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A REVIEW OF RESEARCH ON THE ATTITUDES OF NON-MĀORI NEW ZEALANDERS TOWARDS THE MĀORI LANGUAGE

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Abstract

2010 marked ten years of the New Zealand government monitoring the attitudes of New Zealanders, both Māori and non-Māori, towards the Māori language. Academic researchers have been undertaking similar research for a much longer period. This article reviews the main findings of research on attitudes towards the Māori language among non-Māori in particular since the 1980s, and considers to what extent recent government surveys show evidence of change in the attitudes of New Zealand's non-indigenous population towards the country's indigenous language. The article concludes that work undertaken to date provides us with many insights into attitudes towards the Māori language, but further research is required to determine whether and how such attitudes are changing.

Key words: Māori language, language attitudes, non-Māori, language regeneration

Introduction: the attitudes of non-Māori towards the Māori language

It is often claimed that language attitudes[1] play an important role in minority language regeneration and, furthermore, that it is not only the attitudes of a minority language community that count, but also those of the wider community of which they are part (Boyce, 2005, p. 86; Grenoble & Whaley, 2006, p. 11). The attitudes of majority language speakers can impact on minority languages in various ways, including contributing to a language becoming 'minoritised' in the first place through institutional measures, negative reactions to use of the language in public, influencing the language attitudes of minority language speakers themselves, and resistance to contemporary language regeneration efforts (de Bres, 2008a). May (2003, p. 335) terms such opposition from majority language speakers towards minority languages "the problem of tolerability", and claims that the long-term success of minority language policy initiatives may only be achievable if some degree of favourable opinion, or "tolerability", of these initiatives is secured among majority language speakers (May, 2000a)[2].

One minority language situation where the impact of majority language speaker attitudes can be identified is that of the Māori language, the indigenous language of New Zealand. The Māori language underwent rapid language shift in favour of English after the colonisation of New Zealand in the nineteenth century. Much of

this shift is attributable to restrictive language policies reflecting negative attitudes towards the Māori language on the part of the colonial government. Examples include the policy of using English as the sole medium of instruction in schools for Māori (Native Schools Act 1867), which restricted children's Māori language use to the home, and the post-war urban housing policy of "pepper-potting" Māori migrants to the city within predominantly non-Māori neighbourhoods, thereby further reducing opportunities for the use of the Māori language in social settings (TPK, 2002a, p. 3). King (2003, pp. 359-60) dates the beginning of the sharp decline in the number of speakers of Māori to the mid-1930s, claiming that at this time "Māori parents and grandparents were discouraging children from learning the Māori language" due to "the widespread belief […] that proficiency in English would make upward social mobility for Māori more likely and better prepare youngsters for a world in which Māori culture was going to be a diminishing influence"[3]. By the 1950s, Te Puni Kōkiri (henceforth TPK) claims, the earlier ambivalence of Māori had changed to outright negative attitudes towards the Māori language (TPK, 2004, p. 15) and, within this environment, "Māori parents throughout the country seem to have made a collective decision (albeit unconsciously) to use English rather than Māori in bringing up their children" (Biggs, cited in Benton, 1987, p. 66). The long-term result was the massive language shift of Māori from the Māori language to English. This took its most dizzying course in the cities, and later spread to rural communities where the Māori language had initially remained stronger (Chrisp, 2005, p. 153).

Significant language regeneration activity has occurred since the 1970s, led by Māori communities and later supported by government Māori language planning. This has included initiatives in education (Māori medium pre-school, primary, secondary and tertiary education), broadcasting (funding for Māori medium radio stations and the establishment of a Māori television channel), and the legal status of Māori. The Māori Language Act 1987 established Māori as an official language of New Zealand and created Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (the Māori Language Commission, henceforth TTWRM) to promote the language. Despite this activity, the Māori language remains in a precarious position. The 2006 census identified 157,110 speakers of Māori, 131,613 of whom were Māori. This amounts to 23.7% of the Māori population in New Zealand, but as Māori represent only 14.6% of the national population, the proportion of speakers countrywide is very low. In a context where Māori are a demographic minority and English remains the dominant language of public life, the attitudes of non-Māori New Zealanders are likely to be one factor influencing the future of the Māori language. As stated in the Government's current Māori Language Strategy (TPK, 2003a, p. 27):

> Māori language use is affected by the overall social environment in New Zealand. People who use the Māori language interact with others on a regular basis and encounter the language attitudes of the non-Māori majority through these interactions. To revitalise the language it is necessary for wider New Zealand society to value the language and

support a positive linguistic environment.

On this basis, researchers have long been interested in monitoring the attitudes of not only Māori but also non-Māori New Zealanders towards the Māori language. Academics have undertaken research in this area since the 1980s, and the New Zealand government has followed suit, notably with four large-scale attitude surveys of both Māori and non-Māori since 2000. 2010 marked 10 years of the Government surveying attitudes towards the Māori language, raising the question of what can be said at this point regarding change or otherwise in these attitudes. With this in mind, this article starts by reviewing the main findings of research on the attitudes of non-Māori New Zealanders towards the Māori language from the 1980s to the present, before examining the results of the more recent government language surveys to consider evidence of change[4].

Methods used to investigate attitudes towards the Māori language

There have been only two instances of research focusing solely on the attitudes of non-Māori New Zealanders towards the Māori language (de Bres, 2008; Thompson 1990). There has however been a range of research since the 1980s on the attitudes of both Māori and non-Māori, which tells us much about non-Māori attitudes towards the Māori language. This research is situated within the field of language attitudes, in which three main categories of methods can be identified (Garrett, Coupland, & Williams, 2003, p. 15-16). All three have been used to investigate the attitudes of non-Māori towards the Māori language.

Direct methods

Direct methods involve asking participants questions about their attitudes to a language variety, usually through questionnaires or interviews. Larger-scale studies have included a mail survey of 225 Māori and non-Māori New Zealanders investigating attitudes towards the place of the Māori language in New Zealand society (Nicholson & Garland, 1991), a face-to-face survey assessing attitudes towards Māori language education among 500 Māori and 500 non-Māori caregivers (AGB McNair, 1992), questionnaire and interview research with 80 non-Māori New Zealanders at Wellington workplaces examining responses to government language planning targeting non-Māori (de Bres, 2008b), questionnaire and interview research with 769 teacher education students (92% non-Māori) at the University of Auckland exploring attitudes towards Māori language, culture and history (Keegan, Jones, & Brown, 2010), and four telephone surveys of around 1,500 Māori and non-Māori New Zealanders investigating attitudes towards the Māori people, culture and language (TPK, 2002b, 2003b, 2006, 2010). Smaller-scale studies have included a questionnaire survey of parents at an Otaki school assessing the demand for bilingual education (Benton, 1981), studies undertaken by university students in Auckland, Dunedin, Gisborne and Wellington (Campbell, 1988, 1990; Sherwood, 1989; Leek, 1990; Thompson,

1990) and a telephone survey conducted during "Māori Language Year" in 1995 (TTWRM, 1996).

Indirect methods

Like direct methods, indirect methods involve the use of instruments to collect data on attitudes. Indirect methods employ more subtle experimental techniques than direct questions, however, principally in this context the matched-guise technique (Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, & Fillenbaum, 1960), whereby participants listen to recordings of different language varieties and rate the speakers on characteristics such as social class, intelligence and likeability, without knowing they are listening to the same speaker. Although no matched guise studies have been undertaken of speakers speaking Māori (Boyce, 2005), in several studies participants have been asked to identify whether speakers of recorded passages of English were Māori or Pākehā, and to note down their attitudes towards those speakers (e.g. Bayard, 1990; Vaughan & Huygens, 1990; Robertson, 1994). A similar study (Holmes, 1999) added speaker appearance, so listeners were in no doubt about ethnicity when making their judgments. A further example of indirect methods is Thompson (1990), who asked participants to complete two cloze passages with words that could be in English or Māori.

Societal treatment methods

Societal treatment methods involve a "content analysis of the 'treatment' given to languages and language varieties and to their speakers within society" by means of techniques such as observation, ethnographic studies and analysing sources in the public domain (Garrett et al., 2003, p. 15). These methods are fundamentally different from direct and indirect methods, in that the data pre-dates the data collection process. Societal treatment methods are qualitative in nature, compared to the generally more quantitative methods described above, and the relative value of these different approaches relates to a profound difference in views on how best to access and analyse language attitudes (see Garrett et al., 2003 and Potter & Wetherell, 1987, for discussion). Examples of the societal treatment approach include Lane (2003), who used discourse analysis to analyse 63 letters to the editor of New Zealand newspapers expressing opposition to, or support for, the use of Māori, and Bayard (1998), who analysed letters to the editor combining linguistic and non-linguistic themes.

Findings of research on non-Māori attitudes towards the Māori language

The results of the above research reveal some common patterns in the attitudes of non-Māori towards the Māori language. Indeed, as Boyce (2005, p. 89) notes, although this research has been undertaken in a range of different ways, "the overall pattern of results has been remarkably similar" over time. The main findings are summarised below by theme.

Non-Māori have less positive attitudes than Māori

The research consistently shows that the non-Māori attitudes towards the Māori language, while not entirely negative, are generally less positive than those of Māori (Leek, 1990; Sherwood, 1989; Campbell, 1988, 1990; Nicholson & Garland, 1991; TPK, 2002b, 2003b, 2006, 2010; AGB McNair, 1992). As just one example, AGB McNair (1992, p. 29) found that only 29% of non-Māori respondents agreed with the statement "I would like my children to speak Māori", compared to 92% of the Māori sample. This consistent result of weaker support for the Māori language among non-Māori provides suggestive evidence of the "problem of tolerability" in relation to the Māori language (May, 2000a).

The general and the specific of it

The research also shows that non-Māori express positive attitudes towards the Māori language at a general level but less positive attitudes towards specific language regeneration initiatives. For example, although two thirds of Nicholson and Garland's (1991) overall sample agreed that the Māori language had a place in contemporary New Zealand society, only 20% of non-Māori were in favour of bilingual public services, compared to 61% of Māori; only 22% of non-Māori were in favour of bilingual information signs, compared to 73% of Māori; and only 20% of non-Māori were in favour of more Māori language television programmes, compared to 72% of Māori. This is where the more negative attitudes of non-Māori start to have bite, showing potential resistance to policy initiatives aimed at regenerating the Māori language. Nicholson and Garland (1991, p. 405) allude to this issue in noting that "without the explicit support of the wider, European-dominated community, the revitalisation of the Māori language will be even more difficult due to the lack of support from majority group policymakers, who control most of the financial resources."

Not in my backyard

There is some evidence among non-Māori of "not in my backyard" attitudes towards the Māori language. TPK (2002b), for example, found that while 90% of non-Māori agreed that "it is a good thing that Māori people speak Māori on the marae and at home", only 40% agreed that "it is a good thing that Māori people speak Māori in public places or at work." Christensen (2001, p. 209) discusses the potential impact of such attitudes in referring to "external negativity" as a barrier to Māori language use in contexts not specific to Māori, and claims that "there is enough anecdotal evidence to confirm that [this] continues to be an inhibiting factor to Māori language use."

Māori is for Māori

Research undertaken for Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori in 1995 showed that only 40% of non-Māori interviewees thought the Māori language was important for

New Zealand as a whole, compared to 84% of Māori interviewees (TTWRM, 1996, p. 10). Benton (1981, p. 13) found that Māori families rated the Māori language as most important for New Zealand in general (77%), followed by for Māori in particular (71%), whereas non-Māori families rated the language as most important for Māori (85% Pākehā, 100% other ethnicities) and less important for New Zealand in general (54% Pākehā, 62% other ethnicities). These results could reflect awareness among non-Māori of the connection between Māori language and Māori culture, but could also indicate a view that responsibility for Māori language regeneration rests solely with Māori. There is some suggestion of this in the AGB McNair (1992) results showing that Māori participants were most likely to believe that the Government or the Ministry of Education should fund Māori language education (61% and 38% respectively), whereas non-Māori were most likely to believe that parents or whānau should pay (44%). More controversially, such results could reflect a stance that the Māori language is for Māori only and should not be imposed on non-Māori (see e.g. TPK, 2002b).

Retaining the status quo

Nicholson and Garland (1991) found that despite two thirds of all respondents believing the Māori language had a place in New Zealand society, only one quarter thought it should be used to a greater extent than currently. The letters to the editor analysed by Lane (2003, p. 245) were mainly triggered by issues concerning domains of Māori language use, and "it [was] particularly the use of Māori in domains which [had] previously been the preserve of English which [raised] the ire of anti-Māori letter writers." TPK (2002) found that non-Māori support for government involvement in Māori language regeneration was strongest in areas where the Government had a longstanding presence, e.g. official welcomes and education, but weaker regarding potential future language regeneration activities, including provision of bilingual services and support for Māori language transmission in the home. Such results echo May's (2000b, p. 366) discussion of the interest of majority language speakers in maintaining the linguistic status quo.

Less is more

Research also reflects a preference among non-Māori for minimal use of the Māori language. When asked in the AGB McNair survey what forms of Māori language education they would most likely choose for their children at primary school, with six options ranging from English only to Māori only, Māori participants were most likely to choose a form of bilingual education using both Māori and English (57%), whereas non-Māori were most likely to favour their child attending a school where Māori songs, greetings and phrases were taught (47%) (1992, p. 67). As well as demonstrating a preference for minimal Māori language use, these results again reflect support for the status quo. Whereas the Māori participants continued to prefer a form of bilingual education for their children at secondary school (61%), non-Māori participants switched their preference to Māori being

provided as a subject (51%), reflecting the existing model at most schools (1992, p. 69).

Don't force it on me

Research suggests some resistance among non-Māori to compulsory forms of Māori language planning. "Learning Māori should not be compulsory" was a recurrent reason stated by AGB McNair's non-Māori participants for their preference for minimal Māori language education (1992, p. 72-77). When Benton's (1981) participants were asked how they thought Māori should be taught at school, the 9% of participants who wanted it confined to a club or after-school activity were all non-Māori, one commenting "we feel Māori should be available to those who are interested but taught in voluntary classes *outside school hours*" (emphasis in original). These results echo May's interviews with majority and minority language speakers in Wales, where majority language speakers invoked a "discourse of choice" as a means of opting out of Welsh language requirements, and asserted the rights of monolingual English speakers to remain monolingual if they so chose (2000a, p. 119).

As long as I don't have to do anything

Nicholson and Garland (1991) found that non-Māori were considerably less committed than Māori to participating personally in Māori language regeneration, only 25% saying they would be willing to make a personal effort to ensure the survival of the Māori language, compared to 84% of Māori. TPK (2002b) classified 39% of their non-Māori respondents as "uninterested", these people being "tolerant of the Māori language and culture as long as it does not impinge on their lives." Boyce (1992, p. 108-109) comments on the basis of previous research that "while a large proportion of people may have 'warm-fuzzy' feelings about the [Māori] language, their support dwindles dramatically at the suggestion of any measures which may affect them directly: the possibility of their passively seeing or hearing Māori more frequently in the community, or more extremely, any active requirement for them to gain (or increase) their own competence in the language."

Passive not active support

Research suggests that even non-Māori with positive attitudes towards the Māori language tend to show passive rather than active support. TPK (2002b) classified 49% of non-Māori respondents as "passive supporters", these people reporting a positive disposition towards the Māori language and culture but not being actively engaged in these matters. Such non-Māori may not have a directly negative impact on the Māori language, but it can be questioned whether their "passive support" will contribute positively to language regeneration. As Smith (2004, p. 47) notes, however, none of TPK's attitude categories contemplates the possibility of active support among non-Māori. This issue is addressed by de Bres (2008b), who prefers the term "supporters" to acknowledge that non-Māori can support the

Māori language actively in a range of ways, even if not making extensive use of the Māori language or participating in Māori cultural activities.

Highly negative attitudes

Based on the above, it would be exaggerating to say that research to date has shown uniformly negative attitudes towards the Māori language among non-Māori. Indeed, an innovation of more recent research (de Bres, 2008b; TPK, 2002b, 2003b, 2006, 2010) has been to show a range of attitudes exist among non-Māori, some of whom are very positively disposed towards the Māori language, rather than treating all non-Māori as a uniform group[5]. There is, however, evidence that the attitudes of some non-Māori are very negative indeed. Illustrative examples of highly negative attitudes are found in Lane's (2003) analysis of letters to the editor and in the first TPK attitudes survey (TPK, 2002b), which placed 12% of non-Māori respondents in the attitude category "English only", these participants believing English should be the only language used in New Zealand public life and demonstrating a particularly negative outlook towards the Māori culture and people in general (TPK, 2002b, p. 15). Noting that support for bilingual education programmes in Otaki was generally high among respondents, including non-Māori, Benton (1981, p. 39) commented that "the only unqualified opposition to the idea has come from a minority of those parents who regard their children as 'Pākehā' [and] although this group comprises less than one-tenth of all parents, they have expressed their views quite forcefully in public and in private, and could be a highly disruptive element if their support for the project is not obtained prior to its implementation." Although the number of non-Māori who hold strongly negative attitudes towards the Māori language is generally estimated to be quite low, these people are certainly those from whom the greatest resistance to Māori language regeneration is likely to come.

Are non-Māori attitudes towards the Māori language changing?

The research described above, taken as a whole, provides evidence over time of negative attitudes among non-Māori New Zealanders towards the Māori language, a finding that aligns with research on the attitudes of majority language speakers towards minority languages in other contexts (de Bres, 2008a). Most research on the Māori language has been undertaken at one particular point only, offering snapshots of attitudes at specific time periods. Since 2000, however, the New Zealand government has undertaken repeat surveys of attitudes towards the Māori language every three years (in 2000, 2003, 2006 and 2009), with the aim of monitoring change over time[6]. 2010 marked 10 years of the government undertaking this research activity. This section examines the survey results to consider evidence or otherwise of change in non-Māori attitudes towards the Māori language.

Attitude categories

As noted above, the TPK attitude surveys divide non-Māori into three categories: "passive supporters", who have positive attitudes towards the Māori language, "uninterested" participants, who are uninterested in the Māori language, and "English only" participants, who have negative attitudes towards the Māori language (see TPK 2002b for more detail). As Figure 1 below indicates, the later TPK attitude surveys have shown the percentage of participants in each attitude category changing over time as follows[7]:

1. passive supporters rose from 49% in 2000 to 60% in 2003, 65% in 2006 and 71% in 2009;
2. uninterested participants fell from 39% in 2000 to 28% in 2003, 27% in 2006 and 22% in 2009; and
3. English Only participants remained stable at 12% in 2000 and 2003, and fell to 8% in 2006 and 2009.
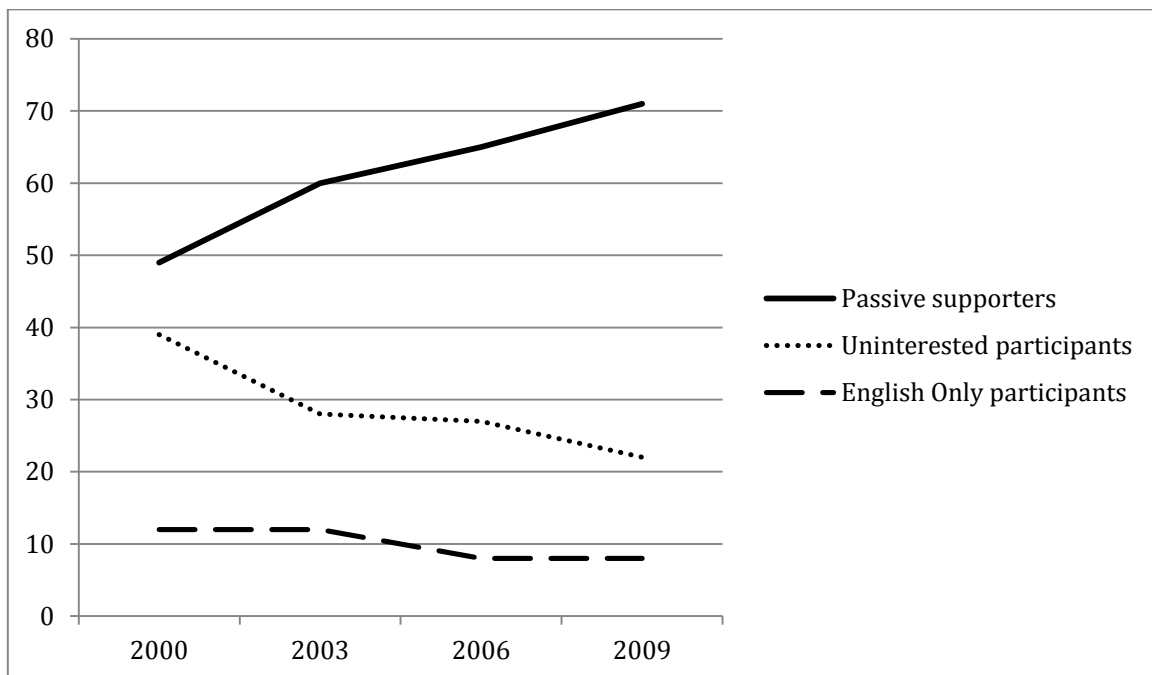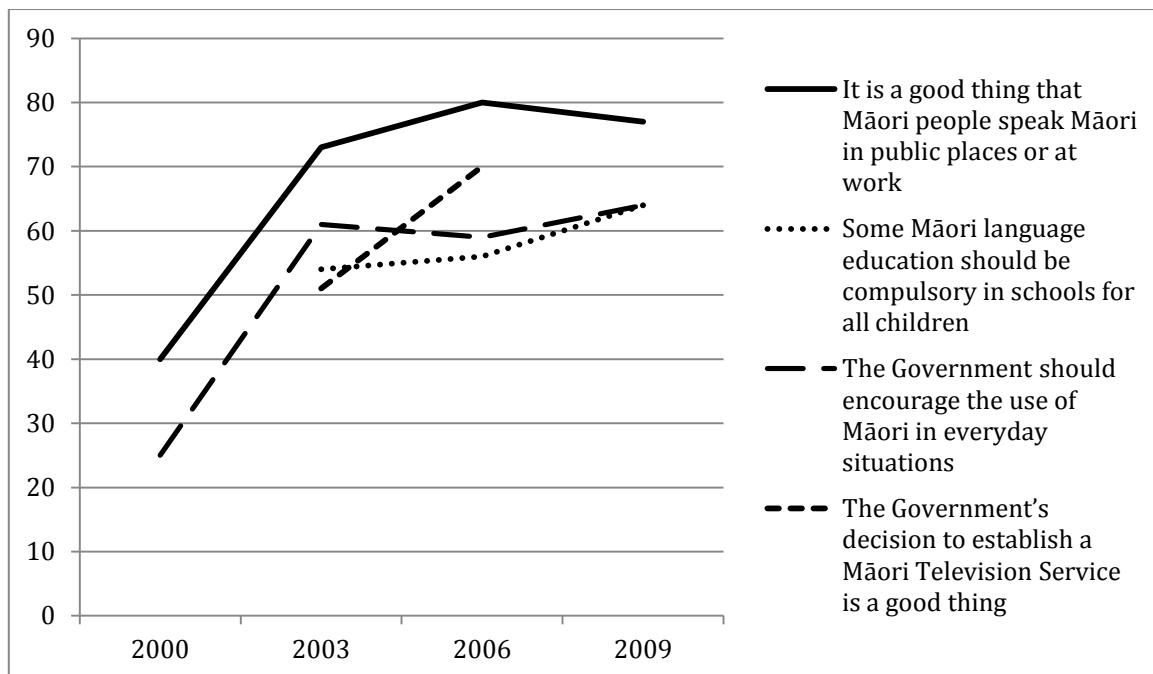

Figure 1: Percentage of non-Māori participants in attitude categories over time

These changes suggest a general increase in positive attitudes towards the Māori language among non-Māori across the period of the surveys.

Key trends

As shown in figure 2 below, particularly salient changes noted by TPK over the surveys include increased support for the following (TPK, 2006, 2010):

1. public use of the Māori language, the percentage of non-Māori agreeing that "it is a good thing that Māori people speak Māori in public places or at work" rising from 40% in 2000 to 73% in 2003, 80% in 2006 and 77% in 2009;

2. provision of Māori language education, the percentage of non-Māori agreeing that "some Māori language education should be compulsory in schools for all children" increasing from 54% in 2003 to 56% in 2006 and 64% in 2009[8];

3. government involvement in Māori language regeneration, the percentage of non-Māori agreeing that "the Government should encourage the use of Māori in everyday situations" increasing from 25% in 2000 to 61% in 2003, 59% in 2006 and 64% in 2009; and

4. specific language regeneration initiatives, the percentage of non-Māori agreeing that "the Government's decision to establish a Māori Television Service is a good thing" increasing from 51% in 2003 to 70% in 2006[9].

Figure 2: Percentage of non-Māori participants agreeing with attitude statements over time

These results suggest an increase in positive attitudes relating to several of the themes of previous research discussed above. TPK (2010) claims the results demonstrate that "non-Māori attitudes towards the Māori language have improved significantly between 2000 and 2009."

Limitations

Despite such claims, whether the results actually reflect a change in attitudes is uncertain, due to methodological issues relating to the surveys. One is the differing composition of the survey samples. The 2000 survey included 1,340 participants (615 Māori and 725 non-Māori), randomly selected from the electoral

rolls and phone book and stratified by age, gender, ethnicity, and location. This composition was changed for the 2003 survey, which incorporated one third Māori speakers of Māori, one third Māori non-speakers of Māori, and one third non-Māori. This practice was continued for the later surveys, with 1,500 participants in 2006 (1,005 Māori, 495 non-Māori) and 1,531 in 2009 (1,031 Māori, 500 non-Māori)[10]. The varying number of non-Māori participants across the surveys reduces their claimed comparability.

A further issue is the low response rate for the surveys. The 2000 survey had a somewhat low response rate of 35% from total telephone contacts with 3,776 potential participants. The 2003 survey had an extremely low response rate of 16%, with 9,258 households contacted to obtain the final 1,534 participants[11]. The 2006 survey again had a low response rate of 24% (24% for Māori and 22% for non-Māori), as did the 2009 survey, at 30% (33% Māori, 25% non-Māori) [12]. Response rates are often low for such surveys[13], but these are especially low, as TPK (2006) acknowledges. This should give us pause in generalising the results to the non-Māori population as a whole.

Another concern is that some attitude statements upon which TPK bases its claims have changed across the surveys. One example relates to Māori language education. The 2006 survey report provides figures across the first three surveys for the statement "Māori should be a compulsory school subject for Māori children", whereas the 2009 survey report provides figures across all four surveys for the statement "some Māori language education should be compulsory in school for Māori children". As the latter statement can be interpreted as involving a weaker form of Māori language provision, it is not surprising that the approval rate among non-Māori was 58% in 2009, compared to 21% in the first survey. As the later survey reports do not include results for all attitude statements, it is not clear how widespread such changes are, but if different statements were used this cannot be taken as evidence of attitude change.

Finally, the usual caveats of direct methods need to be taken into account. Direct methods allow the researcher to access a large number of participants, potentially increasing representativeness. They also present several weaknesses, however, including the unreliability of self-reported data (do participants' responses represent their genuine attitudes?), social-desirability bias (tendency to give "socially appropriate" responses), acquiescence bias (tendency to agree to gain the researcher's approval), and that characteristics of the researcher (e.g. age, gender, ethnicity) may influence the participants' responses (Garrett et al., 2003, pp. 16, 28-29). Although some such weaknesses may be limited by the surveys being administered by telephone rather than face-to-face, they are still likely to have had some influence on the results.

While it may seem petty to pick on methodological issues in this way, it is vital to hold this research to high scrutiny, given that the results are being used to monitor

progress towards Māori language regeneration and are the basis for government claims of success in this area. Similar issues apply to other government research on the health of the Māori language (Bauer, 2008). Given the above limitations, the surveys undertaken by TPK can at best be seen to provide only suggestive evidence of change. Moreover, the results of the later surveys still show less positive attitudes towards the Māori language among non-Māori than Māori, and TPK (2010) highlights a continued need for non-Māori with positive attitudes towards the Māori language to convert these attitudes into behaviours to support the language[14].

Conclusion

This article has reviewed research since the 1980s on non-Māori attitudes towards the Māori language. This research provides us with a range of insights into the attitudes of New Zealand's majority population towards the country's indigenous minority language. Anecdotally, there may be a general perception that attitudes towards the Māori language are becoming more positive among some sectors of the non-Māori population, and a recent rise in use of the language in high profile domains may well reflect such a change. Examples include increased Māori language use in the mainstream media and in commercial marketing, growing support for Māori Language Week promotional campaigns, use of the Māori version of the national anthem at official and sporting events, and use of Māori greetings and closings by government officials at functions. Nevertheless, the extent to which existing research provides evidence of widespread change in attitudes over time is open for debate.

Given that strengths and weaknesses apply to all methods of investigating language attitudes (Garrett et al., 2003), the best way to monitor attitude change seems to be to approach the topic from as many methodological angles as possible, so that the strengths of one method can compensate for the weaknesses of another, and each can provide us with different perspectives on the multifaceted nature of attitudes. As much of the research on attitudes to the Māori language to date has been quantitative in nature, with a reliance on direct methods, this signals a particular need for more qualitative research, in the vein of the societal treatment approach. One thing is certain: as long as the Māori language continues to be in a fragile state, the rationale for paying heed to the language attitudes of non-Māori remains clear. In this regard, Richard Benton's words ring as true now as they did thirty years ago (1981, p. 83):

> The Māori language cannot be imported from abroad. What happens to it in New Zealand now determines its fate absolutely. Ironically, that fate is dependent not only on the will of those who claim to value the language, but also ultimately on the will of those for whom it may be of no concern; it is New Zealand as a nation, not merely the Māori people, which will decide whether the language prospers or declines.

Only further high quality research can tell us whether the attitudes of non-Māori New Zealanders towards the Māori language are changing over time, with all that this implies for the future of the Māori language.

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Notes

1. Following established definitions in social psychology, *attitude* is defined here as "a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor" (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, p. 1). A *language attitude* is an attitude towards language, whether a language as a whole, language features, language use, or a language as a group marker (Cooper & Fishman, 1974, p. 6), among other possible attitude objects.
2. See also Grenoble and Whaley (2006, p. 30), who state that "the attitudes of the larger, more dominant population are critical in language revitalization efforts" and "if macro-level variables such as […] national beliefs and attitudes that promote monolingualism are aligned in such a way as to thwart local initiatives […] then planning a revitalization effort will necessarily include a strategy for overcoming the effect of these factors" (2006, p. 22).
3. Peter J. Keegan notes that such estimates involve speculation, given a lack of available data on that time period (personal correspondence).
4. This article complements a review of research on attitudes towards the Māori language in the book *Languages of New Zealand* (Boyce, 2005). The current article extends Boyce's review by covering research since 2002, incorporating further earlier sources and, most significantly, targeting the attitudes of non-Māori in particular.
5. A notable earlier example is Thompson (1990), whose research design is constructed around hypothesised differences in attitudes among non-Māori.
6. This is done as part of monitoring progress in achieving the goals of the Māori Language Strategy, one of which relates to "increasing positive attitudes towards the Māori language" (TPK, 2010).
7. 2006 and 2009 figures obtained on request from TPK, 24 March 2011.
8. This statement was not included in the 2000 survey.
9. This statement not included in the 2000 survey and is not discussed in the 2010 survey report.
10. 2006 and 2009 figures obtained on request from TPK, 24 March 2011.
11. The report notes this was mainly due to only 8% of proficient Māori speakers agreeing to participate, so the rate may have been higher for non-Māori.
12. 2006 and 2009 figures obtained on request from TPK, 24 March 2011.
13. Nicholson and Garland (1991) report a response rate of 59%, for example, although the AGB McNair (1992) rate was higher, at 76% for non-Māori.
14. See de Bres (2009), however, for a critical discussion of the Government's approach to "desired behaviours" for non-Māori in relation to the Māori language.

Abbreviations used

TPK	Te Puni Kōkiri
TTWRM	Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori

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MEASURING THE EFFECTS OF STRUCTURED INPUT TASK REPETITION ON LEARNERS' INTERLANGUAGE PRAGMATIC PROFICIENCY

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Abstract

The present intervention study evaluates the relative effectiveness of two types of repetition tasks for teaching polite request forms to 59 Japanese learners of English with low to intermediate level proficiency: similar task repetition (different referential- and affective-oriented activities) and same task repetition (the same referential- and affective-oriented activities). A treatment group performance was compared to a control group performance on pre-, post-, and follow-up tests comprising a discourse completion test and an acceptability judgment test. The results revealed that the two treatment groups outperformed the control group significantly, and while there was no significant difference between the two treatment groups in the acceptability judgment test, the same task repetition group outperformed the similar task repetition group in the discourse completion test. The lack of significant difference between the two treatment groups in the planned written-judgment test suggests that effective learning occurs with task repetition activity in teaching second language (L2) polite request forms. In addition, a significant difference between the two treatment groups in the planned written-production test may imply that same task repetition stimulates many more levels of perceptual and mental processing than similar task repetition.

Keywords: *task repetition, same task repetition, similar task repetition, pragmatic proficiency.*

Introduction

Some of the intervention studies in teaching L2 pragmatics demonstrated that pragmatic features can be taught explicitly accompanied by some sort of input enhancement activities. These studies were largely motivated by theories and frameworks built for teaching L2 grammar. For example, Rose and Ng's (2001) study took place through analysis of participants' and native speakers' compliments. Takimoto (2009) analyzed participants' requests after structured input tasks and problem-solving tasks, while Takahashi (2001, 2005) made a comparison of non-native speakers' requests after four different input enhancement activities and native speakers' requests.

In the studies mentioned above, learners begin by using memorized expressions

and are later able to analyze the expressions through repeated practice. There is empirical evidence that pedagogical intervention may develop L2 grammatical competence (e.g., Bygate, 1996, 2001; Lynch & Maclean, 2000; Gass, Mackey, Alvarez-Torres, & Fernández-García, 1999); however, it is still an under-researched area in L2 pragmatics. As pragmatic and grammatical competence are interrelated, research on the pragmatic aspect of learning and repeated exposure is of vital concern and more research is necessary in order to gain an insight into unexplored areas of L2 pragmatics. The present study investigates the effects of input-based task repetition in teaching L2 polite request forms.

Repeated practice and L2 performance

There is some evidence for repeated practice developing learners' L2 performance. Bygate (1996, 2001) compared a single learner's narration of a *Tom and Jerry* cartoon on two separate occasions. Bygate (2001) suggested that task repetition with the same content has beneficial effects on learners' performance because it leads learners to first focus on message content and then to switch their attention to the selection and monitoring of appropriate language use.

Similarly, Lynch and Maclean (2000) revealed that same task repetition is a useful pedagogic procedure in improving different areas of the participants' interlanguage in the poster carousel task. Fourteen participants were paired up. From each pair, participant A stood beside their poster, waiting to receive visitors asking questions and participant B visited the posters one by one clockwise. When participant B arrived back at the base, they stayed by their posters while participant A made their visit. Lynch and Maclean (2000) investigated the performance of two participants with different levels of English proficiency and found that both participants benefited from the opportunity to repeat the identical task.

Examining learners' use of L2 Spanish in the same and different content groups, Gass, Mackey, Alvarez-Torres, and Fernández-García (1999) reported similar findings. Thirty-two participants in one content group watched the same *Mr. Bean* episode three times, while thirty-three participants in another content group saw a different *Mr. Bean* episode each time. Gass et al. (1999) argued that task repetition, especially with the same content, frees up the participants' attention to meaning and allows them to gain greater control over their linguistic knowledge. However, there did appear to be no transfer of these repetition effects to a new task of the same type. Gass et al. explained that, at some point in the study, the novelty of the task may have ended, and the participants' lack of interest settled in. Plough and Gass (1993) suggested that when carrying out task-based instruction in a classroom, learners can easily become disinterested in engaging in the same task repeatedly.

Although the claim that task repetition has a positive effect on learners' performance in promoting L2 development is plausible, as far as the studies

(Bygate, 1996, 2001; Lynch & Maclean, 2000; Gass, Mackey, Alvarez-Torres, & Fernández-García, 1999) are concerned, empirical investigations of task repetition are still underrepresented in L2 pragmatics and further studies are needed to document the effects of task repetition not only in the field of L2 grammar and performance, but also in L2 pragmatics.

Input enhancement studies of L2 pragmatics

As mentioned in the previous section, some of the intervention studies in teaching L2 pragmatics have employed input enhancement approaches. Sharwood Smith (1993) coined the term input enhancement and explained that it is an externally induced technique that attempts to make target features of the input more salient for learners in such a way as to facilitate acquisition. It includes, but is not limited to, a number of techniques such as slowing down the rate of speech, the use of more repetition, the use of gestures and visual stimuli, and the use of video. Input enhancement also includes more traditional explicit approaches drawing the learners' attention more overtly to how the target features are used. The input enhancement studies in L2 pragmatics took place through the use of video in Rose and Ng (2001), repetition of input-based tasks in Takimoto (2009), and target pragmatic features enhanced through explicit, form-comparison, form-search, and meaning-focused instructions in Takahashi (2001, 2005).

Rose and Ng (2001) conducted a study with 103 advanced EFL learners, examining the effectiveness of deductive and inductive approaches to teaching compliments and compliment responses. After six 30-minute lessons, the results of three questionnaires (self-assessment questionnaires, discourse completion questionnaires, and metapragmatic questionnaires) indicated that while both deductive and inductive treatment groups experienced gains in pragmalinguistic[1] proficiency, only the deductive group effectively developed sociopragmatic[2] proficiency. They explained that the inductive instruction did not provide the participants with necessary information explicitly for developing sociopragmatic proficiency.

In a separate study of instructional effectiveness, Takahashi (2001) conducted an experimental study with 138 Japanese college students, proposing four input enhancement conditions: explicit instruction, form-comparison, form-search, and meaning-focused conditions. After four weeks of instruction at 90 minutes per week, discourse completion tests and self-reports indicated that the explicit treatment group learned all of the request strategies more successfully than the other three experimental groups. As a follow-up, Takahashi (2005) conducted an in-depth qualitative analysis of the form-comparison and the form-search conditions for teaching request strategies with 49 Japanese college students. After four weeks of 90-minute weekly lessons, discourse completion tests and self-reports revealed that students in the form-comparison condition outperformed students in the form-search condition on all request strategies.

Although these results showed that explicit instruction can be effective in general, and that there is a necessity for integrating both pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic knowledge in an input-based approach to teaching L2 pragmatics, these studies were conducted within the framework of explicit and implicit instruction, and none of them examined the effects of task repetition. Takimoto (2009) evaluated the relative effectiveness of three types of input-based approaches for teaching English polite request forms to 60 Japanese learners of English: (a) structured input tasks with explicit information; (b) problem-solving tasks; and (c) structured input tasks without explicit information. These three types of input-based tasks were repeated to make the initial input enhancement more effective. Pre-tests, post-tests, and follow-up tests consisting of a discourse completion test, a role-play test, a listening test, and an acceptability judgment test revealed that the three treatment groups outperformed the control group, and that task repetition with similar content was conducive to an improvement in the participants' pragmatic proficiency to some extent.

The studies of L2 pragmatics investigating input enhancement instruction above suggest it is effective, and the study by Takimoto (2009) seems to provide some evidence for the benefit of input-based task repetition with similar content in teaching L2 pragmatics. However, as empirical evidence of the effectiveness of task repetition in L2 pragmatic is not sufficient, more research is needed to investigate the relative effectiveness of input-based task repetition in teaching L2 pragmatics, and such research should examine the relative effects of same task repetition and similar task repetition. The type of input enhancement in the present study is task repetition, which involves structured input tasks, excluding mere exposure to the target features.

Structured input

Ellis (1997) argued that structured input texts need to be contrived in such a way that the target forms are frequent, the meaning of the target form is clear, and comprehending the target features is essential for understanding the whole text. The present study adopts the structured input tasks proposed by Ellis (1997). The tasks are defined as activities designed to invite learners to engage in intentional learning by consciously noticing how a target pragmatic expression is used in input specially contrived to contain numerous exemplars of the structure. The following are general principles for the design of structured input tasks (Ellis, 1997). Ellis calls the structured input tasks interpretation tasks.

1. An interpretation activity consists of a stimulus to which learners must make some kind of response.
2. The stimulus can take the form of spoken or written input.
3. The response can take various forms, such as true/false, check a box, select the correct picture, draw a diagram, perform an action, but in each case, the response will be either completely non-verbal or minimally verbal.

4. The activities in the task can be helpfully sequenced to require first attention to meaning, then noticing the form and function of the grammatical structure, and finally error identification.

5. Interpretation tasks should require learners to make a personal response, that is, relate the input to their own lives, as well as a referential response (pp. 155-159).

One of the key issues here is how the general principles can be extended to the teaching of L2 pragmatics. In order to teach L2 pragmatics, the present study needs to aim at learners' conscious noticing of not only pragmalinguistic conventions, but also sociopragmatic conventions. Therefore, the fourth general principle above needs to be revised so that activities in the task are sequenced to first require attention to sociopragmatic features, then lead to noticing of pragmalinguistic features about target structures, and finally aid the learner in error identification. Also, regarding the noticing, Schmidt (1994) listed five factors which influence the noticeability of L2 features: expectations, frequency, perceptual salience, skill level, and task demand. The present study focuses on frequency and looks into the effectiveness of task repetition on learning L2 pragmatics.

The present study

The present study focuses on the effects of task repetition on recognizing and producing L2 request downgraders. It employs a structured input task consisting of two types of activities: referential-oriented activities and affective-oriented activities.

To date, no studies have investigated the effectiveness of same task repetition and similar task repetition on recognizing and producing L2 request downgraders. The following research question is examined in the present study:

> What is the relative effectiveness of similar task repetition and same task repetition on the participants' abilities to recognize and produce English request downgraders?

Participants

Fifty-nine university students in three intact classes (three sophomore listening comprehension classes) at a large university in Japan took part in the present study. The participants were non-English majors studying in the College of Science and Engineering and were unaware that English lexical and syntactic downgraders were the focus of the study. The participants' English proficiency level was judged to be at the low to intermediate level, as defined by a TOEIC score of 300-700. Three intact classes were randomly assigned by the researcher to two treatment groups and one control group. The two experimental groups received the following instructional treatments: similar task repetition (IT) ($N =$

22: male = 17, female = 5) and same task repetition (AT) (*N* = 19: male = 19, female = 0). The control group comprised 18 participants (male = 13, female = 5). The participants' first language was Japanese, and their average age was 20 years old. Most participants had studied English for eight years at schools in Japan.

Target structures

The present study draws on past research on Japanese students' acquisition of English request downgraders and mitigated request forms in English (Hill, 1997; Takahashi, 1996). Takahashi found that Japanese learners of English were inclined to use monoclausal English request forms when in fact biclausal request forms would have been more appropriate, e.g., *Would* or *Could* you VP? vs. *Would it be possible* to VP? In addition, Hill (1997) found that even as the proficiency of Japanese learners of English increased, they still continued to underuse clausal downgraders, lexical downgraders, and syntactic downgraders. Given Takahashi's and Hill's findings, the present study focuses on teaching syntactic and lexical and clausal downgraders in English request forms. A list of downgraders used in the present study is shown below in Table 1.

Table 1: List of downgraders used in the present study

Syntactic downgraders	Example
Continuous Aspect	I *am wondering* if you could lend me a book.
Past Tense	I *wondered* if you could come.
Lexical and clausal downgraders	**Example**
Downtoner	I would appreciate it if you could *possibly* come here.
Subjectiviser	*I wonder if* you could come here.
	I would appreciate it if you could come here.

Instructional treatments

Each teaching session for the two treatment groups and the control group lasted for 20 minutes, and the instructor gave all directions in Japanese during the instructions. Sessions were conducted by the same instructor once a week for four weeks in three intact classes at a large university in Japan. The instructor was also the researcher.[3]

The two treatment groups spent 10 minutes on each activity in the input-based task, with both groups having the same number of activities. No extra activities containing the target pragmatic features were provided. During the activities, the participants in the experimental groups engaged in the activities individually, with no explicit explanations. In addition, the two instructional treatments were matched for target pragmatic structures. That is, the first and third class for the two treatment groups were spent on lexical and clausal downgraders in English requests, while the second and fourth class were spent on syntactic downgraders.

Treatment for the similar task repetition group consisted of one referential-

oriented activity (objective activities) and one affective-oriented activity (subjective activities which are based on personal feelings or opinion). During the activities, the participants were encouraged to attend to not only the pragmalinguistic variables, but also three sociolinguistic variables: the status of the speaker with respect to the hearer (e.g. employer vs. employee), the difficulty that the speaker experiences when asking the hearer to perform the request (degree of imposition), and the familiarity between the speaker and the hearer (e.g. friend vs. stranger). Before the activities, the participants received handouts with both referential-oriented activities and affective-oriented activities. In the referential-oriented activities, the participants read situations and dialogues and then chose the more appropriate form out of two offered for the underlined parts. After choosing the form on their own, the participants listened to an oral recording of the dialogue and underlined the actual request a native speaker used in the recording. In the affective-oriented activities, the participants read each dialogue in the handouts and then listened to an oral recording. The participants were then asked to rate the level of appropriateness of each underlined request on a five-point Likert scale.

Treatment for the same task repetition group also comprised one referential-oriented activity and one affective-oriented activity. The difference between the similar task repetition treatment and the same task repetition treatment is that the participants in the similar task repetition group engaged in different referential- and affective-oriented activities with similar content in each class, while the participants in the same task repetition group repeated engagement in the same referential- and affective-oriented activities in each class.

Lessons for the control group were designed to help participants learn new English words and phrases. The participants in the control group were not exposed to the target structures at all during the lessons and continued with what they regularly did in their classes.

Testing instruments and procedures

The present study used a pre-test, post-test, and follow-up test to measure the effectiveness of the instructional treatments. The pre-test was administered a week prior to the first instructional treatment, the post-test a week after the treatments, and the follow-up test was administered in the second week following the treatments. Each test consisted of an acceptability judgment test (a planned written-judgment test) and a discourse completion test (a planned written-production test). The test items did not overlap with the treatment materials.

Situations in the two testing instruments comprised one speech act, a request, with three sociolinguistic variables: Power (the status of the speaker with respect to the hearer), Speaker Difficulty (the difficulty that the speaker experiences when asking the hearer to perform the request), and Distance (the familiarity between the speaker and the hearer). These three variables were selected because Brown

and Levinson (1987) considered that the three independent variables in cross-cultural pragmatics are culturally sensitive variables that subsume all other variables with regard to the need for and the nature of remedial work and repair for the hearer's losing his or her self-esteem. The study focused on situations with a high level of Speaker Difficulty combined with Power (the status of the hearer is higher than the status of the speaker, or the status of the speaker and the hearer are equal) and Distance (the familiarity between the speaker and the hearer is not close). This is because English downgraders tend to be used in situations with a high level of Speaker Difficulty (Hill, 1997; Hudson, Detmer, & Brown, 1992, 1995; Takahashi, 2001). Situations with a low level of Speaker Difficulty were added as distractors in order to increase the reliability of the instruments. Both the discourse completion test and the acceptability judgment test consisted of 20 situations, a total of 10 High Speaker Difficulty items and 10 Low Speaker Difficulty items. Sample items are shown below.

High Speaker Difficulty item: You are writing a difficult paper for Professor Hill. You need some help with the paper but Professor Hill is away for a month. A friend of yours has suggested you go and see Professor Watson. Although you do not know Professor Watson and Professor Watson is extremely busy, you have decided to ask Professor Watson to look through your long paper before you hand it in the next day. What would you ask Professor Watson?

Low Speaker Difficulty item: You are in a university lecture. You need to borrow a pen in order to take some notes. Your friend is sitting next to you and you know your friend has a spare pen. What would you ask your friend sitting next to you?

The situations with high levels of Speaker Difficulty were modified from items used by Hill (1997), Hudson, Detmer, and Brown (1992, 1995), and Takahashi (2001). Three versions of the discourse completion test and the acceptability judgment test were developed and used to minimize the test learning effect.[4]

The participants had to complete the pre-tests, post-tests, and follow-up tests in the following order: first the discourse completion test and then the acceptability judgment test. The acceptability judgment test was administered second in order to avoid providing the participants with models that could be used in the discourse completion test.

Discourse completion test (DCT)

The discourse completion test is a planned written-production test which required the participants to read short descriptions of 20 situations in English and indicate what request they would make in the respective situations in English. The participants were given a Japanese translation for reference, if needed. Two native speakers of English rated the appropriateness of the request forms on a five-point

Likert scale. Although the participants were allowed to use any request form, a response that reflected the most appropriate use of downgraders in participants' requests was given five points. As there were 10 High Speaker Difficulty items on the test, the maximum score was 50 points.

Acceptability judgment test (AJT)

The acceptability judgment test is a planned written-judgment test which required the participants to read written descriptions of 20 situations in English. The participants received three isolated requests, one at a time, which they rated on an 11-point scale.[5] The participants who rated the three requests in line with the acceptability judgment of native English speakers[6] in New Zealand were awarded five points. The participants who did not rate all three requests in line with native English speakers were awarded no points. The participants were scored on an all or nothing basis. As there were 10 High Speaker Difficulty items on the test, the maximum score was 50 points.

Statistical analysis of aata

Average Cronbach alpha reliability estimates for the three test forms of the discourse completion test and acceptability judgment test were 0.859 and 0.894 respectively, showing a high internal consistency for the two tests. In addition, content validity was examined and test items were carefully planned and matched to a theoretical framework based on Speaker Difficulty, Power and Distance variables. Table 2 indicates the variable distribution across tests.

Table 2: Distribution of variables (Version A for the DCT and AJT)

	S4	S6	S10	S18	S2	S8	S12	S14	S16	S20	S1	S3	S5	S11	S13	S7	S9	S15	S17	S19
SD	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
P	±	±	±	±	−	−	−	−	−	−	±	±	±	±	±	+	+	+	+	+
D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

Note: S = Situation; SD = Speaker Difficulty; P = Power; D = Distance; + = High; − = Low; ± = Equal.

Results

The following section summarizes the results for each test instrument. The overall alpha level was set at .05. SPSS Statistics 19 was used for the statistical analysis.

Results from the discourse completion test

Results of a two-way ANOVA with repeated-measures showed a significant main effect for Instruction (the IT, AT, and control), $F(2, 56) = 16.54$, $p = .000$, $Eta^2 = .371$, a significant main effect for Time (the pre-test, post-test, and follow-up test), $F(2, 56) = 23.99$, $p = .000$, $Eta^2 = .300$, and a significant interaction effect between

Instruction and Time, $F(4, 56) = 6.41$, $p = .000$, Eta^2 = .186.

Results of the one-way ANOVA analysis in Figure 1 indicate that, although there were no statistically significant differences among the three groups on the pre-test scores [$F(2, 56) = 2.92$, $p = .062$, Eta^2 = .094], the two treatment groups showed gains from the pre-test to the post-test and further gains from the post-test to the follow-up test, as revealed by a two-way ANOVA with repeated-measures, $F(1, 39) = 3.00$, $p = .024$, Eta^2 = .051. However, the data indicates that a few participants in the similar task repetition group and the same task repetition group had a relatively low awareness of the target pragmatic expressions and underused the target pragmatic expressions. This may have led to large SD on the post and follow-up tests. The post-hoc Scheffé tests for the main effect of treatment show the following contrasts: (a) the two treatment groups perform significantly better than the control group on the post-test and follow-up test, $p = .000$; (b) the same task repetition (AT) group performed significantly better than the similar task (IT) group on the post-test and follow-up test, $p = .033$.
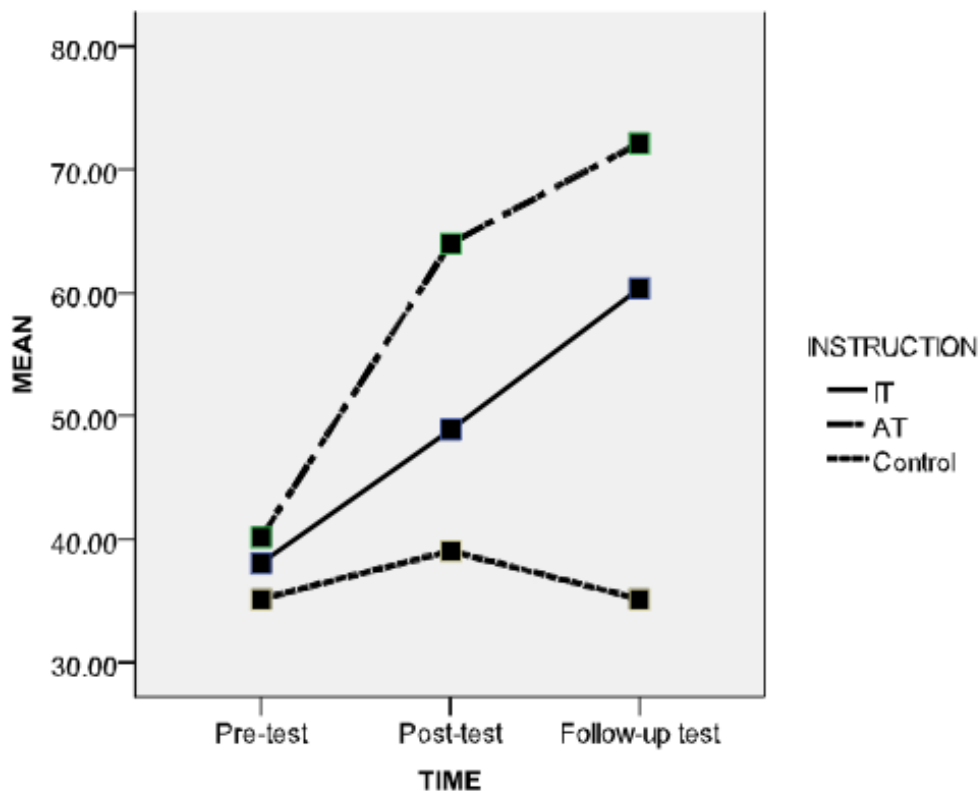
Figure 1: Performance on DCT tests by grouping (N = 59)

Note: IT = Similar task repetition; AT = Same task repetition; Pre-test (week 1); Post-test (week 6); Follow-up test (week 7).

Results from acceptability judgment test (AJT).

Similar to the discourse completion test, the results of a two-way repeated-

measures ANOVA for the acceptability judgment test revealed a significant main effect for Instruction, (the IT, AT, and control), $F(2, 56) = 28.41$, $p = .000$, $Eta^2 = .054$; a significant main effect for Time, $F(2, 56) = 159.58$, $p = .000$, $Eta^2 = .740$; and a significant interaction effect between Instruction and Time, $F(4, 56) = 35.03$, $p = .000$, $Eta^2 = .556$.

The results displayed in Figure 2 indicate that although there were no statistically significant differences among the three groups in a one-way ANOVA analysis of the pre-test scores, $F(2, 56) = .098$, $p = .907$, $Eta^2 = .003$, the two treatment groups made significant gains from the pre-test to the post-test and the follow-up test, and positive effects for the two treatments between the post-test and the follow-up test were maintained, as evidenced by results from a two-way ANOVA with repeated-measures, $F(1, 39) = .601$, $p = .443$, $Eta^2 = .015$. The post-hoc Scheffé tests for the main effect of treatment on the acceptability judgment test reveal the following contrasts: (a) the two treatment groups performed significantly better than the control group, $p = .000$; (b) there were no statistically significant differences between the two treatment groups, $p = .576$.

Figure 2: Performance on AJT tests by grouping (N = 59)
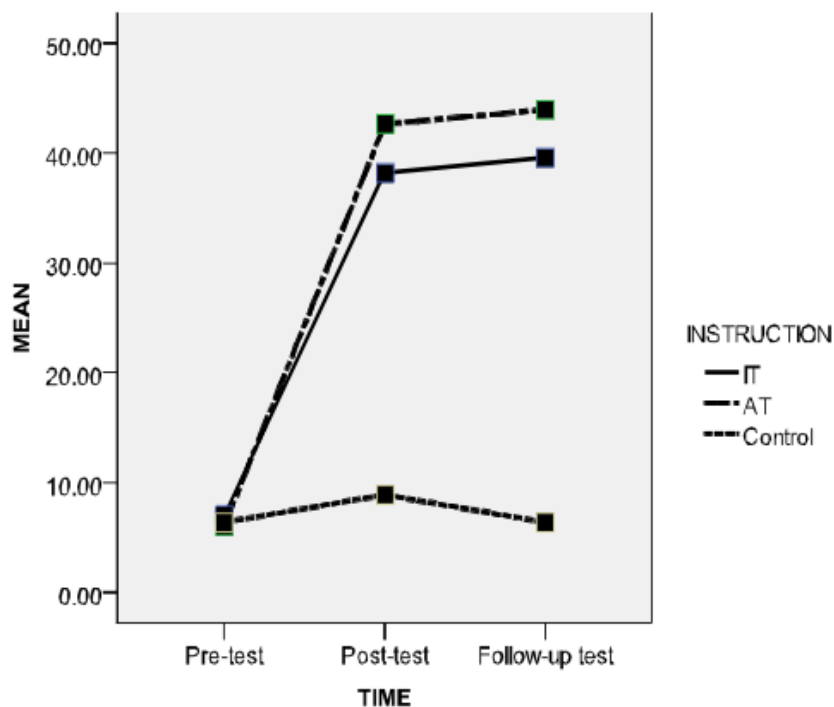
Note: IT = Similar task repetition; AT = Same task repetition; Pre-test (week 1); Post-test (week 6); Follow-up test (week 7).

Discussion

The research question in the present study is concerned with the effects of similar and same task repetition on the participants' recognition and production of English

request downgraders. The results indicate that the two treatment groups outperformed the control group as measured by a discourse completion test (a planned written-production test) and an acceptability judgment test (a planned written-judgment test).

As no information regarding the psycholinguistic processing involved in either the treatments or the tests is available, explanations of the results must be speculative in nature. During the referential-oriented activities, participants in the same and similar task repetition groups had to discover the rules for themselves by attending to not only the relationship between the forms and meanings of the target features, but also the sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic conventions of the target pragmatic structures.

In the referential-oriented activities, the participants had to choose the more appropriate of two request forms, based on pragmalinguistic conventions. This activity was designed to raise the participants' awareness about pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic conventions. In the affective-oriented activities, participants were instructed to rate the level of appropriateness of each bold-faced underlined pragmalinguistic request form, which highlighted paying attention to its pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic meanings. Craik and Lockhart (1972) and Craik (2002) claimed that the quality of a memory trace relies on the level of perceptual and mental processing where meaning plays a vital role. Meaning, in this case, includes both pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic conventions governing the use of the target features. In other words, when participants focused more on making connections between pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic conventions of the target features, they tended to process them at several levels. Both the referential- and affective-oriented activities in the present study were designed to focus participants' attention on making connections between pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic conventions by requiring the participants to access and integrate their pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic knowledge. Thus, it is likely that the referential- and affective-oriented activities may have promoted several levels of processing, resulting in improved pragmatic proficiency. Furthermore, the treatments in the two experimental groups were repeated in view of Sharwood Smith's (1993) suggestion that initial enhancement will become more effective through repeated exposure. In other words, the participants will be able to analyze discrete expressions and induce rules due to their frequent exposure to them, internalizing the expressions in their interlanguage systems. Skehan (1998) explained that L2 learning is based on a process where syntacticization operates on initially memorized expressions and may later develop into a rule-based system. Furthermore, Taguchi (2008) suggested that engaging in memorized expressions reduces the processing load for learners and frees up memory space for additional information. Accordingly, it could be assumed that the participants tried to memorize the target pragmatic expressions, directing their attention to the pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic conventions of the target pragmatic expressions during their repeated exposure. Memorized expressions in short-term

memory through their repeated exposure may have guided the participants to analyze and derive rules of the target pragmatic features, internalizing the expressions in their rule-based systems.

At issue here is why the same task repetition group outperformed the similar task repetition group in the discourse completion test, while the two treatment groups performed similarly on the acceptability judgment test. The study by Gass et al. (1999) implied that the same task repetition allows learners to familiarize themselves with the activity content more easily and it automatically frees up learners' memory space, directing learners' attention to additional information, which results in gaining greater control over their linguistic knowledge. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that although participants in the two treatment groups were able to develop a receptive knowledge about the target structures (as revealed by the acceptability judgment test), participants in the same task repetition group may have paid more attention to the pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic conventions of the target structures than their counterparts in the similar task repetition group, thereby developing explicit knowledge[7] that was more firmly embedded and thus more easily accessed in the planned written-production test (as shown by the discourse completion test). Participants in the similar task repetition group were not able to cope with the discourse completion test to the same extent because the demands of the test were taxing on their working memories, making it difficult for them to access their less established explicit knowledge.

In addition, as far as the present study is concerned, the results refute the suggestion by Plough and Gass (1993) that when task-based instruction in a classroom is conducted, learners may be inclined to become somewhat disinterested in engaging in the same task repeatedly. The results indicate that the two treatment groups gained significantly from the pre-test to the post-test and maintained the positive effects between the post-test and the follow-up tests, which may be partially related to the novelty of the structured input tasks. This urges the necessity of keeping up the novelty of the task and stimulating learners' interest in the target pragmatic features of the developing learners' pragmatic controlled processing skill.

Conclusion

The present study has examined the relative effects of different types of task repetition on recognizing and producing L2 request downgraders. The results show that task repetition involving processing of the target pragmatic features through making connections between pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic conventions has a strong effect on the recognition and production of L2 request downgraders. In addition, the results indicate that same task repetition may have encouraged the learner to process more levels of pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic conventions than similar task repetition because same task repetition showed significantly better performance in producing L2 request downgraders.

One pedagogical implication for teachers, then, is that they should be aware that effective learning is likely to occur with task repetition. It is advisable for the task to be repeated so that L2 learners can make and reinforce connections between pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic conventions of target structures. Such tasks may prove of great value in improving learners' L2 pragmatic proficiency. The present study contributes to our understanding of the effectiveness of task repetition for the acquisition of L2 pragmatics in two important ways. First, task repetition is effective in promoting gains in controlled processing skills for learning L2 pragmatics when accompanied by processing of the target feature through making connections between pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic conventions. Second, more effective learning occurs with same task repetition, which seems to reinforce L2 pragmatic learning and consolidate the pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic knowledge about L2 pragmatic conventions. Thus, one implication of the present study is that researchers and teachers might find it rewarding to devote more energy to designing effective repetition tasks to assist learners in processing more levels of both pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic knowledge.

Notes

1. The term "pragmalinguistics" refers to the knowledge of the strategies for realizing speech intentions and the linguistic items used to express these intentions (Leech, 1983; Thomas, 1983).
2. The term "sociopragmatics" refers to the knowledge of the social conditions governing language (Leech, 1983; Thomas, 1983).
3. In behavioral research, researcher expectancy can be a problem when the researcher teaches and selects experimental groups. The researcher followed the instructional guidelines rigidly and controlled for the effect with the double-blind technique after the data were collected in order to minimize any researcher expectancy effect during the treatments.
4. If the study begins with pre-test, the test can affect performance during the treatment and on future tests. The test alerts participants as to what the researcher expect them to learn.
5. The acceptability judgment test used an 11-point Likert scale. According to Hatch and Lazarton (1991), a broader range in scale encourages more precision in respondents' judgments.
6. Ten native speakers of English in New Zealand were required to read written English descriptions of 20 situations. They were then presented with a series of isolated requests and instructed to score the first request on an 11-point scale and then to score subsequent responses proportionally higher or lower in accordance with the degree of perceived acceptability. The native speakers' data was relatively uniform and consistent (SD = .82 ~ 1.08, range = 2.00 ~ 4.00). This data was used as the baseline data.
7. According to Ellis, Loewen, Elder, Erlam, Philip, & Reinders (2009), implicit knowledge exists as procedural facts that can be easily and rapidly accessed in unplanned language use, whereas explicit knowledge exists as declarative facts that can only be accessed through the application of attentional processes.

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Appendix

Referential-oriented activity: Read the following situation and the dialogue and choose the more appropriate request form out of two offered for each underlined part and indicate your choice by circling '(a)' or '(b)'. Then, listen to an oral recording of the dialogue and indicate whether the actual request used in the dialogue is '(a)' or '(b)'.

Situation: Tanaka and Suzuki, two young men about the same age, are neighbors, <u>though they do not know each other well</u>. They meet at the elevator.

Tanaka: Hi, Mr. Suzuki. How are you?
Suzuki: Good, thank you. How are you?
Tanaka: I'm fine, thank you. I'm going out of town for a year and **1. (a) I wonder if you could water my plants while I am away; (b) could you water my plants while I am away?**
Suzuki: Well, I guess I could do that. How often do they need to be watered?
Tanaka: Well, **2. (a) I would appreciate it if you could water the flowers everyday and the other plants two or three times a week; (b) could you water the flowers everyday and the other plants two or three times a week?**
Suzuki: OK.

Affective-oriented activity: Read the following situation and the dialogue and answer the following questions.

Situation: Yoko is living in an apartment. Yoko is busy working on her assignment, but she needs <u>to return 10 books to the library today</u>. <u>Her neighbor, Mary, whom she has never spoken to before, is extremely busy,</u> but she decides to ask her neighbor to return the books. She goes over to her neighbor.

Yoko: Hi.
Mary: Hi
Yoko: I'm Yoko. I live next door. What's your name?
Mary: I'm Mary. Nice to meet you, Yoko.
Yoko: Are you off?
Mary: No. I am really busy doing household chores.
Yoko: Oh, **1. could you perhaps do me a favor later?**
Mary: What is it?
Yoko: I need to return books to the library today. So, **2. I wonder if it would be possible for you to return them for me.**
Mary: I guess I could that.

Indicate the appropriateness level of four underlined requests from your point of view on a scale as below.
1. very unsatisfactory 1—2—3—4—5 completely appropriate
2. very unsatisfactory 1—2—3—4—5 completely appropriate

SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNERS' MOTIVATION AND THEIR PERCEPTION OF THEIR TEACHERS AS AN AFFECTING FACTOR

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Abstract

International students learning English as a second language in Australia were studied to find how their perception of teachers' level of commitment to teach them English affects their own motivation to study English. A questionnaire survey was administered to the learners at three different levels of proficiency to also identify the relationship between the levels of study and the learners' perception of the teacher as a factor affecting the learners' motivation. The results showed that there is a positive correlation between the learners' motivation and their perception of their teachers' commitment to teach, though there are some differences among the three levels. The results also found that the level of study is an important variable which affects the learners' perception of three major teacher-related factors; behaviour, personality, and teaching introduced by Dörnyei and Csizér (1998). These findings support the general claim that language teachers are one of the most important factors influencing learners' motivation, but the learners' level of proficiency may need to be taken into consideration for a further discussion regarding the validity of a certain teaching strategy to motivate second language learners.

Keywords: *L2 teacher motivation, L2 learner motivation, motivation factors, motivation strategies*

Introduction

Recent research on motivation in second language acquisition (SLA) has focused on factors affecting second language (L2) learners' motivation (e.g. Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei, 1990, 1994a, 1994b, 1998, 2001a; Dörnyei & Clément, 2001; Dörnyei & Ottó, 1998; Oxford & Shearin, 1994; Noels, Pelletier, Clément & Vallerand, 2003). Among the factors, teachers are commonly regarded as one of the most significant determinants of L2 learners' motivation (Dörnyei 1994a; Tanaka 2005). A number of researchers, then, have investigated how teachers positively affect learner motivation (e.g. Dörnyei, 1994a, 2001a; Dörnyei & Csizér, 1998; Falout, Elwood & Hood, 2009; Jacques, 2001; Kikuchi, 2009; Sakai & Kikuchi, 2008; Tanaka, 2005). These studies have claimed that L2 teachers play one of the most important and influential roles in learners' engagement and persistence in the long process of L2 acquisition. In fact, in actual L2 classes, teachers are often required to play multi-dimensional roles, such as an initiator,

facilitator, motivator, ideal model of the target language speaker, mentor, consultant, and mental supporter, which are assumed to influence each learner's motivation. Because achieving high proficiency in an L2 usually requires a much longer period of time than ordinary learners expect (Ramage, 1990), teachers often attempt to enhance learner motivation so that learners positively and actively engage in their learning until they achieve their common primary target in L2 learning, successful acquisition of high competency in the target language. However, the effect of teaching strategies in motivating students should depend on students' perception of the strategies, as Dörnyei (2001b) has suggested. That is, how L2 learners view different teacher factors, including teaching strategies, should be an important issue in identifying the real nature of L2 learner motivation. Based on this contention, the current study focuses on the learners' perception of the teacher as a factor affecting their own motivation by considering which teacher elements are perceived as most strongly affecting their motivation at the different proficiency levels in the context of L2 English learning in Australia.

Research background

The early studies of motivation in SLA until the 90s had focused on the relationship between motivation types and successful L2 acquisition, using an integrative-instrumental dichotomy system introduced by Gardner and Lambert (1959, 1972). Since then, following the introduction of diversified research agendas, recent studies of L2 learners' motivation have directed their focus more on classroom-based research (Dörnyei, 1998). That is, identifying what factors in language education affect L2 learner motivation at which stage in the long process of L2 learning has become one of the main areas of study in motivation. Among the factors, teachers have always been regarded as an important influence on learners' motivation. In his framework of motivation, for instance, Dörnyei (1994a) claimed that teacher-related components which affect learners are language learners' *affiliation* (i.e. learners' desire to please teachers), teachers' *style of teaching*, and the use of particular *teaching strategies*, including modelling, task-presentation and feedback. Dörnyei (1994a) further discussed the importance of some characteristics of teachers, insisting that the L2 teacher should be *empathic*, that is sensitive to learners' needs and feelings, *congruent* so that teachers "behave according to their true self" (p. 282), and *accepting* in being non-judgmental. He also encouraged teachers to be facilitators rather than authorities, to show a strong commitment to the learners' L2 achievement, and to promote learner autonomy.

Williams and Burden (1997) have also claimed in their framework of motivation that L2 learners' interactions with teachers, including *learning experiences*, *feedback*, *rewards*, *praise* and *punishments*, are seen as relevant factors which may affect L2 learners' motivation. Oxford and Shearin (1994) suggested five implications for the role of the teacher in understanding motivation, claiming that

teachers should (a) identify students' real reasons for learning another language; (b) help students have challenging but achievable goals; (c) educate students so that they realise L2 learning can provide them with a variety of benefits for their future career, mental development and even contribute to world peace; (d) be mindful of making the L2 learning environment non-intimidating, welcoming, and with a minimum of anxiety; and (e) encourage students to develop a high but realistic self-efficacy which in turn can develop a positive intrinsic motivation.

Besides the above descriptions of features of teachers as factors affecting L2 learner motivation, there are some empirical studies on how teachers affect learner motivation (e.g. Chambers, 1999; Dörnyei, 1994a, 2001a; Dörnyei & Csizér, 1998, Falout et al., 2009; Jacques, 2001; Kikuchi, 2009; Sakai & Kikuchi, 2008). Dörnyei and Csizér (1998) have investigated the use of teaching strategies to motivate learners among Hungarian teachers of English. The researchers listed 51 motivational strategies and studied how important the teachers considered each strategy and how frequently the teachers used each strategy in their classes. Based on the results, Dörnyei and Csizér introduced 'Ten commandments for motivating language learners' which were the most important and frequently used strategies of the Hungarian teachers. Jacques (2001) also has investigated similarities and differences in the preferences for teaching instructions and strategies between foreign language learners and teachers in the Hawaiian context. The study did not show statistically significant results, but there were some discrepancies in preferred instructions, strategies and activities between teachers and students, and Jacques suggested a further investigation regarding this particular area of study in motivation. Falout et al. (2009) investigated demotivating factors among Japanese high school students learning English and found that the most demotivating factors were teachers' stubborn personalities, pedagogy and the inappropriately high level of courses and materials. Sakai and Kikuchi (2008) investigated Japanese high school students' reasons for being demotivated in learning English. They claimed that too much grammar instruction, the dense grammatical content of teaching materials, and learners' own poor test results were the primary demotivating factors. Kikuchi's (2009) extended study of Japanese high school students also claimed that four out of the five most strongly demotivating factors were related to teachers: (a) teachers' behaviour in the classroom, (b) the use of the grammar-translation method, (c) vocabulary memorisation tasks, and (d) the use of particular course/reference books.

These studies suggest that teacher-related factors are categorised into three major components:

1. teaching materials and methodology/pedagogy;
2. personality;
3. teachers' ways of interacting with learners.

These are similar to Dörnyei and Csizér's (1998) suggestions about teacher-specific motivational components, which they divided into three perspectives:

behaviour, *personality*, and *teaching style*.

The above-mentioned studies consistently state that teachers are an important factor affecting learners' motivation; however, students' motivation is actually the result of students' own appraisal of various learning events (Dörnyei & Skehan, 2003; Matsumoto, 2010; Wen, 1997). That is, whatever strategies a teacher uses or whatever affective characteristics the teacher possesses which may influence learners' motivation, the effect of the teacher would result only from how each student perceives these as motivating their own L2 study. Williams and Burden (1997) noted that "all learners are likely to be influenced by their personal feelings about their teachers, and therefore, their perceptions of their teachers and of the interactions that occur between them and their teachers will undoubtedly affect their motivation to learn" (p. 133).

Based on the above considerations, the current study aims to investigate a relationship between the learner's own intensity of motivation and his/her perception of the strength of the teacher's motivation. In considering the role of the teachers as a motivation to students, the present study also investigates if there is any difference in learners' perceptions of the three teacher components, behaviour, personality, and teaching style, as factors affecting their own motivation from the viewpoint of the levels of their study, elementary, intermediate, and advanced.

Methodology

Research questions

Based on the review of previous literature on L2 learner motivation, the current study raises four research questions, focusing on two variables, teachers' motivation and teacher-related factors.

1. The role of students' perceptions of teachers' motivation:
   A: Is there any difference in the level of learners' motivation and learners' perceived level of teachers' motivation among students at the different levels of study?
   B: Is there any correlation between the level of L2 learners' motivation and of their perception of their teachers' commitment to teaching according to the level of study?
2. The role of students' perceptions of their teachers:
   A: Is there any difference in the learners' perceptions of the teacher as a factor influencing their motivation to study English depending on their level of study?
   B: Is there any difference in the perception of the teacher-related factors which most strongly affect learners' motivation among the students at the different levels of study?

Participants

The subjects are non-university students studying English at an English language centre adjoined to Bond University. The centre offers two courses; General English (GE) and English for Academic Purposes (EAP). GE has six levels (GE 1 to 6) and EAP offers three levels (EAP 1 to 3). On the basis of general English proficiency, GE 1 and 2 are at elementary level, and GE 3 and 4, and EAP 1 can be regarded as intermediate level. Students at GE 5 and 6, and EAP 2 and 3 are at the advanced level of study in English.

Approximately 280 students in total were enrolled in the 19 classes at the three levels when the survey was administered. The questionnaire was distributed to the students manually at each class and the objectives of the survey were directly explained to them so that confidentiality and voluntary participation were assured. In total, 121 students responded, but two of them did not indicate their level of study, so they are excluded from the level-based study. Among the 119 respondents, 16 students were at the elementary level, 45 were at intermediate level, and 58 students participated from the advanced level respectively.

Questionnaire

In order to collect relevant data to answer the above questions, the present study employed a questionnaire, which is one of the most commonly utilised data collection tools in the study of motivation in SLA. The questionnaire was developed by the researcher, based on the analysis of previous articles regarding L2 motivation and teacher-related factors as reviewed in the research background section. The questionnaire contains four questions, regarding (1) the students' own current level of motivation, (2) the students' perceived level of their teachers' commitment to teach English, (3) the students' level of agreement in the relationship between their own motivation and the teachers' enthusiasm in teaching to them, and (4) the teacher-related factor most affecting their own motivation. A five-point Likert scale was used to measure the levels of intensity and agreement to questions 1 to 3. Regarding question 4, it requires the students to indicate one particular teacher-related factor, which they think most strongly affected their motivation from a list in the questionnaire. The question is open-ended and includes eight teacher-related factors, which are chosen from the three areas, behaviour, personality, and teaching style, identified by Dörnyei and Csizér (1998). These are listed below.

Behaviour-related factors

1. Teacher's attitude towards students (e.g. strict/generous, fairness)
2. Teacher's pronunciation of English, including accents and voice
3. Frequency of teachers' praise for learning English (e.g. "Your English has improved!")

Personality-related factors

4. Teacher's personality (e.g. cheerful/quiet, extroverted/introverted, good organiser, time management in the class, approachability)
5. Teacher's appearance, including the clothes he/she wears

Teaching-related factors

6. Teacher's attitude towards teaching (e.g. his/her teaching style; authority /academic-oriented, democratic/fun-oriented; passion/commitment to teach English)
7. Teacher's teaching skills/techniques (e.g. good use of materials, good explanations, interesting tasks)
8. Teacher's ways of commenting/giving feedback on students' work)

Students also have the possibility to indicate they felt that nothing about the teacher influenced their motivation; therefore, the questionnaire also includes an answer which denies the influence of the teacher on students' motivation (see Appendix 1).

Analysis

A Kruskal-Wallis test was conducted to find any relationship between the subjects' level of study and their perceptions of their own and the teachers' motivations. Kendall's tau was computed to identify the relationship between the subjects' perception of the level of their own and the teachers' motivation for the whole sample, as well as at each study level, and Chi-square tests were used to analyse the relationship between the teacher factors and the levels of study. The current study uses Chi-square since a number of researchers in statistics (e.g. Cochran, 1954; Daniel, 2009; Horn, 1977; Roscoe & Byars, 1984; Steele, 2003) state that it is acceptable to have some cells that fall below the minimum. Chi-square tests generally require a minimum frequency for each cell to be five, and there was a possibility that some cells would fall below five because of the small number of students responding at the elementary level (n = 14). Therefore, responses to each factor were collapsed and categorised into the three major factors (behaviour, personality, and teaching-related) that Dörnyei and Csizér (1998) introduced.

The minimum level of statistical significance for the analysis was set at p < .05.

Results

The intensity of students' own motivation and their perceived level of the teachers' motivation are indicated in Table 1. The overall (N = 119) results show that the mean for perceptions of teachers' motivation is 3.80 (SD = 0.889) which is slightly higher than the mean for the subjects' own level of motivation (M = 3.68,

$SD = 0.858$). This is also true in the comparison at each level. In the comparison between the levels, the elementary level ($n = 16$) shows the highest mean for both students' ($M = 3.94$, $SD = 0.772$) and perceived level of teachers' ($M = 4.06$, $SD = 0.854$) motivations, while the intermediate level ($n = 45$) has the lowest mean scores for both students' ($M = 3.40$, $SD = 0.780$) and their perception of teachers' ($M = 3.62$, $SD = 0.777$) motivations. The results of Kruskal-Wallis test indicate that the difference between the levels is only significant for the students' own motivation ($H = 6.892$, p < .05), but not for their perception of teachers' motivation for teaching them English. It suggests that the level of study does not have a strong relationship with their perception of teachers' motivation, while the students' own motivation is more strongly associated with their level.

Table 1: Level of students' (Ss) and perceived teachers' (Ts) motivations

		Elementary	Intermediate	Advanced	Total
Ss' Motivation	Mean	3.94	3.40	3.82	3.68
	N	16	45	58	119
	S.D.	0.772	0.780	0.892	0.858
Ts' Motivation	Mean	4.06	3.62	3.86	3.80
	N	16	45	58	119
	S.D.	0.854	0.777	0.963	0.889

Kruskal-Wallis test:
Ss' motivation $H = 6.892$, $df = 2$, p < .05
Ts' motivation $H = 3.748$, $df = 2$, p = n.s.

Next, the correlation between students' and teachers' motivation was computed (see Table 2). Significant results for the Kendall's tau were obtained for the total subjects ($r(119) = 0.332$, p < .001) and at the advanced level ($r(119) = 0.330$, p < .001), but were not found at the elementary and the intermediate levels. According to the results, generally speaking, learners' perceptions of their teachers' level of commitment/motivation for teaching have a positive relationship with their own level of motivation to learn English. This claim is particularly valid at the advanced level, though it is not certain for the elementary and the intermediate levels. These results at least seem to confirm researchers' (e.g. Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei, 1994a, 2001a; Dörnyei & Csizér, 1998) claims that the teacher can affect the learners' motivation.

Table 2: Kendall's tau between students' and teachers' motivations

Ss' & Ts' Motivation	Elementary	Intermediate	Advanced	Total
Correlation Coefficient	0.393	0.231	0.330**	0.332**
Sig. (2-tailed)	0.088	0.085	0.004	0.000
N	16	45	58	119

** = p < .001

What, then, do learners think of their teachers' commitment? Do they think that teachers' enthusiasm in teaching affects their own commitment to study more?

The result of the third question shows that the overall mean score regarding whether or not their teachers' commitment affects their own motivation is 4.05 (*SD* = 0.928, *N* = 119), which means they agree more than 'strongly' that their perceptions of their teachers' commitment affects their own motivation to study (see Table 3).

Table 3: Students' perceived level of agreement in students' and teachers' motivations

	Elementary	Intermediate	Advanced	Total
Mean	4.31	3.64	4.29	4.05
N	16	45	58	119
S.D.	0.602	0.883	0.937	0.928

Kruskal-Wallis test: *H* = 19.686, *df* = 2, p < .001

The above results further support the idea that the teacher is an important factor that influences L2 learners' motivation, and that students do believe that their teachers' motivation affects their own motivation to study English. The result also has statistical significance in Kruskal-Wallis Test (*H* = 19.686, *df* = 2, *p* < .001), showing that effects are different at different levels of study. The students at the elementary and the advanced levels show similarly high mean scores (Elementary = 4.31, *SD* = 0.602, *n* = 16; Advanced = 4.29, *SD* = 0.937, *n* = 58) while the intermediate level has the lowest mean (*M* = 3.64, *SD* = 0.883, *n* = 45). The students at the elementary level have an extremely small standard deviation of 0.602. This signifies that the students not only have the highest level of agreement with the idea that the teacher influences their own motivation, but also they all have a very similar level of agreement. That is, L2 learners at the elementary level may be more likely to depend on their teachers for their learning and for their motivation in learning compared to the learners at higher levels of study. The intermediate level students, on the other hand, again show the lowest mean score for this question. They tend to believe less that their teachers affect their motivation to study compared to their lower or higher level counterparts.

Finally, the students' perceptions of the teacher-related factors which most strongly affect their motivation are indicated in Table 4. Eight students responded that teacher factors do not affect their motivation, so they are excluded from the analysis. The remaining total of 111 students' responses were categorised into one of the three factors, behaviour, personality, and teaching. The results show that there is a difference in the teacher factor perceived as most affecting motivation among the students at the three levels of study, and the difference is statistically significant (χ^2 = 26.046, *df* = 4, *p* < .001). The most important factor for the elementary students is the teachers' personality (64.3%), while the students at the intermediate and advanced levels indicate teaching-related factors as the most influential for their own motivation (Intermediate = 61.9%, Advanced = 74.5%). In addition, the percentages for teachers' personality and behaviour decreases as the level of study becomes higher (Personality: elementary = 64.3%, intermediate

= 16.7%, advanced = 10.9%; Behaviour: elementary = 28.6%, intermediate = 21.4%, advanced = 14.5%), while teaching-related factor shows that the percentage figures increase as the level of study goes higher (Elementary = 7.1%, Intermediate = 61.9%, Advanced = 74.5%).

Table 4: Students' perception of most affecting teacher factor for their own motivation

		Teacher factors			
		Personality	**Behaviour**	**Teaching**	**Total**
Elementary	**Count**	9	4	1	14
	%	64.3%	28.6%	7.1%	100%
Intermediate	**Count**	7	9	26	42
	%	16.7%	21.4%	61.9%	100%
Advanced	**Count**	6	8	41	55
	%	10.9%	14.5%	74.5%	100%
Total	**Count**	22	21	68	111
	%	19.8%	18.9%	61.3%	100%

Chi-Square test: $\chi^2 = 26.046$, df = 4, $p < .001$

Discussion

> Research question 1-A: Is there any difference in the level of learners' motivation and learners' perceived level of teachers' motivation among students at the different levels of study?

As has been shown in the results section, the intensity level of student's own motivation is significantly different depending on their levels of study. However, this difference in motivation does not seem to reflect a difference in the perception of their teachers' motivation. Compared to the students' own motivation, the perceived level of teachers' motivation does not show any difference among the levels. It seems that students may tend to rate their teachers' motivation higher than their own motivational level. This may be a reflection of Dörnyei's (1994a) affiliative drive to please their teachers. Although the confidentiality and anonymity of the responses were assured to all the students, the learners' fundamental attitudes to please their teachers by rating them as having a strong commitment to their teaching cannot be totally excluded.

> Research question 1-B: Is there any correlation between the level of L2 learners' motivation and of their perception of their teachers' commitment to teaching according to the level of study?

Overall the results confirm a positive correlation between the students' motivation and their perception of their teachers' commitment to teach them English. It is difficult to determine the nature of this correlation, however. Students with stronger motivation may possibly perceive their teachers as having a stronger commitment to teaching English, or alternatively students who perceive their teachers as having a stronger commitment to teach may tend to have a relatively

stronger motivation to learn. There is also evidence that teachers' perceptions of their students' motivation to learn may affect their own motivation to teach. Sugino (2010) has investigated demotivating factors for college English teachers in Japan, and found that among the top seven most demotivating items, five items were related to students. In that study, teachers were negatively affected by their students' inactive and rebellious attitudes and by their behaviours in the classroom. Sugino's study shows that the two major participants in language classroom, teachers and students, seem to have a close relationship attitudinally and motivationally. The strong motivation of one participant may influence the other positively, and enhance the motivations for teachers to teach and for learners to study. At the same time, negative attitudes and behaviours have a negative effect. What triggers this cyclical relationship still needs to be investigated.

> Research question 2-A: Is there any difference in the learners' perceptions of the teacher as a factor influencing their motivation to study English depending on their level of study?

The results show that both elementary and advanced level students agree strongly that the teachers' commitment influences their motivational intensity. The students at these two levels have strong motivation to learn English, and they agree that their teachers' motivation does affect their own motivation. However, the intermediate level students do not agree as strongly as their counterparts do at other levels. The mean score of the intermediate level students is 3.64, which is less than the value for the "agree" category. It is difficult to speculate on the reason of this difference among the students at the different levels of study, but it seems to be another piece of evidence that intermediate level students are less active in their learning and that they believe their teachers to be a factor affecting their motivation to study. Based on these results, L2 learners' perception of motivational factors can be regarded as a variable which needs to be considered in the study of L2 motivation. Also, why the students' attitudes and perceptions of their teachers vary depending on the level of study needs to be investigated further.

> Research question 2-B: Is there any difference in the perception of the teacher-related factors which most strongly affect learners' motivation among the students at the different levels of study?

The results comparing three groups of teacher factors – personality, behaviour and teaching – show a significant difference among students at different levels of study. Students at the elementary level put more stress on factors relating to teachers' personality, while students studying at higher levels tend to rate teaching-related factors more importantly.

It seems that this difference relates to the nature of language learning in the context in which these students were studying. Compared with other subjects, L2 teaching/learning has an issue which differentiates it from other teaching/learning

contexts in that it is possible for learners to lack basic or sufficient language skills to communicate with their teachers in the classroom where their learning occurs. Especially, when teachers are native speakers of a target language and the students have multi-cultural backgrounds, such as is common in English classes in Australia, the teachers are unlikely to speak all the students' first languages at a high level of fluency. That is, a high level of verbal communication between students and teachers may often be impaired, especially when the students' proficiency is at introductory or elementary level. Given this, students may depend on different factors among teachers as an important motivator in accordance with their ability to communicate with teachers.

Because lower proficiency learners cannot fully interpret or comprehend what teachers try to communicate in English, it is likely that they will focus more on factors such as teachers' personality, which do not require the students to comprehend fully or interpret what the teacher is doing in the classroom. It may also be true that students who have limited ability to communicate in English are more dependent on their teacher for successful participation in the classroom activities and that teachers' personalities may influence how students with limited English proficiency experience the difficulties of class participation.

Students at intermediate and advanced levels, on the other hand, show that teaching-related factors are the most important and these factors can be regarded as the manifestation of teacher's teaching skills and techniques. Since intermediate level students have more language learning experience as well as better communication skills in the target language than elementary students, they may be more able to view and comprehend what teachers do to teach them English. At the advanced level, students who strongly believe in teachers' positive influences on their own motivation come to observe more specifically how teachers teach them, including their use of particular teaching skills, techniques, materials, etc. Since the advanced level students have the highest level of communication skills in English as well as the most experience of English learning among the three groups, they may be able to interpret what a teacher does and says well. That is, they are most likely to be affected by particular teaching techniques or skills the teacher utilises in the classroom.

The results suggest that L2 learners tend to shift the importance in teacher-related factors from personality-based to teaching-based ones as they develop proficiency. This may be one of the reasons for the phenomenon that Jacques (2001) noted, that "some classroom practitioners often discover that some activities just don't seem to 'hit the mark' with some language students" (p. 204). This also supports what Dörnyei and Csizér (1998) concluded when they stated that:

> No motivational strategy has absolute and general value because such strategies are to be implemented in dynamically changing and very diverse learning contexts, in which the personality of the individual

learners and the teacher, as well as the composition and structure of the learner group, will always interplay with the effectiveness of the strategy (p. 224).

The current study shows that students' levels of proficiency seem to be one important variable which contributes to this dynamically changing learning context, and it needs to be considered in the selection and validity of effective teaching strategies for a particular group of students.

Conclusion

The current study on L2 learners' motivation and the effect of perceived levels of teachers' commitment reconfirms that a teacher influences his/her students' motivation. In addition, the study also indicates that learners' levels of proficiency may be an important variable which needs to be considered for the study of L2 learners' motivation. With regard to the level of proficiency, there are two issues of particular importance. First, the learners' perception of the teacher as an affecting factor may change according to the development of proficiency and the length of learning experience. As learners develop L2 proficiency, and thus become more capable of communicating with teachers in the L2, their perception of teachers as a motivating factor may change. Second, as a result of the first point, different levels of language study may affect the effectiveness of motivation strategies used by teachers.

The current study confirmed that the teacher is an important factor affecting L2 learners' motivation, but it also showed that the various teaching strategies which have been discussed in the previous studies as effective motivators (e.g. Dörnyei, 1994a, 2001a, 2001b; Dörnyei & Csizér, 1998; Jacques, 2001; Oxford & Shearin, 1994) may work differently depending on the learners' current level of proficiency. Learners with a lower level of proficiency are more likely to depend on non-verbal communication-based aspects, such as teachers' personality, and as they develop their proficiency, they may shift their focus to more teaching/learning-based aspects. That is, a general discussion of the effect of teaching strategies on L2 learning motivation, and as a result, on learners' success in learning, should take students' level of L2 proficiency into consideration for its validity.

These conclusions, however, are drawn from a study based on a single learning/teaching context; therefore, as Dörnyei and Csizér (1998) have insisted, there is clearly much room for further research in order to consolidate the claim and for the development of a revised framework of L2 learner motivation.

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Appendix 1

QUESTIONNAIRE
(Students)

Please tick an appropriate blank.

Level of study:
Elementary   (   ) – Enrolled class GE 1, 2
Intermediate   (   ) – Enrolled class GE 3, 4, EAP 1
Advanced   (   ) – Enrolled class GE 5, 6, EAP 2, 3, FCE

Gender: (   ) Male   (   ) Female

Region you are from: (   ) Europe   (   ) Africa
                       (   ) North East Asia (China, Taiwan, Korea, Japan)
                       (   ) Middle East   (   ) Other Asian region
                       (   ) South/middle America   (   ) Pacific region

1. How do you rate your current level of motivation for learning English? Please circle an appropriate number in the scale below.

Very Low	Low	Moderate	High	High High
1	2	3	4	5

2. How do you rate your teacher's level of motivation (commitment) for teaching English in your class? Please circle an appropriate number in the scale below.

Very Low	Low	Moderate	High	Very High
1	2	3	4	5

3. Do you agree that the level of teachers' enthusiasm (passion) for teaching English in the class affects your motivation to study English? Please circle an appropriate number in the scale below.

Strongly Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5

4. What factors listed below do you think affect most strongly your motivation (commitment) to study English? Please tick **ONLY ONE** factor. If there is other factor that is related to teachers, please write it in the blank provided.

( ) Teacher's personality (e.g. cheerful/quiet, extroverted/introverted, good organiser, time management in the class, approachability)

( ) Teacher's attitude towards teaching (e.g. his/her teaching style, authority/academic -oriented, democratic/fun-oriented, passion/commitment to teach English)

( ) Teacher's attitude towards students (e.g. strict/generous, fairness)

( ) Teacher's appearance including cloths she/he wears

( ) Teacher's teaching skills/techniques (e.g. good use of materials, good explanations, interesting tasks)

( ) Teacher's way to comment/feedback on your work

( ) Teacher's pronunciation of English including accents and voice

( ) Frequency of teacher's encouragement on your English (e.g. your English has improved!)

( ) Nothing about teacher affects my motivation

Other factor: _____

That's all. Thank you very much for your cooperation.

BUREC Protocol No, RO-856
Principle researcher: Dr Masanori Matsumoto, Faculty of Humanities & Social Sciences

READING BILINGUALS READING: FIRST LANGUAGE USE AND COMPREHENSION MONITORING IN THE READING OF DIFFERENT TEXTUAL GENRES

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Abstract

This paper reports on the code-switching, strategy use and comprehension monitoring evidenced in the reading recalls and responses of a group of undergraduate students at the University of Otago who have Korean as their first language. The bilingual participants in this project were intentionally given no instructions on how to read five texts written in English, no information about textual genres and no specific tasks to complete while reading the texts, in order that their reading comprehension, recalls and responses would be as undirected as possible. The participants showed a preference for using their first language in the recalls and responses. They were able to distinguish between textual genres, monitor their own comprehension and engage in the kinds of higher-level comprehension processing which some researchers have claimed are not always within the range of second language readers' skills. They were aware of textual structure and had specific expectations for different genres. The findings that indicate that they made use of their first language, alongside the second language, to comprehend and interpret texts, suggest that second-language teachers might reconsider restrictions on first language use in the second language classroom, especially when requiring learners to respond to and recall written texts.

Keywords: *reading, response, recall, bilingual reading, comprehension, reading strategies, comprehension monitoring, L2 readers, textual genres*

Introduction

This study examined the undirected written recalls and responses of second language (L2) participants in order to contribute to perceived gaps in the research on bilingual reading, particularly in comprehension monitoring, the use of the first language (L1), and responses to different genres.

Literature review

Bilingual reading draws on research in various domains and a few brief definitions and research outlines are given below.

Bilinguals and bilingualism

Lay definitions of bilingualism commonly focus on L2 proficiency and the age at which individuals acquire their L2s (Altarriba, 2002). More specialist classifications emphasize the *use* of more than one language on a regular basis (Auer, 2000) and characterize bilinguals as "multicompetent language user(s), rather than … deficient native speaker(s)" (Cook, 1999, p. 185).

Code-switching

Code-switching – moving between languages or dialects and effectively using them simultaneously – is normal bilingual behaviour (Cook, 2001) which occurs both automatically and intentionally (Upton, 1997) and serves various purposes (Meyers-Scotton, 2000). As a compensatory strategy it allows bilinguals to switch briefly from the L2 to the L1 and back to the L2, repeating a word or phrase and so scaffolding themselves (Dailey-O'Cain & Liebscher, 2009).

Despite the knowledge that code-switching and translation form part of standard bilingual behaviour and that individuals favour their L1s for many cognitive activities (Cook, 1999), the trend is still (since the grammar-translation method was supplanted), for L2 teachers to exclude learners' L1s from the classroom, except as an unavoidable last resort (Carless, 2007; Copland & Neokleous, 2010).

Reading

According to construction-integration (CI) models, readers construct meaning while integrating their existing knowledge with incoming textual information (Kintsch, 1998). An essential principle in reading theory is that meaning is not something that is retrievable from a text, but is instead a feature of interaction between text and reader. Readers construct mental representations of texts on a number of levels including a *textbase* (the gist of the text), a *surface representation* reflecting the actual words of the text and a *situation model*. The situation model is a causally related reader reconstruction of the situations (actions and events), characters, perspectives and spatio-temporal settings constituting the textual world (Zwaan, Langston, & Graesser, 1995), which contains inferences and elaborations added by the reader (Zwaan & Madden, 2004). Mental representations are regularly updated during and after reading.

Skilled readers continually monitor and evaluate their overall comprehension by re-reading, questioning and concentrating on coherence. Reading for coherence entails connecting textual features (including details, illustrations, and titles) and constructing logical mental representations of incoming texts. As readers detect comprehension problems, they employ specific cognitive processes and strategies (Kolić-Vehovec & Bajšanski, 2007), such as activating and using background knowledge, revising inferences, hypotheses, expectations and predictions, elaborating, linking textual information, attending selectively to textual detail, and

suppressing irrelevant information. When strategically and consciously applied, these procedures form part of the overall comprehension monitoring process.

Reader comprehension frameworks direct reading and guide readers to process texts according to their expectations for specific genres and specific texts (Geiger & Millis, 2004; Zwaan, 1994), including for example, recreational diversion from fiction and authentic information from non-fiction. Comprehension frameworks, which are confirmed or modified during reading, are constructed on the basis of factors such as reasons for reading, prior knowledge, text titles, intertextual references, other textual features, instructions and tasks set for readers, conversations engaged in before reading, and situational contexts in which reading takes place or reading materials are accessed.

Research investigating the expectations readers associate with different genres illustrates that readers construe the points of texts and make inferences based on authorial intention if they consider that they are reading literature, concentrating on textual features and constructing stronger surface representations for literary texts than they do in other types of reading (Vipond & Hunt, 1984, 1987; Zwaan, 1993). Individuals interpret writers' stylistic choices in literary reading (Mar, 2004; Miall, 1988) and respond affectively to aesthetically pleasing language use (Hakemulder, 2000). Readers engage affectively with characters and show preferences for event outcomes (Albritton & Gerrig, 1991; Gernsbacher, Goldsmith, Hill, & Robertson, 1992) in story-driven reading. In information-driven reading, readers construct stronger textbases and pay more attention to details.

Research in second-language reading

Researchers often classify L2 readers as inefficient, arguing that they use a larger number of bottom-up (text-driven) than top-down (reader-based) processes, that they have difficulty accessing their existing top-down L1 reading strategies (Walter, 2007), and that they spend more time decoding words and sentences to establish literal reference, than they do constructing meaning by interaction with texts (Nassaji, 2002). Because of this slower, conscious decoding, and because they do not suppress unimportant textual details (Oded & Walters, 2001), L2 readers overload their working memories (Walczyk, 2000; Walter, 2007). The result is an excessive cognitive load and overall comprehension problems (McCrudden, Schraw, Hartley, & Kiewra, 2004). If L2 readers use higher-order comprehension strategies, they use them less proficiently than L1 readers do (Ruddell & Unrau, 1994). They make fewer inferences – partly because they do not always have the relevant socio-cultural knowledge (Bensoussan, 1998).

Han and Stevenson (2008) suggest that L2 readers monitor their comprehension less than L1 readers do. Conversely, Walczyk (2000) shows that some L2 readers engage in excessive comprehension monitoring at the expense of coherent meaning, again probably because of a heavy cognitive load. Bernhardt (2005)

observes that L2 readers do not always backtrack to confirm inferences and are less likely to question their own decisions once these have been made.

Perceived gaps in the research

A relatively small body of work has researched L1 use in L2 reading. Findings show individuals think about texts in their L1s as they read them in the L2 (Macaro, 2005) and mentally translate (Kern, 1994) and paraphrase (Upton, 1997) L2 texts into L1 while reading, thus using their L1s to facilitate comprehension (Seng & Hashim, 2006). Phakiti (2006) mentions the positive effects of using the L1 in bilingual reading, including improved comprehension, lower anxiety levels and raised confidence levels. For some researchers it is thus clear that bilinguals access their L1s while using their additional languages, even when not code-switching and that the L1 is always available to individuals while they are reading in their L2 (Cook, 1999). As Upton (1997) points out, L2 reading "is not a monolingual event" (p. 1). However, these findings have apparently had little effect in the L2 classroom, which alone should be sufficient reason for researchers to investigate L1 use in L2 reading.

Another gap in the research concerns investigations of the reading of different genres in the L2 (DuBravac & Dalle, 2002). Many studies have examined L1 reading of narrative versus expository texts (Nathanson, 2006; Wolfe, 2005). Horiba (2000) found that L1 and L2 readers used different reading strategies for narrative and expository texts. Bensoussan (1990) determined that L2 readers translated different genres differently. The L2 reading of expository texts is not generally undertaken using unguided and undirected recalls (DuBravac & Dalle, 2002), although they have been used with narratives.

Many researchers look to self-reports to determine participants' reading strategy use. However, eliciting of global and typical strategy use is less reliable than task-specific strategy elicitation for recently-read texts (Samuelstuen & Bråten, 2007). In this study the focus was the reading of specific texts rather than strategies participants thought they generally used in reading (Mokhtari & Reichard, 2002).

Although some researchers allow participants to recall and discuss texts using the language in which they are most at ease (Horiba, 2000; Pritchard & O'Hara, 2008), L2 reading research often evaluates comprehension using questions and answers in the L2 (Brantmeier, 2006). This can produce inaccurate perspectives of readers' comprehension and mental processing (Bernhardt, 2005; Brantmeier, 2006a), since it simultaneously evaluates and assesses L2 competence. To avoid such limitations the participants in this study were free to choose the language in which to write about their reading of texts.

Research focus

I was interested in how bilingual readers interacted with different textual genres,

whether and how they reported comprehension or miscomprehension and whether and how they reported monitoring their comprehension. I wanted to determine whether L2 reading proceeded in the same way as it did in L1 reading if readers were free to use their L1 to write about texts. If there was evidence that their L1 had been used, this could suggest that they had used it to facilitate their comprehension. My research objectives were thus to investigate:

1. the nature and extent of L1 use by bilingual readers when responding to and recalling texts read in their L2;
2. how bilingual readers differentiate between genres when reading in the L2;
3. whether bilingual readers use different languages when responding to and recalling different genres;
4. how bilingual readers monitor their comprehension when reading in the L2 and whether they are aware of doing so.

Methodology

The participants were Korean L1 undergraduates (F=7, M=7) in Health Sciences and Humanities at the University of Otago, New Zealand, in their early twenties. They had all had their secondary schooling in Korea, with Korean as their language of instruction. They had met university English requirements for international students, namely IELTS scores of at least 6. All agreed to engage in the research project voluntarily and for a nominal reimbursement of $10.00 each. A pilot study was conducted, after which the questions on the questionnaire were adjusted to be more comprehensible. Ethical approval was obtained from the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee.

The participants were selected because they share an L1 and have similar levels of proficiency in a shared L2. They were not selected because of their undergraduate status (although this homogeneity removed unnecessary variables), nor to address problems in the teaching of reading in university EAP courses. None of them were studying literature at the university, and therefore they could be assumed to have similar skills in reading literary texts.

The research assistant gave each participant five English texts (referenced in Appendix A) to read. These were a joke involving Sherlock Holmes and Watson (*Joke* – 143 words), a poem by Sylvia Plath, which reads like a riddle when no title is supplied (*Mirror* – 150), a poem, *This Is Just To Say,* by William Carlos Williams (*Plum* – 33), instructions on how to perform the kiss of life (*CPR* – 133) and a parody of the Cinderella fairy-tale (*Cinderella* – 1115). Brackets show my abbreviations for the texts and the number of words in each. The texts were chosen as samples of genres likely to elicit story-driven, information-driven and literary reading. *Mirror* was chosen because it is a relatively complex literary text. No title was provided for *Mirror*, thus making it more difficult to process (Collins & Levy, 2008), to determine whether, how and in which language participants would

comment on perceived comprehension difficulties and whether they would attempt to monitor their comprehension.

To recreate a situation similar to one involving reading of their own volition, no time limits were imposed for reading and participants' free recalls and responses were prompted. Simultaneous verbal protocols commonly used to collect data about cognitive processes in L2 reading were avoided because of possible positive (Coté et al., 1998) or negative (Samuelstuen & Bråten, 2007) influences they might have on comprehension and because they can affect the language used by participants. All written and verbal instructions were in Korean and were kept to the bare minimum. There was one cue page (see Appendix B) for each text with the heading "Text 1, Text 2, Text 3" etc. and brief instructions eliciting two recalls and one response for each text, with the largest space provided for the responses.

Although cued by headings, the recalls and responses were essentially "free", uninfluenced by leading questions or communication with researchers (Brantmeier, 2006a). The researcher and research assistant were deliberately absent when participants read and responded to the texts. Participants were given no tasks to establish external reading goals or to influence the types of strategies used or inferences made (Horiba, 2002). To avoid pre-empting or anticipating such comprehension monitoring, no directives were given about discussing the texts with others. No information was provided about the textual genres. Participants were thus free to construct their own meanings for each text.

Participants were each given a task-specific strategy questionnaire (see Appendix B for a translated version) which required them to match the particular reading and comprehension monitoring strategies they used with each individual text.

Verbal instructions were given by the research assistant, who informed participants that they could provide their responses or recalls in whichever language they preferred. The stage was therefore set for code-switching and normal bilingual language use. Participants were told that the researcher wanted to determine how they read rather than to test their comprehension or memory. They were asked to read the texts as they would normally do in their leisure time, as many times as they wanted to and in their own time.

They were requested not to view or fill in the cue sheets before they had read all the texts and not to answer the questionnaires before they had completed the recalls and responses. In fact, it was suggested that they wait a day or two once they had finished reading the texts, before continuing with the project. They were requested not to re-read the texts once they had started filling in the cue sheets and questionnaires and were encouraged to undertake the tasks in a relaxed manner and write as much and as freely as possible. The recalls, responses, and answers to the questions were collected by the research assistant a week after she had distributed them.

The written responses and recalls were translated by the Korean research assistant, who has near-native proficiency in English and a BA degree in linguistics from an English language university in New Zealand. The researcher transcribed the data and signalled all code-switching. Word counts are commonly used to measure the extent of code-switching (e.g. Dailey-O'Cain & Liebscher, 2009) and the uses of English and Korean were quantified by counting the words. Korean particles and English function words were not included in the word counts. The Korean research assistant did the Korean word counts and the researcher the English word counts. Other aspects of the recalls and responses were calculated (discussed below) and the calculations were checked by an independent statistician.

The verbatim recalls (responses to the first subheading) were not analysed for the purposes of this paper. All recalls referred to below are the cued recalls which were the outcomes of the instruction "Please write what you remember about the text".

Results and findings

Language choices for responses and recalls

There were potentially 140 written feedback entries (5 recalls and 5 responses by each of 14 participants). Some participants did not respond to every text and some did not recall every text. Two participants provided no recalls for *Mirror* and another two no recalls for *Cinderella.* Thus 6% of the potential recalls were omitted. A total of 16 potential responses (23%) were not provided – namely *Joke* (2), *Mirror* (2), *Plum* (4), *CPR* (4) and *Cinderella* (4).

Korean was the preferred language for both the recalls and responses. Of the 70 possible recalls, 39% were in Korean only. In another 39% of the total recalls the participants switched between Korean and English. Only 17% were entirely in English. Of the responses 41% were in Korean. Three responses (4%) had only the names of characters in English and everything else in Korean. Code-switching occurred in 23%. Just 9% were entirely in English.

Overall language use in cued recalls and responses

Word counts for each text (as opposed to numbers of participants or total written entries mentioned above), showed more use of Korean than English in both the cued recalls (75%) and the responses (90%) and thus more English in the recalls than in the responses. More English was used in the recalls for the poems (*Mirror* – 38% and *Plum* – 44%), than for the information-based text (*CPR* – 24%), the story (*Cinderella* – 17%), and *Joke (*20%). In the responses, the most English was used for *Mirror* (17%), and the least English for *Plum* (4%). English in the responses to the other texts were *Joke* (15%), *CPR* (5%), *Cinderella* (9%).

There was some difference in the average lengths of recalls and responses. For

Cinderella (the longest text), the recalls were longer (23.23 words), than for other texts. The average word recalls for the poems were shorter (*Mirror* – 8.62; *Plum* – 8.92), than for the other texts (*CPR* – 10.31; *Joke* – 14.08). The responses to *Cinderella* (16 words) were longer than for the other texts (*Joke* – 10.29; *Mirror* – 10.71; *Plum* – 9.29 and *CPR* – 12.43).

Reading of different genres

In the following examples of participants' recalls and responses, words originally in Korean are shown in italics and words originally in English in bold.

Comments on textual structure for all five texts indicate that participants had an understanding of genre differences. Participants had expectations for specific genres (*I thought it was a detective story … I got bored and frustrated*). They classified texts as genres and referred to them as specific genres. Half the participants referred to *Cinderella* as a "story". Another 28% referred to the joke as a "story", and one participant each referred to the poems as "stories". Comments embraced literary genre (*because it is a poem* / *A story about a* **plum** / *the well-known children's story*) and non-literary genre (*A form of riddle* / *A conversation* / *A sort of memo* / *Methods for CPR* / *instruction* / *Useful information*).

For *Mirror*, comments on form centred, quite accurately, on the fact that the poem was essentially a description involving a set of comparisons (*That it … made a comparison between the old lady … and fish* / *I think it's a description of an object – mirror*). Comments on the structure of *Plum* related to language use and how this affects genre (*It's a bit* **simple** *for a poem* / *But can this be called a poem?*). For *CPR* comments focussed on the simple language and the fact that a process was being analysed (**method was divided into several steps** / **instruction** *is written in the way you actually do* / **How to do CPR on adults and children**).

Participants highlighted specific characteristics of genres. For *Joke* 79% of the participants focussed on humorous intent and the punch line or paraphrases thereof (**You idiot! Someone stole our tent /** *Meanwhile they got their tent stolen*). Additionally, 21% commented that a specific line was humorous (*the final line* / *the final flip* / *the last one line*). Some attempted to explain the point of the joke (**Better not try too hard to be cool**) or highlighted certain sections as memorable (*the part where Watson commented on the sky*). Responding to the information-based text, 28% commented on the usefulness of the instructions (*I am interested since it is needed in everyday life* / *I think it's useful)*, but none referred to the usefulness of the information in other texts. Authorial intention was mentioned for the more literary/narrative texts.

Participants frequently considered prior textual knowledge and 71% mentioned intertextuality in Cinderella implicitly or explicitly (The ending was different from normal/ it was different from the original story / Is the original like this?

…Cinderella that did not match with any of the original script). There was one implicit reference to intertextuality in connection with Joke (It was refreshingly different that **Sherlock Homles** (sic) did not just tell his friend that someone has stolen their tent) and another one for Mirror (Reminds me of **Mirror mirror on the wall**).

Perceived difficulty and ease of comprehension

Perceived difficulty and ease of comprehension were reported voluntarily – the questionnaires and cue sheets did not elicit this information. Most participants (86%) reported comprehension problems with *Mirror*. As outlined above, such comprehension difficulty was expected. Comments included *It's too difficult / knotty /* **It was a bit hard to understand**/ **It was a little bit tricky** / *a bit confusing.* In contrast, no-one reported problems understanding *Joke* and only one participant in each case reported difficulties with *Plum* (*I don't get the point of this*), *CPR* (*Can't remember the details)* and *Cinderella* (*The amount of the* **text** *was too much so I couldn't read thoroughly*).

Almost half (43%) reported ease of comprehension for *Plum* (*It was easier to understand than the previous one / Easy to organize because it is sectioned into* **paragraphs**). One participant reported ease of recall (memorization) for *Joke* (*Names – characters – are good to memorize*). *CPR* was reported by 36% to be easy (**Easy to understand because method was divided into several steps** / *A text (that I could) read without thinking / I can remember the text as a whole*). One participant reported ease of recall for *Cinderella* (*Could recall better because I knew the original story*).

As pointed out by Bernhardt (1983), immediate written recalls indicate comprehension effectively and, even though these recalls were not immediate – participants were requested to wait a day or two after reading the texts – it was generally apparent whether they had understood the texts or not. The answer to the riddle in *Mirror* was worked out by 14% of the participants, whereas 64% got the point or were able to give the gist of *Plum* and 79% saw the point of *CPR* and could summarise it in part. More of the participants responded affectively to *Joke* (86%) and to *Cinderella* (79%) than to the other texts (*Mirror* – 7%; *Plum* and *CPR* each 43%). Affective responses included appreciative reactions to the humour in *Joke* (**It's funny** / …**it was funny story** / *It was funny in the end and I enjoyed reading / It was fun to read*). Affective and aesthetic responses for *Cinderella* include *An absurd story / Cinderella was funny and realistic / I enjoyed reading / I like the fact that Cinderella was independent / It was good and I enjoyed it / It was* **weird**. *Plum* evoked aesthetic responses such as *Cute / It's a bit funny also*.

Not all the affective responses were positive. For *CPR*, comments were positive (*What is this picture of a man and a woman? It's kinky* + smiley face), as well as negative (*Not something that can be read with interest*). The negative responses

for *Mirror* were linked to perceived difficulty of comprehension (*The words would not pop in my head* / *I am not that interested in it because it is a poem*). One participant communicated his feelings of initial disengagement and later engagement as he came to understand what *Joke* was about (*When Sherlock Holmes lists things, I got bored and frustrated. The final one line made everything funny*).

Comprehension monitoring

Text comprehension is bolstered by comprehension monitoring strategies such as asking questions and re-reading (*Is it about someone who did bad thing knowingly?*). One participant attempted to get to grips with the overall point of *Plum* by querying authorial intention (*I wonder the purpose of writing this text*). One participant acknowledged the value of discussing *Mirror* with a friend (*When my friend told me it was a mirror, I could understand better*). Re-reading was reported for *Mirror* too (**So I read quite a few times** / *When I first read it, the* **text** *didn't make any sense*).

Participants were reading for overall coherence (*Easy to organize because it is sectioned into* **paragraphs**). Observations on CPR (*How to do CPR on adults and children … Remember the picture* / *Because there was a picture I roughly knew what it was about*) acknowledge the significance of consulting related illustrations, even though they do not indicate metacognitive awareness of coherence construction. An inappropriate framework can be constructed as a result of a title and may need to be changed as more text is read. The participant who commented *I can remember the text as a whole as it was different from what I expected by reading the title in connection with CPR (entitled The Kiss of Life)*, obviously did not have knowledge of the paramedical procedure which predates CPR but did finally understand the text. The realisation that the comprehension framework had to be changed was clear from the comments: *I expected a romantic story because the title was* **"The kiss of life"** *but was disappointed that it was about CPR. Maybe it's the impact of the picture*.

In their answers to the questionnaire 67% of the participants reported having used specific strategies while reading *Joke* and 73% reported having used comprehension strategies for *Mirror*. The same percentage reported having used certain strategies for *Plum*. For both *CPR* and *Cinderella*, all participants reported having used reading strategies.

Discussion

The first research objective was to investigate the nature and extent of first language use among bilingual readers. In the absence of instructions to use a specific language, bilingual readers code-switched in their recalls and responses.

Although there was a definite preference for using the L1 in recalls and responses,

participants used more English for the recalls than for the responses. This may be because they were focussing on textual details and hence used more text language when recalling the texts. The L1 as the preferred recall language suggests that participants may have constructed mental representations of the texts mainly in their L1. This and the predominant use of the L1 in the responses, suggests that participants used their L1 to facilitate and monitor their comprehension of texts read in the L2.

That 23% of possible responses and only 6% of possible recalls were not provided, suggests that responses were experienced as more difficult than recalls. This perceived difficulty may also be why more L1 was used in the responses than in the recalls. For a cognitively demanding activity (responding), the use of the L1 can lower the cognitive load and the use of the L2 can raise it (see Scott & De La Fuente, 2008). The participants may have been attempting to reduce their cognitive loads by using their L1, possibly as a kind of self-scaffolding.

There was no clear correlation between language use and genre. Slightly more text language (L2) was use to recall the poems than to recall other texts, which tentatively indicates that readers might pay more attention to language use in texts which they consider to be literary than in those they read as stories or for information. This aligns with literary reading research findings that proficient readers form stronger surface representatives for literary texts than for other types of texts, saving more of the actual words of the text in the mental representations constructed for literary texts (as discussed above).

The length of texts did not affect the language used, although it might have affected the length of the recalls and responses, since both were longer for *Cinderella* than for the other texts. However, length of text and length of recall and response were not always proportionate. The recalls for both poems were shorter than for the information-based text and the joke. It is possible that many of the perceptions of *Plum* as easy were relative to the perceptions of *Mirror* as difficult (as one participant indicated) and that in fact both poems were comparatively difficult to comprehend and recall. This conclusion is partially supported by the shortness of responses to *Plum* and *Mirror* relative to the length of responses to *Cinderella* and *CPR*, but does not explain why responses to *Joke* were about the same length as those for *Mirror*. That more text language was used to recall both poems – the one deemed difficult to comprehend (*Mirror*) and the one deemed easier to comprehend (*Plum*) – suggests that it was not low levels of comprehension alone which resulted in words from the text being provided as evidence of recall. The percentage of English used was low in both poems for the responses and it may indeed be the case that more English was used for *Mirror* than for other texts in the responses in lieu of providing commentary on the reading of the difficult text. But both poems were apparently relatively difficult to process and therefore also to recall and L2 preference in the recalls for both might reflect that too.

The comprehension and reading of the participants does not appear to have been unduly impaired by limitations of competence in their L2. This may be because they were not constrained to comment in English and were able to use their L1 and to code-switch. For those texts for which individuals reported neither ease nor difficulty in reading, comprehension can be assumed if participants expressed positive affective responses, if they could identify genres, could determine the gist of a text or summarise it, get the point of a text, find a joke funny, appreciate other textual humour, and recognise intertextuality. They gave the gist of most texts. They understood and responded appropriately to the story in *Cinderella* and realised that it was a spoof of a well-known fairy tale. They appreciated the humour and parody in *Joke*. They engaged affectively with textual characters in *Cinderella* and *Joke,* thus displaying a significant aspect of narrative comprehension in story-driven reading. Their comments on the usefulness of the information in *CPR* and their ability to summarise it also point toward comprehension and genre differentiation. They were able to recognise poetry and one of the poems as a riddle. Even for *Mirror* they could identify the genre and comment on form and some meaning. The responses showed that participants liked and partially understood *Plum* which they said was easy, but other data suggest that *Plum* was only easier to process than *Mirror* and not easier to comprehend and process than the other texts.

The participants monitored their comprehension while reading and were possibly continuing to do so while writing the responses. Comprehension monitoring is itself an indicator of comprehension (Kolić-Vehovec & Bajšanski, 2007), and also of a certain skill in reading. The difficulties participants experienced in the comprehension of *Mirror,* for example, did not deter all of them from comprehension monitoring in their attempts to understand it. Participants' voluntary reporting of the use of cognitive reading strategies shows metacognitive awareness which can itself be considered comprehension monitoring.

Bernhardt's (1991) findings that L2 readers did not backtrack to confirm or disconfirm inferences and did not later question the decisions they had made themselves were not supported in this study. In this study bilingual readers were able to comment on their own reading strategies and decisions to indicate that they had re-read parts of texts and some texts in entirety and that they had changed their expectations when these turned out to be inappropriate.

Limitations and some implications for future research

Written responses are not without drawbacks in reading comprehension research as writing about texts can facilitate comprehension (Delayney, 2008). However, since measuring comprehension was not the point of this project, such a limitation is relatively insignificant. Written recalls can also encourage readers to monitor their comprehension and to use their background knowledge (Bernhardt, 1983), and it is possible that there was more comprehension monitoring by these

participants than there might otherwise have been.

Receiving instructions in Korean might have primed participants to use Korean as their preferred language for responses and recalls. The priming might have been diminished by their having been told they could respond in the language of their choice, but future studies may consider using bilingual instructions.

Although there was not a great deal of correlation between textual length and length of recalls and responses, there does seem to have been some relationship and it would be appropriate in future research to use texts of similar length to remove this variable.

For such a small cohort of students it is not feasible to draw very general conclusions. Nonetheless, the findings do provide for some interesting observations. The results indicate that it may be useful to examine the relationship between language of recall and response to textual genre in greater detail in future research and to attempt to determine in which language mental representations are constructed while reading. Future research could also investigate the relationship between perceived comprehension difficulty and language of recall and response in greater detail.

Conclusion

Researchers sometimes promote teaching reading strategies to L2 readers (DuBravac & Dalle, 2002; Phakiti, 2006), but this may not always be necessary. According to Gernsbacher's Structure Building Framework (Gernsbacher & Foertsch, 1999), cognitive processes are the same for all comprehension. Most adults are skilled comprehenders in their L1s and literate, educated adults use effective reading strategies, which they do not have to re-learn, although they may benefit from acquiring metacognitive strategy awareness.

If bilingual readers were free to use their L1s when processing L2 texts, they would be more likely to access their L1 reading skills and existing textual competence. Teachers could encourage learners to process L2 texts in their L1 until they were confident enough to use the L2 exclusively. There is evidence that the use of the L1 facilitates comprehension, and also that changing the learning environment to facilitate comprehension and reduce cognitive load improves learning (McCrudden et al., 2004). Readers can experience high cognitive loads in L2 reading (as discussed above) and the findings of this paper and other studies (Macaro, 2005; Scott & De La Fuente, 2008) suggest that L1 use could decrease the cognitive load for L2 readers. If enhanced general and L2 learning were the result of such a change in classroom environment, this might see even more instances of L1 use to facilitate L2 learning. If learners were aware of the value of code-switching when discussing, recalling, and writing about L2 texts, they might be encouraged to use what can be worthwhile self-scaffolding in their own reading

and studying.

Many individuals who are literate, successful readers in their L1s are (probably erroneously) categorised by teachers as hesitant, struggling L2 readers. In this study, bilinguals of approximately upper-intermediate levels of L2 competence appeared to be able to access higher-level comprehension skills and monitor their comprehension effectively when given opportunities to do so in their L1s. It seems reasonable, then, to classify them as bilingual readers, with the ability to switch between languages as they process written texts.

Acknowledgement

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Appendix A: Texts used

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Appendix B: Questionnaire and cue sheets

Circle the number for each text for which your actions match the following statements. Please add any further comments. Thank you.

1	I deliberately read the title.	1 2 3 4 5
2	I predicted what the text might be about.	1 2 3 4 5
3	I went back and reread certain parts.	1 2 3 4 5
3	I went back and reread certain parts of the text.	1 2 3 4 5
4	I reread the whole text. Comment:	1 2 3 4 5
5	I evaluated the text. (e.g. I thought about whether it was well/not well written). Comment:	1 2 3 4 5
6	The text made me think of some experience of my own or someone else's experience that I know about.	1 2 3 4 5
7	The text made me think of something else I have read or heard before.	1 2 3 4 5
8	I made some notes while I was reading the text.	1 2 3 4 5
9	I looked up the meanings of some words in a dictionary.	1 2 3 4 5
10	I discussed the text with someone else.	1 2 3 4 5
11	I changed my mind about what the text was about while I was reading it.	1 2 3 4 5
12	I tried to predict what the endings would be before I read the text	1 2 3 4 5
13	While I was reading the text, I preferred something else to happen to the character(s). I wished for a certain outcome on behalf of the character(s). Comment:	1 2 3 4 5
14	I sympathized/empathized with the character(s). For example, I felt pity for them or happy on their behalf. Comment:	1 2 3 4 5
15	I can remember having specific thoughts about the ways in which the text was written. Comment:	1 2 3 4 5
	For TEXT 2: Did you realize what the 'I' in the poem was? If you did, when did you realize this? (It was a mirror). Comment:	

(Cue sheets – one for each text, with appropriate spaces for recording recalls and comments/responses)

TEXT 1 Please write…

1. up to 10 words you can recall from the text.
2. what you remember about the text.
3. any other comments you have about the text

REFLECTIONS ON THE PLACE OF CONTENT-BASED INSTRUCTION IN A TERTIARY EAL PROGRAMME

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Abstract

This paper summarises the observations and reflections of a content-based (CB) practitioner and a language development (LD) specialist (also the researcher and the author of this article) on the use of content-based instruction (CBI) in a semester-long Graduate Certificate in English as an Additional Language (GCert EAL) Programme at a tertiary institution in New Zealand over a three-year period. Although the theme-based CBI model works well in combination with LD courses within the programme, there is an obvious need for regular attention to formal language features in the CB courses. The contention is that the sociocultural view of genre and the genre approach used in LD courses, in conjunction with student collaborations in the process of task-based learning, can serve as both a theoretical and a practical platform for successfully integrating grammar instruction into CB courses. Besides, creating a strategy for consistent collaborations between the teachers of the two suites of courses will enable the students to feel the positive results of the links within their programme of study.

Keywords: content-based instruction (CBI), theme-based model, content and language integration.

Introduction: Why reflections?

The rationale for choosing to write an article based on collaborative reflections comes from the wide range of available material about teacher research and reflective teaching (Burns & Richard, 2009; Burton, 2009; Farrell, 2001, 2007), which states that teacher reflection in different forms assumes thoughtful construction of practical knowledge and is therefore considered central to teacher learning processes. Writing is not only a strategy for documenting our thoughts. It is also a composing process, which actually involves reflection (Burton, 2005). Elbow (1994) observed that in the process of writing, it is possible to discover what you think and what you do not know.

Two specialists carried out reflections on the place of CBI in a GCert EAL programme: the CB practitioner and the LD specialist of the programme. The second is also the project researcher and the author of this article. We were guided by Moon's (2000) views that as a stage in experiential learning, reflection involves the following sequence: noticing a concern; clarifying or expressing the concern in

some form; responding to the concern; processing the response; and acting on the insights gained. In our context, that sequence translated itself as: the idea of exploring CBI in an EAL programme; the researcher reviewing the literature and positioning both reflective teachers in response, and designing a methodology of responding to the concern including investigative questions; carrying out our observations and collaborative reflections; and the researcher analysing the data, writing a report based on reflections including any modifications to the courses, and presenting ideas for further research. That was the framework that guided us through the project.

The methodology of processing our response included: weekly one-hour exchanges of observations of the learning going on in the CB sessions, collaborative analysis of teaching materials, lesson observations and reciprocal moderation of CB and LD assessments. The researcher transcribed the reflections and then used open-coding and textual analysis techniques (Ryan & Bernard, 2003) to analyse the transcribed qualitative data. This method aligns with Sandilowski's (1995) in nursing: Key storylines were identified in an attempt to understand everyday practices, and key words were underlined because they made "inchoate" sense (p. 373).

The key-word technique helped the researcher identify the following recurring themes: content knowledge, language development, focus on form/grammar/language skills, task-based teaching, and content and language integration.

Three investigative questions underpin the theorising of the reflections on the role of CB courses in a GCert EAL programme at a tertiary institution in New Zealand:

1. What do we do?
2. What are the advantages of having CBI in a tertiary EAL programme?
3. What are the challenges?

What is CBI?

CBI – other names for which are language and content integrated instruction, content-enhanced teaching, foreign language medium instruction, foreign languages across the curriculum, or learning with languages – is a significant approach in second language acquisition (SLA) (Lasagabaster, 2008; Rodgers, 2006; Snow & Brinton, 1997; Stoller, 2004), designed to provide second-language (L2) learners with concurrent instruction in content and language.

Several definitions of CBI can be found in ESL literature. Davis (2003) defines it as "a teaching method that emphasizes learning about something rather than learning about language" (p.1). Duenas (2004) defines it as a paradigm "centered on fostering student competence in a second or foreign language while advancing in the knowledge of a subject matter" (p. 1). Swain (2000) terms it "collaborative

dialogue" (p. 97) as it integrates traditional lecturing and student interaction. Richards and Rodgers (2001) qualify CBI as "one of the Communicative Language Teaching spin-off approaches" (p.2).

The development of CBI goes back to the 1980s, when it drew on Mohan's (1986) argument that language should not be taught in isolation from content and that "authentic content provided the richest and most natural context for language teaching to occur" (Brinton & Holten, 2001, p. 239). CBI is now widely used in a variety of educational contexts all over the world (Crandall, 2004). The goal of CB courses is to provide a meaningful context for language teaching to occur in. The objectives are drawn from the language, content, and study skills needed in a particular academic context. The curriculum is content driven and delivery is largely based on written texts. Comprehensive input provided through content materials leads to language acquisition (Paltridge, 2004).

CBI models

CBI is used in a variety of models: theme-based courses, adjunct/linked courses, sheltered subject-matter instruction, and second-language medium courses/language across the curriculum (Brinton, Snow, & Wesche, 1989; Crandall, 1993). Each of the models is purposefully designed to answer particular needs, and therefore has its own characteristics and applications.

Reviewing CBI models, Snow (2001) shows how different models constitute a continuum of shifting emphasis on content and language, with "content-driven" approaches being at one end of the continuum, and sheltered subject-area courses and "language-driven" approaches using content mainly as a springboard for language practice at the other end. CBI models that fall somewhere between the end points demonstrate more balanced approaches to students' content and language learning needs: content-and language-integrated courses, adjunct courses (Winter, 2004) and modifications of theme-based courses.

The CBI model usually found in ESL and EFL contexts is *the theme-based model* (Stoller, 2002). The content can be chosen from one subject area or from various topics of a general nature. Readings from textbooks, followed by vocabulary and comprehension exercises, and authentic materials from subject-specific source books, from the internet and media can be used. The goal is to assist learners in developing general academic language skills and skills needed to operate in a content-specific community through interesting and relevant content.

More recent variations of the theme-based model, called *sustained content-based instruction,* or *sustained-content language teaching*, involve efforts to integrate language and content learning in tertiary EAL classes. Pally (2000), Murphy and Byrd (2001), and Murphy and Stoller (2001) report case studies integrating *one* subject area into language classes over a semester. A set of case studies of CBI in

higher educational settings, compiled by Crandall and Kaufman (2002), demonstrate the evolution that initial models have undergone in various contexts.

Theoretical foundations of CBI

CBI is based on three main theories of language: "language is text-and discourse-based", and therefore the focus of language acquisition is on meaning rather than form; "language use draws on integrated skills"; and "language is purposeful" (Davies, 2003, p. 208).

In the light of the first theory, CBI provides the most "contextualised language curricula" (Kasper, 2000) as information is derived from and used in discourse and texts.

In terms of the second theory, the skills of the target language in CBI are not separate from each other, but together are involved in all the activities: reading or listening and taking notes, reading and writing a summary.

The third theory also merits attention. Students of our programme have either academic or professional employment purposes besides the overall communication purpose. Because they concentrate on their goals, they show a lot of motivation. It is therefore important for EAL teachers to move beyond the functional English syllabus, to a content-rich curriculum that prepares EAL students for success in a further content area.

Richards and Rodgers (2001) see the theoretical importance of CBI in learner interaction with "authentic, contextualised, linguistically challenging materials in a communicative and academic context" (p. 4). These authors underline some basic principles of CBI: for successful language learning, the information needs to be perceived as interesting, useful and leading to a desired goal, and the teaching needs to be built on learners' previous experience. Challenging, informative activities keep students motivated and interested, which leads to greater connections between topics and helps students engage with the learning material and recall information better as a result (pp. 209-211). Therefore, teaching and learning approaches often include cooperative learning, whole language learning, literature-based teaching, task-based learning, and case studies (Snow, 1998), which increase attention to academic language and encourage development of thinking and study skills (Crandall, 1994).

Benefits of CBI reported in the literature

A considerable number of studies have reported the benefits of CBI. We will mention only a few here. Adamson (n.d.) reports the results of teaching sociolinguistics in English to tertiary Japanese and Chinese students: the use of collaborative dialogue "has succeeded in ... raising the general class level of

comprehension and, significantly, lowering anxiety about interaction in class" (p. 1). Tsai and Shang (2010) found correlations between CBI and the reading comprehension of EFL sophomores majoring in English at a Taiwanese university. Some of the research on CBI outlines its long-term benefits (Kasper, 1997; Pally, 2000; Song, 2006), reflected in higher success rates in further studies.

Despite the positive effects, CBI has been found a controversial paradigm because teachers often lack specific linguistic knowledge to deliver a language focus (Lorenzo, 2007).

The GCert EAL Programme (What do we do?)

The GCert EAL Programme, established in 2005, is a 60-credit, level 7 qualification consisting of two compulsory courses: Advanced Written English (AWE) and Advanced Spoken English (ASE), and two optional courses out of the following choice: Culture & New Zealand Society-1 (C&NZS-1), Culture & New Zealand Society-2 (C&NZS-2), Employment Language Studies (ELSs), English Language Studies (ELS), Business Writing in International Contexts (BWIC) and Employment in a Globalised World (EGW). Each course is worth 15 credits. The core courses have five contact hours per week each, and the electives have four. The minimum entry requirements are a Bachelor level qualification and an overall IELTS score of 6.5 or equivalent. The students aim at further tertiary study including post-graduate, or at professional employment. All the courses fall into two groups: LD or CB courses. The latter include C&NZS-1, C&NZS-2 and EGW. The LD courses integrate theoretical understanding of language systems and types of language analysis with practical language skills. The CB courses provide insights into areas of New Zealand culture or workplace.

About 60% of the CB class time is spent on *listening* to lectures and taking notes. Listening also happens during workplace and interviewing experiences. *Reading* is extensive. Weekly homework includes 10 to 30 pages from a textbook, a booklet of course readings, or from researched materials, with further independent reading required for assignments. *Writing* is given a special place, following Hyland's (2003) opinion that CBI can be effectively used to teach writing. The tasks require the students to focus on researching, synthesising, and interpreting the new input, on thinking critically and reflecting on their language, content or sociocultural learning. The *speaking* practice includes activities and types of speaking participation which are expected in mainstream tertiary study or in other communities of practice (COP).

However, in both speaking and writing, as a rule, there is a much stronger focus on *what* is said, or on the content of the utterance, than on *how* it is said, or on the accurate and appropriate use of language forms.

A focus on acquiring content-specific *vocabulary*, professional, academic and

jargon, is meant to ensure profound comprehension of subject matter content. This comes from extensive readings and teacher input.

An important focus of the CB courses is the development of *sociocultural skills,* in which a role is played by the choice of topics: the Treaty of Waitangi, the education system, the economy, the Green Movement in New Zealand, the Springbok tour for the cultural courses; talk and humour at work, organisational culture, health and safety, social networking for the employment courses. Many of the topics include a cultural frame or theory: the impact of globalisation, urban versus rural, feminism, Marxism, nationalism, which requires the application of analysing, evaluating, synthesising, comparing, and critiquing skills. The CB courses on culture contain a community placement and EGW contains a work placement component, the purpose of which is to authenticate the learning process by bringing the learner into close touch with their future COP.

What are the advantages of having CBI on the programme?

The following is a summary of the analysis of the impact of the CB courses on the students and the programme.

First of all, our CB courses help students understand some of the basic aspects of how language is used in a COP, the EGW course mimicking the context of a workplace COP and the cultural courses mimicking the COP of mainstream cultural or social studies. As a result, the very presence of CB courses in the programme raises its face validity as our EAL students see its highest value in this close connection with life reality and in the opportunity to catch up with mainstream students' background subject knowledge and knowledge of the academic culture.

Secondly, in the delivery of the CB courses, much emphasis is placed on students' collaboration in the process of co-constructing knowledge. We feel that this approach to CB courses may be a transfer from EAL methodology. This thought finds confirmation in literature. Thus, Senior (1997) calls students' collaborations in CBI "bonded" groups (p.3), and Miller (2002) "communities of learners" (p.149). Adamson (n. d.) stresses that collaborative learning is a new study skill for CB classes as the expected mode of learning content is via lectures; so this shift from traditional lecturing to students' active participation encourages cognitive flexibility (Mohammed, 1997) – another offering of CBI, beneficial for students.

An important pragmatic factor in using student collaborations is our observation that those students who dislike speaking directly to the teacher more readily express themselves in groups of classmates. This is where the lowered anxiety in CB courses that Adamson (n. d.) reports may be coming from. There is little doubt that the lowered anxiety characteristic of group work enhances enthusiasm and

motivation as students become aware of their ability to verbalise their knowledge and to help each other. One more factor that adds to the overall motivational power of CBI for students is the challenge they face when working with authentic content and materials, which make learning more meaningful, purposeful, and situated (Brinton, Snow & Wesche, 1989).

The emphasis on learner collaborations described above has sociolinguistic theory as its theoretical base. As the same sociolinguistic theory is the theoretical base for our LD pedagogy too, we could possibly exploit it more to bring the two groups of courses together into a more cohesive programme and to enable the students to see the two sets of courses as parts of an entity rather than in separation from each other.

Another theoretical platform for the presence of CBI in the programme and for links and collaboration between LD and CB courses is the recent development of sociocultural theory concluding that language, ethnicity and identity, which are key concepts of CBI, are integral to L2 learning (Franson & Holliday, 2009).

An analysis of the CBI model used on the programme has led me to believe that it does not completely align with any of the known CBI models. However, from the descriptions given above and also because each of the CB courses explores one content area simulating a mainstream university-level course, I conclude that what is being used on our programme is an approximation of the modification of the theme-based model called *sustained content-based instruction*. The content is given major prominence and the analysis of the reflective data raises the question whether the content is used sufficiently as a vehicle for language learning and in fact whether sufficient explicit instruction in language occurs for these courses to be classified as a variation of the theme-based model. This question is explored in the next section of this article. In the meantime, the use of an approximation of a model to answer the requirements of a particular context and learner type may be testimony to the fact that there can be models other than the generally recognised ones or their modifications already described in literature, testimony to the flexibility of CBI as an approach at tertiary level.

Challenges in CBI

Several key issues, generic to CBI, arise in our particular context too. One is the role of the language teacher in relation to content, that is, whose job is it to deliver CB courses? Do language teachers have the expertise and confidence to teach subject-specific conventions or should these be left to subject specialists (Paltridge, 2004)?

Another issue is deciding on principles of selecting the content to include in CB courses. To what extent does the classroom content need to be guided by what is valued in the academic or professional community? One guiding principle for the

choice of materials on our CB courses has been the interests and needs of particular groups of students. However, the question remains to what extent we have been in line with the current trends in the related professional communities. There may be a need to correlate students' expectations of content to the actual expectations in the communities those students aim to become participants of.

And finally, the most important issue for us is the place of grammar in CB courses. Very often CB courses have a low focus on formal features of language. Brinton and Holten (2001) conclude that teachers are remiss if they do not meet the students' grammar needs and that CB curricula need to pay more systematic and principled attention to language instruction.

It is easy to notice how the students' low language proficiency levels cause them difficulty in understanding the required course readings and how lack of explicit attention to language form becomes an obstacle to faster development of language skills. The area in which the language proficiency deficiency comes out even more strongly is writing. As a result, in the course of this reflective project, to answer the needs of the learners, the content lecturer arrived at the decision to devote time to aspects of academic writing, particularly sentence-level grammatical issues – something previously not perceived as necessary in the CB courses of the programme. It is interesting to note how collaboration with the LD deliverer has changed the approach to the curriculum of the CB courses in an attempt to answer students' needs.

Aware of their slow language development, students themselves often explicitly state their need for more attention to grammar. Given this obvious need, why are we still failing to incorporate grammar work consistently into our CB courses? There could be two possible answers to this question. One relates to the challenge of finding an approach to grammar instruction appropriate for CB courses. The other one has to do with the difficulty of finding principles for selecting the grammar structures to focus on.

To answer the second question, the grammar structures can come from the reading or listening materials. They can also be determined by the students' language needs: either needs for their written tasks or by the needs identified in teacher feedback to written output. A new approach to curriculum adopted by the institution encourages student voices to be heard. The problem though is that students often have differing opinions about the amount and type of grammar instruction that they find useful. It is often the students' proficiency levels that appear to influence their expectations and preferences with regard to grammar instruction and it is the more proficient ones that are more often dissatisfied with their use of grammar (awareness is naturally an attribute of a higher level). This observation is confirmed by Brinton and Holten's research (2001). A further complication of this is that in our CB courses we have both international and New Zealand resident students, two groups whose L2 needs and expectations often

differ considerably.

My analysis of our reflections eventually led to the conclusion that modification of the CB courses involving systematic integration of grammar would be necessary and appropriate for several reasons. Firstly, the rich language context provided by CB reading and listening materials offers potential for effective grammar instruction. Secondly, the only way to comprehend and convey content is through language. Our primary job therefore is to teach language, and the reason our students are in our courses is their need of higher language proficiency.

A two-fold approach to grammar instruction in the CB courses appears appropriate: through work on errors in students' output and through focusing on form in tasks based on text content.

One of the main challenges however is *how* to focus on language form in an effective way given the need to focus also on content and on study skills within a limited time. Compliance with SLA research means drawing learners' attention to linguistic form without isolating it from its meaningful context (Basturkmen, Loewen & Ellis, 2004; Ellis, 2009). Therefore, close-ended information exchanges within collaborative activities aimed at fulfilling a meaningful task can serve this purpose. In fulfilling such tasks, learners have to pull together their resources to reconstruct a text or to resolve a problem. Segments of learner interaction in which they negotiate the use of a linguistic form needed to carry out a given task are called Language-Related Episodes (LREs) (Leeser, 2004). In LREs learners often question the meaning or the correctness of a grammatical form. Thus LREs indicate to the learner the gaps in their interlanguage. This kind of attention to form helps the students understand the relationship between form, meaning and the function of the form in the context of a meaningful task in the course of their collaborative work on it.

It is logical to suppose that learners' language proficiency will influence the types of LREs that arise in a collaborative task. Leeser's (2004) research revealed that the proficiency of the dyad members and the groupings of students by their relative proficiency (high-high, high-low, or low-low) affected how much the dyads focused on form, the types of forms they focused on as well as how successful they were at resolving the language problems they encountered during a passage reconstruction task in a CB course.

As the majority of CB lessons should be task-based, the described way of attending to form can be effective for raising the learners' language proficiency.

A strong platform for such a task-based approach across the curriculum of programmes like ours can be provided by the study of genre features that goes on within the LD courses as those will help determine the language focus needed for fulfilling certain tasks: essays, reports, job applications and others. This is an

opportunity for both form-function matching and the use of grammar to achieve the fulfilment of a task. However, research is needed to confirm the benefit of this approach for combined CB/LD tertiary learners and to explore how it could be best implemented.

Research will also have to answer several more detailed questions related to the use of student collaborations when fulfilling a task in our CB courses. Firstly, what would be a sufficient number of tasks for students to resolve collaboratively in order to ensure the occurrence of LREs? Secondly, have the students really been encouraged to develop a "culture" of paying attention to form when fulfilling those collaborative tasks and what are the ways of developing such a culture? Thirdly, do Leeser's findings regarding the pairing of students for collaborative tasks, which have such clear pedagogical implications overall, apply to a tertiary EAL programme combining LD and CBI?

Developing a collaboration strategy

How can coordination of instruction and assessment, and collaboration between content and language instructors on an EAL tertiary programme consisting of two distinct strands be best provided in order to fully answer the students' needs? I contend that an overall strategy for such collaboration must be developed. It should include a focus on the following: both the LD and the CB staff's familiarity with the content, assessment and resources of both the strands in order to streamline the curriculum and assessment; the use of an identical approach to integrating the theoretical component into the courses, of appropriate types of language analysis and of the same meta-language across the programme; the development of reflective and critical thinking skills; and the use of formal language properties in task fulfilment.

One example of the need of such a strategy is in the area of course design, curriculum content and assessment. While both the strands have what is now called "democratic" assessment items, such as performance-based, ongoing portfolios and projects, it is only the LD courses which have timed class final exams too. In the meantime, final exam results could be a good indication of the learners' achievement as an outcome of performance on the CB courses too. They would be meaningful for the learner in the first place.

Another application of the collaboration strategy arises from the fact that the LD courses feature a clear genre-based approach. For example, the Advanced Written English portfolio includes pieces of writing in a variety of genres following their schematic structures and using language features characteristic of these genres: essays, reviews, genres of professional and civic writing. If genre distinctions were reinforced in the CB courses, the study of genre would acquire an even more real-life meaning to the learners, particularly given the cultural component present in the notion of genre. However, research is needed to give answers to questions

on the usefulness of the same assessment types and on the use of a more focused approach to genre analysis in CB courses.

There are certain aspects and elements of the two strands that could serve the students' needs better if coordinated in the framework of the new strategy. For example, as pointed out before, the CB courses come closest to authentic contexts of the related communities of practice. The portfolios of the LD courses have been developed for the same purpose and so have become parts of LD closest in nature to the CB courses. What benefits could the students gain from such a similarity in the nature of the two aspects of their work? This can be one of the questions that research could be asked to answer.

A further question relates to the use of several types of text analysis across the programme. Does this impact the learners in a good or bad way? A glossary of linguistic terminology has been compiled and is in use across the programme. However, what purpose does the variety of text analysis approaches pursue? Would one approach not be sufficient for the development of critical engagement with a text?

The application of the collaboration strategy between courses on the programme should lead to the important sociological concepts of norm, values, status, cultural dislocation, ethnicity, or issues of globalised employment, which are the subject of acquisition in CB courses, being integrated into written and spoken texts or assignments in the LD courses. Again, research will answer the question about the impact this will have on learners' success.

Another question for further research to answer is how collaboration between the two sets of courses could foster the development of effective learning strategies. What cognitive, linguistic and social strategies can ensure a balanced acquisition of content and language skills on a tertiary EAL programme with CBI?

In many instances, particularly in assessments, it can be difficult to "separate conceptual understanding from linguistic proficiency" (Crandall, 1993). Does this mean that there is the danger that CBI can assist in fossilising learners' flaws in language use? What is the right balance between language and content within CB courses as well as between CB and LD courses for the learners' successful advancement in both the content and the language areas and is this balance measurable?

Conclusion

The data collated in the course of this study via collaborative teacher reflections aimed at answering three investigative questions on the use of CBI within a tertiary EAL programme. The following three points summarise an attempt to answer the investigative questions.

1. What do we do? The evidence obtained via the described reflections shows that the programme uses a modification of the theme-based CBI model, called sustained content-based instruction, which allows close integration of content and language objectives within CB courses.

2. What are the advantages of having CBI in a tertiary EAL programme? My analysis of the data testifies to the usefulness of CBI in a tertiary EAL programme as adult students value courses linked to their real-life future challenges. I evaluate CBI as a motivating and anxiety-lowering teaching model, which leads to students acquiring ownership of their learning process. An increase of learner motivation is observed when students are learning about something rather than just studying language, and authentic content and materials make learning more meaningful and purposeful.

One of the major benefits of employing CBI in combination with LD courses on tertiary EAL programmes is the opportunity to use sociolinguistic theory as a common platform for the two sets of courses to complement each other and to build a cohesive entity rather than to be seen by students in separation from each other.

3. What are the challenges? In programme and course design, and in delivery, instructors should consider their content, linguistic and study skills development objectives, and there can be a problem if the teacher is too concerned with the content area and neglects teaching related language skills. Systematic integration of focus on language form is necessary, as the main purpose of CBI, particularly its theme-based models, is to enhance English language development through content areas, not content learning per se and so the language learning aspect should take equal priority with the content learning one. However, decisions are needed on how to integrate a focus-on-form approach into CB courses. An answer to the challenge can be a task-based approach across the curriculum of the programme with the use of LREs for students to resolve collaboratively. However, research is needed to confirm the benefit of this approach and to explore how it could be best implemented.

Among the issues of CBI integrated into a tertiary EAL programme is a clear need for developing strategies for ongoing collaborations with LD courses' deliverers, and task-based teaching in conjunction with genre studies based on the socio-cultural view of genre can serve as the theoretical and practical base for such collaborations.

In conclusion, I believe that the ultimate place of CBI in tertiary EAL teaching is still to be identified by research. There is a need to evaluate the overall effectiveness of CBI combined with LD courses in a tertiary context, to specify optimal conditions for its use and the use of various instructional and assessment strategies, and to find a perfect fit between content and language components, the right proportional distribution of time between LD and CB courses.

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SHORT REPORTS

A RESEARCH PROJECT ON NICKNAMES AND ADOLESCENT IDENTITIES

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There are many different types of naming practices, of which personal naming is one. In most personal naming practices, names are assigned and the holder has little or no control over their designation and use. By contrast, nicknames are designated through life, providing the users with a powerful tool for both self and other identification. Most nicknames relate to the personal attributes of the user, and as such, create expectations about the user. These can contribute to both positive and negative views of self and others and are often inaccurate (de Klerk & Bosch 1996, p. 526). Although cultural differences exist (cf. Liao, 2006 for Taiwanese; Wardat, 1997 for Jordanian Arabic), typologies of nicknames claim that they tend to cluster into specific categories (Crozier, 2002; Crozier & Dimmock, 1999; de Klerk & Bosch, 1996). Nicknames tend to relate to the users' physical characteristics, such as their weight, height, or hair colour or to the users' personal habits and traits, often aptitude or lack thereof. Some relate to personal histories including cultural or racial background, while others include play on rhymes or hypocoristic renditions of personal or family names (e.g. Smithy). Renditions of names include commonly accepted forms (e.g. Beth) and those which are more unique to the user (e.g. Be). Wierzbicka (1992) argues that important pragmatic differences exist between standardised and less-standardised forms of personal names and the two should be considered separately. Our proposed study includes all forms of nicknames, as we believe that these fulfil a similar function, to identify the user. Moreover, in many domains, forms of personal names are often the most frequent type of nickname (cf. Bechar-Israeli, 1995 for internet use).

The sociological studies of nicknaming practices have shown that naming practices are often associated with domains of language use. For example, nicknaming practices are frequent in gangs (Rymes, 1996; Zaitzow, 1998), the army (Potter, 2007), in sport teams (Kennedy & Zamuner, 2006; Skipper, 1984; Wilson & Skipper, 1990), in political arenas (Adams, 2008, 2009; Gladkova, 2003; Lieberson, 2007), and within the family (Blum-Kulka & Katriel, 1991; Goicu, 2008; Goitein, 1970). The majority of research has focused on nicknaming in the domain of the school (Back, 1991; Crozier & Dimmock, 1999; Eliasson, Laflamme & Isaksson, 2005; Kepenecki & Cinkir, 2006; Kolawole, Otuyemi & Adeosun, 2009; Thomas, 1985), yet to our knowledge, no research has been conducted on nicknaming practices in schools in Australia or New Zealand. Research that can fill this gap can potentially develop deeper understanding of adolescent naming practices and has the potential to help interpret the belief systems of student populations. Research data on nicknames can also be used to

educate students on potential differences in attitudes about naming practices within the school community and help student wellbeing. The following paper surveys the literature on nicknames, noting in particular gaps which exist in the Australian and New Zealand context. The paper ends with a short overview of a proposed nickname project on Australian nicknames in schools and some suggestions for potential cross-Tasman research.

Prior literature

Nicknames have been the subject of extensive investigation in a wide variety of languages, including English (Chevalier, 2004, 2006; Glazier, 1987), Icelandic (Wilson, 2008), Spanish (Brandes, 1975; Fernandez, 2008; Gilmore, 1982), Russian (Drannikova, 2006; Shcherbak, 2006; Superanskaya, 2003), Lithuanian (Butkus, 1999), German (Koss, 2006), Xhosa (de Klerk & Bosch, 1997), Zulu (Molefe, 2001), Chinese (Wong, 2007), Arabic (Haggan, 2008; Wardat, 1997), Greek (Lytra, 2003), and indigenous languages in Mexico and Australia (Collier & Bricker, 1970; Nicholls, 1995). The linguistic analysis of nicknames tends to focus on its phonological aspects (Liao, 2006) and on the word formation processes involved in nicknaming (Kennedy & Zamuner, 2006). As mentioned earlier, there is also a wealth of studies on typological classifications. To a limited extent, nickname studies have also considered what nickname usage reveals about the characteristics of the bearers and their role in society (McDowell, 1981; Wilson & Skipper, 1990). The majority of the latter studies, which focus on social aspects of naming practices, are published outside of the field of linguistics in sociological and educational journals, or in the fields of health and well-being.

Another noticeable feature of the current state of research on nicknaming is that although there is a wealth of information about nicknaming practices in different cultures worldwide, little information exists on minority communities within these cultures. Studies which do investigate minority cultures do so in isolation from their greater sociopolitical context. Studies of minority groups, such as Brandes' (1975) study of nicknames in a Castilian village, focus on community practices and do not consider naming practices with the wider dominant population in which minority communities reside, creating a picture of naming practices within rather than across communities.

The lack of cross-community analyses of nicknaming practices thus runs against a common theme in the sociological conceptualisation of nicknaming as a two-way interaction centred on the individual(s) being named and on those doing the name calling (Brandes, 1975; Gilmore, 1982; Fernandes, 2008; Superanskaya, 2003). The interaction is a complicated one because of the dual connotations, both positive and negative, and the rules associated with who has the right to use a nickname. Our final point concerns the educational literature, which is somewhat slanted in its portrayal of nickname use. Studies which consider the sociocultural use of nicknames tend to focus on their negative connotations, often in association

with bullying and name-calling behaviour (cf. Kepenekci & Cinkir, 2006; Kolawole *et. al.,* 2009). Although the focus is often on the negative effects of nicknames, some studies do attend to the total repertoire of use (Busse, 1983), while a restricted few focus only on the positive nicknaming practices which help express warmth, affection, or build solidarity (e.g., Mendler, 2001; Pearson, 1988).

There have been few studies on naming practices in the Australian or New Zealand context. In a study of hypocoristic forms in New Zealand and Australia, Bardsley & Simpson (2009) include personal names in their analysis. In an analysis of the pragmatic force associated with personal names, Wierzbecka (1992) draws on data from the Australian context, and Poyton (1990) and Taylor's (1992) studies of naming practices and address terms use Australian English as a database. The latter provide useful information on personal naming classifications as well as insights on naming in Australia. Of particular note is Poyton's distinction between name-based nicknames (based around the addressee's given or surname), addressee-based (based on attributes of the addressee) and event-based nicknames, derived from a "significant incident" in the person's life. Chevalier (2006, p. 133) draws on this work for her analysis of nickname use, described below.

The only detailed study on Australian nicknames was conducted by Chevalier (2004, 2006), who completed a detailed study of the naming practices of Sydney residents based on data from 304 interviews. She surveyed the naming practices of adults and their family members, reporting on data from 498 individuals in total. The study is useful in that it involves a substantial number of nicknames (1,207) and includes a detailed analysis of nickname types in this sample. Chevalier's study contains information on the gender, age, occupation and birthplace as well as the home languages of the speakers, their parents and their grandparents. Although the participant sample is divided equally on the basis of age, gender and to a certain extent occupation, it is less structured for ethnicity due to the relatively low number of participants from non-English speaking backgrounds and to the coding strategies employed. The language backgrounds of the participants, their parents and their grandparents were often combined, thus making both the distinctions and interrelationships between ethnic identity and language difficult to interpret.

Chevalier's study considers both given names and nicknames and therefore provides a useful point of departure when considering coding in future studies. Although her study makes some reference to pet names, other nomenclatures are not considered (i.e., ethnonyms, ethnic labels, and self-labels). A survey of the literature reveals that the latter terms are confined to the analysis of different discipline areas, many of which deal with interesting sociolinguistic issues relating to ethnicity and language use (cf. Lee, 2009).

To our knowledge, these are the only studies of naming practices in Australia, and

most of these do little to focus on the naming practices of young people, even though it is widely accepted that such language practices can have both positive and negative effects on adolescents' perceptions of themselves and others.

Our study

There are several important differences between Chevalier's study and the present study. First and foremost, they differ in their context: Chevalier's work focused on adults while the present study is centred on adolescents. Very little information is available on the naming practices of Australian youth. A deeper understanding of Australian adolescent naming practices highlights potential differences in the belief systems within the student population and can be used to educate students on potential differences in attitudes about naming practices within the school community and student well-being. To provide a deeper understanding of student beliefs, the project also explores potential differences amongst students entering and exiting high school to investigate whether adolescent naming practices and views about language remain constant throughout schooling.

Second, our study is concerned with ethnic differences: Although Chevalier noted several differences in the type of nicknames employed by overseas-born individuals, a systematic analysis of ethnic differences in nicknaming is not the focus of Chevalier's study. Worldwide, few studies mention nickname use in ethnic groups in immigrant communities or ethnic differences within school contexts. Consequently, little is known is about whether students from different ethnic backgrounds use and understand nicknames in similar ways. Our analysis has the potential to add to our understandings of the role of nicknames in the lives of adolescents from different ethnic backgrounds in Australia.

Australia is a multilingual and multicultural society. Despite widespread language shift to English amongst indigenous and immigrant communities, data from the 2006 census reveal that some 350 languages continue to be regularly used in Australian homes; 150-155 of these are Aboriginal languages (Clyne, Hajek, & Kipp, 2008). Approximately 17% of Australians report that their dominant language is not English, implying that the numbers using a language other than English on a regular basis is higher (Lo Bianco, 2009). Australia is internationally well-regarded for its commitment to an inclusive policy of multiculturalism and despite various policy swings and shifts, this commitment has informed the social and educational policy agenda since the 1970s (see Liddicoat, 1996, 2009; Lo Bianco, 2009; Scarino & Papademetre, 2001 for summaries and critiques of the changing face of Australian multicultural ideology). Education policy documents acknowledge the value of linguistic and cultural diversity, recognising that cultural and linguistic sensitivity are essential for engagement and participation in the local, regional, and international communities of the twenty-first century (see, e.g. MCETYA, 2005). Intercultural knowledge and skills are also widely recognised in policy documents as having great importance in the enduringly pluralistic

Australian society and in a multilingual world (Lo Bianco, 2009). Set against this context, our study hopes to contribute to disseminating intercultural proficiency and building intercultural awareness amongst Australian high school students.

Finally, Chevalier notes that the study of names and nicknames is often demoted to a secondary position in linguistics. Chevalier's arguments are based on associative meaning rather than on the interrelationship between nicknames and other aspects of language. We acknowledge that research to date which examines nicknames tends to isolate nicknames from other aspects of language and we agree with Chevalier that the study of names and nicknames needs to be placed within a broad linguistic context. The project attempts to go one step further to achieve this goal. It provides an initial exploration into the role of language in the representation of identity with a specific focus on how naming practices relate to other aspects of language use including language background and views about English, including views about pronunciation (cf. appendix for details). We outline our project below.

Methodology

A great number of frameworks for investigating nicknames have been employed in disciplinary fields from Educational Psychology through Sociology to Linguistics as well as a range of methodologies from questionnaires (Crozier, 2002) and interviews, to recollections (Crozier & Skilopidou, 2002), to the exploration of student yearbooks (Liao, 2006). As this study is exploratory in nature, it uses as its primary research tool a written self-administered questionnaire. The research instrument is a five-page questionnaire administered to students entering High school in Victoria and Queensland and those in the second to final year. Year 11 students study Australian language and identity as part of their English curriculum. The research partners have therefore assumed that both students and their teachers might be more receptive to the research. Schools are also reluctant for students to be distracted in their final year of studies and for this reason, the target students are pre-final rather than final-year students.

The questionnaire contains three sections: (1) Naming Practices; (2) Attitudes Towards Australian English; and (3) Background Information. Each section consists of a combination of closed responses, with boxes for students to add optional additional information and comments (see Appendix). Section 1 focuses on the use of nicknames, the semantic categories, the form of the words, and the values these contain. These questions serve to elicit detailed information about nickname use. They are also designed to serve as an initial student awareness-raising exercise, encouraging students to place nicknames into categories and to evaluate how they are perceived; a subsidiary aim therefore is to open avenues for future discussion.

Section 2 considers how adolescents view other aspects of Australian English and seeks to find out whether there are overlaps between the views of language (accent, Australian identity) and nicknaming practices. Section 3 provides background information about the participants, their age, and ethnicity and residence history in Australia. This section of the questionnaire allows for a deeper understanding of the ethnic and age-graded differences amongst our participants.

The data will be cross-tabulated to evaluate whether entering and exiting students vary in their naming strategies and language attitudes, the extent to which immigrants are aware of naming strategies and the extent to which their awareness may be related to attitudes towards Australian English. This information will be followed up with detailed analyses based around focus-group discussions and the findings will be reported back to the school communities.

Conclusion

Although the study is in its initial stages, there are many ways in which the study could be expanded to enable comparisons between New Zealand and Australia. Both countries share similarities in their history and cultures, and both employ a heavy use of hypocoristic forms of personal names (Bardsley & Simpson, 2009). Both countries are experiencing increasing multiculturalism and schools are becoming increasingly diverse in their student populations. Although this study reports on the research plan for the Australian context, a similar study could be usefully employed to explore New Zealand nicknames. Another fruitful area of study would be cross-Tasman usage within and across dominant and minority communities to help develop a better understanding of how naming practices affect today's youth and how they transcend national boundaries.

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Appendix

Nicknames, Identity and Language Questionnaire

SECTION 1: NICKNAMES

We would like to know about nicknames. Many students have nicknames. A nickname usually refers to some aspect of a person's traits.

Think about nicknames for people you know. **In the table below**:

    (1) write their nicknames and state what their nickname refers to

    (2) categorise the nickname as **P B E N** or **O**

        P   'refers to a physical trait such as hair colour'

        B   'refers to a where the person is from'

        E   'refers to the person's emotions'

        N   'refers to variation on the person's given or surname'

        O   'something else'

Remember to circle whether the nickname is a **positive, neutral** or **negativ**e term for you.

You may give more than one response *(neutral in some contexts, negative in others).*

Some examples

Nickname	Refers to?	Trait Type	Evaluation
Pom	from England	Background (B)	☺
Bubbles	easily excited	Emotional (E)	☺ and ☹
Jonsy	Surname Jones	Name (N)	☺

1. *Please fill in as many names as you can.*

Nickname	Refers to?	Trait Type (B, P, E, N, O)	Evaluation *(Circle one or more)*		
			☺	☺	☹
			☺	☺	☹
			☺	☺	☹
			☺	☺	☹
			☺	☺	☹
			☺	☺	☹

3.   **If** you have a nickname, tell us what your nickname **refers to** and **how you feel** about it. (Please, **don't** *tell us your nickname. We don't want to be able to identify you from your questionnaire responses*)

1.   Have your friends ever talked about the way YOU speak English?

        YES   OR   **NO**

        If **YES**, tell me what they have commented on.

2.   If you moved to another country, how important would it be for you to keep your Australian accent? Circle one.

     A.   **Extremely** important. It reflects who I am.
     B.   **Important.** Australians need to speak like Australians. It is where we are from.
     C.   **Not Important.** It doesn't matter. English is English!

If you feel you have more to say about this issue, feel free to write more in the box. **O**therwise **move on to the next question.**

2.   Do you think all Australians *[no matter where they were born]* should try to speak English with an Australian accent?

      YES   OR   **NO**

If you feel you have more to say about this issue, feel free to write more in the box. **Otherwise move on to the next question.**

4.   Do you think it is important for Australian migrants to learn Aussie terms such as "**sunnies**", "**thongs**", "**G'day mate**" and "**arvo**"?

      YES   OR   **NO**

If you feel you have something more to say about this issue, feel free to write more in the box. **Otherwise move on to the next question**.

5.   Do you think it is important for Australian migrants to be able to speak English before they move to Australia?

      YES   OR   **NO**

If you feel you have more to say about this issue, feel free to write more in the box. **O**therwise **move on to the next question.**

6.   When you think about "**Australian English**", tell me the first three things that come into your mind.

SECTION 3: BACKGROUND INFORMATION
I'd like to know a little more about yourself and the languages you and your family speak.

First, tell us about your family

1. Which country were your caregivers (i.e., your parents or legal guardians) born? (You may circle **more than one**)

       SAME AS ME
       DIFFERENT FROM ME

If one or more of your caregivers were born in a **different country than you,** provide details below

2.   A.   In what language**/s** do your caregivers speak to each other?
_____

     B.   **If your caregivers speak more than one language**, what is the language they use most of the time?
_____

Now tell us about yourself

3.   In which country were **you** born? _____

4.   What was the **first** language you learned to speak? _____

5.   What language do you speak **most of the time** now? _____

6.   In what languages can you talk about a **lot** of different things (e.g., English)?
Language 1: _____
Language 2: _____
Any other languages? _____

7.   Do you think of yourself as:
    A.   Australian
    B.   Mostly Australian and a bit of another nationality
    C.   Mostly another nationality and some Australian

8.   If someone asks you "*where are you from*", how do you answer this question, and why?

9.   What do you think is important in a friend?

A.	The way they dress	YES	NO
B.	The way they think	YES	NO
C.	The way they talk	YES	NO
D.	The way they act	YES	NO
E.	Who their friends are	YES	NO
F.	Where they are from	YES	NO

If you have anything else to add, please do so.

Thank you sooooo much for taking time to answer these questions for us!!

ESL STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF PRONUNCIATION INSTRUCTION IN INNER CIRCLE COUNTRIES

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Introduction

This report summarizes an article originally published under the title "ESL learners' attitudes toward pronunciation instruction and varieties of English" for the *2010 Proceedings of Pronunciation in Second Language Learning and Teaching* (Kang, 2010). It is being summarized here as it may be of interest to a New Zealand audience. In addition, further statistical tests performed on the data are reported to provide an explicit account of potential relationships between participants' backgrounds and their survey responses.

Kachru's (1982) three concentric circles (the inner circle, the outer circle, and the expanding circle) have become the standard framework of World Englishes studies. In the inner circle, including New Zealand, English is spoken as a first (native) language (ENL); in the outer circle, English is spoken as a second language (ESL); and in the expanding circle, English is spoken as a foreign language (EFL). Recently, scholars have argued that the focus of international English should be on mutual intelligibility (Canagarajah, 2006; Sharifian, 2009; Yano, 2001). As claimed in the original article (Kang, 2010), however, ESL learners still tend to set inner-circle standards for their own speech (e.g., Derwing, 2003; Li, 2009; Scales, Wennerstrom, Richard, & Wu, 2006). Moreover, ENL students may even favor more prestigious inner-circle models over others. Bayard, Callois, Weatherall, and Pittam (2001) investigated evaluations of New Zealand English (NZE), Australian English (AusE), General American (GA), and Received Pronunciation (RP) English voices by over 400 students in New Zealand, Australia, and the United States. They reported that even in New Zealand, the American accent was rated more favorably and was even replacing RP as the prestige accent.

Much research has investigated ESL students' perception of their needs and expectations of pronunciation instruction (Burgess & Spencer, 2000; Derwing & Rossiter, 2002; Derwing, 2003). Participants in most studies reported that pronunciation was a major factor to their communication problems, but that they did not receive sufficient pronunciation instruction. In fact, good pronunciation programs taught by professionally trained instructors may not be available (Breitkreutz, Derwing, & Rossiter, 2001; Derwing & Munro, 2005; Derwing et al., 2011; MacDonald, 2002). Teachers may lack confidence in pronunciation instruction (Burgess & Spencer, 2000; Derwing et al., 2011), and sometimes may misunderstand what learners expect from their instruction. At the same time,

learners may experience difficulty simply by being exposed to different varieties of English because they may not know which model to follow. This short report summarizes findings of a large study which investigated ESL learners' expectations of their pronunciation study and their attitudes toward instructors' accent varieties in two countries: New Zealand and the United States.

Method

Participants

Kang's (2010) original study included 238 adult ESL students from language institutes in New Zealand (115 participants) and the United States. (123 participants). ESL programs included either conversation/speaking classes or listening/speaking classes, but none of them consisted of stand-alone pronunciation classes. Participants were 161 females and 77 males aged from 19 to 40. The majority of the participants had an East-Asian language background. Detailed demographic information is shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Demographics of Participants in N.Z. and the U.S.

L1	NZ F=84, M=31			US F=77, M=46			Total
	Beginner	Inter-mediate	Advanced	Beginner	Inter-mediate	Advanced	
Mandarin	6	12	8	8	18	12	64
Korean	5	17	6	4	11	15	58
Cantonese		2	1	2			5
Japanese	8	12	4	6	10	2	42
Thai	2	5	2		1		10
Vietnamese	2	4					6
Tamil			3				3
Hindi			5				5
Arabic	1			4	7	4	16
Spanish		5		6	8	2	21
Turkey		4				2	6
French	1						1
Russian						1	1
German			1				1
Subtotal	25	61	29	30	55	38	238

English proficiency was self-reported by participants themselves; that is, no standardized proficiency scores were collected as they came from various ESL program backgrounds. In New Zealand, 22% placed themselves at beginner level, 53% at intermediate, and 25% at high-intermediate and advanced. In the United States, 24% were at beginner level, 45% at intermediate, and 31% at high-intermediate and advanced. Twenty-five of those participants provided additional interview comments.

The main reason judged most important by students for coming to New Zealand was based on economic benefits: 60% reported that they went to New Zealand to study English because "it's cheap". The most central reason for students to go to the United States was "getting training in their fields" or "getting a degree". Students in the United States appeared to be more instrumentally motivated than those in New Zealand.

Procedures

A survey instrument was adopted from Derwing's (2003) accent questionnaire and further developed through a pilot study (see more in Kang, 2010, pp. 107-108). It was comprised of 10 items of scalar judgments on six-point scales (1 = strongly disagree, 6 = strongly agree, and NA = not applicable) and 10 open-ended prompts in which the respondents were asked for expectations regarding their pronunciation lessons and their attitudes toward ESL instructors in New Zealand or in the United States. In order to gain further insights into participants' rationale for providing responses to questions in the survey, face-to-face interviews were conducted. All the interview responses were recorded and transcribed.

Results

A one-way ANOVA was computed to examine any difference in responses for each of the three proficiency levels. Results revealed that none of the response scores significantly differed across the proficiency levels in either New Zealand ($F_{2, 111} < 1.19$, $p > .05$) or in the United States ($F_{2, 120} < 2.73$, $p > .05$). In order to examine any pattern in participants' responses across their L1 backgrounds, a point-biserial correlation analysis was computed. No significant relationships were revealed between L1 backgrounds and most of the participants' response scores in both New Zealand and the United States. One exception was found with Likert scale Item 7, "*If I have good pronunciation, I will be more confident in English*" ($p=0.009$, $r_{pb}=2.28$), from respondents in the United States. That is, Chinese and Spanish students tended to relate pronunciation improvement to confidence in English more than Korean or Japanese students.

The Mann-Whitney U-test was computed in Kang's (2010) original paper for the comparison of the scalar judgment of respondents (collapsing responses from 1-3 to get a "disagree" score and 4-6 for an "agree" score). Overall results showed that a majority (93%) of students in both New Zealand and the United States recognized the importance of pronunciation improvement, indicating their concern and desire for improvement. Respondents in both countries also agreed that although they currently did not have good pronunciation skills, pronunciation improvement could bring them confidence in English. See Appendix 1 for the analysis results.

Differences in learners' expectations of pronunciation lessons

Between the two inner circle countries, some significant differences in ESL learners' expectations of their pronunciation lessons were found through learners' responses (see more detail in Kang, 2010, pp. 109-111). Items such as *I really want to sound like a native speaker* (z = -3.67, p < 000) and *Occasionally, I deliberately avoid sounding like a native speaker* (z = -2.34, p < 05) demonstrated substantial differences in particular. While only 5-8% of respondents rejected the idea of modeling native speakers' accents in the United States, more than one third in New Zealand rejected the idea of sounding like a native speaker and one fourth deliberately avoided speaking with the native accent. Approximately 70% of learners in New Zealand expressed dissatisfaction with their current pronunciation instruction, whereas 44% in the United States did. In general, ESL learners in New Zealand were concerned about their peers' disapproval of the target English model.

Another difference between students in New Zealand and in the United States was in terms of their strategies for improving their pronunciation (open-ended item 2). Half of the ESL respondents in New Zealand chose to imitate English native speakers and the other half wished to develop their own clear accent. On the other hand, in the United States, two-thirds of the students chose the former strategy and one-third chose the latter. Students' responses to a question about their desired place for learning English pronunciation were somewhat surprising. One-third of the New Zealand learners preferred to go back to their home country just for studying pronunciation. Three percent of students in the United States selected their home country. Students in New Zealand commented that teachers in their home country could understand their problems better (and at a lower price). The second preferred place was America, followed by England, and New Zealand the last.

Differences in ESL learners' attitudes toward instructors' accents

In terms of ESL learners' attitudes toward instructors' English, significant differences were also found between students in New Zealand and the United States (see Kang, 2010). Nearly half of the ESL learners in New Zealand responded that their teacher's production was not considered as an excellent model of English pronunciation, compared to 5% in the United States. The New Zealand learners showed more dissatisfaction with their teachers' models (z = -7.99, p < 000) and more confusion with pronunciation study (z = -4.02, p < 000) compared to the U.S. group of learners. New Zealand learners stated that the confusion came from teachers' various accents or unexpected treatments of accent varieties. For example, a Thai student who studied English in New Zealand provided the following comment: "*My teacher said 'vase [vɑːz]' for 'vase [veɪz]'. So I said, teacher, it's a 'vase [veɪz]'. Then, the teacher said no it's '[vɑːz]'. So I got silent*". ESL respondents in the United States appeared to be either less attentive to or more content with their instructor's accent, compared to students in New Zealand.

U.S. interview comments revealed that students did not often think about their teachers' English as she or he had an American accent and they were used to it. No participants in this study raised issues of different dialects in American English.

Discussion

Learning involves the development of increasingly effective ways of dealing with the world (van Lier, 2000). It is necessary for language program providers and teachers to be aware of learners' demands and expectations from their own learning environment. Kang's (2010) study results demonstrated that ESL learners' desire to sound like a native speaker was much lower in the New Zealand setting than in the United States, as they preferred the American accent as a prestigious inner circle model. As noted in the original, this suggests that learners' attitudes toward inner-circle accents vary among the types of models they prefer (Li, 2009; Scales et al, 2006).

Interestingly, there was a difference in the degree of diversity in ESL teachers' L1 backgrounds between the two countries. For example, students' self-reports of teachers' nationalities in New Zealand included New Zealand, American, British, German, Australian, Indian, and South African. In contrast, teachers of ESL students in the United States were reported as almost all North American with one Russian and one South Korean. Nevertheless, the study did not explore the effect of teachers' background characteristics on students' perception of an instructor's accent as it was beyond the interest of the current research. Future research regarding the effects of teachers' backgrounds on learners' pronunciation acquisition is necessary.

Responses in the United States were collected from midwestern and southeastern states. The current study did not include any questions regarding U.S. learners' attitudes toward different U.S. dialects as it was not one of the aims of the original study. However, participants in the United States were asked to comment on any concerns related to dialects, if any. No participant in the United States raised the question of dialects in American English in this study. In Fox and McGory's (2007) study, ESL learners in Southern America such as Alabama still acquired GA English, rather than Southern U.S. vowels, despite their exposure to the latter. In other words, the learners did not choose to emulate local native-speaker models. U.S. students' perceptions in this study did not appear to be affected by variability in U.S. English pronunciation. However, students' judgments of U.S. teachers' English should not be generalized beyond the scope of the study.

Another thing to be noted from the findings of this study is that teachers' treatment of accent variation plays an important role in forming students' perspectives on and attitude towards World Englishes. Some teachers may not tolerate other varieties of accent and may criticize pronunciation of a student who

might have had lessons under a teacher of another variety. As Kang (2010) argues, we should acknowledge the need for ESL teachers' pronunciation training (Breitkreutz et al., 2001; Burgess & Spencer, 2000; Derwing et al., 2011; MacDonald, 2002). Teacher training in current trends in World Englishes is urgently needed.

Conclusion

In this study, students' expectations for and frustrations with studying pronunciation in the ESL environments were examined. The study suggests that pronunciation teaching objectives and students' perceived needs are in need of better synchronization in the ESL contexts. However, there are some caveats for future research to consider. Firstly, the orientation of students toward the inner circle countries they have selected for study should be taken into consideration. In this study, students chose to study in New Zealand for economic and immigration benefits, but in the United States for other educational benefits (e.g., getting a degree). Results of the New Zealand-United States comparison may require a contextual interpretation. Next, future research can be done on students' attitudes in the RP speaking environment as RP is another preference of ESL learners (e.g., Gallois & Callan, 1981; Ladegaard, 1998). It would also be interesting to see how students perceive the importance of pronunciation instruction in the outer and expanding circle situations.

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Appendix 1

Students' Attitudes Towards Pronunciation Lessons in N.Z. and the U.S. (N=238)

Item descriptor	Group	N	Mean	Sd.	Z	*p*
Pronunciation is important for communication.	NZ	115	5.10	0.87	-1.78	.100
	US	123	5.36	1.06		
I am concerned about my pronunciation.	NZ	115	5.36	1.06	-1.56	.118
	US	123	5.12	1.08		
I want to improve the way I sound very much.	NZ	115	5.23	0.92	-1.31	.191
	US	123	5.34	1.05		
I really want to sound like a native speaker.	NZ	115	4.43	1.48	-3.67	.000*
	US	123	5.25	1.14		
Occasionally, I deliberately avoid sounding like a native speaker.	NZ	115	3.48	0.20	-2.34	.019*
	US	123	3.02	1.29		
If I have good pronunciation, I will be more confident in English.	NZ	115	5.20	0.91	-1.50	.133
	US	123	5.32	1.04		
I feel that I currently have excellent pronunciation skills.	NZ	115	3.20	0.86	-1.97	.098
	US	123	2.98	1.29		
I believe that my teacher's production provides me with an excellent model of English pronunciation.	NZ	115	3.77	0.19	-7.99	.000*
	US	123	5.15	1.03		
It is very confusing to study pronunciation in NZ/US because there are many accents.	NZ	115	4.77	1.20	-4.02	.000*
	US	123	3.98	1.38		
I can accurately recognize the difference between native-like and nonnative ("accented") pronunciation in English.	NZ	115	4.43	0.89	-1.29	.198
	US	123	4.05	1.50		

* *p* < .05

1 =Strongly disagree; 2= Disagree; 3= Somewhat disagree; 4= somewhat agree; 5= Agree; 6= Strongly agree; NA=Not applicable

TEACHING PRONUNCIATION WITH MULTIPLE MODELS

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Introduction

At present, English lacks any internationally agreed upon standard pronunciation. Whether English in the future will develop some type of single world standard is also debated. Crystal's (2003) speculation of a World Standard Spoken English (WSSE) suggests that this could be based on U.S. English, but he is quick to suggest it is yet to emerge fully, and it may not pan out that way (pp. 185-198). Currently then, faced with the polycentric nature of English, debate is widespread about which pronunciation of English should be taught in the classroom. Three concepts arise frequently in such debates: the slippery concept of *intelligibility*, the hotly debated idea of the *Lingua Franca Core*, and the difficult to define *native-speaker likeness*. These three concepts will be discussed briefly here, and then a further alternative – teaching with multiple models – will be presented and discussed.

Intelligibility

Arguably, intelligibility is a central aim in teaching pronunciation. It is understood by both teachers and learners that if a speaker is considered unintelligible to the listener, communication breaks down. However, recent research (Zielinski, 2006; Field, 2003) has highlighted the listener's role in the judgement of intelligibility. As well as managing the linguistic details of interpreting speech, Rajadurai (2007) suggests that even a listener's attitude can alter judgements of whether a speaker is intelligible or not. In other words, regardless of a speaker's actual articulatory ability, he or she may be deemed less 'intelligible' if a listener holds a negative attitude towards him or her.

For these reasons, passing judgement on whether or not a learner is intelligible is fraught with difficulty. Ironically, language teachers are often the worst judges, as the scope of what they can understand is often much wider than the average 'man on the street'.

To some degree, then, learners themselves need to take responsibility for judging their own intelligibility. They can be encouraged to attend to verbal and non-verbal signals to determine when they are not being understood, and experiment with changing their speech to maximise this intelligibility. One example of a learner recognising her own intelligibility is 'Nancy', a middle-aged Korean woman described in Romova, Smith, and Neville-Barton (2008). At the end of three years, the researchers suggested that her pronunciation had changed in only

one major way (the loss of epenthetic schwa), but she felt more confident, due to her perception that her speech had become more intelligible (pp. 19-21).

Lingua Franca Core

Taking the idea of mutual intelligibility further, and emphasising the extent to which L2 speakers use English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) with each other, rather than for communication with native speakers, Jenkins (2000) investigated which aspects of English pronunciation actually caused miscommunication between L2 speakers, and which did not. She suggests a core set of pronunciation features, which can be considered non-negotiable and suggests that other English pronunciation features are not necessary for mutual intelligibility. In other words, rather than teaching the pronunciation that native speakers (of any kind) use, this set of features – the Lingua Franca Core, or LFC – is put forward as a viable pronunciation syllabus.

The LFC includes all of the consonant contrasts of English, except the *th* sounds, which may be substituted with other sounds (like /s/ or /z/). For vowels, however, the LFC suggests duration (i.e. long or short) is more important than quality. Weak forms are not on the LFC list, but achieving prominence is considered important. For consonant clusters, the LFC suggests that additive strategies (such as vowel epenthesis) are more useful than deletive strategies, such as cluster simplification. Dividing speech into tone groups is important, as is assigning the correct nuclear stress, but the actual tones are not considered important.

Walker (2010) elaborates on this idea, providing examples of what teaching the LFC might look like in an English classroom. However, the LFC as a concept is hotly debated (see, for example, Dziubalska-Kołaczyk & Przedlacka, 2005). Among the objections to the concept are two key ideas.

First, the context provided for this idea is non-native speakers (NNS) communicating with other NNS, which both Jenkins (2000) and Walker (2010) emphasise is where much of the world's English speaking takes place. While the sheer numbers of interactions between NNS would support this, the assumption is that learners of ELF would never need to interact with native speakers (NS) and hence don't need to train with features of NS speech. This is unlikely to be the case, particularly with NS language in the mass media. Recent research (Adank, Haagort, & Bekkering, 2010) suggests that production training in features of a foreign accent helps the learner to *decode* speech in that accent. This suggests, then, that restricting tuition to a set of key features, while ignoring other features present in NS varieties of English, such as schwa and vowel reduction, elision, assimilation and linking, means that the L2 English speakers may not be able to deal with these features when decoding NS speech.

Second, prescribing a curriculum of LFC only precludes student choice in how

they wish to sound. Jenkins concedes it doesn't allow for student choice, and also, it doesn't allow for those students who wish to aim for native-speaker likeness.

> ELF researchers also believe that the choice of goal is entirely the learner's, and accept that even a learner whose target community is an ELF one may prefer a native rather than an ELF variety as their goal. All that is asked is that learners are able to make their choice in full possession of the socio-linguistic facts. (Jenkins, 2005)

Native-speaker likeness

In fact many studies into learner preference suggest that an overwhelming majority of students express a desire to sound like native speakers. Kang's study, reported in this issue, suggests that while there were differences between learners in the United States and New Zealand, a majority of learners in both countries agreed that they wanted to sound like a native speaker.

While teaching native-speaker likeness may seem like a simple idea, this is actually difficult to define. Kachru's (1985) oft-quoted model of the sociolinguistic profile of English emphasises the difficulty in declaring exactly who a native speaker is. Many speakers in Kachru's outer circle have English as a mother tongue, even though that English may sound very different from the English found in the inner circle countries like the United States, United Kingdom, New Zealand, and Australia. In any case, should a learner decide that native-speaker likeness is a goal worth pursuing, the question remains as to which native speakers the learner would like to emulate.

It is not always the case that the local native speaker norm is what learners strive for (Fox & McGory, 2007; Kang, 2010, this issue). Received Pronunciation (RP) and General American (GA) are often the models students say they wish to emulate (e.g. Starks & Paltridge, 1994; Kang, 2010, this issue). Whether or not these accents are appropriate for use as targets has been debated, as well as whether or not they actually exist. It is suggested, for example, that only 5% of Britons actually speak RP (Bell & Kuiper, 2000). However, these accents can be considered acrolects, in the sense that speakers of regional accents (basilects) might adopt some of their features in more formal situations. Despite the small numbers of speakers, there is great prestige associated with acrolects, and it is in this role as prestige accents that they are perhaps useful to many language learners.

In New Zealand, it has been suggested that even native speakers have a negative attitude towards their own accent.

> The data I present here strongly suggests that New Zealanders still are uneasy about their own voices, and clearly prefer overseas accents not

only in terms of the power dimension – which is certainly understandable given the widespread tendency to award prestige to a non-local acrolect in most speech communities – but also in terms of solidarity and mateship. This is considerably rarer, as local non- or quasi-standard accents usually fulfil this role elsewhere…. But in this country, this role is apparently assumed by North American and Australian voices. (Bayard, 2000, p. 321)

In fact, there are clues to suggest that while New Zealand no longer favours RP as the variety performing acrolectal functions, a further, similarly offshore, acrolect is developing:

It seems quite apparent to me that while RP remains a 'classy' acrolect here, often used for advertising quality products, New Zealand is acquiring a second acrolect. In her discussion of intervocalic /-t-/ voicing in NZE [New Zealand English], Holmes (1995) argues for two acrolects in the NZE speech continuum, using the 'innovative' and 'conservative' labels... Obviously RP is the conservative standard, and NAm [North American] the new innovative one which is apparently finding favour among young middle class women in particular. (Bayard, 2000, p. 323)

This answers Bell's (1982) question of whether NZE would fall "out of the British frying pan into the American fire" (p. 254). Bell goes on to suggest that perhaps a speech community as small and homogenous as New Zealand will regularly look beyond itself for a prestige speech standard. Whether or not this is the case in the long term is yet to be seen; however, there are implications for language teaching within New Zealand. Assuming similar linguistic attitudes amongst language teachers in the country, it is likely that (consciously or not) the New Zealand accent will not be presented as the one most worthy of emulation.

It may be this complex set of attitudes which learners perceive in the New Zealand context, and which was picked up by Kang's 2010 survey. For example, given native speaker attitudes towards their own variety, it is no surprise to hear that more than one-third of learners in New Zealand agreed that they occasionally deliberately avoided sounding like a native speaker. Ironically, this may be an indication that learners have learned not only some aspects of articulation, but also attitudes towards NZE. Whether these same learners have the ability to choose a more appropriate acrolect, or whether they have only their own L2 accent as an alternative, is something worth looking further into.

A finding from Kang's survey that deserves more attention is that approximately 70% of learners are dissatisfied with the pronunciation instruction they receive in New Zealand, compared to only 44% of learners in the United States. While there may be many reasons for this, including a lack of training on how to teach pronunciation, (which is perhaps the case in other countries, too, according to Kang, this issue) much of the confusion may come from which models the

teachers are suggesting students should learn from. It is here that a further option for pronunciation models needs to be discussed, one which the author suggests is actually already in place in New Zealand, but which needs to be overtly acknowledged by being affirmed by teachers and made explicit to students.

Multiple models

As alluded to above, the author suggests that which accent a learner employs is a choice which should be made by the learner, not the teacher. This point was also made by Pennycook (1997), who suggests that autonomy is more than students simply working by themselves; it includes students developing their own voice. By prescribing any one particular target in the classroom, teachers deny learners their own choice of accent.

Rather than teaching to one particular target, such as a native-speaker variety or a set of features, such as the LFC, I would argue that the role of a pronunciation teacher is to teach *awareness* of a wide variety of English pronunciation features and the *skills* in how to produce those features. A wide variety of models can be used this way, both NS and NNS models. As long as the context of these models is made clear, students can become aware of the 'sociolinguistic facts' mentioned by Jenkins above. These include the identities associated with those accents and attitudes of others towards speakers of the accents. (See Smith, 2011, for a discussion of using audiovisual clips as a way to preserve context for pronunciation models.) Equipped with such knowledge, and given the skills to produce different pronunciation features, learners can be empowered to decide how they wish to sound in English.

Implications for teaching

This section now turns to the more practical aspects of teaching pronunciation with multiple models, and includes suggestions for raising awareness, focussing on skills, and assessing learners.

Focus on awareness-raising

In fact, students in New Zealand are already exposed to a variety of pronunciation models. Many of the textbooks in common use here are published in the United Kingdom or the United States, and sometimes also Australia, and include regional accents from those areas. Other materials used include items from the mass media, which involve a wide variety of accents. This approach therefore does not require changing syllabi or materials. However, in order to avoid confusion on behalf of learners, it is a good idea for teachers to be explicit about which pronunciation model is currently being used in the class for any particular exercise. This in turn heightens students' awareness of the variety of accents.

For higher-level learners, a discussion about different English accents can facilitate understanding of this approach. Many learners would have knowledge of at least regional, if not social, dialects from their first language to draw on in understanding different accents in World Englishes.

When working with any audio or audio-visual text, any especially marked features of the accent in question can be pointed out to students, to help them learn key differences. Examples might include post-vocalic /r/ in words like *car* and *port* in GA or the *o* diphthong in words like *whole* or *grow* in RP, or the front rounded vowel in *world* or *girl* in NZE. As well as pointing them out, the teacher may like to provide a demonstration as to what the same words would sound like in other English accents, and students can experiment making the different sounds. The important thing is, however, that these different features are not labelled right or wrong, nor are students penalised for using one particular set or not.

Pointing out these phonetic differences can happen as a matter of course, in the same way that differences in spelling between British and American texts should be pointed out as they are encountered.

Kang (2010) notes:

> Perhaps learners' confusion might be caused not by the fact that many varieties of accents were available, but by the fact that there was no comprehensive instruction from pronunciation teachers regarding accent varieties around the world. (p. 113)

She is referring to NZ teachers there, and it would seem that the teacher(s) in question could have handled variation in a more positive way, such as explaining the difference between /va:z/ and /veis/ in terms of regional variation, rather than in terms of correctness.

Focus on pronunciation skills

As well as promoting an awareness of different varieties of English, teachers should help students to become skilled in producing a wide variety of pronunciation features.

The skill of mimicking has unfortunately been sidelined in New Zealand in recent times, perhaps due to the popularity of the communicative approach to language teaching. Mimicry is not a communicative task, but it is a very valuable skill for learning pronunciation. Students may need help in figuring out how to produce certain features, however. Teachers may need to guide students through physical exercises to explore and loosen up the articulators, and help students discover how to produce different sounds (see for example, Underhill, 1994, or Wremble, 2011). Working with audiovisual texts may be beneficial for this, too, as suggested in Smith (2011), for their ability to show the more general articulatory setting, and to

help learners make connections between pronunciations and their accompanying body language (and therefore more subtle meanings).

It is important also for teachers to remember that some pronunciation features do not require retraining in the articulatory skills, but rather just the knowledge of what to do, like linking words together, or reducing unstressed vowels in weak forms. While the physical skills of these suprasegmental features are not difficult, there still may be a great deal of psycho-motor training (i.e. drilling) required for a learner to be able to mimic a proficient speaker in the way he/she achieves these features in fluent speech.

Assessment

In an environment where multiple pronunciation models are valued, the question of assessment arises. The author suggests that instead of assessing a students' pronunciation in terms of how much it deviates from any particular accent, assessments should be designed to test a student's pronunciation skills, including perception and mimicry.

Assessment should not focus on how a student speaks in a particular context, as there is always the possibility that a student knows what L1 speakers would do, but chooses not to do so, for reasons of identity, or for other factors.

For the purposes of assessment, it is fair to assume that if a student is able to produce certain pronunciation features in the context of an exercise but does not use that feature in their speech, then the teacher can be certain that it is genuinely the student's choice (consciously or sub-consciously), and not an indication of a lack of skill.

This is illustrated in the results of a long-term study into the speech of four New Zealand learners (Romova, Smith, & Neville-Barton, 2008). Each of the four subjects' pronunciation changed in different ways, and sometimes NS features were not employed at the end of the study period where they had been employed three years previously. Further, each of the four subjects changed their pronunciation in different ways. It is suggested that the changes reflected the different sociolinguistic needs of each of the subjects.

In fact, pronunciation should be considered a very complex art, in which speakers are constantly balancing issues of intelligibility, identity, emotions, and accommodation. Teachers can assess pronunciation skills in the same way that an art teacher might assess students' artistic skills, rather than passing judgement on their final masterpieces.

Conclusion

The development of English into Englishes need not be a stumbling block for pronunciation teachers in New Zealand. This report has suggested that teachers in New Zealand should feel confident about their use of multiple pronunciation models, and in particular should focus on raising awareness of different accents and pronunciation features, as well as teaching pronunciation skills. This student-centred approach supports teachers, who may not be confident with their own accent (whether L1 or L2), or who have been reluctant to impose a Western accent on their students. It also respects learners, by empowering them to develop their own voice.

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GAINS IN SKILLS AND KNOWLEDGE BY INTERNATIONAL MEDICAL STUDENTS AFTER INSTRUCTION IN ENGLISH AND COMMUNICATION SKILLS

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Introduction

Medical migration is now a well-established global phenomenon, and large numbers of entry-level undergraduates and qualified graduates regularly leave their countries of origin to study or practise medicine elsewhere (Hallock, McKinley, & Boulet, 2007). For the last 15 years, the medical programme in the Faculty of Medical and Health Sciences at the University of Auckland has granted admission to a number of international students to complete the six years of a standard medical qualification (Bachelor of Medicine & Bachelor of Surgery). In Years 2-5 of their degree programme, satisfactory performance in simulated medical interviews is essential to achieving a passing grade in courses on professional communication skills. This requirement acknowledges that effective communication between clinicians and patients has a very positive effect on health outcomes (e.g. Levinson, Roter, Mullooly, Dull, & Frankel, 1997), and that poor communication is often at the heart of patient complaints (e.g. Taylor, Wolfe, & Cameron, 2002).

Analyses of the subtleties of the clinical interview (e.g. Heritage & Maynard, 2006) have explored the complex socio-medical and co-constructed nature of this type of interaction and the inherently asymmetrical and potentially divergent perspectives of the two parties involved (Mishler, 1984). To be effective in this context, medical professionals need to be able to identify reasons for the consultation, explore presenting concern(s), establish rapport, provide appropriate information and clear structure, tactfully introduce and lead discussions of lifestyle issues, explain good- and bad-news diagnoses, achieve shared understanding incorporating the patient's perspective, and negotiate management (Silverman, Kurtz & Draper, 2005). Above all, they need to convey an empathic understanding, appreciation, and acceptance of the patient's situation (Cole & Bird, 2000; Winefield & Chur-Hansen, 2000). For a number of reasons, patients may be less than straightforward about relating essential information, sometimes signalling their concerns implicitly in "empathic opportunities" that need to be attended to (Levinson, Gorawar-Bhat & Lamb, 2000). Effective medical interviews therefore require a fairly sophisticated set of abilities in addition to clinical competence: advanced general proficiency in English across a range of registers and varieties, the ability to listen and respond empathically to the patient's account of the presenting complaint in its full context, and adept use of

specific communicative techniques in order to take a history, explain a diagnosis and negotiate management. Studies reporting on the performance of students from non-English speaking backgrounds in simulated medical interviews report a number of weaknesses in their performance. These include limitations on their knowledge of English syntax, vocabulary, and communicative fluency (Chur-Hansen, Vernon-Roberts & Clark, 1997) and a tendency to restrict questioning to more straightforward bio-medical aspects, thereby overlooking opportunities to establish rapport and explore the surrounding context of the complaint (Avdi, Barson & Rischin, 2008; Winefield & Chur-Hansen, 2000).

In order to contribute to awareness of the challenges faced by students from non-English-speaking backgrounds in conducting clinical interviews in English-speaking contexts such as New Zealand, our study evaluated their knowledge of lay-medical vocabulary, ability to use appropriate formulaic language patterns, and effectiveness in medical interviews before and after a course of instruction. We intended that the course, together with feedback from pre- and post-course assessments, would provide students with information, practice and tools for self-analysis to assist with the simulated consultations that are part of their examinations, and with the medical interactions they are involved in during their clinical experience.

Method

Participants and intervention

Potential participants (international Year 2-5 medical students from non-English-speaking backgrounds) were invited to attend an orientation session where the study was explained and a pre-course diagnostic assessment administered to those who volunteered to take part. Twenty-five students took the pre-test and attended the first class session. However, workload and assessment demands (including clinical rotations and on-call duties) meant that regular attendance was difficult for many in the group. Ten students were present for at least 70% of the course, but of this group two could not attend the post-course assessment, and one was absent for the pre-course assessment. Two other students attended for 40% of the course and sat both tests. We report here on the seven students who were present for both assessments and attended at least 70% of the course. Five were female and two male; three were in Year 5, one in Year 4, and three in Year 3. Six were from Malaysia, and one from the United Arab Emirates.

A non-credit course in English and communication skills comprising 12 two-hour Saturday morning classes and taught by the ESP language instructor (Rosemary) took place over the 2010 academic year. Course content was taken from textbook (e.g. McCullagh & Wright, 2008) adaptations, pre-course and on-going needs assessment, DVD recordings of authentic and simulated medical interactions, and the instructor's resources. The syllabus was organised around functions such as

establishing and maintaining rapport, taking a history, summarizing the patient's story, signalling transitions and structure, instructing for examinations, explaining without using jargon, negotiating management, communicating with challenging patients, and *presenting a case summary.* Instruction involved four main strands: input from DVDs to focus attention on expert language use; direct instruction and practice of specific language features (e.g. question types, verb tenses, modals, phrasal verbs, qualifiers); formulaic language (e.g. opening and closing the interview, signalling transitions, asking about pain) and roleplay practice using authentic case information. Course content choices drew on assertions by Wray (2008) that effective communication combines creativity and formulaicity, and by Kasper (1997) that pragmatic competence can be promoted through awareness-raising tasks.

Data

Data on students' progress were gathered from pre- and post-course written assessments and interview roleplays. The two written assessments each comprised five sections, as described in Table 1. One-fifth of question items in both tests were identical. Overall, they were of similar level of difficulty. Each assessment took about 45 minutes to complete. The two instructors marked the tests together, with any differences resolved through discussion.

Table 1: Content of written pre- and post-course assessments

	Students are instructed to…	No. items
I	…replace formal phrases or words with more informal equivalents e.g. "previous episodes": *something similar before* was acceptable; *past occurrences* was unacceptable	6
II	…rephrase questions that are unclear or overly formal e.g. less formal versions of: *Do you have any other medical conditions?; Do you have any history of abdominal pain?*	10
III	…answer multiple choice questions about the meaning of lay-medical terms for parts of the body, bodily functions, pain and illness e.g. *down below, pick something up, seedy, get/keep something down, freak out, tanked up, wired*	15
IV	… respond to information about a presenting complaint to…*respond to the opening statement, ask about the history of the presenting complaint, ask about medication to date, ask about associated symptoms etc.*	9
V	…make empathic responses to opening statements by patients e.g. (a 16 year old) *I try so hard to please people at home, but it always seems to go wrong - nobody really cares if I'm around or not.*	5

History-taking interviews using actors as simulated patients with straightforward complaints lasted about five minutes each. They were recorded on DVDs and assessed by the two instructors independently. The language instructor assessed on a scale of 1-5 from (1) "weak; errors impact on communication" to (5) "excellent: virtually free from errors, omission, inappropriacies" according to eleven medical communication criteria such as *initiating the session, gathering information, building the relationship,* and *providing structure,* and six language-oriented criteria that included *use of appropriate syntax and vocabulary, giving and seeking feedback, fluency,* and *pronunciation.* Feedback comments for the students were added. The medical instructor (Sue) assessed using the same criteria and a scale of 1-5 from (1) "significant weaknesses in performance (for year of study)" to (5) "consistently exceeds expected standard (for year of study)", and also wrote feedback comments.

Pre-course scores and feedback on roleplays were given to the students; however, since pre- and post- tests were similar in content, scripts were not returned at this stage. Errors and evidence of limited skill were noted by the language instructor and used in the planning of course content. Feedback on achievement in the post-course assessments was communicated to students in the same way. Students' pre-course and post-course performance across the different sections of the written tests and in the English and medical communication skill components of the interview roleplays were scored and compared. This information is presented in Tables 2 and 3 in the following section.

Findings

This section reports on one key finding of the study, namely gains made by students in specific linguistic knowledge and communicative abilities between the pre- and post-course assessments.

Progress measured by the written tests

As shown in Table 1, Sections I, II and IV assessed students' ability to use an informal register and formulaic, learned language patterns to elicit information about the presenting complaint; Section III tested knowledge of informal lay-medical terms and, in Section V, their ability to respond empathically was assessed. Table 2 below shows the achievement of the seven students across pre- and post-assessments.

Improvements in all but Section III of the test were impressive. In Sections I, II and IV combined, the average mark improved from 34% to 87% across the group, with the students who scored poorly in the pre-course test (B and C) making the largest gains. Similarly, all except Student E made good gains in Section V knowledge, some of them quite remarkable (Students A, C and F). To use the one item repeated in both tests as an example, before the course only two students wrote an appropriate response to: *I try so hard to please everyone at home, but it*

always seems to go wrong; nobody really cares whether I'm around or not, but in the post-test the responses of all seven students were acceptably empathic e.g. *It sounds like you're really troubled about this*. However, gains in Section III of the test (knowledge of slang, informal and idiomatic terms used by patients) were less significant, even though attention was given to these terms during the course (the group average improved from 60% to 70%). This can possibly be explained by the fact that there was less room for dramatic gains, since students' knowledge was already reasonably good. It may have been that students considered lexical items to be of less importance because able to be inferred from context, or perhaps the items were difficult to learn if they had relatively little contact with locals.

Table 2: Correct responses on pre- and post-course written assessments

Student	Sect. I, II, IV pre (%)	Sect. I, II, IV post (%)	Section III pre (%)	Section III post (%)	Section V pre (%)	Section V post (%)
A	31	100	66	66	20	100
B	19	85	53	57	0	60
C	23	88	66	64	0	90
D	38	80	53	71	0	40
E	46	88	55	77	60	70
F	30	85	55	73	40	100
G	48	85	75	80	60	100
A-G	*av. 34%*	*av. 87%*	*av. 60%*	*av. 70%*	*av. 25.7%*	*Av. 80%*

Progress measured by the simulated interviews

Gains measured by roleplay performance are presented in Table 3. Across the group, there was a clear improvement from an average score of 48.9% to 61.5% (an average of the scores given by both instructors). The average improvement across the language criteria was 13.6%, and across the medical communication criteria, 11.5%. Scores awarded by the two instructors working independently were reasonably similar (within 4% on the language criteria and 7% on the medical communication criteria). Possible reasons for differences between the two assessors are that each of us was assessing against a slightly different standard (expected level of ability of the Year group in the medical programme versus progress towards communicative competence) and within or beyond our main area of expertise with regard to the language and medical communication criteria. Rates of progress in the two assessed areas of skill varied across the group. In medical communication skills, Students A, C, and G improved by about 15%

overall, but the other four showed an improvement of only 5% or less. Across the criteria assessing use of English, Students A, B and C improved their scores by nearly 20%, while the average improvement by the other four was around 5%.

Table 3: Scoring of students' roleplays by language and medical communication instructors

Student	Pre-medical communication /55		Pre- English /30		Pre- total /85		Post-medical communication /55		Post-English /30		Post-total /85	
	LI*	*MCI**	*LI*	*MCI*	*LI*	*MCI*	*LI*	*MCI*	*LI*	*MCI*	*LI*	*MCI*
A	29	28	15	18	44	46	39.5	41	21	20	60.5	61
B	27	25	12	12	39	37	40	26	21	13	61	39
C	21	22	10	11	31	33	38	29	21	19	59	48
D	24	30	12	15	36	45	30	34	15	16	45	50
E	32	29	15	16	47	45	34.5	31	15	17	49.5	48
F	34	27	16	15	50	42	36	30	19	16	55	46
G	32	27	15	15	47	42	34.5	35	19	22	53.5	57
Average (percent)	*28.45 (52)*	*26.8 (48.8)*	*13.6 (45)*	*14.6 (48.5)*	*42 (49)*	*41.4 (48.7)*	*36 (65.5)*	*32.35 (58.7)*	*18.7 (62.3)*	*17.6 (58.6)*	*54.8 (64.4)*	*49.95 (58.6)*
LI &MCI average	*50.4%*		*46.8%*		*48.9%*		*62%*		*60.4%*		*61.5%*	

*Language instructor (Rosemary); medical communication instructor (Sue)

Appropriate responses, summaries and informal language were more evident in students' post-course tests and interviews, and fewer grammar errors were noted. They had also made gains in their knowledge of informal and euphemistic lexical units such as *living arrangements, intimate relationship, go to the toilet, get up in the night, drink too much* as well as formulaic language patterns such as *Have you ever… (before)?, Could you tell me some more about..?, I usually ask patients…is that all right with you?, Is it ok if I...?, I can see that…, It sounds like….* However, as novice clinicians, they were still often less than fully proficient in combining learned patterns with original utterances in order to respond to patients' statements and elicit the full picture of the presenting complaint.

Discussion

Study findings support the claim that while declarative knowledge is acquired

relatively easily, progress through procedural knowledge to automatization involves instruction, time, and extensive practice (DeKeyser, 2007). Comparison of students' pre- and post-course scores indicates that they had increased their knowledge of informal and lay-medical language, and had learned a number of prefabricated patterns (e.g. *Can you tell me a bit more about…? I'd like to…if that's ok with you)* which they were able to combine with the unique content of different presenting complaints to form appropriate utterances. However, their performance in roleplay interviews revealed that while vocabulary and learned language patterns provided aids to fluency (Ellis, 2005), knowing the *words* of such a complex communicative skill as empathy did not necessarily mean they were able to achieve its real *work* (Roberts, Wass, Jones, Sarangi & Gillett, 2003). Achieving expertise in medical communication skills, even with learning and practice opportunities such as those provided by instruction, is evidently a gradual and challenging process, particularly for students from non-English-speaking linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

It needs to be noted that students' progress over 2010 was not only a result of course attendance, but also due to their learning from clinical experience and communication skills training in their academic medical programme, as well as their own diligence and ability to notice particular language items and patterns. Overall, the course appears to have been educationally useful. It is being offered again in 2011, and we are keen to replicate and extend the study by comparing the achievement of the two cohorts, which we hope will also improve the stability and generalisability of the study's findings.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Hattie, J. A. C. (2009). *Visible learning: A synthesis of over 800 meta-analyses relating to achievement*. **London: Routledge. ISBN 978-0-415-476618-8 (pbk). £27.99. 378 pp.**

Reviewed by MARILYN LEWIS, Honorary Research Fellow, University of Auckland

In this volume Hattie has summarised a huge number of studies on the topic of what leads to success in learning. The short answer to this question is visible teaching and learning, defined as "teachers seeing learning through the eyes of students, and students seeing teaching as a key to their ongoing learning" (p. 22). The book's content is both wider and narrower than suggested by the title: the meta-analyses are actually based on more than 50,000 studies, but they all relate to school learning rather than to adults. This impressively comprehensive book has two main goals: to give enough sense of the content to whet the appetite, and to explain how the massive amount of information is organised to make special interests accessible. While it draws on studies from general education only, many are relevant to TESOL practitioners and their students.

Mathematical formulae usually leave their results to the end ($x + y = z$) but in this book the result (or argument) is set out in Chapter 3. In a nutshell, the biggest effects on student learning occur when teachers become learners of their own teaching, and when students become their own teachers. The book's eleven chapters provide evidence of this. Accessing content of particular interest in the book is helped by various organisational devices. The titles of the seven chapters which are the heart of the content provide one such type of aid. Each covers a source of the success: the student, the home, the school, the teacher, the curricula and teaching approaches (two chapters). In Appendix A, 34 pages list information according to the year of the study and study variables. The absence of page numbers in the appendices makes details tricky to reference accurately; however, a couple of examples will give the idea. Student-related variables include such widely differing factors as high school to university grades, and self-assessment in a second language. The contributions from the teacher include (wait for it) "Expectations of physical attractiveness and achievement" as well as the more predictable "Student rating of teacher". Appendix B categorises the top 138 studies by ranked order.

Of course there is also the usual alphabetical index, which allowed me to check for studies relating to topics often aired in TESOL publications. It was comforting to read that "learning strategies clearly make a difference" (p. 245). I also discovered that Bloom's taxonomy, which has for decades helped language teachers ask questions that draw on different levels of thinking, was revised in 2001 to include four similar levels of knowledge. These are factual, conceptual, procedural and meta-cognitive (p. 29), a distinction that looks worth investigating further. The word "tasks" did not appear as such in the index, but there are entries on problem-based learning, group cohesion and cooperative learning. I was also interested in

the effects of teacher training programmes on students' learning. In this section an impressive 2,225 studies are summarised (p. 109ff) in relation to a number of factors, including microteaching and teachers' knowledge of their subject matter. Teacher educators might well be interested in the seven features identified for outstanding programmes, which include "extended clinical experiences" and "assessment based on professional standards" (p. 113).

The more specialised a field becomes (and the number of fresh TESL/TEFL titles appearing annually is a sign of this increasing specialisation), the easier it is to lose sight of our discipline of origin: namely, education. How often do we have the chance to read an authoritative synthesis of so many studies from general education without having to look at the original articles? It occurred to me the value of having some brave person compile a similar collection for TESOL readers.

Although you may not want to read this volume from cover to cover, my prediction is that sections of this book will be read in depth by many, and that Hattie's main findings will be quoted in teachers' discussion groups for some time to come. This has already happened through earlier media publicity when Hattie questioned the widely held belief about the relationship between class size and success. The broad picture and few details reported in this review scarcely do justice to what is a very comprehensive volume. For me it was inspiring, readable and worth recommending to teachers and teacher educators. For those who want to explore some of the original studies in more depth, a 78-page bibliography is provided.

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O'Keeffe, A., Clancy, B., & Adolphs, S. (2011). *Introducing pragmatics in use.* Oxford: Routledge. ISBN: 978-0-415-45091-1 (pbk). $58.00. 188 pp.

Reviewed by LYNN GRANT, Auckland University of Technology

This book comprises eight chapters and is helpfully sprinkled with tables, frequency lists, written examples (identified with a symbol of a written page), and spoken corpora examples (identified with a small black speaking head). Each chapter ends with helpful suggestions for further reading.

The introductory chapter takes us through the structure of the book, beginning with a definition of "pragmatics", which Levinson admitted in his 1983 book was difficult to determine. The authors settle on a user-friendly one by Fasold, which is "the study of the use of context to make inferences about meaning". This chapter also includes an explanation of corpus linguistics and the advantages of using a corpus to study pragmatics. The tables provide interesting data, for example, the top 25 most frequent words in two different corpora, namely the British National Corpus (BNC) and the Limerick Corpus of Irish English (LCIE).

This shows that "like" and "know" both appear frequent in the Irish, but not the British corpus, which "may indicate that speakers of Irish English hedge more than their British counterparts or that these hedges take different forms" (p. 9). This kind of real-world comment is helpful, especially for readers who are new to pragmatics.

The second chapter on researching pragmatics uses five diverse case studies to show the different ways that pragmatics can be researched. These include eliciting data through DCT (discourse completion tasks), roleplays, interviews, questionnaires, and the use of a corpus, with discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of each. From reading this chapter, ideas for how to research areas of particular interest could be generated. Chapter 3 is on the topic of deixis, and discusses its relationship with pragmatics. Deixis can be explained as "the way in which speakers orient both themselves and their listeners in relation to the context of a conversation" (p. 36). This includes demonstratives (this, that), personal pronouns (I, you, we), adverbs of time (now, then), adverbs of space (here, there), motion verbs (come, go), and a variety of other grammatical terms such as tense markers. Several examples are given of deictic use (**That** one is nice) and non-deictic use (I think **that** one of the obvious things…). This tends to be an overlooked aspect of language use yet it is one that might well cause problems for learners, therefore the chapter is particularly helpful for teachers.

Chapter 4, entitled "Politeness in context", provides background to Brown and Levinson's model of politeness, Grice's cooperative principle, and Goffman's idea of "face". Positive politeness, negative politeness, and impoliteness are explained together with corpus examples. Watts' more recent theory that cultures have conflicting views on politeness is also discussed. Readers will find the corpus examples of family conversations useful, as they show that what might be considered impolite according to politeness theories could actually be examples of acceptable negotiated politeness in particular contexts.

The fifth chapter covers speech acts in context, and explains speech act theory (including Austin's locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts) as well as direct and indirect speech acts. Different corpus examples are used to show speech acts such as 'request for information', 'making a suggestion', as well as other examples where the frame or focus of the speech act shifts as the conversation progresses. It is good to be reminded that speech acts may be embedded in other discourse.

Chapter 6, "Pragmatics across language and cultures", covers cross-cultural differences or socio-pragmatic mismatches that occur often in speech acts such as apologising, requesting, refusing, suggesting, expressing gratitude, and so on. The authors usefully discuss "self" and "face" in Western versus Asian cultures, and argue that "pragmatic instruction in the classroom has a clear role to play, not just in imparting information…but also in making them aware of what they already know" (pp. 107 ff). Pragmatic variation within the same language is also

covered, using Schneider and Barron's five levels of pragmatic analysis (formal, actional, interactional, topic, organisational). Chapter 7 discusses pragmatics in specific discourse domains and looks at the pragmatics involved in domains such as casual conversation, healthcare communication, the classroom, service encounters, and soap operas. Corpus examples of phone call openings are helpful in highlighting variation according to the context, purpose of the call, and how well the speakers know each other.

The final chapter on pragmatics and language teaching explains the importance of teaching pragmatics as "pragmatic transfer between languages can, on occasion, make non-native speakers appear rude or insincere" (p.138). The authors argue that not only is there a need for the teaching of pragmatics, but also that it has proved to be effective. There are suggestions for teaching positive politeness, negative politeness, hedging, vague language, discourse markers, interactional markers, and response tokens, and reference to a particularly good website (http://www.carla.umn.edu) at the University of Minnesota's Centre for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition (CARLA).

Overall, this brief but very informative book covers a number of key aspects of pragmatics. The corpus examples add considerably to the text. The authors are to be commended for the clear way they lead the reader through the text, their guidance in evaluating the tables and examples, the many suggestions for further reading or references to published works, and the useful websites they have included to facilitate further investigation.

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Rogerson-Revell, P. (2011). *English phonology and pronunciation teaching.* **London: Continuum. ISBN: 978-0-8264-2403-7. £19.99. 352 pp.**

Reviewed by GRAEME COUPER, Auckland University of Technology

The stated aim of this book is to provide "an accessible introduction to the phonology of English and its practical application to pronunciation teaching" (p. xi). It is designed to be used either as a course book or resource book by new and experienced English language teachers as well as applied linguistics students. It claims to provide teachers with guidance on what to teach and how to teach it based on a discussion of current issues and relevant research. The issues discussed all revolve around English as an International Language (EIL) or as a lingua-franca (ELF), which limits the scope of the discussion somewhat.

There are 15 chapters, with the first two providing the philosophical basis for the rest of the book. Chapters 3 to 12 cover phonetics and phonology while the remaining three chapters focus on pronunciation teaching. The first chapter sets the target context as EIL, and lays out the philosophy upon which the book is based. This chapter relies excessively on the work of Jenkins (2000) and her

proposed lingua franca core (LFC), which Rogerson-Revell has clearly fully embraced. Little more than lip service is paid to other perspectives. While I have no difficulty with EIL from a political or philosophical perspective, there are a number of major problems from the perspective of phonological theory and practical classroom teaching. The LFC core proposes learners need to master a number of phoneme level features and tonic syllables, but does not present us with a theory of phonology or learning and teaching. This fact is made painfully obvious as one reads through the book. The effect of this approach is to remove the social and cultural contexts from communication, and to view the surface features of pronunciation as discrete sounds divorced from meaning, which in turn promulgates the misconception that pronunciation is essentially the mechanical production of sounds rather than primarily a cognitive skill. This is made clear in the Chapter 2 when we are told it is a given that "motor skills and automaticity are key to learning sounds" (p. 23).

The second chapter on research and L2 phonological acquisition continues to develop the case for EIL at the expense of a balanced literature review. Overall, the references are dated and the review limited to the point of being misleading. There is no mention of any theory which would shed light on what the learner has to actually do to learn pronunciation. It is unfortunate that the book seems to take on Jenkins' pessimism that it is "so ingrained as to be unteachable" (p. 22). Indeed, the supposed level of difficulty seems to be just as important as the LFC in selecting what to teach. This is hardly a very positive note on which to start a book which one might hope would encourage pronunciation teaching.

Once the book moves onto the straightforward descriptions of aspects of phonology it becomes much clearer, and a number of useful exercises are provided. The physical descriptions provided in Chapter 3 are clearly presented, along with very good activities to help students understand. The teaching implications are also clear. Chapter 4 focuses on consonants, and its content is clearly described. Chapter 5 examines the vowels of BBC English. The main teaching focus is on which vowels are most important according to the LFC. There are few ideas as to how they could be taught, but it is suggested that listening would be most appropriate.

Finally, in Chapter 6, there is some welcome clarification as to what a phoneme actually is. There is a good discussion and exemplification of how phonemes change in context followed by discussion of which models teachers might use, but the book gives little indication as to how they might be taught. Chapter 7 considers the syllable. Again the focus is on the LFC, which leads to a number of unsubstantiated assertions. Chapter 8 provides the reader with a review. Chapter 9 deals with word stress, where the unsupported assertion is made that pitch is the most important factor. Here, Rogerson-Revell struggles with Jenkins' rejection of word stress and the overwhelming evidence that it is important for intelligibility. Chapters 10 and 11 cover features of connected speech and intonation, followed by a review in Chapter 12.

The remaining three chapters of the book focus on teaching pronunciation. Chapter 13 is on pronunciation in the classroom, and provides an outline of the sub-skills that learners need to develop: noticing, discriminating, imitating, reproducing, contextualising, generating, and correcting. While I agree with this, I can't see how it fits in with the philosophical basis of the book. Up until now, there has been little acknowledgement of the cognitive and social aspect of pronunciation. The second half of the chapter provides a comprehensive review of activity types and techniques, and refers the reader to a number of useful books for practice exercises. All aspects of pronunciation are covered, regardless of their relevance to ELF. It is suggested that students be introduced to all suprasegmental aspects early on, which seems to conflict with the claims for the LFC.

After a cursory and rather unbalanced historical overview, Chapter 14 poses and answers a number of questions related to pronunciation teaching. There are a number of useful suggestions for integrating pronunciation into specific language learning areas and guidance on diagnosing learners' difficulties. Finally, in Chapter 15 pronunciation problem areas are discussed, firstly in terms of the features of English which may cause difficulties, followed by a summary of typical difficulties likely to be caused by a number of languages.

Overall, leaving the first two chapters aside, there are a number of useful explanations and exercises which one could dip into as a reference book. Unfortunately there are also a number of unsupported assertions. The book demonstrates that EIL is a philosophy, and not a coherent theory of pronunciation learning and teaching. As I am based in New Zealand, most of my students are not in an EIL situation, so I would not recommend the book. Even in a different context I would not choose this as a course book because students would find it confusing. Its blind adherence to Jenkins' view of EIL and her LFC render a version of pronunciation and phonology which does not provide a coherent or consistent set of guidelines for the teacher.

Reference

Jenkins, J. (2000). *The phonology of English as an International Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tomlinson, B., & Masuhara, H. (Eds.) (2010). *Research for materials development in language learning.* **London: Continuum. ISBN 978-1-4411-2293-3. (pbk) £29.99. 432 pp.**

Reviewed by ROSEMARY WETTE, University of Auckland

Literature on materials development and use in second language teaching and learning appears to have moved on from the era when use of global course books was the accepted norm and information and advice was passed down to teachers by scholars in the field (e.g. Breen, Candlin & Waters, 1979; Richards, 1998; McDonough & Shaw, 2003). Now it is much more common for published texts in

this area to evaluate materials that are specific to particular contexts and users, and scholarly articles written by the teachers of particular materials are more frequently encountered. Over the past decade Brian Tomlinson, easily the most prolific writer and editor in this area, has compiled three volumes that include chapters by classroom practitioners on a range of topics (Tomlinson, 1998, 2003, 2008). His stated aim in this fourth and latest co-edited publication is to redress the lack of empirical research on materials development by reporting on more than 20 case studies of teacher development and use of materials over a range of types of course for learners at different ages and proficiency levels in a variety of instructional contexts.

The three chapters in Part 1 of the book report on research on the effects of extensive reading on language gains by primary school learners in Lebanon and in Hong Kong, as well as summarising key issues in the debate on the value of post-reading output activities in an extensive reading programme. Part 2 comprises five chapters on the effects of using particular in-house-developed materials with university students in Tunisia, Venezuela, Colombia, and Oman. These chapters describe practitioner-led initiatives to replace conventional accuracy-focused, non-communicative materials with those that promote intercultural competence (Chapters 5 and 6) and that are based on learners' communication needs in their science, business, or engineering studies (Chapters 7, 8, and 9). Part 3 (Chapters 10-15) reviews research on the effects of locally developed materials for language learners in contexts as diverse as an employment skills training course for pre-literate and just literate students in England, and L2 songwriters in Japan. All chapters are written by classroom practitioners, and outline the cyclic processes of development, reflection, and revision that are needed to bring materials in contact with the learning needs and preferences of students.

The fourth part of the book (the nine chapters from 16-24) is entitled "Research on the effectiveness of materials". Its chapters cover on-line evaluations of materials by students, an analysis of differences in the cultural content and culture of learning of a sample of course books published in China and in Great Britain, vocabulary selection and literacy development in textbooks in Malaysia and Ghana respectively, the effectiveness of gap-fill activities, a review of evaluation checklists, evaluations of problem-based learning materials, a foundation-level language teacher education text, and a set of materials for teaching English for medical communication. The final two chapters of the book are written by the two editors. Here they discuss applications of research findings in the book for second language acquisition (Chapter 24) and materials development (Chapter 25). The first of these review chapters points out that empirical studies support the value of using authentic texts and tasks, of using experiential approaches in which learners use the language to negotiate different types of communication, and of helping learners to become more meta-aware, critical, and creative in their thinking and responses to materials. The second chapter reviews common themes in the volume: the place of extensive reading, effects of the gap between materials producers and users, possibilities created by new technology, and aspects of

materials evaluation.

This book, and others like it, is a landmark volume in the process of establishing materials development as a legitimate area of research in applied linguistics and an area where theory interconnects with practice and teachers, with good possibilities for real research collaborations between academics and classroom practitioners. Tomlinson and Masuhara are correct, though, in their view (p.1) that there are still many more empirical investigations to be carried out. In particular, there is a need for research on a larger scale and with a more neutral focus than just one class and one teacher: studies that take in the perspectives of different groups of students and teachers as they explore the benefits of particular approaches and materials on particular aspects of second language learning. Given the advances of the last decade – led by Tomlinson and a few others – this next step forward seems assured. I recommend this book without reservation. Its individual chapters will interest teachers working in a variety of contexts, and taken as a whole it gives an excellent overview of the current state of knowledge and research on best practice in materials development for second language teaching and learning.

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Richards, J.C. (1998). Textbooks: Help or hindrance in teaching. In J. Richards (Ed.), *Beyond training: Perspectives on language teacher education* (pp. 125-140). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
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Tomlinson, B. (Ed.). (2003). *Developing materials for language teaching.* London: Continuum.
Tomlinson, B. (Ed.). (2008). *English language learning materials*. London: Continuum.

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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.

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It is stated by McCloud and Henry (1993, p. 238) that "students never …"
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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

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