amount of content meaning. They also tend to make up only a small proportion of the words in the high-frequency words of the language, but they are very influential in regards to text coverage. In English, the ten most frequent words of the language cover around 25% of the running words, and the most frequent 100 words of the language cover around 50% of the running words. Most of these very high-frequency words are function words, but there are high-frequency content words as well. In English, there are 176 function word families (Nation, 2001, p. 206). These include, for example, pronouns, conjunctions, prepositions, numbers, articles, and determiners. The rest of the 2000 high-frequency words are all content words (nouns, verbs, adverbs, and adjectives). As we shall see, one of the most important influences on the number of tokens covered by the high-frequency words is the frequency of the highest frequency function words.

Although word lists need to be used with caution, they are an extremely valuable tool in guiding learning. They also have value when selecting items for vocabulary proficiency tests.

The Samoan corpus and frequency list

The Samoan word frequency list was produced from a corpus of spoken and written colloquial Samoan collected in New Zealand and Sāmoa between 1996 and 1998. The corpus included just over 300,000 running words of the Samoan language. This final total was compiled from 150,000 words each from Sāmoa and New Zealand, of which 60% were written and 40% spoken. The written texts included informative prose (46%) and imaginative prose (14%), and the spoken texts included broadcast material (25%), meetings (10%) and parliamentary proceedings (5%).

The ten word lists made from this corpus consist of word types not word families. A word family is the base form of a word plus its inflected forms and derived

forms made from affixes (Hirsh & Nation 1992, p. 692). Word families are important in learning vocabulary as these are words which share a common base to which different prefixes and suffixes can be added to form related words. Research is needed into the nature of word families in Samoan, and so for this study word types were used as the unit of counting. The placement of words on the list was done simply according to frequency, with the most frequent 500 words appearing in the first list, the second most frequent 500 words in the second list and so on. Because the corpus is relatively small, the Samoan words outside the first 10 lists occurred only once in the corpus. The group *other words of lower frequency* (4674 different words) includes Samoan words occurring only once, proper nouns and English words. Proper nouns were not included in the 10 lists, but are included in the total number of items in the corpus.

To produce the frequency list, the corpus was analysed using a word frequency counting program resulting in a list of words totalling 9,453, ranging from the most frequently used word, *le*, to the last of those occurring only once, number 9,453, *vēsiga*. The corpus was named *Kopasi o le Gagana Sāmoa* (Hunkin, 2001).

Table 2: Number and percentage of types and tokens in the corpus

Word list (in 500 word lots)	**Tokens**	**Percentage coverage and [cumulative coverage]**	**Types/ %**
1	256206	85.20	500 / 5.29%
2	17204	5.72 [90.92%]	500 / 5.29%
3	7572	2.52 [93.44%]	500 / 5.29%
4	4569	1.52 [94.96%]	500 / 5.29%
5	3021	1.00 [95.96%]	500 / 5.29%
6	2199	0.73 [96.69%]	500 / 5.29%
7	1639	0.55 [97.24%]	500 / 5.29%
8	1364	0.45 [97.69%]	500 / 5.29%
9	1020	0.34 [98.03%]	510 / 5.40%
10	1234	0.41 [98.44%]	617 / 6.53%
Other words of lower frequency	4674	1.55 [100%]	4326 / 45.76%
Total	300,702	[100%]	9,453

Looking at the figures in Table 2, we can see that the most frequent 500 word types cover 85.20% of the corpus. The next group of 500 covers 5.72%, bringing the first 1000 words of the corpus to near 91% coverage of the running words (tokens) in the Samoan text, or 9 words in every 10-word line.

By learning and knowing the first 1000 words in the Samoan list, a Samoan language student will stand a greater chance of understanding what s/he will be reading or listening to in class. To put these figures in another way, with a vocabulary of 1000 words, a learner of Samoan would know 91 words out of every 100 running words (tokens) in a text. Just under one word in every ten would not be known, although a reasonable proportion of these would be proper nouns. The study by Nation (2006) suggests that 98% coverage is needed to allow reasonable

comprehension of a text. The second 1000 words in the Samoan frequency list will enable students to know another four words per one hundred (95 /100) in a text. Nation (2006) would argue that this figure would not be adequate to make a reasonable guess of the unknown words. Adding the third 1000 would add another 1.73%, or approximately 2 words, while the fourth 1000 would add another 1.00% to reach text coverage of nearly 98%. The learning task for students who wish to learn the first 5000 words in the list is huge and is not recommended when viewed from the time and effort put into learning with only minimal gains. Teachers of Samoan would be better advised to look at targetting the specialist vocabulary needed for the different purposes (topic or subject related etc) that learners might have for reading or speaking or writing (Cobb, T. website). Together with the first 2000 most frequently used words in the Samoan wordlist, teachers should target the vocabulary of particular domains (such as the particular topics or subjects studied) that would help students reach the target of 98%.

The frequency ranked list

In Table 3, we look in some detail and highlight the types of words that come at the top of the Samoan frequency list, which is ranked according to frequency.

Table 3: Rank, Frequency and Cumulative percentage

Total tokens: 300701, Total types: 9453

Word Type		Rank	Frequency	Cumulative Percent
le	[the]	1	28261	9.40
e	[tense marker; infinitive particle]	2	14030	14.06
o	[possessive marker]	3	13391	18.52
i	[preposition of location]	4	9796	21.78
'o	[nominative particle]	5	8933	24.75
ma	[and]	6	7683	27.30
ai	[relative particle]	7	6335	29.41
'ua	[tense indicator]	8	5514	31.24
'i	[preposition of direction]	9	5222	32.98
se	[indefinite article]	**10**	4221	**34.38**
lea	[this]	11	4178	35.77
mai	[from]	12	3579	36.96
ona	[linking particle]	13	3294	38.06
'uma	[finished]	**50**	949	**57.70**
itū	[side]	**100**	376	**67.03**
'autusitala	[writers]	**1000**	20	90.97

The ten most frequently used words of Samoan have a coverage of 34.38% of the written and spoken texts in the corpus.

The first 100 most frequently used words in the Samoan Language (see Table 4) cover 67% of spoken and written texts, the first 500 cover 85% and the first 1000 words has a coverage of 90.97%.

Table 4: The first 100 most frequently used words in the Samoan language.

1st 20 words	2nd 20 words	3rd 20 words	4th 20 words	5th 20 words
1. le	21. ‘ae	41. tele	61. tupe	81. niu
2. e	22. ‘olo’o	42. toe	62. mafia	82. lua
3. o	23. nei	43. pei	63. tau	83. pea
4. i	24. lenei	44. ‘ou	64. faia	84. lau
5. 'o	25. mea	45. maua	65. ‘auā	85. sila
6. ma	26. sā	46. tūlaga	66. nisi	86. lo
7. ai	27. lātou	47. ali’i	67. ‘e	87. ‘a
8. ‘ua	28. ia	48. Sāmoa	68. tausaga	88. iloa
9. ‘i	29. mo	49. aso	69. totonu	89. mātou
10. se	30. iai	50. ‘uma	70. leai	90. afioga
11. lea	31. fai	51. isi	71. tatau	91. sui
12. mai	32. tātou	52. pē	72. o’o	92. lana
13. ona	33. lā	53. atunu’u	73. lenā	93. manatu
14. na	34. tagata	54. po	74. ‘a’o	94. tusa
15. a	35. te	55. lelei	75. gāluega	95. tala
16. fo’i	36. ‘ona	56. tasi	76. vāega	96. ‘ina
17. ‘ia	37. fa’apea	57. mālō	77. loa	97. matā’upu
18. lava	38. lona	58. ‘iā	78. le’i	98. alu
19. atu	39. ‘ole’ā	59. ā	79. ina	99. itū
20. lē	40. ni	60. taimi	80. ‘āiga	100. ‘au

The words in Table 4 are listed in five columns of twenty words per column, starting with *le* at number 1 and finishing with *‘au* at number 100. These first 100 most frequently occurring words from the frequency list are made up of the following groups. Note that these are collated loosely into the identified groups.

One group consists of 60 function or structural words, which have little or no meaning by themselves (Tuitele & Kneubuhl, 1978) but go together with content words in the language. Often some of these words have more than one meaning depending on the context. In Samoan these words can also be used as content words depending on the context. For instance, the word *atu* (rank 19) is a direction particle signalling movement away from the speaker. This word can also mean a fish in one of its less frequent uses. Structural words in English also form closed classes words to which words are rarely added. They include articles, determiners, modal verbs (e.g. *can*, *must will*, etc), pronouns, prepositions and connectives (e.g. conjunctions). In Samoan, similar groups of words can be found. They are included in subgroups which are found in the 60 structural type words identified here:

1. 7 tense indicators [2, 8, 14, 22, 26, 35, 39].
2. 8 possessive & demonstrative pronouns [11, 23, 24, 33, 38, 73, 84, 91 – note 33 is both a personal and demonstrative pronoun].
3. 7 personal pronouns [27, 28, 32, 33, 44, 67, 88].

The remaining words in the first one hundred consist of 40 content words, which consist of the following:

1. 26 nouns [25, 34, 46, 47, 48, 49, 53, 55, 57, 60, 61, 63, 68, 75, 76, 80, 81, 82, 89, 90, 92, 94, 96, 98, 99, 100].
2. 14 verbs [5, 18, 30, 31, 37, 41, 45, 50, 62, 64, 70, 71, 87, 97].

In most languages the high-frequency words are function words because these words are needed in almost every sentence. The ten most frequent function words cover 34.38% of the running words in the Samoan corpus. This contrasts with coverage of around 25% for the ten most frequent words in a corpus of English.

Some key features of Samoan vocabulary learning based on *Kopasi o le Gagana Sāmoa*

Use of the glottal stop (‘) and macron (ā) - an important issue

An important aspect in teaching the language using the vocabulary from this frequency list that teachers of Samoan must become familiar with is the consistent and accurate use of the glottal stop (‘) as well as the macron (ā, ē, ī, ō, ū) which signals a long vowel. This is crucial especially when planning to teach Samoan to non-native speakers of the language. The use of the glottal stop (‘) and macron does two important things to the written words of Samoan: firstly they signal the correct way to pronounce a word, and secondly, they indicate a different form and hence meaning. For example, the word *‘ua*, the ‘present perfect’ indicator is very high up at number 8 on the frequency list, while the word *ua* without the initial glottal stop occurs at a considerably lower position (frequency 547). For teachers of Samoan, the best dictionary to use in relation to the accurate use of diacritical marks and for student’s use is the *Samoan dictionary* by G.B. Milner (1966).

Word families

Another important aspect which can assist learners of Samoan is for teachers to show learners how words can belong to word families. An example found in the list is: *a'o*, *a'oga*, *a'oa*, *a'oa'i*, *a'oa'ia* (to learn, learning, learnt, to correct/rebuke unsociable behaviour). Many other word families are found throughout the list and further illustrations are listed below.

1. *aga* (rank1050), *aga'ifanua* (rank 1087), *agalelei* (rank 2797): behaviour, customs, kindness.
2. *tagi* (rank 469), *tagi'ilima* (rank 2006), *tagiao* (rank 5145), *tagiauē* (rank 8966), *tagifano* (rank 3876), *fa’atagi* (rank 4273): cry, cry by oneself, cry at daytime, wail, walk along while crying, plead.
3. *'u'u* (rank 1666), *'u'uina* (rank 2588), *'u'ulima* (rank 7335), *'u'umau* (rank7336): hold, held by, hold hands, hold tight.

T-style / k-style: formal versus colloquial pronunciation

The frequency word list of Samoan contains words that reflect the two phonological styles of the Samoan language, described by Milner (1966, p. xi) as

"marked stylistic gradations" of the language. The first style is the t-style, sometimes referred to as formal pronunciation, while the second is the k-style, also known as colloquial pronunciation. In the colloquial pronunciation, the consonants k, l and g (phonemes /k/, /l/ and /ŋ/) replace the consonants t, r and n (phonemes /t/, /r/ and /n/) respectively. For example, the word *tālofa* (hello) (rank 512) is the formal pronunciation while *kālofa* (rank 2307) is the colloquial form; the word *nofo* (sit) (rank 238) is in the t-style and its equivalent in the k-style is *gofo* (rank 1559). There are similar examples recorded in the lists.

The t-style is used in writing, in broadcasting, in the classroom, when singing and sometimes during meetings. Samoans prefer this style to be taught to children, students and particularly to non-Samoans. The underlying belief is that the formal style is somehow a better form, and that visitors and outsiders are to be treated with respect and given the best of what one has to offer (Mayer, 1980). On the other hand, while most Samoans refer to the k-style as "vulgar" (Mosel & Hovdhaugen, 1992), the great majority of them use the colloquial pronunciation or the k-style in everyday communication. As noted by Duranti (1981), "about 90% of casual adult speech is in the intimate (colloquial) style", a view that Mosel and Hovdhaugen (1992) also share, describing it as "the variant of the language first learned by Samoans." The corpus seems to reflect this aspect. The frequencies of the colloquial k-style forms are relatively high, particularly in the spoken lists in the corpus. For example, the word *kākou* (rank 160) is the k-style and the colloquial form of the inclusive personal pronoun (we 'all of us'). Its t-style form is *tātou* (rank 32). Other k-style words very high up in the frequency list include borrowed words such as *komiti*/committee (rank 225), *kamupanī*/company (rank 237), *kolisi*/college (rank 532), *kalapu*/club (rank 578), *koko*/cocoa (rank 632), *komesina*/commissioner (rank 702). Two local Samoan words are also high up in the frequency list; *kagaka*/tagata, person (rank 717) and *kūlaga*/position, rank (rank 718). The implications of these high-frequency k-style forms are quite important. The results of this study show that there are strong reasons for the inclusion of the *k*-style in classroom programmes, social forces and antipathy against it notwithstanding. Samoan students need to know both styles, t and k, so they can cope with the widely used k-style that most Samoans use daily.

Influence of the t-style and k-style on the written form of Samoan

The effect of the t- and k-style on the spelling of words in modern Samoan is evidenced in the corpus. In the frequency list a number of word types are seen to be spelled up to five different ways. For example the Samoan equivalent of the English word *president* is found to have five different forms in the word lists: (i) peresetene, (ii) peresitene, (iii) pelesitene, (iv) pelesekege, (v) pelesetene. Apart from the t/k influence on these five different forms, there is also the difference in the sixth letter of the word where the vowels *e* and *i* are interchanged. The reason for this variation is the way the sound of the corresponding section of the English word is represented by different translators. Thus, the *-si-* in (pre**si**dent) in English is represented as *-se-* (pere**se**tene) or *-si-* in (pere**si**tene) in the Samoan equivalents.

Words of religious significance that are derived from English are known to pattern in this way. The Catholic Church word for Christmas is *kirisimasi* (*kilisimasi*) while its non-Catholic form is *kerisimasi* (*kelisimasi*) (I learnt about this difference as an altar boy). Both these forms are found in the word lists as well as the k-style form *kelisimasi*. Variations such as these indicate a degree of non-standard orthographical representation of the Samoan language.

Formal and chiefly language

Another word type that appears in the lists is honorifics or formal, respectful words of address. The appearance of these word types in a corpus of contemporary Samoan is explained mainly by the fact that the initial addressing of individuals or groups of people publicly at meetings, on radio, or gatherings is almost always in a formalised respectful manner. One must not go straight into the business at hand until a person's or group's cultural status or position or standing in society has been acknowledged using these honorifics. The American explorer Hale (1846) noted that Samoans were a remarkably ceremonious people, and very attentive to the forms of politeness. This appears in the language, which has abundant terms of salutation and compliments. An example is the appearance of the honorific *afioga* in the word lists.

Afioga appears at rank 91 on the frequency list. *Afioga* is a high-frequency word and is particularly so in the spoken domain. This honorific is used specifically to address high chiefs (*ali'i*), Government Cabinet ministers, catholic priests and nuns as well as heads of organisations or groups. Today, it is even heard used colloquially by non-chiefs to non-chiefs!

A second example is the honorific *susuga*. This honorific appears at rank 143. It can be used in three ways: first it can be used generally to address an unknown or unfamiliar person or a stranger; secondly it is used for certain chiefly titles, e.g., Susuga Malietoa; and thirdly, it is used to address church ministers of the non-Roman Catholic denominations.

Another word type that signifies chiefly language other than honorifics is formalised or respect forms of verbs or nouns. For example, the noun *finagalo*, (opinion), appears at number 162. Its everyday form is *manatu* (a form that has other meanings as well), which appears at number 94.

It should be noted that if a speaker talks about himself or herself, then he or she uses the everyday form to describe his or her opinion; that is, one must not elevate oneself socially in speech.

Comparisons between Māori and Samoan

Māori and Samoan are related Polynesian languages that are spoken in New Zealand. Both are being studied in schools in New Zealand and it would be useful

to demonstrate how close that relationship is here. Table 5 shows the ten most frequently used words in the Samoan language, with their detailed meanings and uses.

Table 5: The ten most frequently used words in Samoan

le	definite article *the*; singular noun marker;. *'o le fale –the house; le aso – the day.* Its absence indicates a plural noun; *'o va'a – boats*.
e	tense/aspect, present everyday tense; *e lelei – it is good* introduces an infinitive; *sau e 'ai – come to eat* particle that introduces numerals; *e tolu -three*
o	possessive pronoun marker; *fale o Ioane –house of Ioane* dual/plural indicator of o class personal pronouns; *'ofu o Mele –Mele's dress*.
i	preposition of location; *nofo i le nofoa – sit in the chair* time; linkage particle for two-base words
'o	nominative particle; introduces nouns, pronouns standing alone: *'o Ioane; 'o le ta'avale.* multifunctional relative particle: *e lē 'o moe –(he) is not asleep* -- expresses negative*;* future reference to certain phrases; *I aso 'o sau –in days to come*; *as*; …'a *'o pese mai i totonu o le potu – as (she) was singing from within the room;* *while*; *'ai manū 'o 'e fia'ai –eat while you are hungry;* used after *'o ai – 'o ai 'o moe? - who is asleep?*
ma	conjunction *and; ; ma le tupe –with the money*
ai	relative particle *who*; *– 'o ai 'oe –who are you?;* *there*; *sa ia nofo ai – he lived there;* *why*; *'aiseā na 'e sau ai?-why did you come?;* *herein, hereby; eg e fa'ailoa atu ai lou alofa – to show herein your love*
'ua	tense indicator; *'ua alu Siaki – Siaki has gone*
'i	preposition denoting direction; *'i le ā'oga – to the school;* cause or reason why action is carried out; *'ua fiafia 'i lana tama –happy with her child;* means or instrument by which a process is carried out & a few other meanings in Milner's dictionary.
se	Indefinite article *a*

As was seen in Table 3, these ten most frequently used words in Samoan cover 34.38% of Samoan written or spoken texts, which is a very large coverage for only ten words. A similar phenomenon is found in the Māori language discussed later in this section. One of the main reasons for this is that many of these words are homonyms, that is, they have more than one unrelated meaning, as seen in Table 5. The first 1000 most frequently used words of Samoan cover 91% of the text, in comparison to English, with the first 1000 words in English covering 72% (Nation & Waring, 1997). This is a big difference in coverage for the same number of words.

All of the ten most frequently used words of the Samoan language are function words. These words are often multifunctional and are used extensively in Samoan texts. These words work closely with content words to form a number of key functions in the grammar of Samoan. For example, a common noun in English such as bread is expressed in Samoan with two determiners [*'o* & *le*] such as *'o le falaoa* 'bread' (no determiner); and a simple phrase such as *'o le falaoa a Ioane* 'Ioane's bread', has three of these words [*'o, le*, & *a*] which determines the

meaning and use of the noun *falaoa* (bread) as belonging to Ioane. There are many other constructions which use these structural or functional words in a similar manner. Of particular interest in relation to this aspect are the similarities between Samoan and Māori in contrast to English.

Bauer (2009) presented the results of a frequency count of Māori by Boyce (2006) which showed that the ten most frequent words of Māori provide much greater text coverage (35.10%) than the ten most frequent words of English (24.28%) – a difference of over 10% (The ten most frequent words of Samoan covered 34.38%). This is because Māori has many obligatory function words that occur with every content word. Māori function words cover 69.95% of the Māori Broadcast Corpus.

200 different word types in Maori accounted for 82.4% of the Maori corpus while in English, 2000 different word types accounted for about 80% of an English text (Nation, 2001). Bauer, looking for reasons to explain this huge discrepancy between the two languages, lists a number of explanations that include polysemy as well as the type of counting program used. Bauer used *Range*, a programme which was developed by Paul Nation and Averil Coxhead at Victoria University. This program counts orthographic word types – words that have a space between them in their written form – and is not able to count particular constructions where one English word such as *microwave* is written as two items – *ngaru iti* – in Maori. Similarly, when considering possessive pronouns, English has only one word for each of the plural possessive pronouns, while Māori uses two: *tō rāua*, *tō rātou*. Similar possessive pronouns are found in Samoan.

For example:

Māori:	tōna	*[his/hers]*	to rāua	*[their two]*		to rātou	*[their three plus]*
Samoan:	lona	"	lo lā'ua	"		lo lātou	"

Examples:

Māori: *Ko wai tōna ingoa*? Samoan: *'O ai lona igoa?* - What's his/her name?
Māori: *Ko tō rāua whare tērā*. Samoan: *'O lo lā'ua fale lelā* - That's their (2) house.
Māori: *He pai tō rātou whare*. Samoan: *E mānaia lo lātou fale*. - Their (3+) house is nice.

Samoan, like Māori, uses function words in greater concentration in comparison to English. For example, the phrase 'Te Kooti laughed' in Māori is *Ka kata a Te Kooti* (Bauer, 2009), and in Samoan is *Sa 'ata 'ia Te Kooti*. In this example English has three words in the phrase whereas Māori and Samoan each have five words. A second example is 'bread and butter': Māori uses *te paraoa me te pata* while Samoan uses *'o le falaoa ma le pata*. It is again seen that while English has three words, Māori has five and Samoan has six words. The Samoan and Māori languages are related Polynesian languages and these function words play very similar roles and functions in their grammars. Their word order is also similar in that the verb or verb phrase begins sentences in the two languages:

For example:

Māori:	*Kua haere te tama*	The boy has gone.
Samoan:	*ʻUa alu le tama*	The boy has gone.

In the examples above the tense markers come in front of the verb in both Māori and Samoan.

For example:

Māori: *Kua* (tense marker) + *haere* (verb) + *te tama* (subject).
Samoan: ʻ*Ua* (tense marker) + *alu* (verb) + *le tama* (subject).

Uses of the word list

Appendix A shows a Samoan text which has been marked up according to the frequency list, and includes a detailed commentary on the features that are revealed.

The word list can have several uses in course design and in the teaching and learning of vocabulary. Firstly, the list is useful for the design of lessons and syllabuses. The frequency count indicates the words which will give the greatest return for learning. This return for learning is indicated by the coverage figures in the Samoan corpus. By learning a relatively small number of different words a learner can quickly become familiar with a very large proportion of the running words in Samoan texts. This is by far the most important value of the word list. The vocabulary of a language is made up of high-frequency and low-frequency words, and the division between high-frequency and low-frequency words is not only a statistical division but is a learning division as well. That is, the high-frequency words are the words which need to be learned first, learned to the highest degree of knowledge and with the greatest fluency, and need to be met over a wide range of language uses. Secondly, the word lists are very useful for checking and guiding the adaptation of texts so that texts are within the language knowledge or largely within the language knowledge of the learners who will use them. The use of simplified material in language learning is very important if learners are to gain meaning-focused input in their language learning. Thirdly, the list is useful for deliberate learning on word cards by learners. Although there is considerable prejudice amongst teachers for this decontextualised, deliberate learning, there is plenty of evidence that it is a very effective way of quickly increasing vocabulary size (Nation, 2001). There is also now evidence that such learning results in the kind of implicit knowledge which is needed for normal language use (Elgort, 2011). Fourthly, the list can act as a reference guide for teachers and learners when making decisions about whether to devote time to particular words or not. Finally, the list should act as a stimulus for further research. This further research could focus on developing word families for Samoan, increasing the size and the variety of composition of corpora in Samoan, and doing concordance-based studies of Samoan words using such corpora.

A lot of attention has been given to the high-frequency function words in this paper. However, the high-frequency words are what learners should most quickly gain control of, and these provide high coverage when listening and reading. The ten 500-word levels developed in this research are thus a very useful resource for teachers and course designers. The full frequency list is available from this website: http://www.victoria.ac.nz/pasifika/default.aspx.

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Appendix One: A sample marked text

Here is an example of a text from the Samoan corpus in which the words have been marked up to show frequency level using the computer programme Range. The underlined words are in the first 500 words of Samoan, those with 2 in front of them are in the second 500 words, 3 in the third 500 words and so on.

{2} **Tālofa** lava. 'O nai tala fo'i nei 'auā lau {2} **fa'afofoga'aga**. 'Ua {3} *fa'atonuina* nei e le

[Greetings indeed. Here is the news for your listening (information). It has been instructed

fa'amasinoga sili 'ia le vāega o le {4} Tīvī Niu Sila, 'ina 'ia totogi atu 'i le ali'i sā 'avea ma

by the high /supreme court that TVNZ should pay to the man who had been the president of

peresetene o le {2} **kalapu** o {4} solofanua i 'Aukilani, le itū'āiga fo'i nei e {3} *toso ta'avale*, le

the horse racing club in Auckland, the type which pulls a cart behind it (harness racing), the

ali'i o {4} Mr {12} Quinn, {12} Terry {12} Quinn, {2} **sina** tupe e tusa ma le miliona ma le 'afa.

man named Mr Quinn, Terry Quinn, was awarded some money which is about a million and a half dollars.

'O lenei tupe e tu'uina atu e le {4} Tīvī Niu Sila 'ona 'o le tūlaga lea na {2} **fa'aleagaina** ai 'ia

This money has been given by TVNZ because of defamation charges that defamed this man

lenei ali'i i ni polokalame, a le ali'i 'o {12} Holmes. 'O le saunoaga 'i le ali'i fa'apea, 'o le mea

on Paul Holmes programme. The comment by the man was that the most important thing was

sili ona tāua 'ua fa'amaonia, 'o polokalame nei e lua a {12} Holmes na {2} **fa'aleagaina** ai lona

that it was proven that the two programmes by Holmes defamed his name as well as

igoa ma lona 'āiga ma le tele o mea sā {3} *tīgaina* ai, 'Ua fa'amaonia nei le lē moni, ma e 'ua

that of his family as well as other stresses that he faced. It has now been proven that these

fiafia fo'i 'ona 'ua tu'uina mai e le fa'amasinoga lenei avanoa ma lenei {2} **seleni** e fesoasoani

were not true and expressed satisfaction that the court awarded the opportunity and

'i le {11} taufa'aleleia o nisi mea. E sili atu i le ono itūlā 'o {11} fefulisa'i fo'i {11} fa'alā'au {2}

money to assist to make some things better. It took over six hours to deliberate very

mamafa e 'i lātou fa'atonu o le {!} Jury 'ia le {2} **i'uga** o le fa'amasinoga lenei, 'a'o le tūlaga lā

deeply by the jury the decision for this court case, but that is the outcome for it.

lenā na iai, 'Ua tu'uina atu le miliona ma le 'afa 'i le ali'i o {12} Terry {12}Quinn.

A million and a half dollars has been awarded to Mr Terry Quinn.

The analysis shows the following information.

1. The underlined words in this text belong in the first 500 words of the corpus and cover about 88% or 189/214 of the running words in the text. These are very high-frequency words. Note that many of these words in the text are content words.
2. If we add the words from the second 500 words of the corpus (in bold) as shown by the number 2 in front of the word, we find that the percentage of words from the first 1000 words comes to about 92.5% of the text. If we add to this figure the words from the next 1000 word list which are marked by {3} (3^{rd} 500 words) and {4} (4^{th} 500 words), we find that the coverage comes to about 97% coverage. This means that the students who know the first 2000 most frequently used words of the Samoan corpus will stand a reasonable chance of understanding this text. The unknown words might be guessed from their usage in the text. These last three items are explained in 3 below. Note that the words marked {12} are proper nouns.
3. In the text are also found words which belong mainly to the low-frequency words. These include some English terms which relate closely to the topic of the text. For example, the names *Terry, Quinn, Holmes*. One English term *Mr* appears as a high-frequency word {4} and is found in the second 1000 words of the corpus. This is explained by the fact that half the corpus was collected in New Zealand and many written and spoken texts kept these English words. This in itself is an interesting feature of the influence of English on Samoan within an environment where the Samoan nouns are being replaced with their English equivalent. This is happening in many conversations in Samoan even by fluent speakers. It is a phenomenon that has led to the term *Samlish* – Samoan-English. There is one word which is not found in the corpus as indicated by the symbol{!}. *Jury* appears in this topic and was obviously left in by the news presenters/writers untranslated.

THE MAONZE CORPUS: TRANSCRIBING AND ANALYSING MĀORI SPEECH

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Abstract

The MAONZE project investigates change over time in the pronunciation of the Māori language by comparing archival recordings of older Māori speakers born in the late 19th century with present-day recordings of both older and younger speakers. The background to the project and details on how the corpus of recordings was compiled are described in an earlier companion piece. This article describes the transcription and analysis protocols that have been employed in the project and gives an overview of some of the results of the analysis of vowels and consonants and the perception of prosodic cues.

Introduction

The aim of the MAONZE (Māori and New Zealand English) project is to analyse changes in the pronunciation of the Māori language over time by comparing archival materials of Māori born in the late 19th century and recorded, for the most part, in the mid 1940s, with present-day recordings of both elders and young adult speakers. The male and female speakers from the database can be divided into three groups: Historical Elders (born mainly in the 1880s), Elders (born mainly in the mid-1930s) and Young speakers (born mainly in the 1980s). In total, we have investigated the speech of 58 speakers, with roughly equal numbers in each group (see King, Maclagan, Harlow, Keegan, & Watson, 2011, for details). We have Māori and English recordings for many of the archival speakers and all the present-day speakers.

An earlier companion paper published in this journal gives details of the methodology and design of the MAONZE corpus (King, Maclagan, Harlow, Keegan, & Watson, 2010). The current paper gives details of how the recordings were transcribed and some of the research methods employed. This is followed by a brief overview of the results of a number of analyses from the MAONZE corpus. As well as analysis of changes over time in the pronunciation of vowels (both monophthongs and diphthongs) and some consonants, recent investigation focusses on changes in the rhythm of Māori.

Transcription

The previously published companion paper gave details on how the historical recordings were collected and how the present day recordings were made. Before any acoustic or auditory analysis of the speech of speakers could be undertaken it was necessary to make transcriptions of what was said on the recordings. Most of the transcriptions of the MAONZE database and the associated Tūhoe and Māori English databases were made by research assistants. Some recordings have also been transcribed by the project team, in particular the Māori recordings.

The transcriptions are made using the program Transcriber, a shareware computer program available in PC and Mac formats, which can be downloaded from http://trans.sourceforge.net/en/presentation.php. The advantage of using Transcriber is that not only is a transcript of the sound file produced, but the transcript is time aligned to the sound file. The time aligning can be seen in Figure 1, which shows a sample screen shot from one of the Transcriber files from this project. Below the waveform in the bottom part of the screen shot it can be seen how each line in the transcript is time aligned to the sound file. This means that it is easy to move to precise places within a sound file, a useful feature when dealing with the textgrids that are produced from the transcriber files (see following section). Time aligning is the pivotal feature which makes very powerful searches and analyses possible over large corpora using the LaBB-Cat software (http://onzeminer.sourceforge.net/). This is explained in more detail below.

Figure 1: Sample screenshot in Transcriber from transcription of a historical female elder.

For transcription, the MAONZE project follows protocols developed for the ONZE (Origins of New Zealand English) project (Gordon, Campbell, Hay, Maclagan, Sudbury, & Trudgill, 2004). For linguistic research purposes, transcriptions should include everything the speakers say, including hesitations, repetitions and false starts. Maclagan and Hay (2011) give a detailed account of different types of transcriptions and their uses. As can be seen in Figure 1, conventional punctuation is not used, with capitals only being used for proper names and the pronoun *I* in English. Various lengths of pauses are indicated with a full-stop, hyphen or double hyphen. Because of difficulties between programs and across PC and Mac computer platforms, with vowels with macrons becoming assorted strange symbols, the decision was made to represent the macrons of long vowels in Māori with a colon after the vowel, *Ma:ori*.

Acoustic analysis

We used Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2010, version 4.125 or later) to carry out the acoustic analysis. Where Transcriber only allows one level of textual notation, Praat allows many tiers to be added for recording analyses. The Transcriber files can be converted to Praat textgrids, and appropriate tiers added so that different analyses can be carried out. Appropriate utilities for converting Transcriber .trs files to Praat textgrids can be found on the web, including on the MAONZE website, http://www.ece.auckland.ac.nz/~cwat057/MAONZE/MAONZE.html. Praat Acoustic Analysis Software is a shareware computer program available in PC and Mac formats. Both research assistants and the research team were involved in the analysis of the sound files in Praat.

Often speech that was unclear when transcribed in Transcriber was easier to interpret when performing the analysis in Praat. For this reason those doing the analysis were given both the Praat textgrids and Transcriber (.trs) files and asked to alter text in both formats if mistakes were found or unclear speech could be deciphered. This was to ensure that the Transcriber files were as correct as possible, because ultimately it is these files, and not the textgrids, which are uploaded to LaBB-Cat and are available for searching.

The acoustic analysis in Praat for the English and Māori speech of each speaker included the following:

1. monophthongs – at least 30 stressed tokens for each vowel (where possible), from environments with surrounding consonants and not in word final positions. It is important that the tokens analysed are stressed, so that they are unambiguously tokens of the intended vowel, and there are no effects from unstressed vowels. Values for the first three formants and fundamental frequency (F_0) as well as length were taken. Unless unavoidable, no more than five tokens of any one word were used.
2. diphthongs – as per the monophthong analysis with measurements taken for both the first and second target.

Figure 2 shows a sample screen shot showing marking up of part of the Māori acoustic analysis for a present day female elder. The top part of the screen shot shows the sound waves with the dots showing the formant placements which are generated automatically by Praat. The figure shows how the data can be labelled on many levels in Praat. The first tier underneath the sound waves contains the time-aligned transcript. The phrase tier, here shown empty, was used on some textgrids to conduct an analysis in order to investigate rhythm.

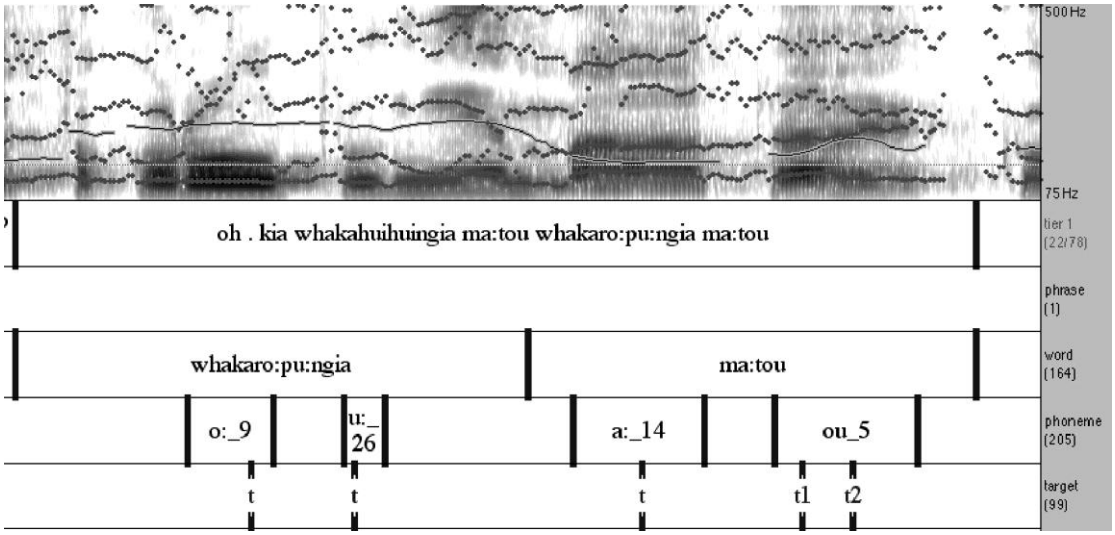


Figure 2: A sample screen shot in Praat showing part of the acoustic analysis for a present-day female elder.

The vowels for analysis are shown on the phoneme tier with the beginning and end of each analysed phoneme marked. Each vowel is labelled, here the /u:/ in the word *whakarōpūngia* has been analysed with this token being number 26. The target tier marks the point in the vowel where the formant and F_0 readings were taken. Similarly the /ou/ diphthong is the fifth to be analysed and t1 and t2 mark where the formant readings for the two target points in the diphthong were taken.

Formants were calculated using the default Praat settings (25 ms analysis frame, Gaussian window, 10 pole LPC filter). The formant positions were visually checked and corrections made to the analysis parameters as necessary. Measurements were taken during the steady state portion of the vowel. If there was no steady state, formant readings were taken at the F2 maximum (and F1 minimum) for front vowels, the F1 maximum (and F2 minimum) for central vowels and the F2 minimum (and F1 minimum) for back vowels. Two target measurements were taken for the diphthongs. Consonant transitions were included within vowel length measurements so long as vowel formants could be seen (that is, so long as there was voicing). For English, we avoided analysing tokens adjacent to /w/, /l/ and /r/ because of co-articulation effects. For Māori, we avoided tokens adjacent to /w/ and /h/ (which was often voiced and vowel-like). /r/ in Māori is flapped and did not affect the adjacent vowels to the same extent as the English approximant /r/.

The Māori analysis for all speakers also included the following analyses:

/t/ analysis – as part of an investigation into increasing rates of aspiration/ affrication the voice onset time (VOT) of up to 30 tokens of word initial /t/ were taken in the following six contexts: /ta:/, /ta/, /ti:/, /ti/, /tu:/, /tu/, where /a:/ and /a/ do not facilitate aspiration and the other contexts do.

Ka analysis – as part of an investigation into changes in the length of the verbal particle *ka*, formant values and length measurements were taken of up to 30 tokens of the /a/ vowel in this particle in contexts where the verbal material consisted of either two morae or more than two morae (a mora being defined as a short vowel plus any preceding consonant).

All formant and length measurements taken from the Praat textgrids were recorded in Excel. Statistical analysis has been performed with SPSS, SYSTAT 12 and R (http://www.r-project.org/).

MAONZE Miner

Once the files have been transcribed, the transcriber files are uploaded onto the MAONZE Miner server, which allows them to be easily searched and interacted with. MAONZE Miner is software which has been adapted from the ONZE Miner software (now renamed as LaBB-Cat) designed for the ONZE project by Robert Fromont and Jen Hay (http://onzeminer.sourceforge.net/ and Fromont & Hay, 2008).

It is possible to upload the sound files to the server with the transcriber files. However, because members of the MAONZE team are scattered round the country, we do not do this. Even though we downsample them (see King Maclagan, et al., 2010), the files are still large and they would take too long to access over the internet. Instead, we have produced DVDs of the sound files. Because of the terms of the University of Canterbury's agreement with Sound Archives / Ngā Taonga Kōrero we are unable to make copies of recordings obtained from them available to people outside the MAONZE team (this includes all the historical male recordings and many of the historical female recordings).

Figure 3 shows a sample screen shot from the selection page of MAONZE Miner where male speakers from Ngāti Porou have been selected. At this point speakers can be selected using the tick boxes on the left hand side and various types of searches can be performed for words or phrases.

The results of such a search show the context in which the word appears. Users then have the option of listening to the relevant part of the corresponding sound file and also exporting the results of the search to an Excel spreadsheet. The MAONZE miner software was integral in an analysis of changing uses of the verbal particle *ka* (see below).

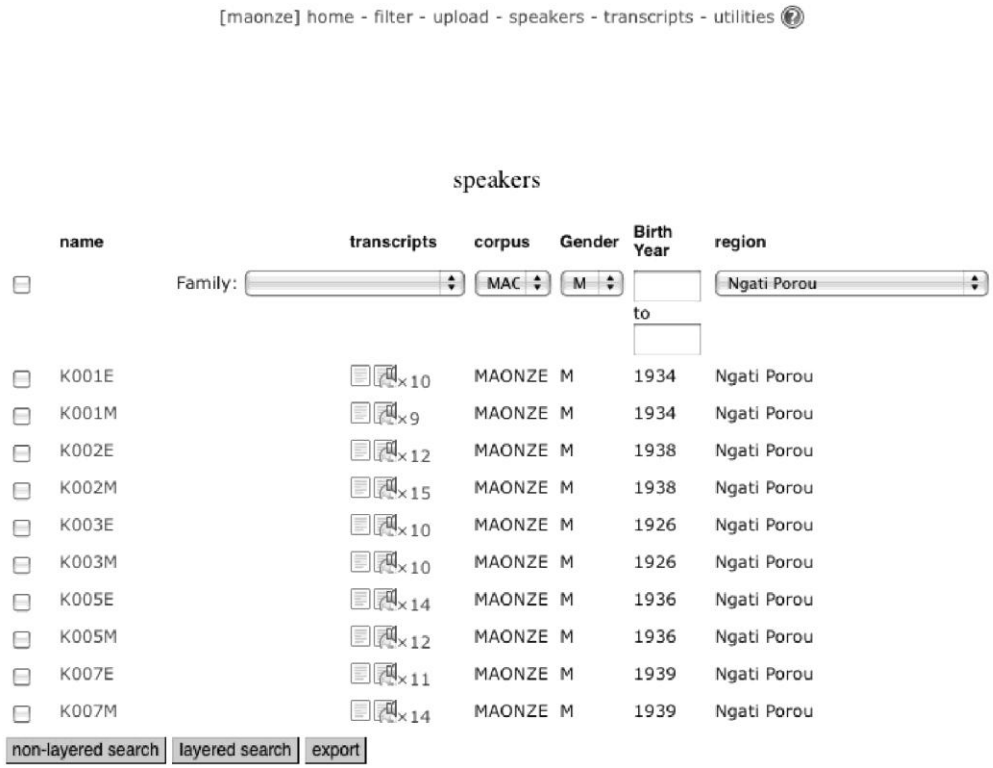


Figure 3: Screen shot of selection page in MAONZE Miner.

Once the orthographic transcription has been uploaded, LaBB-Cat and MAONZE Miner use information from the CELEX database (Baayen, Piepenbrock, & van Rijn, 1993) to create an automatic phonemic transcription for English. The HTK toolkit (http://htk.eng.cam.ac.uk/) can then be used to automatically force align the sound to the phonemes, so that each phoneme symbol is graphically aligned with the appropriate section of the sound file. This forced alignment is done individually for each speaker, and needs a minimum of about 1,000 words of spoken text. The final analysis usually needs to be hand-corrected, but it is much faster than doing the entire analysis by hand. Phoneme alignment facilitates very powerful analysis over the whole corpus or subsets of it. Because Māori is much less studied than English, a phonemically transcribed electronic database like CELEX is not available. The MAONZE team has developed letter to sound rules that allow successful phoneme alignment of Māori words within an English text. We are still working on rules and a dictionary for Māori text.

Results

In this section we briefly describe the results of the various analyses conducted by the MAONZE project. The main focus of the project has been an acoustic analysis of the vowel space in Māori and change over time in both vowel quality and quantity (duration) between the three sets of speakers. In addition the role of women in the attested sound changes has been examined, and some of the consonants have been analysed both auditorily and acoustically. The English speech of the speakers has been analysed as well as their Māori. More recently, the

MAONZE group has been focussing on changes to the rhythm of te reo Māori. The following section explains the use of KEYWORDS for the vowels and diphthongs analysed. Subsequent sections give some detail on the findings of each of the various analyses.

Keywords

Because the primary focus of the MAONZE project is phonetic analysis, the team decided to adopt the use of KEYWORDS to name the vowel phonemes of Māori, following Wells' (1982) example for English. Vowels in KEYWORDS are paired with unique consonants, so that the vowel phoneme may be identified even if speakers' accents vary. For Māori vowels, KEYWORDS will be particularly helpful in clarifying whether the long or short vowel is intended. Table 1 lists the KEYWORDS for the 5 short and 5 long Māori monophthongs.

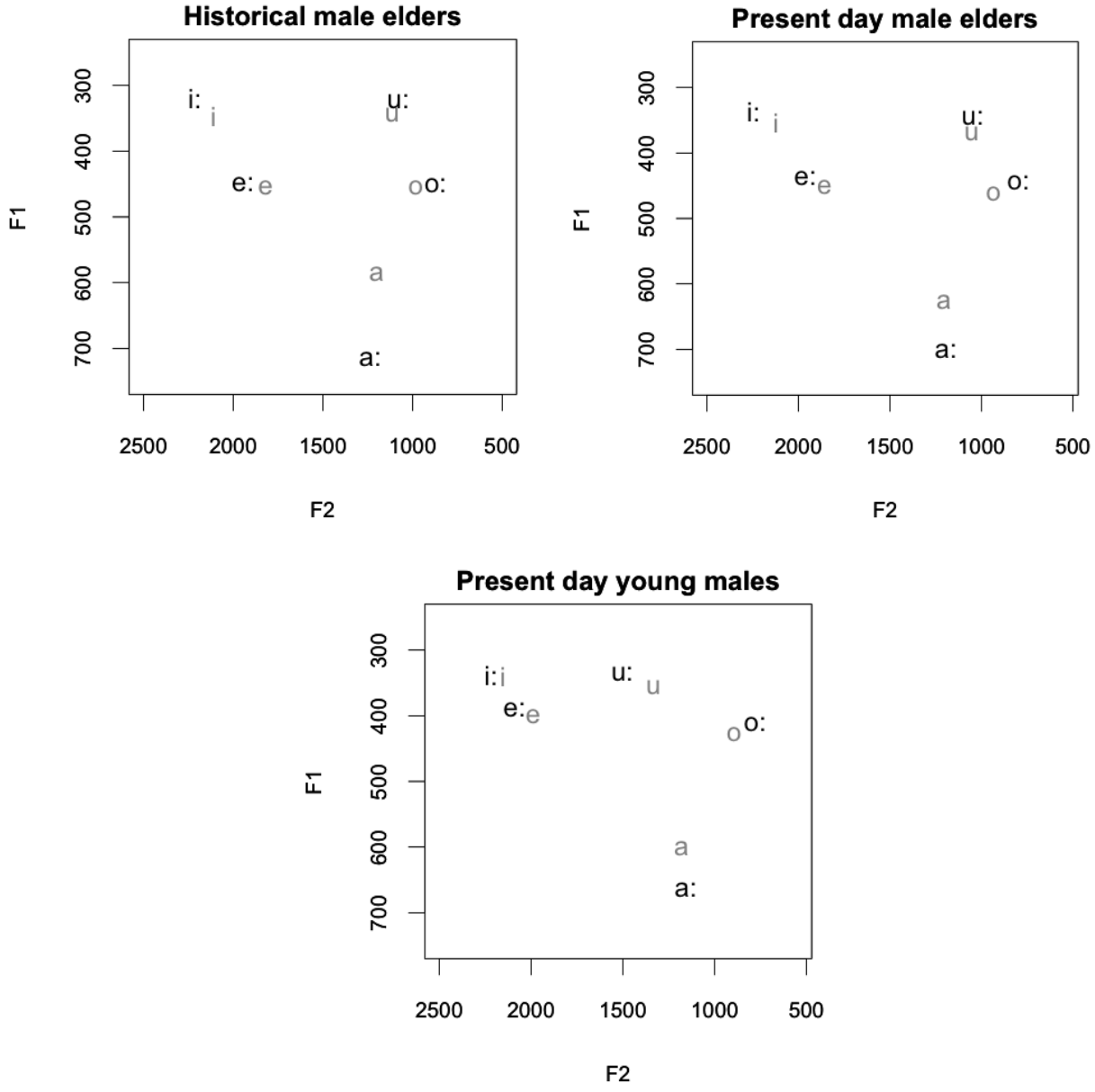
Table 1: KEYWORDS for Māori monophthongs

KEYWORD	phoneme	KEYWORD	phoneme
PĪ	/i:/	PIKI	/i/
KĒ	/e:/	KETE	/e/
WĀ	/a:/	WAKA	/a/
MŌ	/o:/	MOKO	/o/
TŪ	/u:/	TUKU	/u/

KEYWORDS were also coined for five of the most frequent diphthongs in Māori: MAI /ai/, WAE /ae/, RAU /au/, HOU /ou/ and PAO /ao/.

Vowel quality

As mentioned above, the MAONZE project has quantified sound change over time in the Māori language. Changes in the vowel space for the three sets of male speakers are shown in Figure 4. These F1 vs F2 plots show the centroid of the mean F1 and F2 value from each of the three speaker groups in the male data. The centroid is indicated by the IPA symbol of the vowel it represents. Please note that whilst the vowels are referred to by the IPA symbols on the plots, the KEYWORDS are used in the text to facilitate comparison with the relevant vowels for New Zealand English (NZE). From the earliest to the youngest set of speakers we can note the progressive raising of the mid-vowel pairs KĒ/KETE and MŌ/MOKO. Also noticeable in the speech of the young male speakers is the fronting of TŪ/TUKU. Both of these sets of changes parallel changes in vowels which inhabit similar space in NZE, that is, the raising of the DRESS and THOUGHT vowels and the fronting of GOOSE (see Gordon et al., 2004 for details). With regard to the short and long vowel pairs, it can be seen that except for WĀ/WAKA, the long vowels are becoming very like their short vowel counterparts in quality.

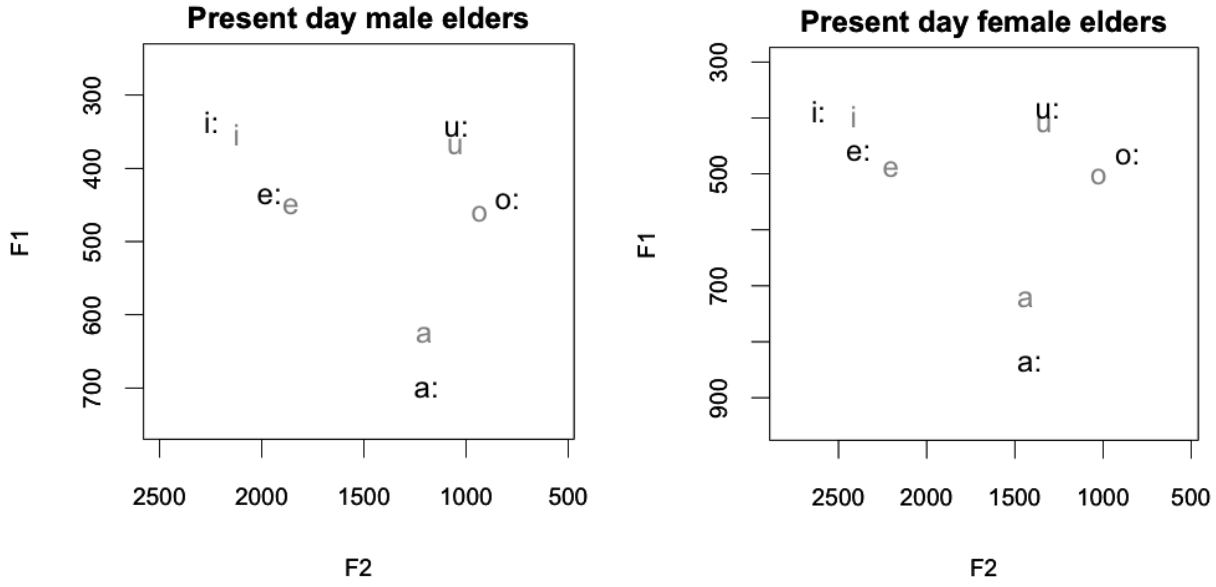


Based on King, Watson, Maclagan, Harlow & Keegan, 2010, p. 197, Figure 10-1.

Figure 4: Long and short vowel F1 and F2 means of the Māori speech of historical male elders, present day male elders and young males. Formant values are shown in Hz.

The vowel space for female speakers exhibits the same changes as noted for the men, except that Māori women have been a generation ahead with some of the changes. This parallels the situation of other examples of sound change where women 'set the standards' for sound change: leading when a change is below the level of consciousness, and holding back on changes which become salient and also stigmatised (Holmes, 1997). Examples of both these processes in Māori can be seen in Figure 5 which shows the vowel space of present day male elders alongside that of present day female elders. Because women's vocal tracts are smaller than men's, women's formant frequencies are higher than men's. Rather than use a formal normalisation procedure (e.g., Lobanov, 1971; for more

information see http://ncslaap.lib.ncsu.edu/tools/norm/norm_methods.php) which may introduce misleading artefacts (Disner, 1980), we have changed the scales slightly so that the men's and women's vowel plots are approximately the same size and can be more easily compared.



Based on King, Watson et al., 2010, p. 201, Figure 10-5.

Figure 5: Long and short vowel F1 and F2 means of the Māori speech of present day male elders and present day female elders. Formant values are shown in Hz.

In Figure 5 women can be seen to be leading the raising of the mid-vowels KĒ/KETE and MŌ/MOKO. By studying the vowel plots of all the speaker groups we note that the raising of these vowels progressed unchecked over all the speaker groups. We can therefore conclude that speakers never became aware of or concerned about this sound change. Figure 5 also shows that women are slightly leading the men with the fronting of TŪ/TUKU. However, the women are more conservative than the men in maintaining a clear qualitative distinction between long and short vowel pairs. This indicates that at some point speakers have become aware of, and resistant to, the merging of long and short vowel qualities and that women therefore became more conservative with this feature. Thus present day female elders demonstrate their role as setting the pronunciation standards for the following generation in both advancing sound change which is below the level of consciousness and holding back with change that becomes salient and stigmatised (see King, Watson et al., 2010).

In summary, the Māori monophthongs have undergone many changes as a result of contact with the English language. The extent of these changes can be seen in Figure 6 which shows the vowel plot of the historical male speakers alongside that of the present day young female speakers.

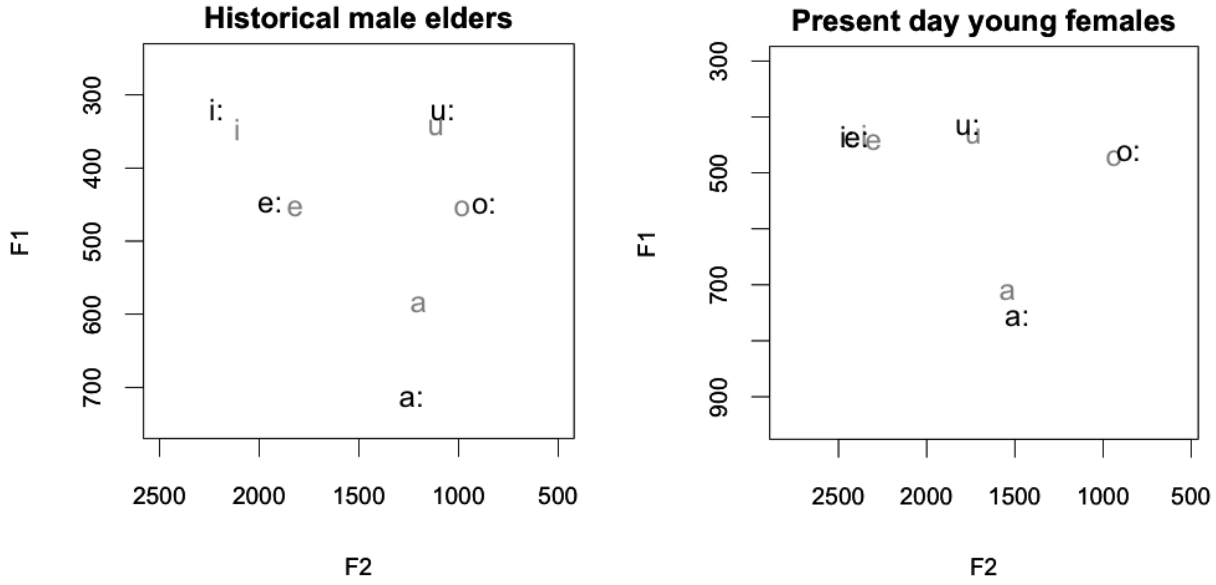


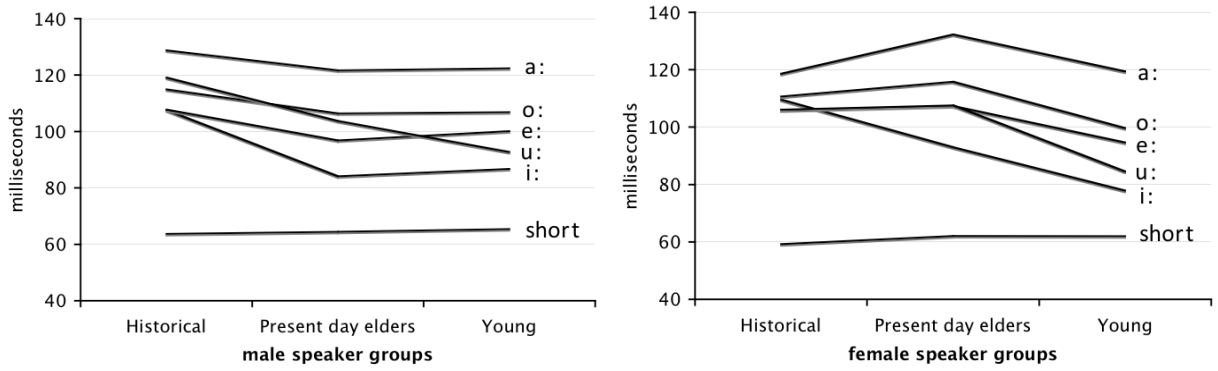
Figure 6: Long and short vowel F1 and F2 means of the Māori speech of historical male elders and present day young females. Formant values are shown in Hz.

It is likely that the vowel space of the historical male elders is representative of the Polynesian vowel system which is noted as being stable over a long period of time (Krupa, 1982). In comparison, the vowel space of the present day young females shows the results of the raising of the mid-vowels and fronting of TŪ/TUKU. With the fronting of TŪ/TUKU the back point vowels are now MŌ/MOKO. With regard to the front vowels, the raising of KĒ/KETE amongst present day young females has proceeded to the point where the quality of KĒ/KETE and PĪ/PIKI are indistinguishable with all the tokens from the four vowels occupying the same acoustic space. This does not seem to have affected intelligibility because context usually facilitates disambiguation.

Vowel quantity

As shown in the vowel plots in Figures 4-6, with the exception of WĀ/WAKA, there has been a reduction in the qualitative difference between short and long vowel pairs over time. It is therefore not surprising that analysis showed that there have been corresponding changes to the quantity (duration) of the vowels. Figure 7 shows the changes amongst the three groups of male and female speakers. It can be seen that the short vowel lengths in both the male and female groups have remained quite consistent over time. Amongst both sets of historical speakers long vowel length was approximately twice that of the short vowels, consistent with the long vowels' phonemic attribute of comprising two of the same short vowels. Amongst present day male and female speakers there has been a dramatic reduction in the length of most of the long vowels, most particularly the two high vowels PĪ and TŪ. The only long vowel which retains its relative length is WĀ. This is consistent with the vowel space results presented above and partly reflects its

greater functional load, in that more word pairs are distinguished by WĀ/WAKA than by other long/short vowel pairs.



Based on King, Watson et al., 2010, p. 205, Figure 10-9.

Figure 7: Long and short vowel lengths for male and female speaker groups.

Diphthongs

As a consequence of the changes in the monophthong system, there have also been changes in the diphthong system of Māori. Figure 8 shows the diphthong plots for the historical male elders and the present day young males indicating that over time two diphthong pairs are merging. The raising of the mid-front vowels KĒ/KETE towards the space occupied by PĪ/PIKI has implications for the pronunciation of the second target of the diphthongs MAE and WAI resulting in a merging of the pair. In addition the fronting of TŪ/TUKU has affected the F2 values of the second targets of the diphthongs RAU and HOU and this, together with changes in their first targets has also resulted in a merger.

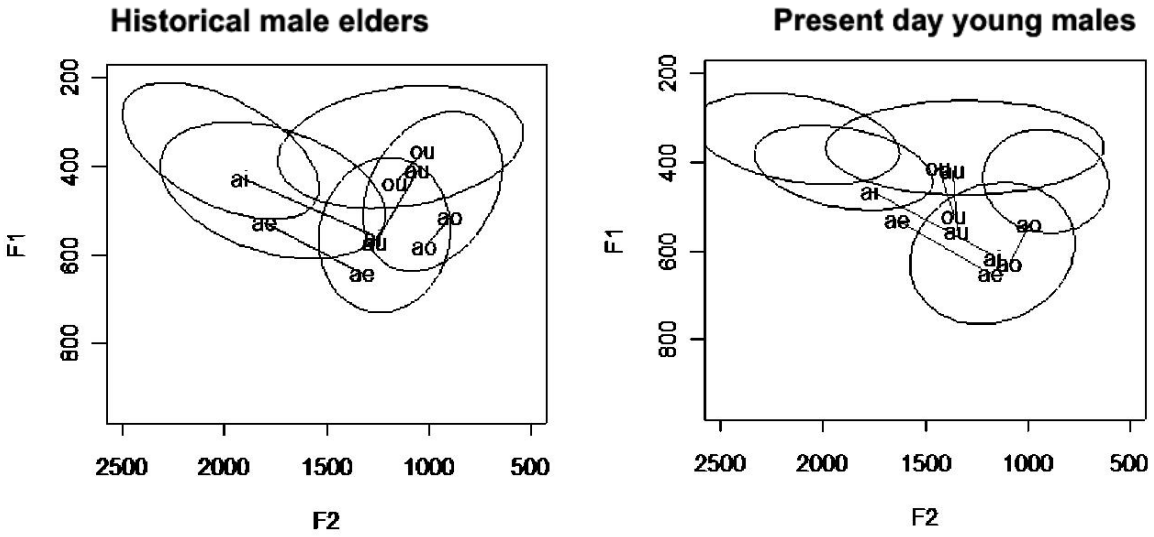
More details on the diphthong analysis for male speakers are available in Harlow, Keegan, King, Maclagan and Watson (2009) and for the female speakers in King, Watson et al. (2010) and the influence of the English language on these changes are discussed in Maclagan et al. (2004).

Consonants

While the main focus of the initial work of the MAONZE project has been on the changing vowel space in Māori there has been some work on consonants including changes in the aspiration of the plosives (Maclagan & King, 2007), the pronunciation of /r/ (Maclagan & King, 2005) and the pronunciation of /f/ (Maclagan & King, 2002).

Changes in the aspiration of Māori plosives over time were examined by analysing the Māori and English plosive consonants of three male speakers, one from each of the three speaker groups. The analysis shows that both the number of aspirated plosives and the degree of aspiration (measured by VOT) have increased from the oldest speaker (born in 1885) to the youngest speaker (born in 1972) in both

languages. Table 2 shows that the mean VOT for plosives in Māori has been increasing over time to parallel the VOT times for English. There may be some language internal factors at work, but influence from English is a likely cause for this change.



Based on Harlow et al., 2009, p. 141, Figure 5.

Figure 8: Beginning and end targets for diphthongs of historical male and present day young male speaker groups plotted against ellipses for short vowels.

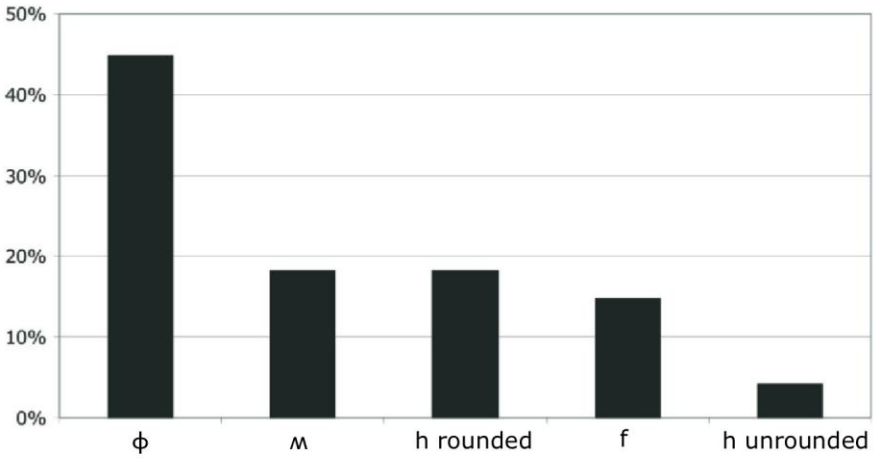
A further analysis investigated the relationship between the increasing aspiration of the plosives over time and the fronting of TŪ/TUKU. This revealed that the fronting of TŪ/TUKU has not simply followed GOOSE fronting in English. Rather the motivator has been the introduction of aspiration into the previously unaspirated Māori /t/. It is this increased aspiration, together with the frequently occurring contextual environment whereby TŪ/TUKU vowels regularly follow aspirated /t/, that has facilitated their fronting. For many modern speakers, the VOT has increased to such an extent that /t/ is heard as affricated rather than merely aspirated. The relationship between the increasing aspiration of /t/ and the fronting of TŪ/TUKU is discussed in Maclagan, Watson, Harlow, King and Keenan (2009).

Table 2: Mean voice onset time (VOT) in ms for plosives /p/, /t/ and /k/ in Māori and English for three male speakers.

	Historical male speaker		Present day male elder		Present day young male	
	Māori	English	Māori	English	Māori	English
mean	25	43	41	66	57	68
sd	10	16	18	15	22	21
n	135	98	246	98	114	101

Adapted from Maclagan and King 2007, p. 2, Table 5.

An auditory analysis was undertaken of the varying pronunciations of *wh* in one of the historical male speakers (Maclagan & King, 2002). Figure 9 shows that this Ngāti Maniapoto speaker produced a number of variants for *wh* in his speech, and that the most common variant today, excepting recognised tribal variants, (/f/), was not the most frequent. A comparison with a present day elder and a young speaker showed that this variety of pronunciations had reduced to one variant by the time of the modern day elder.



Adapted from Maclagan and King 2002: 49, figure 1.

Figure 9: Relative frequencies for varying pronunciations of *wh* in one historical male speaker.

English

The project has also been interested in the pronunciation of English by the speakers in the MAONZE corpus. Analysis of the vowel space of the three groups of male speakers shows that the English pronunciation of these speakers is largely similar to that of their non-Māori contemporaries (Watson, Maclagan, King, & Harlow, 2008). However, the speakers who are first language speakers of Māori (in particular the historical elders and the present day elders) show influence of the Māori vowel space on their English in that they are relatively conservative in their pronunciations with regard to some of the recognised changes and produce relatively back versions of GOOSE and START. This is likely to be the reason that earlier commentators noted a "purity of vowels" in the English of Māori speakers (Richards, 1970, p. 131).

Rhythm

In contrast to English which has a relatively stress timed rhythm Māori is regarded as having a mora timed rhythm (Bauer, 1981). The attested changes in the duration of Māori vowels (outlined above), where most long vowels are approaching their shorter counterparts in length, has implications for the rhythm of the Māori language. Current work by the MAONZE project is examining changes in rhythm.

The PVI (Pairwise Variability Index), which compares the variability of the length of adjacent vowels separated by consonants, is a method often used to compare the rhythm of various languages (Grabe & Low, 2002). However, the presence of long sequences of vowels in Māori (for example, the phrase *ki a ia*) makes this method unsuitable for making effective assessments of the rhythm of Māori (Maclagan, Watson, King et al., 2009).

Nevertheless, a series of perception experiments determined that both Māori and non-Māori listeners were able to distinguish between Māori and English speech from prosodic information which includes rhythm. They were presented with short excerpts of low pass filtered speech. The filtering removes segmental information but still retains prosodic information on pitch, intensity and timing (Maclagan, Watson, King et al., 2009). Further investigation is focussing on the perception of rhythmic prominences in Māori (see Thompson et al., 2010).

During the vowel analysis we noted that amongst the historical speakers even unstressed vowels seemed to be fully articulated and that there was no unstressed vowel variant such as there is in English with the schwa vowel. As described above, the MAONZE vowel analysis included only stressed vowels as tokens. A current analysis is investigating all short and long vowels not adjacent to other vowels in a six minute stretch of speech for one to two male speakers from each of the three speaker groups. The results indicate that increasingly centralised variants are being produced for all vowels over time, suggesting the possibility of a centralised vowel emerging in Māori in the future (Kaefer et al., 2010).

The verbal particle *ka*

Most modern younger speakers of Māori are either second-language speakers or have been raised in a context where second-language speakers predominate. This has led to changes in the intergenerational language transmission process, and means that some phonetic distinctions have not been acquired by younger speakers. An example of this process is the loss of the distinction between short and long versions of the verbal particle *ka*. Historically, the Māori tense/aspect marker *ka* has two allomorphs, one, /ka:/, which is used when the rest of the verb phrase consists of only two moræ (*ka noho* ‘sits, lives’ with [ka:]), and the other, /ka/, for longer phrases (*ka tū ake* ‘stands up’ with [ka]) (Biggs, 1969, p. 28). The MAONZE miner software has facilitated an analysis of the distribution of these two variants in the speech of the three speaker groups (Harlow & Bauer et al., 2011). Results show that the historical elders do indeed observe the traditional rule but that the rule has been lost amongst present day young adult speakers who invariably produce the short variant in all contexts. Modern day elders observe the traditional rule approximately half the time. This shift is attributable both to a proportional increase in the use of longer phrases over the same period and to the decreasing use of Māori generally, so that opportunities to acquire the inherited rule have diminished considerably.

Conclusion

Much of the sound change in Māori documented by the MAONZE project has been influenced by English. This is perhaps to be expected, as although English and Māori are both official languages in New Zealand, the use of the Māori language has declined considerably since the mid-1900s and has been subject to massive revitalisation efforts since the mid-1980s.

The results of the analyses to date have implications for the revitalisation efforts of other indigenous languages in that we predict that vowel systems will lose contrasts which are not present in the colonising language, and that sound change in the colonising language will affect the indigenous language (King, Harlow, Watson, Keegan & Maclagan, 2009). The results of the vowel analysis have also been published in Māori in order that the implications reach as wide a local audience as possible (Harlow, Keegan, King, Maclagan, & Watson, 2005; Keegan, King, Harlow, Maclagan, & Watson, 2008). Other publications have addressed the issue of the implications of the sound changes on the teaching of Māori (Keegan, King, Maclagan, Watson, & Harlow, 2009). A practical outcome of the MAONZE project is work on designing a computer-based pronunciation aid for Māori (Watson, Smith, et al., 2009) which allows learners to hear model words being spoken and test their own pronunciation.

The MAONZE project demonstrates a methodology for analysing Māori/English speech which could readily be applied to other indigenous languages being influenced by majority languages. We have only provided examples of some of types of analyses that can be undertaken. We expect the MAONZE corpus to continue to be useful for us and other researchers into the future and that many new and different analyses will be carried out on the present data.

In assembling this corpus (see the previously published companion paper) and in achieving the detail of analysis made possible by it, the MAONZE project has broken new ground in the study of change in a minority indigenous language whose ecology crucially involves fragile transmission and very heavy influence from a major language within the same community.

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JAPANESE-ENGLISH BILINGUAL DEVELOPMENT IN NEW ZEALAND: PARENTAL ATTITUDES AND CHILDREN'S LITERACY AND COMMUNICATION SKILLS

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Abstract

The present study examines parental attitudes toward Japanese-English bilingualism and perceptions of their children's bilingual acquisition. Data collection was conducted via a questionnaire survey. The analysis targeted two types of families living in New Zealand: a group of 31 Japanese families (J families); and a group of 57 English-Japanese interlingual families (J-E families). The response pattern was markedly different for these two groups. Although both were strongly supportive of their children's bilingual development, they reported different satisfaction levels: approximately half of the J-E families were satisfied as compared to 80% of J families. The J-E group almost unanimously thought learning Japanese as a heritage language is difficult. Parents in J-E families reported that the Japanese communicative and literacy skills of their children lagged behind those of their age cohort in Japan. Only 13% of J-E families considered their children's Japanese literacy skills to be developing appropriately. The result of the present study suggests that factors such as parental attitude, structure of the family (either endogamous or exogamous), and language proficiency levels of the parents are important in creating a supportive environment for bilingualism.

Introduction

New Zealand has three official languages: English, Maori (the language of its indigenous people) and New Zealand Sign Language. Although New Zealand has been categorised as one of the world's most monolingual countries (Holmes & Bell, 1991), there are increasingly communities who have a heritage language other than English. According to the ethnic distribution in 2006 (Statistics New Zealand), the largest groups are European (77.6%), Maori (14.6%) and Asian (9.2%). Between 1991 and 2006, the number of Asians increased by 255%, including a large Japanese group. The population of Japanese citizens living in New Zealand in 2009 was 13,447 – a great increase compared to the population a decade ago, 6,412 in 1999 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan).

In multicultural societies such as the U.S., Canada, Europe and Australia, studies have been conducted to investigate the cultural identities and challenges in maintaining or developing multilingualism across generations. In New Zealand, some studies have focused on minority languages of immigrants, for example, the experience of attrition of Afrikaans (Barkhuizen, 2006) and Dutch (Crezee, 2008;

2009; Kroef, 1977; van Schie, 1987) and the dynamics of different ethnicities and their languages (Barkhuizen, Knoch, & Starks, 2006; Holmes, Robert, Verivak, & Aipolo, 1993). Despite the growth of the Japanese population in New Zealand, little is known about how this group views its bilingual language practices.

The present study investigates Japanese parental attitudes toward bilingualism and the perceptions of children's bilingual development. The data was collected through a questionnaire. The analysis targeted two dominant types of Japanese families in New Zealand: an endogamous group of 31 Japanese families (henceforth, J families), in which both parents are native Japanese speakers; and an exogamous group of 57 families (J-E families), in which the mother is a native Japanese speaker, whereas the father is a native English speaker. The data for the two groups is compared to investigate the optimal linguistic environment for children's bilingual attainment.

The term 'bilingual' remains controversial, without an agreed-upon definition. Bilinguals generally refer to persons who can handle the alternative use of two languages (Mackey, 1968; Weinreich, 1968). Bloomfield (1933, p. 56) defines bilingualism as 'native-like control of two languages,' whereas in Haugen's (1953) view a bilingual person can produce complete meaningful utterances in his/her second language. The concept of bilingualism is complex, with multiple dimensions (e.g., syntax, phonology, and pragmatics) and different levels of skills. A person who has no productive control over a language, but can understand the utterances, is called a "passive" or "receptive" bilingual (Romaine, 1995). What the minimal proficiency required would be to be bilingual is left open. In this research, both productive and passive skills were assessed via a survey to determine an individual's bilingual competence.

A variety of factors are likely exert influence on language maintenance and bilingual development: family background and residential status, age, social status and the existence of opportunities to use the language in the community, motivation, schooling, community support, etc. (Baker, 1988; Harding-Esch & Riley, 1986; Yamamoto, 2002; Yoshimitsu, 2000). One influential factor is the child's immediate family, especially parents and their attitudes toward the child's bilingual education (Döpke, 1992; Harding & Riley, 1986; Muranaka-Vuletich, 2002; Pena, 1998; Romaine, 1995).

Parents' attitudes toward bilingualism are partly based on awareness of language practice (Barkhuizen, 2006). De Houwer (1999), on the other hand, claims that parents' beliefs and attitudes partly determine the choice of language and policies and how the parents interact with their children. Parental attitudes toward bilingualism and language learning can play a large role in the success of any language program/school as well (Shibata, 2000; Young & Tran, 1999). Positive and supportive attitudes towards bilingualism are factors which influence the outcome of any attempt to raise a child bilingually (Romaine, 1995). Although the present study does not investigate the actual language behaviour of children, by

examining parental views, it is hoped that relevant information about the bilingual practice of Japanese children and their families might emerge.

There are micro-level and macro-level language learning contexts surrounding learners. The micro-level context includes family and individual factors such as language policy at home, length of residence, parents' languages and proficiencies, children's ages, motivations and aptitudes. The macro-level context implies sociocultural factors which include language status in the community, ethnolinguisitic vitality ("a group's ability to survive as a distinctive collective entity in an inter-group setting", Lieblind, 1999, p. 145), schooling, and political situation. Fishman (1985) claims that the macro-level factors are predictors of successful language maintenance. He found that the number of mother tongue claimants and the strength of institutional resources (school, newspapers, TV/radio, religious units, etc.) are among the influential factors that can delay the language shift. However, successful maintenance or development of a minority language is promoted by a variety or combination of factors (Holmes et al., 1993): "Positive attitudes to the language, to their distinctive ethnic identity, and to the idea of language maintenance also play their part" (p. 21). While being fully aware that macro-level factors are also important, the present study focuses on the micro-level context of families residing in New Zealand.

Background to the study

A commonly held myth is that children absorb multiple languages like a sponge. However, depending on factors related to the language learning context, heritage language maintenance can be a challenging goal and cause a considerable amount of frustration for both parents and children (Barkhuizen, 2006; McLaughlin, 1992).

A few heritage language studies on Dutch have been conducted in New Zealand, which reveal the nature of the challenge and some responses to it (Crezee, 2008; 2009; Kroef, 1977; van Schie, 1987). A large number of early Dutch immigrants arrived in New Zealand from the Netherlands in the 1950s and 1960s. Crezee (2008; 2009) compares early and recent Dutch migrants in New Zealand in their heritage language maintenance. Due to the negative response by the host society (New Zealand) toward using Dutch at that time, some early Dutch migrants shifted to the use of English at home in efforts to assimilate and succeed in the New Zealand society.

For Japanese families living in New Zealand, on the other hand, the macro-level context is presently rather positive. There are a number of intermediate and high schools offering New Zealanders Japanese as a foreign language. Forty-one cities in New Zealand have a strong bond with their sister cities in Japan (Gekkan NZ). The New Zealand government promotes political and business relationships with Japan, which provide a positive ground for interpersonal interaction between New Zealanders and Japanese.

The present study offers the first investigation to explore how Japanese families in New Zealand view heritage language maintenance. Barkhuizen (2006), however, conducted a study with a similar focus on parental perceptions exploring the bilingual practice of Afrikaans-speaking children in New Zealand. He reported that the children were shifting to English despite the strategies employed by the parents to decelerate the process. The parents were resigned to the children's language loss, while feeling sad and experiencing a lack of power to challenge the fact.

There are a number of studies that have investigated Japanese language maintenance, shift and bilingual practices in the U.S., Canada, Australia, England and Japan. Yamamoto (2001) targeted Japanese-English interlingual families residing in Japan. She found that it was more challenging to promote English development (the heritage language) for children than to promote Japanese (the community language). Not all families exhaust the full potential to provide bilingual environments at home. Although English was strongly encouraged and received positive social attention in Japanese society, children preferred to use Japanese (e.g. with their siblings) to assimilate to their communities, and their bilingual attainment was not very successful.

Conducting interviews with 25 Japanese mothers living in Melbourne, Australia, Takeuchi (2006a; 2006b) examined the factors that correlate with children's maintenance of Japanese as a heritage language. She proposed that the style of conversation and interactions between parents and children correlates strongly with the level of Japanese language use by children. She claims that the mother's "consistency in language choice and her insistence that her child should speak Japanese with her" was important (Takauchi, 2006b, p. 319). Other factors that promote Japanese language acquisition include parents' positive attitude, frequency of trips to Japan, and contact with Japanese speakers.

Yoshimitsu (2000) also conducted interviews with ten bilingual Japanese children residing in Melbourne. He compared the children of business sojourners (temporary residents) and those of permanent residents by analyzing the performance of language tasks by the children and the spoken discourse from the interviews. All of the subjects in his study attended the Melbourne International School of Japanese. He found that children with temporary resident status tended to maintain their heritage language better than permanent resident children did.

Similar to Yamamoto (2001), the present study investigates children's English/Japanese language attainment at home by conducting a questionnaire survey. What differs in this research is that the survey is conducted in the New Zealand context, where English is the mainstream language and Japanese a minority language. As compared with Australia, there are fewer business sojourners in New Zealand. Most of the families who participated in this study planned to stay in New Zealand permanently (98% of exogamous families and 74% of Japanese endogamous families). Therefore, no comparison was made as a

function of the residential status in the present study. Instead, the focus was on the family structure: exogamous families (international couples: J-E families) versus endogamous families (Japanese couples: J families). These were the dominant two types in New Zealand.

If the parents are both Japanese native speakers, it is natural to assume that the children are exposed to more Japanese input at home. On the other hand, in exogamous families, linguistic input of the heritage language is usually impoverished. The 'one person-one language', or 'one parent-one language' (henceforth, OPOL), principle was first introduced by Grammont (1902), and reported by Ronjat (1913). In the OPOL approach, the parents each speak exclusively their own language to the child from birth (Romaine, 1995; Döpke, 1992; Barron-Hauwaert, 2004). While the OPOL principle was considered effective in providing input of minority languages to children, researchers have later criticized the principle (e.g., Harding & Riley, 1986; Goodz, 1989; Romaine, 1995; Lyon, 1996) suggesting bilingualism is supported by maximum exposure of the minority language, provided by both parents.

However, according to Barkhuizen (2006), parents who were both Afrikaans speakers were not able to foster their children's Afrikaans development. Yamamoto's (2001) study focused on Japanese exogamous families, and found that bilingual development was not facilitated in Japan. How the family structure influences the children's bilingual development remains unknown in the New Zealand context. By comparing two types of Japanese families, the present study aims to study how Japanese/English bilingualism is practiced in different family contexts.

Method

The questionnaire style was adopted because it offered the advantage of a wide and systematic coverage for a quantitative analysis. Also, as compared to interviews, the anonymous questionnaire allows respondents to be less prone to social desirability responses in judging their children's abilities.

The questionnaire consisted of several parts, not all of which are reported here. The present study focuses on sections concerning the family's background, children's language development and parental attitudes toward bilingualism. The patterns of language usage at home by family members are reported in Lauwereyns (in press). The questionnaire was written in Japanese, and included both open-ended and multiple-choice Likert-type questions. (Appendix 1 provides the English translation of the relevant parts of the questionnaire).

A total of 240 questionnaire forms were distributed to Japanese families living in New Zealand. About 100 forms were returned. The participants mainly consisted of parents living in Wellington (the North Island) and in Christchurch and Dunedin (the South Island), contacted via key persons in the Japanese

communities there. The author asked *Hoshuko*s (supplementary Japanese schools) in Christchurch and Wellington to distribute the questionnaires. (See Appendix 2 for detailed information on these *Hoshuko*s.) The participants were told that completing the questionnaire was on a completely voluntary basis, and personal information would be strictly protected.

The respondents included in the present analysis are 57 exogamous families (J-E families) and 31 Japanese endogamous families (J families). For statistical analyses, the questionnaire data were divided into these two groups, J-E families and J families; *t*-tests (two-tailed, with unequal variance) were conducted, with alpha level set at $p < .05$. It must be noted as a limitation to the present study that this statistical method implies two unchecked assumptions: 1) that the data is drawn from a normally distributed population, and 2) that the measures reflect interval or ratio scales.

The J-E group consisted of families in which the mother is a native speaker of Japanese and the father a native speaker of English. These two groups represent the typical family structures in New Zealand. Excluded from the present analysis were respondents from other types of families, of which the sample was too small for statistical comparison (e.g., families in which the mother is a native speaker of English and the father a native speaker of Japanese, and families in which the father's native language is neither English nor Japanese).

The average length of stay in New Zealand since the birth of the first child was 6.96 years (J-E group) and 6.37 years (J group). Almost all of J-E families (98%) and three quarters of J families (74%) were planning to stay in New Zealand permanently.

The parents' second-language proficiency levels are shown in Table 1 for J-E families and in Table 2 for J families. The Japanese language proficiency level of the fathers in J-E families was not as advanced as the English language level of other parents: About half of fathers of the J-E group (54%) were able to handle only greetings in Japanese, 25% only beginners' oral communication. In contrast, the majority of mothers in J-E families and fathers in J families claimed that they had no trouble conversing in English.

Table 1: The self-reported second language proficiency levels (J-E Families)

J-E Families	Greetings	Beginner's oral skills	Advanced oral skills	Native level
Father's JPN (N=56)	30 (54%)	14 (25%)	12 (21%)	0 (0%)
Mother's ENG (N=57)	1 (2%)	5 (9%)	50 (88%)	1 (2%)

Note 1: No answer provided by one father of J-E families.
Note 2: JPN=Japanese language, ENG=English language

Table 2: The self-reported second language proficiency levels (J Families)

J Families	Greetings	Beginner's oral skills	Advanced oral skills	Native level
Father's ENG (N=31)	1 (3%)	7 (23%)	23 (74%)	0 (0%)
Mother's ENG (N=31)	2 (6%)	12 (39%)	17 (55%)	0 (0%)

Note: ENG=English language

Table 3 shows the demography of the participants' children. The total number of children was 147, ages ranging from 3 to 19 years old. They are dual language learners, "preschool and school-age children who have been learning two languages simultaneously from infancy or who are in the process of learning a second language after the first language has been established" (Paradis, Genesee & Crago, 2011). There were 2 university students and 28 kindergarten children, but the biggest age group was primary school children (N=96, 65%). It is common that even children from the same family have very different second or heritage language acquisition patterns **(**Harding-Esch & Riley, 1986; Yamamoto, 2001). Therefore, the present study does not group the children by the order of birth in subsequent analyses.

Table 3: The numbers and average age of children (from J-E vs J Families)

	The 1st child		The 2nd child		The 3rd child	
J-E Children (N=94)	Boy	28	Boy	14	Boy	1
	Girl	28	Girl	19	Girl	3
	unknown	1	unknown	0	unknown	0
	Age (average)	7.94yr	Age (average)	6.79yr	Age (average)	6.65yr

J Children (N=53)	Boy	10	Boy	11	Boy	0
	Girl	20	Girl	9	Girl	2
	unknown	1	unknown	0	unknown	0
	Age (average)	9.29yr	Age (average)	7.30yr	Age (average)	8.96yr

Note: "unknown" = no answers given

Excluding preschoolers, out of 71 school-age children of the J-E group, 34 children (49%) attended or had attended a *Hoshuko* (supplementary Japanese school), and 37 learners (52%) did not. Out of 49 school-age children of the J group, 40 learners (82%) attended or had attended a *Hoshuko*, and 5 learners (10%) did not (unknown, N=4).

Results

Parental attitude toward raising children

The first question to address is whether J-E and J families actually want their children to be bilingual, gaining competence in both English and Japanese. The

parents of J-E and J families were asked whether they raised their children bilingually. The data in Table 4 show that both J-E and J families responded affirmatively: 89% of J-E families and 80% of J families professed that they wished their children to be bilingual. There was no significant difference between the two groups.

Table 4: Raising children bilingually

	Yes	No
J-E families (N=55)	49 (89%)	6 (11%)
J families (N=30)	24 (80%)	6 (20%)

Note: Two J-E families and one J family failed to provide answers to this question.

Parents who supported their children's bilingualism (N=73 in total) were further asked to provide the reasons. Table 5 lists the most frequent answers, which were distributed mainly between instrumental motivations (e.g. to support the children's future study and career), in Category (1), and integrative motivations (e.g. an interest in Japanese culture and communicating with family members and relatives), Categories (2) and (3). The "instrumental" (a strong practical quality) and "integrative" (a strong interpersonal quality) dichotomy has been used in relation to motivation/orientation with a social psychological approach and to attitudes toward the learning situation (Gardner, 1985; 1996). The instrumental/integrative factors are one of the components to describe the complex dimensions of motivation in learning foreign/L2 languages (Dörnyei, 1998). For J families, instrumental motivation appeared to be dominant (N=17). For J-E families, bilingualism was considered important for both instrumental (N=37) and integrative reasons (N=20).

Table 5: Reasons for raising children bilingually

	J-E families (N=49)	J families (N=24)
(1) Children will have more options and opportunities in their future. Bilingual ability will be useful in job hunting and entrance exams.	37	17
(2) Children can communicate with their family members and relatives.	20	2
(3) Children can acquire Japanese culture.	6	3
(4) We want children to acquire Japanese.	4	4
(5) It is natural to raise children bilingually.	4	2
(6) We want to raise children as international persons.	1	3

Note: This was an open ended question and multiple answers were allowed.

The parental views on bilingualism and their objectives are shown in Table 6 for J-E families and in Table 7 for J families. The multiple-choice question "What do you think of teaching Japanese to your children?" was presented to both mothers and fathers. In J-E families as well as in J families, the mothers and fathers shared

similar views on Japanese heritage education: The *t*-tests showed no significant difference between the responses by mothers versus fathers.

Table 6: The importance of Japanese language acquisition for children (J-E families)

	J-E families	
	Mothers	Fathers
(1) Japanese is not necessary.	0 (0%)	2 (4%)
(1) I want my child to acquire a little oral ability.	1 (2%)	1 (2%)
(3) I want my child to acquire a moderate level of oral ability.	5 (10%)	7 (15%)
(4) I want my child to acquire a moderate level of oral and literacy abilities.	17 (33%)	14 (29%)
(5) I want my child to acquire oral ability equivalent to that of children in Japan.	2 (4%)	4 (8%)
(6) I want my child to acquire oral and literacy abilities equivalent to those of children in Japan.	4 (8%)	2 (4%)
(7) I want my child to acquire solid oral and literacy abilities useful for the future.	23 (44%)	18 (38%)
Average	4.98	5.40
Group average	5.20	
total	52 (100%)	48 (100%)

Note: Missing answers, N=5 for mothers and N=9 for fathers.

Table 7: The importance of Japanese language acquisition for children (J families)

	J families	
	Mothers	Fathers
(1) Japanese is not necessary.	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
(2) I want my child to acquire a little oral ability.	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
(3) I want my child to acquire a moderate level of oral ability.	0 (0%)	2 (7%)
(4) I want my child to acquire a moderate level of oral and literacy abilities.	3 (10%)	3 (10%)
(5) I want my child to acquire oral ability equivalent to that of children in Japan.	1 (3%)	1 (3%)
(6) I want my child to acquire oral and literacy abilities equivalent to those of children in Japan.	6 (21%)	7 (24%)
(7) I want my child to acquire solid oral and literacy abilities useful for the future.	19 (66%)	16 (55%)
Average	6.13	6.43
Group average	6.28	
total	29 (100%)	29 (100%)

Note: Missing answers, N=2 for mothers and N=2 for fathers.

Approximately one third of J-E families (33% for mothers and 29% for fathers, as shown in Table 6) considered the “moderate level” of acquisition of oral and

literacy skills to be good enough (Category 4 in Table 6). The corresponding numbers for J families were low, 10% for mothers and also 10% of fathers (Category 4 in Table 7). It was interesting that two English-speaking fathers of the J-E group answered that "Japanese is not necessary" for their children. This might be related to the self-reported assessment that the two fathers could only say greetings in Japanese and were monolingual English speakers.

As for J families, 66% of mothers and 55% of fathers targeted high Japanese proficiency levels in both oral and literacy skills for their children (Category 7 in Table 7). The corresponding numbers for J-E families were 44% for mothers and 38% for fathers (Category 7 in Table 7). Thus, the objectives of the J-E group appeared lower than those of the J group. This was confirmed by a highly significant difference between the group averages in the *t*-test ($p < .001$): 5.20 for the J-E group versus 6.28 for the J group.

The satisfaction levels and difficulties of bilingual development

Table 8 shows the parents' satisfaction levels with respect to their children's bilingual development. They were asked the question "Are you satisfied with your children's bilingual development?". Despite the high motivations to raise children bilingually, approximately half of the J-E families were not satisfied (45%), whereas most of the J families were satisfied (80%). The difference was statistically significant ($p < 0.5$): more J-E families reported that they were not satisfied with the children's bilingual acquisition than J families did.

Table 8: The parents' satisfaction levels

	Satisfied	Not satisfied
J-E Families (N=55)	30 (55%)	25 (45%)
J Families (N=30)	24 (80%)	6 (20%)

Note: No answers given, N=2 for J-E families and N=1 for J families

For both types of families, parents who were not satisfied with their children's bilingual acquisition were asked to describe the reasons. While some J-E families provided multiple answers, not all respondents provided answers. The following section summarizes the offered reasons.

J-E families: Main reasons why parents are not satisfied:

3. Children have a low Japanese language proficiency level. (8 families)
4. Japanese input is limited. There are not many opportunities to use Japanese.
5. (8 families)
6. Children are not motivated to speak or use Japanese. (7 families)
7. Learning Japanese literacy is difficult. (3 families)
8. Other. (9 families)

J families: Main reasons why parents are not satisfied:

9. Children have a low English language proficiency level. (2 families)
10. Children do not have many New Zealand friends or opportunities to speak English. (1 family)
11. There is not enough English support for the children at school. (1 family)
12. Children have a low Japanese language proficiency level. (2 families)

Most J-E families who reported "Not satisfied" were unhappy about their children's low Japanese proficiency level, limited opportunities to use Japanese, and the children's lack of enthusiasm to learn Japanese. J-E families clearly considered Japanese language attainment as the main challenge for bilingualism. This finding is further underscored in Table 9.

Table 9: The difficulties of Japanese language acquisition

	Yes	No
J-E Families (N=56)	52 (93%)	4 (7%)
J Families (N=31)	16 (52%)	15 (48%)

Note: One J-E family did not provide an answer.

When asked "Do you think that it is difficult to promote children's Japanese language development in New Zealand?" most J-E families (93%) felt that it was difficult for their children to acquire Japanese (Table 9). Although the results of the two groups are very significantly different ($p < .001$), it is noteworthy that approximately half of J families (N=15, 48%) also thought that the promotion of Japanese language was difficult. Both groups offered reasons in response to the open-ended question (multiple answers were allowed). The following are the top four reasons.

13. There are not many opportunities to use Japanese. (N=27 for J-E group, N=8 for J group)
14. The necessity is low. (N=15 for J-E group, N=4 for J group)
15. Learning Japanese literacy is difficult. (N=7 for J-E group, N=4 for J group)
16. Parents need to provide/create environments for children to use Japanese. (N=9 for J-E group, N=2 for J group)

Both groups complained that there was a shortage of opportunities to use Japanese and that the acquisition of reading and writing was challenging.

Perceptions with respect to children's Japanese-English bilingual acquisition

The parents were requested to evaluate their children's general English and Japanese language competence. Four options were given: (1) "English is stronger", (2) "Japanese is stronger", (3) "English and Japanese are equally strong", and (4) "English and Japanese are both behind".

Table 10 shows the contrasting results. In J-E families, it was reported the children's English was stronger than their Japanese (66%), whereas in J families, Japanese was stronger than English (57%). For category 3 ("English and Japanese are equally strong"), neither group averaged a high score: only 19% for the children in the J-E group and 28% for the children in the J group. Conversely, Category 4 represents the least favourable situation ("English and Japanese are both behind"). For six children in the J-E group (6%), but no children in the J group, the parents ticked this category.

Table 10: Language development English (E) and Japanese (J)

	(1) E is stronger than J	(2) J is stronger than E	(3) E & J are equally strong	(4) E & J are both behind
J-E Children (N=94)	62 (66%)	8 (9%)	18 (19%)	6 (6%)
J Children (N=53)	8 (15%)	30 (57%)	15 (28%)	0 (0%)

English oral and literacy proficiency

Reported oral (listening and speaking) and literacy skills (writing and reading) in English and Japanese were compared to gain a more detailed understanding of the difficulties that parents observe in their children's bilingual attainment. Table 11 displays the data for English acquisition: oral skills. The parents were asked to compare the linguistic abilities of similarly-aged children in Japan in determining the children's Japanese abilities. For most children in J-E families (80%) it was thought that their English oral skills developed appropriately. For J children, the response pattern was quite different, as confirmed by a significant difference between the J-E and J groups ($p < .001$). For J families, the responses were clearly spread across the three categories ("quite behind", "a little behind" and "developed appropriately"). However, about two thirds of children in J families were recognized to be behind in English oral competence (with a combined result of "quite behind" and "a little behind").

Table 11: English development: Oral skills

	quite behind	a little behind	developed appropriately
J-E Children (N=90)	6 (7%)	12 (13%)	72 (80%)
J Children (N=47)	11 (23%)	19 (40%)	17 (36%)

Note: Missing answers, N=4 for J-E families and N=6 for J families

Looking at the data in Table 12 with respect to English literacy skills, J-E and J families produced similar responses. There was no significant difference between the two groups. For more than half of the children in both groups, the parents thought that their children's literacy skills developed appropriately.

Table 12: English development: Literacy skills

	not studied	quite behind	a little behind	developed appropriately
J-E Children (N=94)	15 (16%)	4 (4%)	16 (17%)	59 (63%)
J Children (N=49)	3 (6%)	8 (16%)	9 (18%)	29 (59%)

Note: Missing answers, N=4 for J families

Japanese oral and literacy proficiency

Table 13 shows a different and contrastive tendency for reported Japanese oral skills, as compared to the result for English oral skills in Table 11. Most children in J families (83%) were showing appropriate development of Japanese oral skills according to their parents. In contrast, approximately two thirds of the J-E children seemed to be lagging behind, with 33% thought to be "quite behind" and 31% "a little behind". The responses of the parents in the two groups produced a statistically significant difference ($p < .001$).

Table 13: Japanese: Oral skills

	quite behind	a little behind	developed appropriately
J-E Children (N=93)	31 (33%)	29 (31%)	33 (35%)
J Children (N=52)	0 (0%)	9 (17%)	43 (83%)

Note: Missing answers, N=1 for J-E families and N=2 for J families

Comparing Table 13 (Japanese: oral skills) and Table 14 (Japanese: literacy skills), it is clear that J-E families were much less confident about their children's Japanese literacy skills: Only 13% of the children were considered to be developing Japanese literacy skills appropriately (Table 14). In contrast, for about two thirds of the children in J families (68%), literacy skills were thought to be appropriate for their age group. Again, a significant difference was obtained between the two groups ($p < .001$). The participants of the present study included the parents of 28 preschoolers. Obviously, for the preschoolers it would be too early to study literacy. It is likely that the 33 children who had "not studied" literacy included these preschoolers.

Table 14: Japanese development: Literacy skills

	not studied	quite behind	a little behind	developed appropriately
J-E Children (N=94)	31 (33%)	32 (34%)	19 (20%)	12 (13%)
J Children (N=53)	2 (4%)	7 (13%)	8 (15%)	36 (68%)

Note: Missing answers, N=1 for J families

Discussion

The data suggested that for exogamous families in New Zealand, the difficulties lie in passing on the heritage language (Japanese) to the next generation.

According to the parents' reports, the acquisition of the language of the community (English) tends to take place more easily for children than the acquisition of the heritage language (Japanese). This is consistent with the findings by Yamamoto in the Japanese context (2001) that it is more challenging to promote the heritage language (in her study, English) for children from interlingual families in Japan than to promote the community language (Japanese). From the two studies, it can be concluded that the language of the community tended to suppress the acquisition of the heritage language in both contexts.

Most fathers in the J-E group assessed that they were monolingual English speakers or that their Japanese proficiency level was at an introductory level. In contrast, the English proficiency level of J-E mothers (88%) was assessed to be quite advanced (having no trouble in conversation). This could suggest that their main language for communication at home tended to be English. Previous research has provided evidence that the parent-child conversational interaction is crucial in the attainment of a heritage language (Harding-Esch & Riley, 1986; Takeuchi, 2006a; 2006b). It is important for J-E families to find ways to increase good and frequent conversational interactions in Japanese, which can be the base for the heritage language to flourish. The father's proficiency level in the heritage language can be influential in establishing a good bilingual context for the children.

Japanese endogamous families appeared to have better opportunities to promote Japanese acquisition than the interlingual families did. The data showed that for children from J-E families, the parents reported that English was stronger than Japanese, whereas for children from J families, Japanese was stronger than English. Although some parents in J families complained that their children were lagging behind in English oral skills, the majority of these parents were satisfied with their children's linguistic attainment. This is probably thanks to the fact that children from J families benefit from ample Japanese input and output opportunities at home, where both parents are Japanese native speakers. The OPOL ('one parent-one language,') approach probably applies to the J-E families, where the mothers and fathers have different native languages. The results of the present study suggest that maximum exposure of the minority language in the endogamous family's home supports children's bilingualism better than the OPOL principle does.

In Barkhuizen's study (2006), however, language attrition (shift to English) by Afrikaans' children in New Zealand took place in the endogamous family context. The present study showed a different pattern. Holmes et al. (1993) found that the process, degree and speed of language shift varied according to three different speech communities (the Tongan, Greek, and Chinese). Japanese as a heritage language might be one of the languages which can survive or show slower patterns of attrition.

One of the contributing factors in J families' success could be the parental attitude toward bilingualism. The vast majority of J families reported that they attempted to raise children bilingually, and the objectives were set high: the children should acquire solid Japanese oral and literacy abilities useful for the future. Fishman (2001) argues that the language choices bilinguals make in a foreign country are motivated by two main factors, namely language group loyalty and perceptions of language usefulness. The recognition of this "language usefulness" can motivate both parents and children.

The present study compared the children's oral and literacy language development, as reported by their parents. Parents in J-E families reported that the Japanese oral and literacy skills of their children lagged behind those of their age cohort in Japan. The findings in the present study agree with those of Douglas (2008, p. 216) that the "learners [of Japanese as the second language] ranked their Japanese oral skills higher than their literacy skills." The promotion of literacy skills in a heritage language could be the most challenging goal for interlingual parents. In contrast, the parents of J families were relatively confident about their children's English literacy skills and Japanese oral and literacy skills. The degree of success in bilingual development clearly depended on the language and the types of skills.

The acquisition of dual languages requires constant efforts at home by the parents. Additionally, any opportunities to use the heritage language outside home can be of great help. *Hoshuko*s (supplementary Japanese schools) can contribute to the academic and formal language development and positive identity formation (Kanno, Hasegawa, Ikeda, Ito, & M. Long, 2008; Oriyama, 2010; Shibata, 2000). According to the background information in the questionnaire, more J families sent their children to *Hoshuko*s than J-E families did. This could be one of the contributing factors that explain J families' success in raising children bilingually. Combining both macro-level factors such as schooling and micro-level factors at home, it is possible to create a supportive environment for dual language development.

Conclusion

The present study reported a questionnaire survey on parental attitudes toward raising children bilingually (Japanese/English) and parental views of the children's bilingual acquisition. The data showed that promoting bilingual competence in New Zealand was perceived to be challenging, particularly with respect to the heritage language (Japanese) in interlingual families.

It was found that both endogamous and exogamous families had very positive attitudes toward raising their children bilingually, targeting oral and literacy skills. Despite the high motivation, approximately half of the Japanese/English exogamous families were not satisfied with their children's bilingual acquisition, whereas 80% of the Japanese endogamous families were satisfied. The reported

reasons included their children's low Japanese competence and lack of motivation, and insufficient Japanese input and output language opportunities. Most J-E families (93%) reported having difficulties promoting their children's heritage language acquisition. It is noteworthy that about half of the J families reported having such difficulties as well.

To gain more detailed insights into the specific challenges and potential solutions for heritage language acquisition, future studies should examine the patterns of actual language usage at home to investigate the conversational patterns between family members. Additionally, it would be useful to obtain a more detailed evaluation of language proficiency levels for both oral and literacy skills by language tests and interviews with the children directly rather than, or in addition to, the parents' general assessment.

The results suggest that factors such as parental attitude, structure of the family (either endogamous or exogamous), language proficiency levels of the parents, and *Hoshuko*s (supplementary Japanese schools) are important in creating a supportive environment for bilingualism. Most families in this study planned to stay in New Zealand permanently. It is a challenging task for these families, especially exogamous families, to provide children with the long-term optimal linguistic context in which they experience maximum exposure to their heritage language. To facilitate the children's heritage language learning, two domains can be addressed: fathers who wish to support their children's maintenance of the heritage language should be encouraged to improve their own level of Japanese to a level which is at least adequate for basic conversation; and the children need to be encouraged to participate in the programs provided by the *Hoshuko*s.

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Appendix 1. The questionnaire on the language environment of bilingual families

The questionnaire begins with a section about the family members' background information, including the length of stay in New Zealand and Japan, status of stay (e.g., permanent or temporary), nationality, age, and English/Japanese proficiency levels. Due to space limitations, presented here are only the relevant question items regarding parental attitudes and the children's bilingual development. The actual questionnaire was written in Japanese. The English translation was made by the author.

Please fill out your answers in ( ). For multiple-choice questions, please write a circle in [ ] relevant to you.

1. Children's language development

Please circle the appropriate item regarding your children's English (E) and Japanese (J) development.

ENGLISH

The standard: Compared with children of the same age group in New Zealand.

a. English and Japanese (E=English, J=Japanese)

	E is stronger than J	J is stronger than E	E & J are equally strong	E & J are both behind
The 1st child	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
The 2nd child	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
The 3rd child	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

b. English: Oral skills

	quite behind	a little behind	developed appropriately
The 1st child	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
The 2nd child	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
The 3rd child	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

c. English: Literacy skills

	not studied	quite behind	a little behind	developed appropriately
The 1st child	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
The 2nd child	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
The 3rd child	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

JAPANESE
The standard: Compared with Japanese children of the same age group in Japan.

d. Japanese: Oral skills

	quite behind	a little behind	developed appropriately
The 1st child	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
The 2nd child	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
The 3rd child	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

e. Japanese: Literacy skills

	not studied	quite behind	a little behind	developed appropriately
The 1st child	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
The 2nd child	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
The 3rd child	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

2. Views on bilingual education

a. Are you raising your children bilingually? Please provide your reasons.
[ ] 1. Yes [ ] 2. No

The reasons ( )

b. What do you think of teaching Japanese to your children? (Please circle one appropriate item separately for father and mother.)

Father	Mother	
[ ]	[ ]	1. Japanese is not necessary.
[ ]	[ ]	2. I want my child to acquire a little oral ability.
[ ]	[ ]	3. I want my child to acquire a moderate level of oral ability.
[ ]	[ ]	4. I want my child to acquire a moderate level of oral and literacy abilities.
[ ]	[ ]	5. I want my child to acquire oral ability equivalent to that of children in Japan.
[ ]	[ ]	6. I want my child to acquire oral and literacy abilities equivalent to those of children in Japan.
[ ]	[ ]	7. I want my child to acquire solid oral and literacy abilities useful for the future.
[ ]	[ ]	8. Others ( )

c. Do you think that it is difficult to promote children's Japanese language development in New Zealand?
[ ] 1. Yes [ ] 2. No

If yes, what are the difficult points?
( )

d. Are you satisfied with your children's bilingual development?"

[ ] 1.Satisfied
[ ] 2. Generally satisfied
[ ] 3. Somewhat not satisfied
[ ] 4. Not satisfied

If your answer is (3) or (4), please write the reasons. Also, please write what your current objectives are with respect to your children's bilingual development.
( )

Appendix 2. Information about *Hoshuko*s (supplementary Japanese schools)

The following two schools cooperated in distributing the questionnaires.

1. Canterbury Japanese Supplementary School

   Location: Christchurch, New Zealand.

   Number of students: N=214 (Primary and intermediate levels)
   Number of families N=163 (in 2010)

   School hours: 4 hours per week, 39 weeks per year, on Saturdays

   Subjects: Japanese language, math, and social studies (all conducted in Japanese)

   There is a Canterbury Japanese Supplementary School affiliated kindergarten. Number of kindergartners: N=25 (in 2010)

2. The Japan-New Zealand Joint Venture School

   Location: Wellington, New Zealand.

   Number of students: N=27 (Primary and intermediate levels)
   Number of families N=15 (in 2009)

   School hours: about 4 hours per week, 88 days per year, on Mondays and Wednesdays

   Subjects: Japanese language and math (both conducted in Japanese)

LEARNERS' INTERACTION WITH LISTENING TASKS: IS EITHER INPUT REPETITION OR A SLOWER RATE OF DELIVERY OF BENEFIT?

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Abstract

When engaged in listening, a major challenge for speakers of English as an Additional Language (EAL) is the speed of delivery of what is heard. This is compounded when learners are only able to hear the input once. Listening can be particularly stressful and challenging in high-stakes tests of listening proficiency that employ a listen-once model. This article reports findings of an exploratory study involving intermediate-level adult learners of EAL (n = 96) that compared learner perceptions of listening tests completed in three different conditions: input played (1) once at a normal speed, (2) twice at a normal speed and (3) once at a slower speed. Performances in the tests, as measured by test scores, were used as an additional source of evidence. Analysis of quantitative and qualitative data suggests that both repetition of input and a slower rate of delivery can have a positive effect on learner perceptions and interaction with listening tasks, and that listening twice has a significant impact on scores. The implications of these findings for both classroom and testing practices are raised.

Introduction

Listening comprehension, although the most widely used language skill, is a complex and difficult process for second language (L2) learners (Anderson & Lynch, 1998; Rost, 2001; Vandergrift, 2004; Wilson, 1998). While many variables affect listening task performance, a major contributing factor to comprehension difficulty is the speed of delivery of the input. Also, in many listening scenarios L2 learners are expected to cope with input which is heard only once, and this exacerbates problems with speech rate. The impact that speech rate has on effective comprehension is noted both by researchers (Brindley & Slatyer, 2002; Buck, 2001; Nunan, 2004; Rost, 2005) and by learners (Graham, 2006; Hasan, 2000; Underwood, 1999; Vogely, 1998).

A critical challenge for L2 learners arises from limitations in both linguistic abilities and cultural and background knowledge. While first language (L1) speakers bring a wealth of passive listening experience and a range of schemata to language use situations (Flowerdew & Miller, 2005), L2 learners are lacking in either or both of these to a lesser or greater extent. Although listening comprehension is an active and complex process, L1 speakers are able to understand speech delivered at relatively high speeds because their processing of

the input is automatic (Buck, 2001). In contrast, because L2 learners' knowledge of the language is partial, language processing is consequently only partially automatic. Oakeshott-Taylor (1977) states that proficiency level has an impact on the extent to which listeners can process sound quickly and understand its meaning. Lynch (1998) makes a similar assertion, stating that at a certain speed processing will break down completely and L2 listeners will have very limited understanding.

The nature of the relationship between speech rate and listening comprehension, however, remains unclear. While some research supports or provides partial support for a slower rate of delivery aiding comprehension (Griffiths, 1990, 1992; Zhao, 1997), other research is less conclusive (Blau, 1990; Jenson & Vinther, 2003; Rader, 1991). What *is* clear is that learners tend to report that they *feel* that a fast rate of speech impedes comprehension (Flowerdew, 1994; Griffiths, 1990; Hasan, 2000; Seferoglu & Uzakgoren, 2004; Vogely, 1998). This perception has implications for learners' interaction with listening tasks, whether in class or in tests. As Hasan (2000) argues, "learners' perceptions of their listening problems … can affect their comprehension either positively or negatively" (p. 138). This assertion is also made by Vogely (1998) who contends that anxiety related to listening has the potential to significantly affect learners' ability to comprehend aural input. If this is the case, then a perception that the listening input is too fast is likely to have a negative influence on L2 listening comprehension.

In classroom settings, moderating the influence of learners' perceptions of speed of input is relatively unproblematic because teachers are able to deploy several strategies to help students comprehend listening input more successfully. In real-life and test situations the issue is more complex. In some high-stakes tests, such as the Cambridge First Certificate in English (FCE), the problem of input speed is mitigated to some extent by allowing learners to hear the input twice. However, following Bachman's (1990) assertion that "the primary function performed by tests is that of a request for information about the test taker's language ability" (p. 321), 'once at normal speed' tests such as the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) arguably exist to provide a valid and appropriate (indeed necessary) means of measuring test takers' ability to deal with a range of 'once at normal speed' listening scenarios with which they may be confronted in domains beyond the test. On the other hand, Bachman asserts that tests should provide "the greatest opportunity for test takers to exhibit their 'best' performance" so that they are "better and fairer measures of the language abilities of interest" (p. 156). If learners' perception is that the 'once only at normal speed' condition is 'too fast' for effective comprehension (Brown & Yule, 1983; Graham, 2006; Goh, 1999; Hasan, 2000), this will induce anxiety which compromises test takers' effective interaction with the test task (Arnold, 2000; Elkhafaifi, 2005). In these circumstances, it is, as Chang and Read (2006) conclude, "not surprising … that EFL learners experience considerable stress when taking a high stakes listening test" (p. 376).

A pertinent question therefore, particularly for teachers who wish to help EAL learners to develop listening proficiency and prepare for listening tests, is how to mitigate any potential influences from a learner-held perception that the rate of speech is too fast, so that EAL students who might find listening stressful can best be supported as they *prepare* for high-stakes tests. Although it is not possible to alter the conditions under which students might sit high-stakes listening tests, there is value in asking EAL learners what they think about different conditions for listening input and, on the basis of their answers, to make decisions about appropriate *teaching* strategies. It is also important to consider whether listening once or more than once has an impact on test performance, as measured by test scores, so that we can determine the extent to which listening more than once makes a difference. The exploratory study reported in this article had these aims in mind.

The study investigated the following research question:

> Does modifying the condition in intermediate-level listening tasks, either through input repetition or through a reduced rate of delivery, have an impact on learners' perceptions of, and performance on, the tasks?

Modifications to Listening Input

Classroom approaches to reducing learner anxiety with listening input can be separated into pedagogic practices and input modification. A number of pedagogical practices are available, such as pre-task activities focused on activating schemata, the pre-teaching of vocabulary items and learner training in metacognitive listening strategies. Modifying or simplifying the input itself, whether syntactically, morphologically or lexically, is also a common classroom practice (Davis & Osborn, 2003). These modifications are, however, arguably less useful when learners have a particular goal, such as taking the IELTS test, in mind. Adaptations that allow the input to remain intact may provide for greater seamlessness between both teaching and testing (Messick, 1996) and between classroom work and the real world, and may therefore be of greater benefit to learners.

Repetition of unmodified input is one technique frequently used by classroom teachers. Allowing students to hear the input multiple times is seen as an important part of second language learning and teaching (Chang & Read, 2006), and has been shown to be an effective way of enhancing comprehension (Cervantes, 1983; Chaudron, 1983). Repetition will therefore be of value for those students working towards an examination such as the FCE. It may also be of some value for those who are working towards the once-only IELTS listening test. However, at some stage students preparing for IELTS and beyond need to deal with once-only scenarios.

Given that speed of delivery can be problematic (Hasan, 2000), another adaptation is to slow down the speed of the input, thereby giving students more time to

process the information, even if it is heard only once (Anderson-Hsieh & Dauer, 1997). This option is now more practical due to widely available open-source software that enables users to reduce the tempo of a digital audio file without altering the pitch. This allows teachers to alter the speed of delivery of a given text both efficiently and effectively while retaining the authenticity of the sound. Adjusting the rate of delivery has the potential to enhance learner interaction with listening input and may be of particular use for scaffolding learners in IELTS test preparation courses. It may also be of value in helping learners to approach other once-only contexts more confidently.

Repetition of input and reducing the speed of delivery are arguably equally viable options for the classroom, neither of which requires changing the input itself, for example, by simplification. There is therefore value in finding out what learners think about these two modifications in comparison with 'once only at normal speed' input. As Hasan (2000) suggests, "we can study listening by asking learners to tell us about it" (p. 137). What is learnt from the student voice can help to inform both the strategies and the activities that teachers employ in the classroom to help learners develop their listening proficiency and perform at their best both in in-class listening tasks and in subsequent high-stakes tests. Test score evidence provides an additional means of determining the difference that varying the condition makes. The exploratory study reported in this article was designed to ask learners about their perceptions of listening, and to compare perceptions with actual performances.

The present study

Participants in the study consisted of 96 intermediate adult migrant and international EAL learners at a New Zealand tertiary institution. The learners' enrolment into the intermediate-level classes was determined either through examination and progression from previous levels or through the institute's placement test. The intermediate level at the institute corresponds to level B1 on the Common European Framework of Reference (Council of Europe, 2001). The nationality and ethnicity of participants covered a wide range, but predominantly included learners from Asian, African and Middle Eastern countries. Participants' age and length of time in New Zealand also varied.

Design

Participants completed three short listening tests under three different test conditions. Tests were chosen in preference to classroom tasks for two reasons: first, in order to ensure comparability of difficulty and task format across each of the tests, and second, to ensure that each task was of a manageable length. The tests were drawn from a database of practice tests published by and used with permission of the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UCLES). Each test was approximately fifteen minutes in length and consisted of two tasks. The first was an IELTS-type task (UCLES, 2005a) where participants

were asked to respond to ten items based on a conversation between two people. The second was an FCE-type task (UCLES, 2005b) that required participants to listen to a radio interview and fill in ten missing words in a written summary of the interview.

The three test conditions investigated were:

Condition 1: input delivered once at normal speed
Condition 2: input delivered once at a reduced speech rate (15% slower)
Condition 3: input delivered twice at normal speed.

For each test (*test one*, *test two* and *test three*) three separate versions were made for each test condition of *normal*, *slower* and *twice* to give a total of nine tests. Participants were placed into nine groups which were counter-balanced (both for test and test condition) to account for any possible order effect. While establishing a 'normal' speed for any given text can be problematic (Zhao, 1997), for this study 'normal' speed was regarded as the default speed of the practice test materials.

Data collection

Two questionnaires were used to collect data on participants' perceptions. Participants responded to one short questionnaire after the first test, and a second short questionnaire after completing all three tests. The first questionnaire, given after participants had completed one of the tests under one of the three test conditions, was used to enable a comparison of learner perceptions of the difficulty of the tests. Test difficulty was rated on a four-point scale and reasons for the difficulty rating chosen were elicited in an open-ended question. Participants were also asked to state any perceived advantages and disadvantages of the test condition *(normal, twice* or *slower)*. Three different versions of the first questionnaire were therefore available depending on which condition was taken first. Figure 1 provides an example.

After all three tests had been completed, participants were asked to compare the three test conditions across categories of *fairness, ease* and *preference*. As with the first questionnaire open-ended comments were also elicited. To aid participant comprehension and memory, each test condition was colour-coded (by using either a yellow, blue or green coversheet) and these colour-codes were referred to in the questionnaire. Figure 2 shows the second questionnaire.

Tests were marked by two independent raters, who assigned marks according to a pre-determined markscheme. This was based on the suggested test answers but allowed for some flexibility for minor spelling errors. Since many questions were multiple-choice items or required one-word answers it was anticipated that raters would assign the same mark to these questions. However, the inclusion of some more open-ended responses, and some discretion around spelling, introduced a small element of subjectivity in the rating for which it was decided that two independent raters would be useful.

1. What did you think of this test? (Tick ☑ *one box only* and *give a reason* for your answer)

EITHER: ☐ I found the test very easy to do
OR: ☐ I found the test quite easy to do
OR: ☐ I found the test quite difficult to do
OR: ☐ I found the test very difficult to do

This is because

2. What were the **advantages** (*good* things) of being allowed to hear each recording **once only at a slower speed? Can you give one or two advantages (good things)?**

1.
2.

3. What were the **disadvantages** (*bad* things) of being allowed to hear each recording **once only at a slower speed? Can you give one or two disadvantages (bad things)?**

1.
2.

Figure 1: The first questionnaire

Data analysis

Both the closed-ended and open-ended questionnaire responses were transferred to a spreadsheet for investigation. Closed-ended responses were entered into SPSS for subsequent statistical analysis.

The open-ended responses were analysed qualitatively, using a grounded theory approach (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Comments were analysed independently by one of the principal researchers and by a research assistant. In an iterative process the initial open-coded analyses of both investigators were compared to form a composite list of categories of participant perceptions. Themes and relationships were then explored to inform conclusions that both emerged from and were grounded in the data (Patton, 2002).

4. Which test did you like best? (Tick ☑ *one box only* and *give a reason* for your answer)

EITHER: ☐ I liked the **first (YELLOW) test best** (recordings once at normal speed)
OR: ☐ I liked the **second (BLUE) test best** (recordings once at slower speed)
OR: ☐ I liked the **third (GREEN) test best** (recordings twice at normal speed)
OR: ☐ I liked **all tests the same**

This is because

5. Which test was the easiest to do? (Tick ☑ *one box only* and *give a reason* for your answer)

EITHER: ☐ I found the **first (YELLOW) test the easiest** (recordings once at normal speed)
OR: ☐ I found the **second (BLUE) test the easiest** (recordings once at slower speed)
OR: ☐ I found the **third (GREEN) test the easiest** (recordings twice at normal speed)
OR: ☐ I found **all tests equally easy**

This is because

6. Which test was the fairest test of your listening skills? (Tick ☑ *one box only* and *give a reason* for your answer)

EITHER: ☐ I thought the **first (YELLOW) test was the fairest** (recordings once at normal speed)
OR: ☐ I thought the **second (BLUE) test was the fairest** (recordings once at slower speed)
OR: ☐ I thought the **third (GREEN) test was the fairest** (recordings twice at normal speed)
OR: ☐ I thought **all three tests were equally fair**

This is because:

Figure 2: The second questionnaire

As can be seen from the extracts in Figure 3, each category, where appropriate, was coded for *negative* and *positive* comments. A *negative* comment on the *slower speed* test condition, for example, was coded SLSPD$^{(-)}$, and a *positive* comment coded as SLSPD$^{(+)}$. Categories were also nested where appropriate. The metacategory TWC $^{(+)}$, for example, represents *positive* comments on the *listened twice* condition, and TWC$^{(+)}$MRTM represents a *positive* comment on the listened twice condition that referred to having more time.

NRMSPD(-) NOTMWRT – *comments about not having enough time to write*

SLSPD(+) - ***positive comments on the slower speed condition***

SLSPD(+)CLR – *comments about the slower speed condition being clearer*

SLSPD(+)ESR – *comments about the slower speed condition being easier to understand*

SLSPD(+)CNCNCTRT – *comments about being able to concentrate for the slower speed conditi*

SLSPD(+)MRTM – *comments about having more time for the slower speed condition*

SLSPD(+)NTNRVS – *comments about not being nervous for the slower speed condition*

SLSPD(+)CNCTCHDTLS – *comments about being able to understand details for the slower spee*

SLRSPD(-) ***negative comments on the slower speed condition***

SLRSPD(-)FST – *comments about the slower speed condition being too fast*

SLRSPD(-)NOADVTS – *comments about the slower speed condition having no advantages*

SLRSPD(-)CNTSNG – *comments about the slower speed condition being confusing*

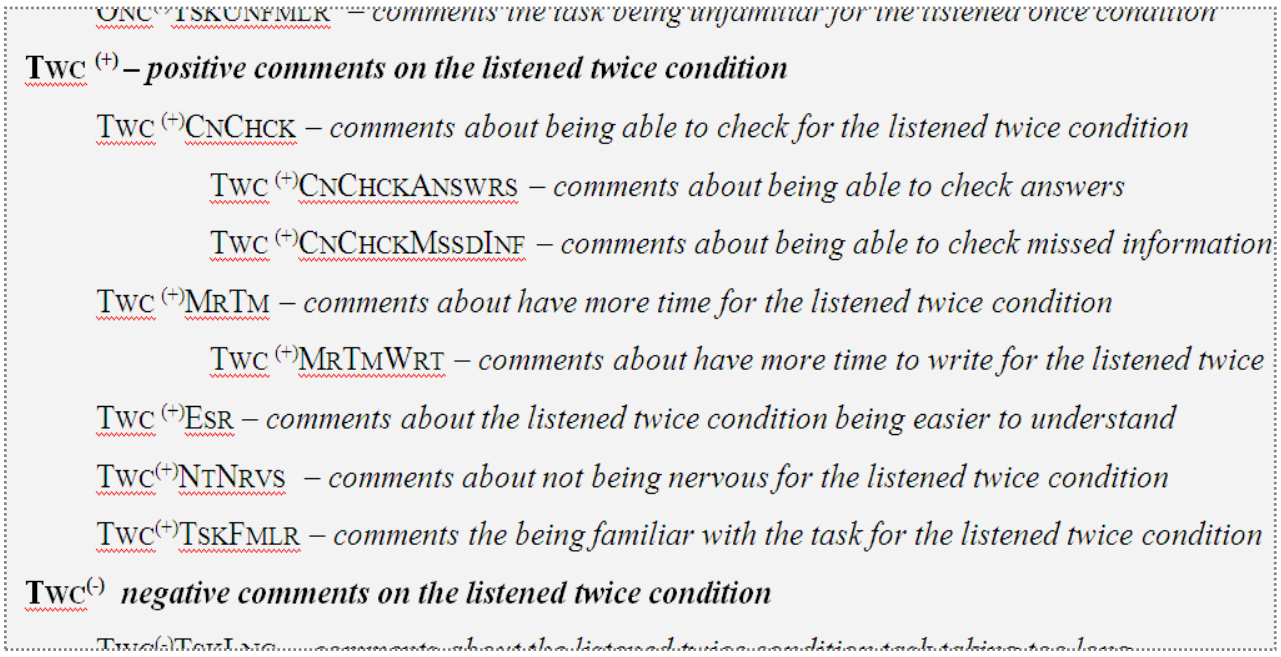

Figure 3: Extracts and examples of the final coded categories

Results

The First Questionnaire – Test Difficulty

The first questionnaire, given after participants had completed the first test in one of the three test conditions, provides insight into participant perceptions of the relative difficulty of each test condition. Findings from this first questionnaire are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Perceived test difficulty

	Opinion about the difficulty of the test			
Test condition [a]	Very easy	Quite easy	Quite difficult	Very difficult
normal (n = 27)	2 (7%)	18 (67%)	7 (26%)	0
slow (n = 26)	0	21 (81%)	5 (19%)	0
twice (n = 41)[b]	8 (20%)	28 (68%)	5 (12%)	0

Notes:
[a] Two participants did not make a response for this question and have been omitted
[b] Despite efforts to ensure a roughly equal distribution across groups the number of those taking the test in the played twice condition as the first condition was larger than in the other two conditions (this was caused by participant attrition and the need to accommodate a particularly large class).

The majority of participants, regardless of the test condition, reported that they perceived the test to be either 'quite easy' or 'quite difficult'. As no participant had indicated that any test was 'very difficult', or that the slower speed test was very easy, the four categories were collapsed into two meta-categories – 'easy' or 'difficult'. A χ^2 analysis, used to determine whether the observed frequencies in these two broader categories of response differed from those that might have been expected, indicated that no significant difference was found (χ^2 (2, n = 94) = 2.104, p = .349).

Qualitative analysis of the open-ended comments, however, indicated differences in the underlying beliefs that participants had towards the difficulty of the test under each condition. While the mean scores indicated that participants perceived the tests to be of a similar level of difficulty, the reasons that participants gave to explain the difficulty rating given varied with test condition.

The first open-ended question asked participants to provide a reason for the difficulty rating that they had given to the test. The collated responses for all test conditions indicated that participants were primarily concerned with three main issues: *the speed of the input*, the constraint of *being able to listen only once* and the perceived *difficulty of section two* of the test.

When asked to give a reason for the relative difficulty of the test, 29% of all participants commented that the speed of the test was too fast, 21% of participants who had listened once indicated that being able to listen only once had a negative impact on test difficulty, and 36% of all participants considered section two of the test to be difficult.

Examining each test condition individually gives an indication as to why participants perceived the test to be difficult. As stated, the qualitative analysis suggests that test takers viewed the relationship between the rate of delivery and

the perceived difficulty of the test differently under the three test conditions. For test condition one, where the input was played once at a normal speed, 52% of participants indicated that the rate of delivery was too fast and that this impacted on the difficulty of the tasks. Comments such as "*I couldn't understand clearly because of fast speed*" and "*the speed of speaking is a little bit fast*" are representative of participant responses. In contrast, in condition two, where the input was played once at a slower speed, only 22% of participants mentioned that the speed of the input was problematic. A subsequent χ^2 analysis indicated that significantly more participants commented on the speed of delivery in tests under the normal speed condition than might have been expected (χ^2 (1, n = 53) = 6.129, p = .013). This result should, however, be treated with some caution as it is based not on a frequency of response to a specific question about the speed of delivery, but rather on open-ended comments.

Some variation in comments relating to the difficulty of listening only once can also be seen, with 22% of participants under the normal-speed condition stating that listening only once made the test more difficult, yet with only 7% of participants under the slower-speed condition making the same comment.

Typical comments from participants relating to the third issue of concern, that the second task was seen to be more difficult than the first, were that "*section two very fast and difficult*" and "*first one is quite easy, but second one is not easy.*" While the difficulty of section two was clearly an issue for participants, when examined with regard to test condition there was no evidence to suggest that listening twice or listening at a slower speed of delivery helped to make section two any easier. Participants perceived section two to be difficult regardless of the rate of delivery or the number of times that the input was played. Of those who listened twice, 39% commented on the difficulty of section two, compared to very similar rates of response of 36% of those under the 'once at normal speed' condition and 31% under the 'once at slower speed' condition.

The Second Questionnaire – Fairness, Ease and Preference

The second questionnaire on which test condition was *most preferred*, *easiest* and *fairest* was given after completion of all three tests.

As seen in Figure 4, the majority of participants favoured the 'listen twice' condition in all three categories of fairness, ease and preference. A χ^2 analysis of these confirms the significance of these differences (preference χ^2 (3, n = 89) = 107.81, $p < .001$; ease χ^2 (3, n = 87) = 71.45, $p < .001$; fairness χ^2 (3, n = 83) = 20.66, $p < .001$).

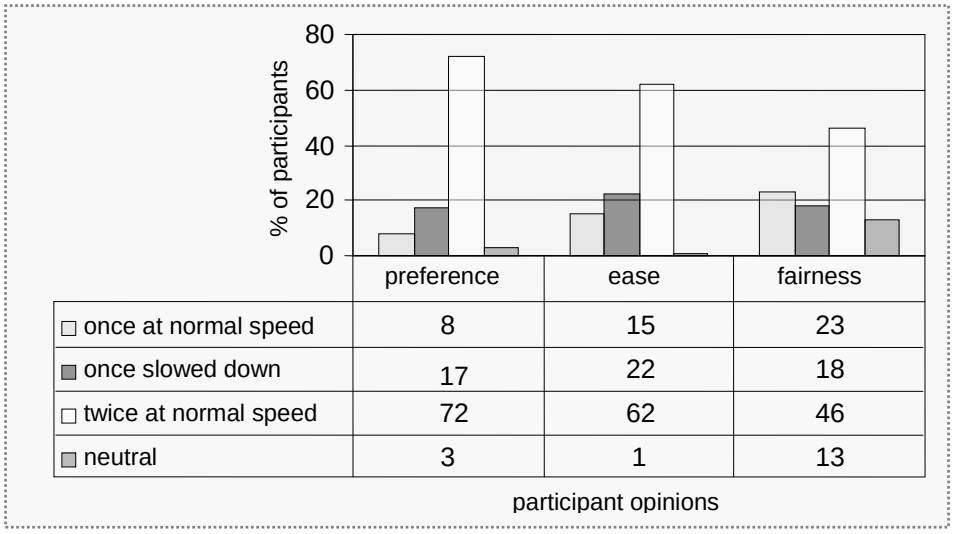

Figure 4: Participant opinions across test conditions

Open-ended comments confirmed participants' clear preference for the third test condition (listening twice), with the ability to check answers emerging as a key reason for this preference. Out of the 54 participants who made comments regarding their preference for being able to listen twice, 27 mentioned the ability to check their answers. Comments such as "*re-checking my answers*" and "*I have a chance to correct the answer*" were common. Similar remarks were made in regard to which test condition was perceived to be the easiest, with participants making comments such as "*I can check my answer*."

The open-ended reasons given for which test was the fairest were more mixed, reflecting the less clear-cut fairness responses evident in Figure 4. Salient comments included 21 responses supporting listening twice as a fair method of assessment because "*I could listen well but the second time confirm that for any doubt if I got*" and "*no one can answer all of the questions just listen once*." However, comments were also made to support the notion that listening only once at a normal speed was fairest because "*it is real English language just like what we can hear normally*" and "*people in any place talk at normal speed and I have to understand them at first time.*"

Test taker performance

Total scores awarded were out of 20. The two raters demonstrated extremely high consistency of scoring, shown by high and significant correlations across the scores awarded in each test (Test 1: r = .989; Test 2: r = .98, Test 3: r = .978). The two raters also demonstrated high consensus of scoring, revealed by the percentage of absolute agreement about scores (See Table 2). The available evidence indicates that the scoring process could be considered to be highly reliable.

Table 2: Percentages of consensus of scoring

Difference in scores awarded	Cumulative percentage of scores
0	91.6
±1	97.8
±2	100

The mean scores awarded in each test condition are recorded in Table 3.

Table 3: Mean scores according to test condition

Test condition	Mean	Standard Deviation
1. Once at normal speed	7.97	3.76
2. Once slowed down	8.06	3.49
3. Twice at normal speed	9.85	3.49

Paired-samples t-tests revealed that there was no significant difference in the scores awarded for tests in which the input was heard once (whether at normal speed or slowed down). However, scores on tests in which the test takers heard the input twice at normal speed were significantly different from the other two sets of scores. These test takers performed better on the tests where they heard the input twice than on the tests where they heard it once, whether at normal speed or slowed down:

1. 1 compared to 2: $t(95) = -.220$, $p = .826$
2. 1 compared to 3: $t(95) = -5.713$, $p < .001$
3. 2 compared to 3: $t(95) = -5.183$, $p < .001$

Discussion

The findings from this study show that learners' perceptions of listening tests, especially when given the opportunity to compare one listening condition with another, can be significantly influenced by the condition in which they hear the input. It is clear from the data that the 'listen twice' condition was *the most preferred*, and was perceived as the *easiest* and *fairest*. Open-ended comments revealed that being able to hear the input twice was considered to be advantageous as it provided participants with the opportunity to check answers. Participants viewed listening twice as "*very helpful*", giving them "*time to think*" and "*double check the answers*" as well as allowing them to "*relax more*". These findings are in accord with Chang and Read's (2006) observation that an opportunity to listen to input more than once may contribute to reducing affective barriers such as anxiety or nervousness. It was also found that test takers performed significantly better on the test in which they could hear the input twice than on the other two tests.

Some participants felt, however, that being able to listen twice was less authentic. Despite the significant preference for the test in which the input was heard twice, a number of participants (roughly one in five) made reference to listening only once

as being an authentic activity or reflecting "*real life*". Listening only once was considered "*very important for student learning*" and beneficial for both practice and assessment.

The findings also suggest that learner perceptions can be influenced by reductions in the speed of delivery. It is noteworthy that the frequency of comments regarding the speed of delivery of the input and the difficulty of listening only once was lower under the slower speed test condition. Indeed, comments related to delivery speed problems were made significantly less often, even though the slower test was not perceived to be any easier than the normal speed test as gauged by responses in the first questionnaire. Despite the caveat given earlier about the caution needed with interpreting the result of the χ^2 analysis, this does provide some tentative evidence to suggest that reducing the rate of delivery may create a more positive interaction with the task (although this does not appear to impact on performance as measured by scores).

Another finding of interest relates to the perceived difficulty of the second test task. Participants completing tasks in all test conditions found the second section to be difficult, suggesting a possible threshold or level effect. That is, above a certain level of difficulty, neither slowing down the input nor giving learners the opportunity to listen twice is likely to be perceived as beneficial.

Conclusion

The study reported here was framed as an exploratory investigation, the aim of which was to determine, via comparative evidence, intermediate learners' perceptions of listening tasks in different conditions. Perceptions were also compared to differences in performances as measured by test scores. As an exploratory study, it was limited in several respects. While the findings with regard to the impact of input repetition are clear (and arguably not unanticipated), only preliminary inferences can be made about the reduced speed condition. Due to the comparative nature of the study, it is possible that learners, by choosing to comment on the 'listen twice' condition, may not have taken the opportunity to make statements about the slower condition.

A second limitation is that this study explored learner perceptions of listening input under *test* conditions, a situation where participants may already be likely to experience heightened anxiety. Tests were chosen both to control for variability across tasks (that is, different tasks for a particular section of the practice tests can be considered to be comparable) and to make the tasks manageable (the test tasks were designed to be completed in a short time-frame). If modifications such as repeating or slowing down the input are to be used in test *preparation* classes, learner perceptions about their benefit in classroom conditions are also important. While a reasonable body of research has been conducted on the repetition of input (Cervantes, 1983; Cervantes & Gainer, 1992; Chaudron, 1983; Sakai, 2009),

research on learner perceptions of slowed down input in a pedagogic context would also be of benefit to teachers.

These limitations notwithstanding, the findings of this study have a number of implications, both for pedagogy with regard to test preparation and preparation for subsequent real-world listening scenarios, and for testing. The use of repeated input could be a useful classroom activity. Participants reported that when listening twice they felt less anxious because they were able to check their answers. Using repeated input in the classroom might therefore help learners to relax and feel more confident. Listening twice also appears to have a positive impact in terms of better performance, as measured by scores. Bearing in mind, however, the once-only condition of IELTS, and that once-only scenarios are common in real life, if the purpose of the test is to give us information about test takers' ability to handle authentic listening scenarios, it may be suggested that listening twice makes the test too easy. Having said that, helping test takers to perform at their best is an important consideration (Bachman, 1990). Slowing down the input in *classroom* practice tasks would still mirror both real-world scenarios and the listen-once condition of the test, thereby promoting seamlessness between the teaching and the testing (Messick, 1996), but may provide learners with an opportunity to relax and gain confidence. If the use of either slowed down or repeated input can result in learners feeling more comfortable when it ultimately comes to taking tests, then learners are likely to have greater opportunity to demonstrate their best performance.

Although there is a growing body of research that supports instruction in metacognitive listening strategies (Goh, 2008; Vandergrift, 1999; 2003), it is important, when considering classroom teaching, not to be trapped in a false dichotomy; either or both of the approaches of slowed or repeated input could quite reasonably be used as scaffolding techniques alongside other pedagogic practices. Also, the teaching of listening strategies and increasing opportunities for practice are two currently proposed ways of reducing listening test anxiety (Elkhafaifi, 2005).

This study has found two things: that learners prefer tasks in which the input is repeated, and that learners perform significantly better in such tasks. However, the study has provided no evidence that slowing down the input makes any positive difference to performance, and the evidence about perceptions of benefit is not conclusive. As researchers, we believed that additional data were required. To this end, we undertook a follow-up study that investigated whether differential reductions in tempo made a difference to test takers in once-only tests, measured by both performance in and perceptions of the test. In this subsequent study four evenly matched independent groups (n = 4 x 30) completed the same test, at normal speed or at speeds reduced in tempo by 15%, 22.5% and 30% respectively. For readers who are interested in following up this issue, the findings of this study will be accessible in East and King (in press).

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POSITIONING, PURPOSE AND CONTEXT IN WORKPLACE LANGUAGE

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Abstract

A case study of the CEO and production manager of a New Zealand tanning factory draws on positioning theory, in particular, "strategic positioning," to interpret transcripts of workplace interactions and subsequent interviews with the CEO. The analysis considers how the two speakers position themselves and each other in relation to workplace issues, noting a high level of strategic purpose in the CEO's decision-making. In considering the events that prompt action, the context of work emerges as a significant and dynamic force that acts, interacts and intrudes on people at work.

Introduction

In the brief workplace extract below, the white-collar office workers jockey for position over an issue that has apparently divided them in the past. Holmes and Stubbe use the transcript to illustrate the process of "doing disagreement" in a workplace.

> *No screendumps*
> Context: Regular weekly meeting of a project team in a white-collar organisation.
> 4. Harry: looks like there's been actually a request for screendumps
> 5. I know it was outside of the scope
> 6. but people (will be) pretty worried about it
> 7. Clara: no screendumps
> 8. Matt: we—
> 9. Clara: /no screendumps\
> 10. Peg: [sarcastically] thank you Clara
> 11. Clara: /no screendumps\
> 12. Matt: /we know\ we know you didn't want them and we um er /we've\
> 13. Clara: /that does not\ meet the criteria
>
> (Holmes & Stubbe, 2003a, p. 1; 2003b, p. 61)

The interaction might also be described as an example of *positioning* among various workers in relation to several factors at the same time. The office staff take two contrasting stands over a workplace issue, the concept and practice of "screendumps" (printing material from computer screens). In the brief but dynamic interplay of turns, Clara opposes the proposal (lines 4, 6, 8), which prompts the others to build a counter stand that challenges her (lines 7, 9). The two

parties thereby position themselves to each other and at the same time to a request that comes with a context of previous conditions ("I know it was outside of the scope", line 2) and of prior history ("we know you didn't want them", line 9). Each party is therefore taking a strategic placement to achieve their diverging agendas, as a result of which Clara might be described as a gatekeeper of the office procedure under discussion. Such considerations relate to the discussion below on the interaction of positioning, purpose and context in workplace communication.

Positioning is significant in work and workplaces because it involves strategic placements taken towards a wide range of work realities such as policies, decisions, practices, statements, documents, employers, employees, issues, and more. The notion here is that various sectors of work are constantly positioning themselves in relation to other sectors of work and/or society. Hence, inquiring into different positioning may aid in interpreting the meaning of workplace talk, including the case study below of the CEO and production manager of a factory. The aim of the discussion is to explore the interaction of strategic positioning, purposeful behaviour, and the role of context in constructing meaning.

Theoretical aspects of positioning

In a condensed encyclopaedia entry, Bamberg (2004, pp. 445-446) outlines a number of key inter-related themes within positioning theory. In this section, we take Bamberg's points as a frame for representing the theory, then comment on the concept of identity as it relates to our own analysis of transcripts.

One of Bamberg's themes is *making meaning* or *making sense*. Positioning allows researchers "to explore how humans make sense of themselves", he claims (p. 445), a view that is echoed in Sandlin and Clark (2009, p. 1003), discussing positioning in "political master narratives". Narrative, they say, "is how we create order out of the chaos of experience and render an interpretation of it."

The "chaos of experience" implies a *social world*. Positioning, Bamberg says, "affects how the teller designs the story in order to define a social location for himself or herself" (p. 446). In this respect, Bamberg aligns his case with much current study of discourse, for example, Blommaert (2005), who focuses firmly on language as social practice, which he describes as the "social nature of discourse" (p. 4). To Blommaert, there is no such thing as "non-social" use of discourse (p. 4), so one of the five key principles in his investigation is "the actual and densely contextualised forms in which language occurs in society" (p. 15).

Bamberg likewise invokes *context*, though in a rather oblique way, when he talks of "social locations": "master narratives . . . which are viewed as providing the social locations where subjects are positioned" (p. 445). In the same vein, others such as De Fina, Schiffrin and Bamberg (2006, p. 22), argue categorically to take context into account when analysing language use. Further, discourse and society

are seen as constituting each other – society helps shape discourse and discourse helps shape society (cf Blommaert, 2005, p. 25).

Bamberg's comment on "subjects [who] are positioned" (p. 445) relates to the theme of *identity* in positioning theory. To Bamberg, positioning allows researchers to explore how people construct their own and others' identity. Similarly, Benwell and Stokoe (2006) introduce the concept of "subject positioning", which they equate with identity: "[Positioning Theory] posits an intimate connection between subject positioning (that is identity) and social power relations" (p. 43). Positioning, they say is the "process through which speakers adopt, resist and offer 'subject positions' that are made available in 'master narratives' or 'discourses'" (p. 43, p. 139). (See also Given, 2002.)

Identity and social context relate to an on-going debate between *social determinism* and *individual agency*. "Current discussions of the concept of positioning draw on two different interpretations," Bamberg points out (p. 445). One view, he argues, focuses on "the social locations where subjects are positioned" whereas the other makes a claim of "self-marking", which favours a view of "the subject positioning itself". According to social determinism, then (see De Fina et al., 2006, p. 7), various historical and sociocultural forces position speakers without their active agency – conjuring a world in which individuals and presumably groups are constructed by social dynamics, leaving less choice for action than we might like to think. The other standpoint is much more self-directed, in which "speakers position themselves as constructive and interactive agents" (De Fina et al., 2006, p. 7), a view that would seem to indicate a strong ability to act on one's own initiative.

Much of the literature claims that people position themselves, position others and are positioned by others, in a process labeled "interactive positioning" by Davies and Harré (1990, p. 48). This feature can appear in quite strong terms. "[W]ithin a conversation," say Harré and van Langenhove (1991), "each of the participants always positions the other while simultaneously positioning him or herself" (p. 398).

Of particular interest to the discussion below, as Harré and van Langenhove (1991) point out, people position themselves for *strategic reasons*, to achieve certain goals:

> When a person is engaged in a deliberate self-positioning process this often will imply that they try to achieve specific goals with their act of self-positioning. This requires one to assume that they have a goal in mind . . . [and] could be called "strategic positioning". (p. 401)

The two parties in the screendumps extract above, for instance, have strategic ends in mind, either to use or to deny the practice of screendumps.

The literature considered here suggests that positioning is seen as a process of discursively constructing a socially located identity for oneself and/or others.

However, in our focus, we differ slightly from the above theorising on the notion of identity, since we wish to emphasise the idea of action inherent in positioning. In the theory, identity is construed very much as an individualised construct about a person's being (cf Given, 2002, arguing that contextual discursive practices allow individuals "to construct personal identities from the discursive positions on offer in social contexts," p. 127). At the same time, identity is also located within contextualised social existence, which then becomes a factor in interpreting events and interactions. As social beings, any positioning we engage in presumably has social force and implication, whether the positioning is witting or not. In other words, positioning is part of a process of social action of which identity is one component, but not necessarily the goal or end-point. While it is entirely legitimate to know *who people are* (their social identity or being), it is just as valid to consider *what people do* (their action) in social encounters. Our emphasis, in the analysis below, is to recognize the notion of discursive action within positioning theory, in order to focus on the social action of positioning rather than the identity of speakers, except for a very brief comment on the CEO's identity in the Conclusion, where it is integral to the discussion.

Overall, we view positioning as *the process of discursively constructing socially located, contextualised action*. The analysis below then becomes an exercise in exploring meaning in the socially contextualized encounters among workplace participants, with a particular interest in considering strategic positioning.

The discussion consists of an overview of research methods, analysis of two workplace interactions, a brief section on the role of context in interpretation, and conclusions. The text tries to integrate analysis of positioning, purpose and context throughout, keeping strategic positioning in focus. It draws consciously on context in the interpretation, leading to the short separate section on the concept, to underline the formative role that context plays in constructing meaning.

Research methods

The method of data collection and analysis follows the Language in the Workplace Project (LWP) based at Victoria University of Wellington (VUW) (Stubbe 1998; Holmes & Stubbe 2003a), as one of the authors is a research associate of this project. Participants in the workplace wear voice-activated lapel microphones that record their conversations, which are then transcribed following the transcription protocols (see Appendix) of the Wellington Corpus of New Zealand English Transcriber's Manual (Vine, Johnson, O'Brien & Robertson, 2002). Whereas other workplaces explored by the LWP are government departments, hospitals and corporate offices (VUW LWP, 2010; Holmes, 2000), the data for this article come from the factory floor and office of a tanning factory.

The participants, specifically the CEO, the pay clerk, the accountant and the production manager, recorded their conversations for a total of two hours a day for five days, or ten hours in total. The participants also completed one-to-one recorded interviews with the researcher (Brown) after they had done their recordings in the factory, to screen the text in accordance with ethical protocols of the LWP. Names of the participants in this article are pseudonyms.

Various theoretical frames of analysis used in published articles arising from the LWP include conversation analysis, interactional sociolinguistics, critical discourse analysis, and politeness theory (Stubbe et al., 2003). This article draws on positioning theory to further the analysis and discussion, starting with a problem of procedures in the office of the tanning factory.

Text 1 New workplace procedures

At one point in the history of the tanning factory, the company moved its local processing of hides from a semi-rural location to their plant in a major city. There was therefore an increased volume of work in the city office, necessitating a new process. The CEO, Sam, had learned that the office administration assistant, Emma, was unhappy with the changes, and he was therefore taking steps to deal with the issue. In the transcript below, Sam tells this workplace story to the Production Manager, Phil. Jeff is the company accountant. Sam and Phil are 45-55-year-old, ethnically European New Zealand males.

The intention of the analysis is to identify the positioning that the main participants engage in during their interactions in the transcripts, focusing on the process and goal of strategic positioning.

1. Sam: what was I saying? Oh yes that business with the um a.m. and p.m. it won't be a problem but I am actually going to do I am going to write well I ended up having Jeff ring me on Friday saying that the girl is it Emma?
2. Phil: Yeah
3. Sam: had gone to see him no it wasn't that she wasn't happy it was that she she felt that she had so much on her plate that really you know she needed to be somewhere else and I said well look Jeff really I apologise because you know praps I should have come through you in the first instance I didn't see it as being a big deal quite frankly he said oh no no no it's not a big deal so I says what I will do I'll actually put it in writing to you well exactly what we need and and then everybody is above board
4. Phil: She hasn't complained (…)
5. Sam: no she hasn't so but really in a way I'd rather do that anyway because then it is tidy
6. Phil: Yeah
7. Sam: then there is you know no arguments about it either

8. Phil: I can see her point of view you know we put some quite not unreasonable demands you know we get the kills you know I am getting them through this morning and she will (..) come in a couple of times tidy up a few things
9. Sam: Yeah
10. Phil: Tis time consuming especially when it's Saturday
11. Sam: but there is nothing unreasonable about it for god's sakes it's quite straightforward fuck all half the time it's
12. Phil: well that might be right I don't know
13. Sam: never mind we'll get it sorted

Sam positions himself consistently around a determination to take action on the issue raised. Throughout the interaction, he indicates that he takes the issue and the context seriously. In paragraphs 1 and 3, for instance, he cites the context in a way that identifies the topic ("that business with the um a.m. and p.m." turn 1; "she felt that she had so much on her plate" turn 3) and he fastens on the topic through the exchange, despite the reservations that Phil expresses.

To Phil, he expresses his resolve from the outset ("I am going to write . . ." turn 1) and subsequently, e.g., "I'll actually put it in writing to you well exactly what we need" (turn 3, and turn 5, 11). He recognizes the need for decision-making ("then there is you know no arguments about it either" turn 7), in the sequence that addresses Phil's first reservation about taking action (turn 4-6). Part of his interaction with Phil is to report his conversation with Jeff, the accountant, ("I said well look Jeff really I apologise because you know praps I should have come through you in the first instance. . ." turn 3) – in other words, engaging in "talk about talk" in Harré and van Langenhove's (1991, p. 397) terms. And in a key line, he quotes the stand that completes the solution he started to state earlier ("I'll actually put it in writing to you well exactly what we need" turn 3).

Sam and Phil take up differing viewpoints, reacting to each others' comments. Phil offers a contrary stand, qualifying Sam's remarks four times during the conversation, ("She hasn't complained"; "I can see her point of view"; "Tis time consuming especially when it's Saturday"; and the rather tentative and doubting remark, "well that might be right I don't know" turns 4, 8, 10, 12). Sam counters Phil by sustaining his policy decision, as in the sequence:

> Phil: She hasn't complained (…)
> Sam: no she hasn't so but really in a way I'd rather do that anyway because then it is tidy

Pushing his policy, Sam picks up on Phil's language, in a somewhat dismissive way:

> Phil: I can see her point of view you know we put some quite not unreasonable demands you know . . .
> Sam: but there is nothing unreasonable about it for god's sakes

And faced with Phil's reservations, Sam wraps up the conversation with "never mind we'll get it sorted" (turn 13), which might variously serve as dismissive, conciliatory, delaying, mitigating or just terminating. Overall, while the conversation is a dynamic exchange of viewpoints, it is less a means of jointly working out a procedure than an opportunity for the CEO to announce a policy that will settle the issue. In general, building on the analysis immediately above, Sam positions himself as a decision-maker. He describes the problem ("[Emma] felt that she had so much on her plate that really you know she needed to be somewhere else" turn 3). He explains his dealings with Jeff over the matter ("I said well look Jeff really I apologise . . ." turn 3). He gives his own solution ("I'll actually put it in writing to you . . ." turn 3). Then he reinforces his response (in turns 5, 7, 11 and 13).

There is then a sense of purpose driving the conversation. Sam enters the discussion with a problem and a determination to address it. Positioning and purpose reinforce each other throughout the exchange, as Sam sets himself up through his strategic positioning to solve the workplace problem in his own preferred way.

In response, throughout the discussion, Phil positions Sam almost as an intruder. In effect, he acts to deflect Sam from intervening on his action in the workplace. It is worth asking why he takes the somewhat defensive position that he does. Several speculative explanations are possible, each of which indicates elements of context. Phil's strategic purpose might conceivably be to protect his fellow worker, Emma, faced with the prospect of a certain amount of workplace unease or disruption. Equally, he might well be protecting himself – to the extent that he might have been responsible for ensuring the smooth flow of work patterns, he might have omitted certain tasks and therefore would prefer to sideline any overt and public action that might reflect badly on him. Or it could simply be that he sees Sam's remarks as an unwelcome intervention in the functioning of normal work in his own territory. If any of the above explanations are valid, they suggest that Phil, too, has strategic purpose in mind – a goal of some kind that fits with his concepts of workplace management, and prompts a measure of strategic positioning. Overall, he appears to position himself as the conscience of the conversation, or perhaps in a broader sense, as the conscience of the factory on the particular issue discussed.

The actions that both Sam and Phil engage in or envisage owe much to the context and the social location of each interlocutor. Their positioning, in other words, is an illustration of their own "socially located contextualised action." In the second interaction below, both employees seem to position themselves strategically to act in the best interests of the workers.

Text 2 Workplace noise

In a subsequent exchange between Sam and Phil, again on working conditions, the positioning process takes place through an interaction that is somewhat less robust because Phil takes a relatively unchallenging part in the conversation, even though he gives signals throughout that he is less convinced than the CEO about the need for action. The exchange becomes a mechanism for evolving a merging policy to generate action transmitted through the Production Manager. The discussion concerns machines with dials calibrated from zero up to three, generating excessive noise, especially when starting up.

In an interview, Sam provides some specific context for the event. He reports:

> we were doing a bit of a site check on the basis of a comment that had come from our industrial nurse, that she felt a number of the guys in the hides should be wearing some hearing protection, and we walked through there, and by the pressure, I just said, you know, just the racket of the thing, they should definitely be wearing . . . earmuffs.

1. Sam: ++ oh well you wouldn't believe those bloody processes were going when they start zero up
2. Phil: yeah
3. Sam: oh
4. Phil: oh yeah I know
5. Sam: bloody noisy
6. Phil: I actually took the
7. Sam: oh yeah the readings
8. Phil: the readings
9. Phil: it was within limits
10. Sam: yeah they are
11. Phil: yeah
12. Sam: apart from up here these guys operating this
13. Phil: =oh yeah
14. Sam: should definitely have earmuffs
15. Phil: on the flesher
16. Sam: yeah
17. Phil: oh yeah
18. Sam: and really speaking everybody else in here particularly when that number zero is going should have at least earplugs
19. Phil: oh yeah
20. Sam: compulsory you know
21. Phil: yep yep
22. Sam: so it might be worth
23. Phil: I think I think
24. Sam: working through that

25. Phil: yeah okay alright well I know that there are a few of them who have got here so uh yeah see if we can talk to the rest of them do uh
26. Sam: well the earplugs are not a major inconvenience

In this sequence, the Production Manager quickly grasps where the CEO is heading in his remarks and offers a mitigating view: he had previously taken readings on the floor and found they were "within limits" (turn 6-9). Unmoved, the CEO lays out his stand: the workers on the noisy floor "should definitely have earmuffs" (turn 14), and he sticks to this view in a consistent sequence, through to the end of the interaction (e.g., turns 18, 20, 26). Faced with this determination, the Production Manager adopts brief and sometimes supportive comments (e.g., turns 11, 13, 15, 21), rather like verbal nods in the conversation. As the discussion rounds out, he joins in the initiative, proposing to talk to some of the workers, presumably to establish some kind of protection against noise (turn 25). As with other such exchanges, the CEO closes this one off with a decisive coda: "well the earplugs are not a major inconvenience" (turn 26), reinforcing his message, rather than negotiating it in any substantial way with the Production Manager. Once again, Sam addresses a workplace issue, identifying the problem ("those bloody processes" turn 1), assessing the problem ("bloody noisy" turn 5), demanding a solution ("should definitely have earmuffs" turn 14) and emphasising his solution in turn 18 and 20.

While the CEO's immediate audience is the Production Manager, Sam is conceivably addressing, at one remove, the working conditions of employees out of earshot, in the knowledge that the Production Manager is expected to carry the CEO's position to the workers concerned. Hence, as in much working life, the CEO has both an immediate and a "distant" audience, with an intermediary who will convey the management decision to other workers. In general, Sam positions himself to effect decisive change, the strategic goal that he's pursuing.

Arguably, however, Phil positions himself in a more complex way to straddle the diverging interests of his own performance, the demands of his CEO, and the wellbeing of the workers. His claim that he took relevant readings that were "within limits" might be seen as both defending his own role in the company (that he acted responsibly to monitor noise) and ensuring that the workers were not harmed. Having done so, he can then fall into line with the CEO's agenda:

> yeah okay alright well I know that there are a few of them who have got here so uh yeah see if we can talk to the rest of them do uh (turn 25).

One might say he takes a line of limited resistance, presenting himself as the loyal lieutenant.

As with the previous extract, purpose and position complement each other. In this case, Sam states his intention consistently throughout; the format of the discourse is declarative rather than a negotiation; and Sam trades on the tacit knowledge that his production manager is expected to act upon the decision Sam has taken.

In a subsequent interview with the researcher, Sam reveals his general approach to decision-making under pressure. "If I'm under a lot of pressure", says Sam, "I become a lot more dictatorial . . . my ability to delegate deteriorates too". So in times of urgency, he continues, "I'll get out there and make sure it's done myself". His man-of-action stance comes through in a separate comment: "it's no good discussing with people how they feel about evacuating the office when it's on fire. There's a time when somebody has to issue an instruction, and it has to happen". In this respect, Sam appears to illustrate the comment of De Fina et al. (2006) that "people in the workplace are shaped by the need to preserve an image of oneself which is consistent with the requirements and exigencies of the situation, the interaction, and the needs of the interlocutors" (p. 9). Since Sam is the CEO, he takes on the responsibilities of that function in the workplace. He faces certain pressing requirements and demands in workplace operating and in his relations with other employees. There is no-one above him to appeal to for action, so he takes on the responsibility for action himself. Hence he announces that there will be certain outcomes from the observations he has made in monitoring the worksite. In this respect, he adopts the way of proceeding of other high-level managers in society, such as CEOs, who are expected to lead.

It is worth noting that in both extracts, Sam positions Phil in a fairly constrained way, as an audience or subordinate whose task is to carry out policy. In effect, he moves Phil into a corner by dismissing or ignoring Phil's reservations in *New workplace procedures*. In *Workplace noise,* he simply insists on noise control steps, regardless of Phil's single hesitation early in the exchange (turns 6, 8, 9). None of these moves is capricious or random. On the contrary, they indicate a decisive strategy on Sam's part. For each speaker, positioning is firmly based in their social location in the company, matter-of-factly taking context into account.

Role of context

As noted at the start, De Fina et al. (2006) hold that the analysis of language needs to take account of the context of the particular language use. "The analysis of any aspect of language," they argue, "is inseparable from analysis of its use in contexts" (p. 22). Such an approach poses the question of what is entailed in context. Blommaert (2005) offers a broad and inclusive view of the term, defining it as "the totality of conditions in which discourse is being produced, circulated, and interpreted" (p. 251). Our argument takes it that in any given analysis, Blommaert's concept of context expresses a *potential of factors*, rather than a requirement to trace all possible items each time we consider context.

In each of the two main extracts quoted above, context is central to the story, in important ways. While the physical setting is not by any means the only dimension of context, in *Workplace noise,* it is an unavoidable feature – the machine in use creates noise that cannot simply be ignored.

Likewise, an obvious feature of context is the people on the site. Hence, in *New workplace procedures*, the key aspect of context seems to be working relations and the work procedures the staff have set up. In both stories, history of prior related events is relevant context. In *New workplace procedures*, there has been a change in operation, leading to a problem that Sam recounts and for which he has already decided on an appropriate remedy. In *Workplace noise*, his current positioning grows out of a related item of history – earlier monitoring of the factory, along with the prior input of the industrial nurse. In both extracts, history helps frame the immediate context and engenders action.

Looked at in this way, context is active and forceful, rather than a passive backdrop to events. As De Fina et al. (2006) put it, "Incorporation of the context is in itself a dynamic process through which speakers build their positions" (p. 4). Context is more than a presence in the story. It drives subsequent events.

These considerations raise the possibility that one person's sense of the context of an interaction may easily differ from another person's. "People have contextualisation universes", comments Blommaert (2005): "complexes of linguistic, cognitive, social, cultural, institutional, etc. skills and knowledge which they use for contextualising statements, and interaction involves the meeting of such universes" (p. 44).

Conclusions

As is the nature of exploring transcripts, there is a large element of interpreting taking place, resulting in differing viewpoints. But since work-life is central to many people's lives, there is good reason in general for engaging in this kind of interpretation, for instance to scrutinise work-place dynamics, discourse, and/or the exercise of power at work. Conclusions reached may then be relevant to different aspects of applied linguistics and education.

In the tanning factory, positioning would seem to be a feature of people's work-life, which is consistent with Harré and van Langenhove's claim (1991, p. 405) that all conversations involve some sort of positioning. The workforce evolves "subject positions" that characterise how they relate to each other, to workplace issues, to decision-making, to events past, present and future. By the same token, they position others in various ways. Positioning theory offers a means of sharpening the focus on possible meanings of the interactions by which workforces conduct their business.

Context, it is argued, is a potent force in the work-life. It is active, interactive, and intervenes in work. In the extracts studied, context intrudes on the CEO's existence: the change in company operations results in the office employee, Emma, coming to Jeff with a problem, which Sam picks up. The noise on the factory floor assaults the CEO and the shop-floor workers, as the industrial nurse had warned. Context, we conclude, *drives* the story here and serves as the catalyst

for the CEO's actions. It is a feature to take seriously as an active player in workplace interaction. "In order to say what a context of utterance IS", says Roberts (2004), "we will first ask what a context DOES in the course of semantic interpretation" (p. 198). In effect, De Fina et al. (2006, p. 4) suggest a response, when they say, as quoted above, that speakers build their positions through context.

Part of Sam's context is the fact that as CEO, he bears certain responsibilities, which he exercises with some decisiveness. Faced with a context that intervenes and poses issues, he takes strong stands to address the problems, thereby contributing to an identity as an active decision-maker. This feature takes us back to the distinction made above by De Fina et al. (2006) and Bamberg (2004) between personal initiative and social determinism. Sam displays decisive agency, yet at the same time, also portrays characteristics of his social setting, acting as CEO in ways that derive from identifiable social patterns, principally around his function as the senior manager on the site. Consistent with the actions of CEOs in other workplaces, he has to face issues directly, analyse them, and take appropriate action.

Arguably, Sam's responses indicate purpose. In the instances noted, he would seem to be relatively progressive and constructive. But conceivably with other players and other settings, both purpose and positioning could range from benign to malign. Wherever they fall on the continuum, they would have differing effects on work-sites and work-life, and for this reason alone, are worth investigating.

To sum up, in the events analysed, there is evidence of purpose in Sam's positioning, as he engages with the context that imposes on his responsibility as CEO. More generally, we would think, the focus adopted in this discussion suggests that it is important for researchers, practitioners, teachers and learners to develop a frame of inquiry that takes into account the active interplay of context, purpose and positioning as one means of interpreting workplace life.

Such a frame could apply to an array of encounters and events in work and society, focusing on the construction of meaning, with implications for education and research. Typical situations could consist of staff meetings, briefings, planning sessions, reviews and allocation of tasks at work. Likewise, they could encompass dealings with officials in government agencies and/or arrangements with present or prospective employers, landlords, utility companies, account managers or health clinics. In such cases, there could be a call on reception (interpreting), production (expressing), and interacting in conversational or written exchanges. These kinds of events pose demands on teachers, tutors and mentors preparing learners of language and literacy for daily encounters. They could do so, we would suggest, by interpreting recorded conversations, analysing the role and import of given contexts, appraising the way interlocutors position others and are positioned, assessing or expressing purpose. Education of this kind would enlarge the scope of interpretation to include contextual meaning, positioning behaviour, the challenge

of ascribing purpose, effects of discursive activity, and possible responses. In so doing, it should be possible to help students develop their own agency for dealing with demanding situations beyond class.

Just as cogently, the domains of context, purpose and positioning are relevant arenas for researchers planning to gather conversation data or analysing recorded interactions from numerous aspects of society. There could well be scope for addressing ambiguity, uncertainty in interpretation, accommodation in conversation, conflict and disagreement, hidden meanings and the possibility of multiple messages in text.

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Appendix

WCSNZE's Transcription Conventions (Vine, Johnson, O'Brien, Robertson, 2002).

Standard Character Set

Alphabetic Roman characters are used in lexical transcription and editorial comments. No diacritics or non-Roman characters are permitted. No punctuation is used (except for apostrophes) and upper case is reserved for marking emphatic stress (e.g. CRAZY).

Discourse Features

Non-alphabetic characters (e.g. square brackets) are used to mark discourse features, editorial comments and their scope.

Comprehension Problems and Transcriber Doubt

Parentheses enclose doubtful transcription.

( )	Untranscribable or incomprehensible speech
(well)	Transcriber's best guess at unclear speech
?:	Unknown speaker

Pauses

The plus signs show a pause.

++	One to two second pause.
+++	Two to three second pause.

Simultaneous speech and continuous utterances

//	Indicates start of simultaneous or overlapping speech in utterance of "current" or "first" speaker.
\	Indicates end of simultaneous or overlapping speech in utterance of "current" or "first" speaker.
( )	comprehension problems, transcriber doubt, incomplete words
#	ambiguous clause boundary
+	pauses
CAPS	emphatic stress
?	question intonation where unclear
/ \ =	indicate simultaneous speech and continuous utterances
[ ]:	editorial comments (see 14.3)

SHORT REPORT

THE ROLE OF TEACHER CONSULTATION IN TEACHER EDUCATION: A TEACHER DEVELOPMENT PROJECT FOCUSED ON DESIGNING AND EVALUATING PRAGMATICS-FOCUSED INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS

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Introduction

Importance of pragmatics-focused instruction

Limited knowledge of pragmatics (the socio-cultural 'rules' of interaction in a community and how they are realised in language) can constitute a barrier to successful communication in a second language (Eslami-Rasekh, 2005; Yates, 2008), particularly for advanced learners whose pragmatic mistakes are regarded as more serious than grammatical errors by native speakers (Bardovi-Harlig & Dörnyei, 1998). Recent research indicates that L2 pragmatics can be taught and are in general best learned by explicit instruction (Jeon & Kaya, 2006).

Although 'dialogues' feature in many published ESL textbooks, they may not necessarily represent well the characteristics of natural language use in conversation (Gilmore, 2004). It has been suggested that teachers make use of authentic or semi-authentic recordings of natural language use in their teaching to supplement textbook materials (Bardovi-Harlig & Mahan-Taylor, 2003; Basturkmen, 2007; Yates, 2008). The use of such recordings in teaching pragmatics has been shown to be feasible and effective (Denny, 2009; Riddiford, 2007).

However the suggestion that teachers make use of recordings of authentic or semi-authentic samples of natural language use can pose challenges for many teachers who would need to find recordings or elicit and record samples of natural language use. They may not be familiar with devising materials in this area or have time to make such recordings, or may have limited in-depth knowledge of pragmatic theory to draw on. Some form of professional development programme in which they are given time and support may therefore be helpful (Denny & Basturkmen, 2009; Yates & Wigglesworth, 2005).

Approaches to teacher development

Because of the importance of pragmatics in language learning, a project to support teachers was developed in a tertiary setting in Auckland. At this institution there were various in-service professional development programmes in place including a requirement to engage in reflective practice, participation in professional development days and a generous allowance to enable teachers to attend

conferences and workshops. However none of these provided all the conditions needed for teacher-centred professional learning leading to effective innovation in day-to-day teaching including materials production. Such conditions, leading to real change for learners, have been shown to include provision and good use of time, ongoing collaborative and theoretical support, some expert input, a focus on everyday professional experience, reflection and critical enquiry-based evaluation of outcomes for students (Timperley, Wilson, Barrar, & Fung, 2007; Webster-Wright, 2009). In particular time release from teaching and a more collaborative teacher-driven enquiry-based reflective project was needed. The design and progress to date of the resulting project will be described in this short report.

The Project

Approach

The project was therefore underscored by three considerations. Firstly, a long term, collaborative project was seen as likely to afford more opportunity for teacher ownership and reflection and also for more in-depth learning (Webster-Wright, 2009; Yates & Wigglesworth, 2005) than short-term workshops. Secondly, the context of the recordings and design of the materials needed for pragmatic instruction in the project could be determined through consultation with the teachers concerned. So the first stage was a consultation to identify the teachers' needs and also the needs of their learners in the teaching of the pragmatics of spoken English. Thirdly, the project would involve close collaboration between an experienced practitioner-researcher (the teacher educator) who was familiar with and had done some action research in the teaching of pragmatics, and key experienced teachers who it was expected would later share information and ideas from the project with their colleagues. As a result the project involved a consultation phase, a collaborative materials development phase and a collaborative enquiry-based evaluation phase. The first two phases have been completed and the third is still in progress.

Participants

Participants involved in the consultation stage taught spoken language on a variety of programmes (English for Academic Purposes, employment focussed and general English courses) with learners at different English language proficiency levels at the same tertiary institution. Four teachers became involved in the subsequent stages of the project. The experienced practitioner-researcher, who is collaborating with them on this project and is also a teacher educator, is a colleague of these teachers.

Stages

Stage One: Consultation

This stage was carried out by the teacher-researcher in collaboration with an experienced researcher for another tertiary institution and was funded with a grant from Ako Aotearoa Northern Hub. Thirty-two teachers were sent a questionnaire and 18 responded. The meaning of pragmatics was outlined and some examples given. The teachers were asked about existing materials used for teaching pragmatics, known gaps in availability of materials, the needs of their particular classes for pragmatic instruction, and about the pragmatic areas they believed needed to be targeted in their context. They were also asked about their current approach to teaching pragmatics. In addition the teachers were asked about the support they would need to undertake development of materials for pragmatic instruction. Eight of the respondents were invited to interviews, enabling us to explore the teachers' responses in more depth.

We found that most teachers included a focus on pragmatics and socio-cultural aspects of language use in their instruction and were aware of the importance of it. We also learnt that they wanted to work with New Zealand-based materials 'tailor-made' for their specific classes and students, that we would need to help the teachers familiarise themselves with pragmatics features and terminology and discuss alternative methods for teaching pragmatics, and our belief that there would need to be 'release time' to enable the teachers to take part in the project was confirmed (Denny & Basturkmen, 2009). From the consultation stage we identified four key experienced teachers to participate in both the second and third phases of the project.

Stage Two: Implementation

Before starting on the materials production, the teachers were given key readings to introduce pragmatic features and terms, update them on theory in the area of pragmatics and provide some examples of the teaching of pragmatics using authentic sample texts. After this, the practitioner-researcher worked with the teachers individually to identify suitable scenarios for texts based on learners' needs, and to plan and make recordings of native speakers role-playing these scenarios with no script. This is often a more practicable process for teachers than collecting fully authentic samples. Although not fully authentic, elicited unscripted texts can represent a distillation of native speaker implicit knowledge of what is appropriate in the context (Golato, 2003). Recordings made included, for the lower general English levels, conversations, invitations and appointments in different contexts, with participants varying in age and gender; at pre-degree level for the teaching of academic English, tutorial and student group discussions; and at first-year undergraduate level for interpreters, 'problematic exchanges' (that is, exchanges where some negotiation was needed).

To help develop the teachers' awareness of pragmatic features and terms, the practitioner-researcher worked with the teachers in making transcripts of the completed recordings, identifying features in them and developing materials centred on the use of the recordings. This was a collaborative activity. Generally once the conversation about pragmatic features was opened and examples from the transcripts identified by the practitioner-researcher, the teachers had significant input. Guidelines for recording, transcription and analysis were then written by the practitioner-researcher and made available for other teachers to create materials to suit their individual contexts.

Stage Three: Evaluation

Stage three (in progress) includes a trial of the materials and teaching methodology and an evaluation of this collaborative approach to teacher development. The method of evaluation of both is influenced by the 'self-study research' approach of Louie, Drevdahl, Purdy and Stackman (2003) in which teachers collaboratively examine their practice working with a 'critical friend'. The first of four evaluation projects is complete and is outlined below, and the second is in progress at the time of writing.

In this first project the teacher had developed three new audio-recorded role-plays of scenarios set in workplace contexts, with accompanying materials, for her class of first-year BA students of interpreting. The scenarios involved a number of pragmatic features such as asking for clarification and making complaints (speech acts), conversational repair and conflict avoidance. During the process of materials development and in teaching with the new materials, the teacher kept a reflective journal in which she recorded her awareness of developments in her professional abilities or knowledge, and her perception of the value of the materials and teaching approach. She also asked the learners as part of the course requirements to keep reflective blogs of their growing awareness of pragmatics as they engaged with the materials. At the end of the instruction period the teacher identified themes in her journal entries and wrote a summary of them. In collaboration with the practitioner-researcher she analysed the learner reflective blogs for evidence of any change in their pragmatic awareness and for their response to the teaching approach and materials she was trialling. The student response and the degree of evidence of successful learning would help her decide on future action – to abandon, continue or modify the materials or the approach. The practitioner-researcher also kept a journal recording her experience of the collaborative process.

There is not space to give detailed findings here, but in general, although the findings are not generalisable and are only indicative because this is insider research, the data suggested that the approach and the materials were effective in this class, the blogs showing evidence of an increasing student awareness of pragmatics as the teaching progressed (Sachtleben & Denny, forthcoming). The teacher is continuing to use this approach and the materials, and particularly

values the way in which use of an inductive approach based on an examination of the language in the recordings frees her to observe the students' engagement and progress in the classroom. She believes that further video recordings in a greater variety of contexts might be useful additions and plans to make these. Both the teacher and the practitioner-researcher also found the collaborative approach to materials development and evaluation helpful.

Conclusion

More data is needed and will be obtained from the other teachers in the project to draw more substantial conclusions about the value of this approach to materials development and evaluation. In addition more specific data might best be obtained from an anonymous survey of all the class teachers on completion of the project to avoid issues of conflict of interest which can arise when reflective journals in which the writer is identified are used. However enough possible benefits of this approach to teacher development and the teaching of pragmatics have emerged to encourage us to continue**.** Collaborating with teachers to create materials they need and wish to develop expertise in producing, for curriculum renewal and development in areas they see as valuable and important, has already anecdotally had a wider effect on the way pragmatics is taught in the institution, although this has not yet been formally tested. Collaborating with the interpreting teacher in the process of more formally trialling and evaluating one set of materials has also resulted in new insights for her and for the practitioner-researcher.

The collaborative nature of the project has ensured that both the teachers' classroom expertise, needs and priorities and the theoretical knowledge and experience of the practitioner-researcher has had an impact on the project at all three stages. It has also ensured that gaps in the availability of materials are being filled and that materials that might be the basis for more effective teaching in the important area of pragmatics have been created and are being evaluated, refined and made available to other teachers.

The evaluation will be continued as teachers are freed to take part. It will be interesting to see if similar benefits emerge with teachers working with lower level learners. It is important for the success of the project that these key teachers pass on their knowledge of others in their areas, enhancing the process of teacher development and curriculum renewal, and ways of ensuring this happens, maybe though seminars or workshops, may need to be devised, but informal day to day communication and the pooling of materials is also important and effective.

Acknowledgements

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REVIEWS

Braine, G. (2010). Nonnative speaker English teachers: Research, pedagogy, and professional growth. London: Routledge. ISBN 97-0-415-87632-2. 112pp.

Reviewed by ROGER BARNARD, University of Waikato

In many parts of the world, private schools and government schemes perceive "native speaking" teachers of English as being inherently superior to those whose first language is not English (NNS). This new book is a timely reminder to all ELT professionals and academics of the fallacy of this assumption, and indeed the serious educational implications that follow. The author, a native speaker of Singhala, has been a teacher of English for over 40 years, most recently in Hong Kong, and was a founder member some 15 years ago of the Nonnative Speaker Movement. The background and achievements of this movement are outlined in the first chapter, where particular attention is focussed on the rise in self-esteem among many teachers who "no longer afraid to call themselves NNS, [they] have transformed the landscape of academic presentations and publications" (p. 6).

In Chapter 2: "The Native Speaker-Nonnative Speaker Divide", the author firstly emphasises that this distinction is far from clear, and is indeed becoming more and more blurred as many countries across the world are increasingly ethnically and linguistically complex. He then surveys the issue in terms of Kachru's (1992) Inner, Outer and Expanding Circles. With regard to the first of these, he cites studies carried out in the USA which clearly show that NNS teachers are still openly and widely discriminated against, despite the fact that TESOL Inc., the largest organization of English teachers, took a stand against such hiring practices as early as 1991. Turning to the other two circles, Braine refers to government schemes such as those in Japan (JET), Hong Kong (NET) and Korea (EPIK), where NS teachers are employed on more generous terms than their (mostly) better qualified and experienced local counterparts, and also to the disgraceful situation in many private language schools where any Caucasian-looking person, whether professionally qualified or not, is considered a "native speaker".

The third chapter is devoted to a review of research into how NNS teachers perceive their own strengths and shortcomings. Prominent among the latter are doubts about language proficiency, especially as far as pronunciation is concerned. On the other hand the most commonly reported strength of NNS teachers is, according to the author, that "because they shared linguistic, cultural, and educational backgrounds, these NNS teachers had a better ability to read the minds of their students and predict their difficulties with the English language" (p. 28). This would not, of course, apply to the Caucasian "native speakers" mentioned above! Most of the studies, ranging from Reves and Medgyes (1994) to Butler (2007), used questionnaires to survey more than 1200 NNS teachers many countries. However, Braine acknowledges the threats to validity and reliability of survey data, and calls for more in-depth research such as the in-depth interviews carried out by Jenkins (2005). A perhaps surprising omission to his bibliography is

a reference to Borg (2006), who sets out a detailed methodological agenda for research into language teacher cognition.

Chapter 4 is a parallel overview of research into the perceptions of language students, most of which has been carried out in the USA, with only three reported from EFL contexts. Braine (p.37) attributes this disparity partly to the fact that relatively few students in EFL contexts have the opportunity directly to compare NS and NNS teachers, although this would indeed be possible in those countries where students are taught by both types of teachers in either state or private schools. The consensus is in favour of the NS teacher, although one study (Cheung, 2002) reported a generally positive attitude towards NNS teachers by university students in Hong Kong. Most of these studies were questionnaire-based with the same shortcomings of all surveys, and Braine points out the further complication of understanding through survey how students define NS and NNS teachers.

The next two chapters are in-depth biographical studies carried out by the author involving one teacher from Malaysia and another from China. Each chapter begins with a sociolinguistic sketch of the country, biographical profiles of each teacher and accounts of their education, teaching career, teacher training and attitudes and perceptions. In Chapter 7: "From worlds apart: The lives of two English teachers", Braine compares these two accounts in order to point to the need to avoid stereotyping the NNS teacher: Maria came from a stable and privileged Malaysian background in terms of both financial and (English) language capital, while Sihua's experience was very different, coming from a poor farming family in China where she learned English in poorly equipped schools from teachers whose own proficiency was very limited. After this discussion, the author somewhat curiously reports other studies of student and teacher perceptions, which might more appropriately have been included in the earlier chapters. He ends the chapter by saying that the studies he has summarised "appear to be insufficient both in terms of range and number" (p. 71) and argues the need for more life stories such as those of Maria and Sihua. Earlier (p. 61) he queries the reliability of such accounts, but their inherent value is evident from the details he provides and draws on, and the use of such narratives for research purposes has been fully explained by Pavlenko (2002).

In Chapter 8, the author discusses challenges faced by NNS teachers. He does so firstly by considering extrinsic difficulties, chief among which is the employment status in both Inner and Outer/Expanding Circles based on the "native speaker fallacy" first indentified by Phillipson (1992), and which has led to an influx of Caucasian teachers across Asia and elsewhere. One of the reasons for the NNS's continuing acceptance of this fallacy, according to Braine, is "the indigenous English teachers' unawareness of the rise of the NNS movement and the respect that NNS English teachers have earned in ESL contexts" (p. 74). Braine also points to the challenges posed by the considerable tendency for NSs to be invited as keynote speakers at teachers' conferences, where they all too often present

solutions to problems for contexts of which they have little knowledge. Chief among the internal challenges is the NNS teachers' anxiety about their accents and their sense of marginalisation due to the elevated status of NS teachers as professional and academic guardians of language, methodology and research. In addition, Braine refers to a "lack of commitment to English by my NNS colleagues and graduate students" (p.77), for whom English plays only a minor part in their daily lives.

Chapter 9 suggests an agenda for the future of the NNS movement in terms of enhancing the English language proficiency of NNS teachers, learning to collaborate with NS English teachers, making the most of professional organizations, and diversifying the scope of research on NNS English teachers. The final chapter of the book: "Professional Development", is concerned with professional development in terms of the need for language teachers to embark on research and publication. While many of the points made in this chapter – based on Braine's long experience of both – are of general interest and importance, I feel that there could have been more attention specifically paid to the particular needs of NNS teachers.

This book will be salutary reading for all English language teachers in New Zealand, wherever they locate themselves on the NS/NNS continuum (rather than divide). Actually, it is probably time to abandon these terms altogether and use the acronym coined by Professor Ronald Carter of the University of Nottingham: SUEs, or "Successful Users of English". To do so would be to acknowledge that language teachers, from whatever background, need to be fully proficient in the language they teach, as well as methodologically competent.

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Cook, G. (2010). *Translation in language teaching.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. ISBN: 978 0 19 442475 2. 177 pp.

Reviewed by LE VAN CANH, University of Waikato

Translation has been a Cinderella "too long in exile" (Widdowson, 2003, p. 160) in English language teaching methodology, probably due to the advent of communicative language teaching (CLT) and its connotational association with the grammar-translation approach (which, although discredited, remains alive in second and foreign language classrooms in every corner of the world). *Translation in language teaching* is therefore a welcome supplement to the recent collection of case studies on first language use in language teaching classrooms (Turnbull & Dailey-O'Cain, 2009).

In the introduction, Cook argues eloquently that beliefs to the effect that translation is demotivating and impedes second and foreign language learning are not supported by research. Following this introduction, seven chapters are presented in two sections. Part One, titled "History", consists of four chapters tracing the historical reasons for the rejection of translation throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as well as the revival of translation in second and foreign language teaching as a result of the "social turn" in applied linguistics. A very useful contribution to this part of the book is Chapter 4, which discusses a variety of aspects of translation with reference to both translation theory and translation studies. Cook concludes this chapter by calling for translation to be considered a "key and high-profile constituent of language learning" on the basis that successful second and foreign language learners are, after all, those who can not only be proficient speakers and writers of the new language but also proficient translators in and out of that new language (p. 79). As a second language learner, user, teacher, and teacher educator, I agree strongly with this view. I believe that translation not only helps to strengthen learners' second language grammar and vocabulary, but also enhances their awareness of both their first and second language. However, it is necessary to highlight that translation as discussed in this book is viewed as a pedagogical instrument in the classroom where teacher and students speak the same first language, not as an end in itself as in the grammar-translation approach.

Part Two, consisting of three chapters, presents an in-depth discussion of translation in language teaching from evidence-based, educational and pedagogical perspectives. Citing the point made by Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000) that the new language being learnt by students is not isolated, but related to the language they have already acquired, Cook asserts that "translation would seem to be the prime candidate for fostering a sense of that relationship" (p. 101). In Chapter 6, viewing translation through an educational lens, Cook argues that it caters for both societal and individual needs and helps to reconcile "competing interests and competing criteria" (p. 123) with regard to educational goals. However, Cook acknowledges

that putting these principles into practice is not unproblematic, and he suggests how challenges can be addressed in Chapter 7: "Pedagogical Arguments". I found this chapter most valuable. Suggestions are made about how translation can be used with learners at differing levels of proficiency from beginners to advanced level, including young learners. Suggested activities for classroom use, though quite limited in number, provide practical and useful tips for the teachers to adopt, adapt, expand and develop new activities for their students.

In conclusion, this book is a valuable contribution to the second and foreign language education literature on how translation should be viewed. It is a move away from a view strongly influenced by Chomskyian mental linguistics to one that acknowledges the sociocultural theory which suggests that inner voice and private speech are essential contributors to the way we think and act, and that they are always performed in the first language (Brooks & Donato, 1994). I believe that all language teachers, language policy makers, and language teacher educators, whether their views are anti-translation or pro-translation, should read this book, which is not only very valuable but also extremely readable.

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Locke, T. (Ed.) (2010). *Beyond the Grammar Wars*. London: Routledge. ISBN 978-0-415-80265-9. 319 pp.

Reviewed by LYNN-ELISABETH HILL, Unitec Institute of Technology

Does teaching grammar and an awareness of language help in developing literacy and improving students' English? What kind of grammar are we talking about? Whose grammar do we mean? In this edited volume, these and many other questions are discussed by an impressive list of contributors from a wide variety of (mostly) English-speaking countries. The focus is on the "English as a subject" classroom (rather than the English language classroom) in all its permutations, so this book will mostly be of interest to teachers and teacher educators of native English speakers. However, the discussions about literacy and improving student writing are also pertinent to English language teachers. One of the book's strengths is its broad range of writers, who read like an "A-list" of educators. Another is the fact that it has avoided becoming purely theoretical by incorporating numerous practical ideas on how teachers can improve their understanding of students' needs, and help them achieve their language goals.

The book is divided into four parts and preceded by an introduction from the editor, a well-known New Zealand academic from the University of Waikato. This thought-provoking introduction not only summarises the whole concept of the book, but also initiates the on-going process of reflective activities for readers. Part One puts the so-called "Grammar Wars" in context, and comprises articles from four authors on the historical background to and present-day reality of issues associated with grammar teaching in the English classroom. Part Two focuses on what the research shows about the effectiveness of grammar teaching for improving students' writing. Next, there is the more practical Part Three: "Into the classroom: Integrating knowledge about language and learning". In this section of the book is a wealth of practical activities for teachers, students or student teachers. Finally, Part Four looks at how to deal with multi-modal texts; that is, how to teach students to make meaning from all the available information, whether linguistic, visual, audio, gestural or spatial. Within the body of the book each article also has its own reference list, which makes it considerably easier to locate useful resources to follow up.

The book concludes with short biographies of the 18 authors, an international group who are all acknowledged experts in the field. All in all, this book is current, and comprehensive, and comes highly recommended by and for academics, researchers and classroom teachers.

Harwood, N. (Ed.). (2010) *English language teaching materials: Theory and practice.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN 978 0 521 12158 3. 436 pp.

Reviewed by ROSEMARY WETTE, University of Auckland

The long-standing view that materials development and use in ELT is a narrowly researched and under-theorised corner of the field of applied linguistics appears to now be out of date. In the first chapter of this edited collection, Nigel Harwood makes the point that until recently, a common belief has been that research and scholarship in this area is not warranted, since materials use is essentially an atheoretical, pragmatic process, and since teachers are neither inclined or able to either develop their own materials or to radically modify commercial texts (Maley, 2004). In graduate teacher education programmes, materials development and use is often given little attention, as it is viewed as "a relatively trivial and theory-free activity" (series' editor preface by Jack Richards, p. ix). Collections edited by Brian Tomlinson (2008, 2010, and 2011) and now this volume add to a growing body of literature by scholars and practitioners on topics related to the design, adaptation and use of instructional materials.

The book is divided into four sections. In Part A, Harwood's introductory chapter discusses issues related to the position of materials use at the intersection between theory and practice, and the need to make sure it is connected to both. He emphasizes the importance of local contextual and learner influences on materials development, and the gap that frequently exists between developers and users of materials. Part B of the volume comprises four chapters that aim to connect materials development with theoretical perspectives: with second language acquisition research (Ellis), technology in materials development (White & Reinders), principles of materials development (Tomlinson) and critical praxis (Benesch). In Part C are five chapters with more strongly practice-based accounts of materials development for reading (Evans, Hartshorn & Anderson), writing (Tribble), listening (Goh), speaking (Hughes) and corpus-based vocabulary development (Jones & Schmitt). These chapters set out the theoretical principles on which materials were selected or developed. They provide detailed outlines and examples of materials, and explain how they have been used in courses for particular groups of learners.

The final section of the book (Part D) presents the development and use of more narrowly focused sets of materials for specific and academic purposes. These seven chapters cover aspects of materials for academic essay writing (Hewings), writing for publication (Feak & Swales), academic citations (Harwood), and research reports (Curry & Lillis). Turning to courses for specific groups of learners, materials for nursing students (Bosher), business meetings (Angouri) and a community ESL program (Jakubiak & Harklau) are discussed. Many of these chapters also provide detailed examples of instructional materials. All in all, this is

a quality collection by well-known scholars and will be of both general and specific interest to teachers, especially those who are currently working in secondary and tertiary EAP and ESP contexts or in second language teacher education.

In his preface, Jack Richards makes the point that materials design and implementation needs to be informed by theoretical or disciplinary knowledge, and this view is repeated by a number of contributors to the volume. However, Richards goes on to state that materials use is very much a place where theoretical knowledge interfaces with teachers' professional pedagogical content knowledge (Shulman, 1987). This type of knowledge relates to how subject matter is best taught, and includes the knowledge of potential areas of difficulty, and how to sequence, grade and organize materials to form coherent units of instruction. In view of its importance and usual invisibility in applied linguistics literature, I would have liked to see this kind of knowledge given greater attention by both the practitioner and scholar contributors to the volume. I look forward to future books and articles reporting not just on individual practitioner accounts but on empirical studies into how experienced, skilled teachers draw on both kinds of knowledge in their materials-related decisions and practices. This volume, however, makes an important contribution to our knowledge of the theory and practice of English language teaching materials.

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GUIDELINES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

NZSAL is a refereed journal that is published twice a year. It welcomes manuscripts from those actively involved in Applied Linguistics/Applied Language Studies including second and foreign language educators, researchers, teacher educators, language planners, policy makers and other language practitioners. The journal is a forum for reporting and critical discussion of language research and practice across a wide range of languages and international contexts, but particularly favours articles which have some New Zealand connection. A broad range of research types is represented (qualitative and quantitative, established and innovative), including cross-disciplinary approaches.

1. Submission of Manuscripts (All Types)

1.1 Manuscripts should be double-spaced in A4 format. Pages should be numbered consecutively. Submission of a manuscript implies that it has not been published previously and that it is not under consideration for publication elsewhere.

1.2 A separate title page should include the following:

- the title of the submission
- author's name, and in the case of more than one author, an indication of which author will receive the correspondence
- affiliations of all authors
- full postal address and telephone, e-mail and fax numbers of all authors
- a brief autobiographical sketch of the authors(s) (50-80 words)
- any references to the author removed for the review process

1.3 Copies should be submitted as a Word attachment to one of the co-editors, Dr Gillian Skyrme or Dr Anne Feryok:

g.r.skyrme@massey.ac.nz anne.feryok@otago.ac.nz

1.4 All relevant submissions will be reviewed by members of the Editorial Board or other referees.

2. Presentation of Manuscripts (All Types)

2.1 Sections should be headed but not numbered.

2.2 All figures and tables should be provided in camera-ready form, suitable for reproduction (which may include reduction) and should require no change. Figures (e.g. charts and diagrams) and tables should be numbered consecutively in the order to which they are referred. They should not be included within the text, but submitted each on a separate page. All figures and tables should have a number and a caption. Use APA (American Psychological Association) conventions.

2.3 Do not use footnotes. Endnotes should be avoided, but if essential, they should be numbered in the text by means of a superscript and grouped together at the end of the article before list of references under the heading Notes.

2.4 References within the text should contain the name of the author, the year of publication, and, if necessary, the relevant page number(s), as in these examples:

> It is stated by McCloud and Henry (1993, p. 238) that "students never …" This, however, has not been the case (Baker & Thomas, 2001; Frank, 1996; Smithers,1985).

Where the work of the authors of the article is cited, to avoid identification during the review process the reference within the text should be '(Author, [date])', but there should be no entry in the list of references. Provide these references on the title page.

2.5 The list of references at the end of the article should be arranged alphabetically by authors' names. References should be given in the following form:

References

Books

Lillis, T. M. (2001). *Student writing: Access, regulation, desire.* London: Routledge.

Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning and identity.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Article in book

Clark, R. (1992). Principles and practice of CLA in the classroom. In N. Fairclough (Ed.), *Critical language awareness* (pp. 117-140). Harlow: Longman.

Journal articles

Lea, M. R., & Street, B. V. (1998). Student writing in higher education: An academic literacies approach. *Studies in Higher Education, 23*(2), 157-172.

Turner, J. (2004). Language as academic purpose. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes, 3*(2), 95-109.

Unpublished manuscript

Park-Oh, Y.Y. (1994). *Self-regulated strategy training in second language reading*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Alabama, USA.

Stein, F. & G.R. Johnson. (2001). *Language policy at work.* Unpublished manuscript.

Conference presentation

King, J., & M. Maclagan. 2001, August. *Maori pronunciation over time*. Paper presented at the 14th Annual New Zealand Linguistics Society Conference, Christchurch, New Zealand

Internet sources

Sanders, R. (2006). The imponderable bloom: Reconsidering the role of technology in education. *Innovate Journal of Online Education, 2*(6). Retrieved from http//www.innovateonline.info/index.php?view=article&id=232

For other sources use APA (American Psychological Association) conventions.

3. Articles

3.1 Articles should normally be between 3000 and 6000 words in length, inclusive of references, figures and tables, and appendices. Articles over 6000 words will be returned without review unless prior arrangements have been made with the co-editors.

3.2 Each article should include, on a separate page, an abstract of between 150 and 200 words, which is capable of standing alone as a descriptor of the article. Include the title on the abstract page. Include three to five key words on a separate line at the end of the abstract.

4. Short reports and summaries

NZSAL invites short reports on any aspect of theory and practice in Applied Linguistics. Manuscripts could also present preliminary research findings or focus on some aspect of a larger study. Short reports should be no longer than 2500 words, inclusive of references, figures and tables, and appendices. Short reports do not include an abstract or key words. Submissions to this section follow the submission and presentation guidelines. Those interested in contributing to this section should contact the Co-editors.

5. Reviews

NZSAL welcomes reviews of professional books, classroom texts, and other instructional materials. Reviews should provide a descriptive and evaluative summary and a brief discussion of the work in the context of current theory and practice. Submissions should generally be no longer than 1000 words. Submissions to this section follow the submission and presentation guidelines. Those interested in contributing reviews should contact the Reviews Editor, Dr Rosemary Wette, r.wette@auckland.ac.nz.