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The School of Māori and Pacific Development

He Puna Kōrero - Journal of Maori & Pacific Development



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TE PUĀWAITANGA O TE PUAWĀNANGA

EDITORIAL

Tēnā koutou e te hunga rangahau kōrero, wānanga whakaaro, whakawhānui i te tirohanga mātauranga. Tēnā koutou i runga i ngā āhuatanga o te wā - ngā mate tinitini o te wā kua whetūrangitia, ngā pūkenga kōrero kua ngaro ki tua o Paerau, ērā e tangihia tonutia nei e tātou i runga i ō tātou nei marae o te motu. Rātou te hunga mate ki a rātou, tātou te hunga ora ki a tātou. Tēnā tātou katoa.

It is a pleasure to be invited to write an editorial for this issue of *He Puna Kōrero*. I acknowledge you, the researchers and readers alike, as you discuss and debate issues which expand our horizons of knowledge. I acknowledge, too, the contributions of past keepers of knowledge who are no longer with us and, as is our Māori custom, bid them farewell.

There are six articles in this issue. The articles range in focus, centering on the urban discourses of literatures of the Native American and Māori literary renaissance; teaching Māori in English-medium schools in New Zealand; the use of curriculum guidelines for the teaching and learning of *te reo Māori* in Years 1 – 13 of New Zealand schools to create lessons for young learners; texts written in English and Chinese by expert writers (a genre-based comparative study from the Pacific Rim); college learner's English learning beliefs in the Taiwanese context; and vocabulary games as a memory enhancement device.

I believe it is the general intention of the contributors of this journal, that the research findings contained in these articles will be used to build the capacity and capability of nations, by adding new knowledge to the ancient foundation of knowledge provided by our forebears. I sincerely hope that readers will enjoy, and gain knowledge from, reading the articles of this issue. I certainly have.

Aroha Yates-Smith

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Growth out of loss: The urban discourses of literatures of the Native American and Māori literary renaissance

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Abstract

The seeds of the Native American and Māori Renaissance eras germinated amid sweeping changes in the years immediately following World War II, a time when urbanization and the consequent separation of indigenous peoples from community networks represented a major threat to culturally embedded certainties and destabilized romanticized notions of the past. This article explores parallels between the ways in which Native American and Māori literatures reflect the impact of urbanization at the height of this era and the contribution the authors make to the positive cultural growth that defines their respective renaissance periods.

New voices

The Native American and Māori Literary Renaissance periods signify a new and unifying discourse of urbanization in indigenous literatures. N. Scott Momaday's *House Made of Dawn* (1968) and Witi Ihimaera's *Pounamu Pounamu* (1972) convey place-based narratives that underline the seminal relationship between the individual and the land in indigenous cultures. Throughout each text, the authors juxtapose this relationship against the debilitating aspects of urbanisation, which led their people away from the rural homelands and into the cities where they experienced the negative climate of Urban Life. *House Made of Dawn* and *Pounamu Pounamu* further define the discourse of the era by creating an indigenous perspective of the land, absent in pre-Renaissance literatures. Silvia Schultermandl (2005), writing of Native Americans in 'Fighting for the Mother/Land', has suggested that this shift in perspective indicates the beginning of literary "identity formations that entail negotiations between . . . [indigenous peoples] . . . and the impact of the dominant society" (p. 67).

Ihimaera, Momaday and the indigenous urban milieu

Pounamu Poumanu and *House Made of Dawn* both emanate from within the culture of indigenous urban migration. In New Zealand, Peter Beatson's (1989, p. 12) suggestion that "[all] contemporary Maori writing takes place against the backdrop of urbanization" emphasizes the impact of this history on the literary landscape. Ihimaera, for example, born in Gisborne in 1944 to Te Whānau-a-Kai, spent his early years amidst the poverty of the rural Māori community of Waituhi.¹ Thus Pearson (1982, p. 166) has suggested that the progress of the characters in Ihimaera's early work – many of them also calling Waituhi home – is "a variation on the writer himself" from this time onward. Educated at town schools, Ihimaera spent much of his adolescence in the urban world of the Pakeha before continuing his tertiary studies at Victoria University in Wellington. After the completion of his Bachelor of Arts in 1971, the city became the young man's permanent home away from home when he took a position as a journalist with the New Zealand Post Office (see Arvidson, 1993, p. 33). "[U]rbanized and sophisticated in pakeha ways", Ihimaera – much like the characters he would soon create – "sensed the disappointment in his lack of Maori understanding" and rued

“having been deprived of much of his spiritual heritage” (Pearson, 1982, p. 166). Without the direct link to his family and community, he straddled the borders so common to Māori in the post-World War II years. The writer acknowledges the pull of both worlds in an interview with Judy Zavos (1975, p. 23):

I'd like to think that I could go back...[to Waituhi]...to live; it's my dream; but I know I can't go back because that would negate everything my parents have hoped and worked for.

These sentiments followed Ihimaera's diplomatic postings under the auspices of the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The sense of displacement and detachment associated with the duties that would take him as far away as Canberra, New York, and Washington D.C. are mirrored in the context of urbanization that germinates in *Pounamu Pounamu* and continues to grow in his subsequent works.

Momaday, like Ihimaera, was born on the rural homelands of his ancestors in 1934. At the age of thirteen, he left his home on the Kiowa reservation in Oklahoma and traveled west across the country with his parents to the Jemez Pueblo community in New Mexico. From there, his educational history begins to read like a general summary of Native American life in the mid-twentieth century. He attended a mission school, an Indian school, and an urban public high school before relocating to the fast growing city of Albuquerque. While there he attended the University of New Mexico in 1952 before matriculating into the University of Virginia's Law School in 1956-7; becoming one of a “generation of Native scholars who led the charge into the American academy in the 1950s and 1960s” (Warrior, 2005, p. 149). His educational track eventually culminated in a doctorate from Stanford in 1963 and a tenured position at the University of California at Santa Barbara ending in 1969: a unique position among Native Americans. It was in the Stanford and UC Santa Barbara years – the very years that define the concerns inherent in the milieu of Native American urbanization – that Momaday wrote *House Made of Dawn*.

Ihimaera and Momaday's biographies serve as microcosmic examples of their respective cultural histories. Paul Katene's review of *Pounamu Pounamu* in turn speaks to the acute relevance of both authors' works in relation to the Māori and Native American Literary Renaissance eras. When Katene (1973, p. 61) states that “Witi is a young man, a city man, right in the midst of this great transplant of Māori manawa – heart – from the open hills to the concrete jungle”, he describes a pattern that easily accommodates Momaday's Kiowa identity and culture and *House Made of Dawn*:

He has seen the rejection of some tissues resulting in resentment and alienation. His message is spiritual, as a source of strength, a fibre strong enough to support a people in its adjustment.

In turn, when Tillet (2007, p. 1) remarks upon the content of the post-Renaissance literatures in *Contemporary Native American Literature* – including *House Made of Dawn* – she alludes to Katene's ‘open hills’ versus the ‘concrete jungle’ while also suggesting an indigenous history that is common to New Zealand:

Contemporary Native American literature emerges directly from this imperial relationship, and from the engagement of Native peoples with the legacy of the

federal-Indian relationship within a country that is, paradoxically, both colonial and post-colonial.

A close examination of the authors' literary reflection upon their experience in the cities thus sheds light on the discourse of urbanization that permeates *Pounamu Pounamu* and *House Made of Dawn*.

Urban and rural narratives

The negotiations addressed in Schultermandl's statement become clear when analyzing the manner in which the texts' configurations emphasize the dichotomy of urban and rural narratives. Richard Corballis (1993, p. 108), claiming that Ihimaera belongs to the category of authors "who give as much thought to the collection as to the individual stories within it", indirectly mentions an inherent purpose within *Pounamu Pounamu*. In a sense, the text is compartmentalized; highlighting distinct urban narratives in opposition to those that are derived from an indigenous perspective of their cultures' intrinsic relationship to the land. Prentice (2004, p. 89) builds on this notion, asserting that Ihimaera does not yearn for "a return to some mythically authentic past moment", but "engage[s] fully and unflinchingly with the new conditions [he] and [his] characters face in the contemporary urban contexts that shape their lives".

Katene (1973, p. 60) refers to 'The Other Side of the Fence', for example, as 'the odd ball' among *Pounamu Pounamu*'s ten selections; being the only story that does not take place in a rural setting, but in a city suburb. The fence in question separates two families: on one side, the Heremaias, a Māori family of eight, and on the other side the Simmons, an immigrant Pakeha family of four from England. The story tells of the ongoing "state of amicable warfare" existing between the two families, "each crisis separated by long periods of amity" (Ihimaera, 1972, p. 70). Complicating these matters is a unique narrative – the only one of its kind in the collection – that favours the Pakeha perspective. Specifically, Jack Simmons, the head of his household, feels besieged by the Heremaia children, whom he believes steal his prize goldfish from the pond, kill his unborn chicks, borrow bicycles without permission, cheat his children, and escape persecution by hiding behind a veil of lies.

Ihimaera's story and the image of the fence are thinly veiled analogies of The Treaty of Waitangi and its associative rhetoric. In Jack's mind, "[the] fence might as well not exist. The Heremaia children have ceded their territorial rights, but not their sovereignty (Ihimaera, 1972, pp. 65-66). The politics that govern this boundary are as disputed as those that forced the creation of – and define – The Waitangi Tribunal discourses. Jack "sighs ruefully" (p. 70) as he contemplates the series of 'raids' (p. 62) and the practice of 'borrowing' (p. 63) which describes the past and determines the future of the two families: "Right from the start it has been a series of escalations and de-escalations and treaties signed and treaties broken", he recalls (p. 71). He finds solace only in the fact that the "tribe has not invaded his house yet!" (p. 61). Furthermore, the narration leaves no doubt as to Jack's resolute and dogged stance on this matter (p. 65):

Things were different now. The land, its occupants and their possessions no longer belonged to them. It belonged to him, Jack Simmons. His land was like the land bought by settlers after the Treaty of Waitangi. The sooner they understood that, the better.

The significance of this perspective is underlined in the knowledge that the Simmons are only three years removed from England; further raising the spectre of the metaphorical colonizer with his intolerance of Māori cultural values, his drive to usurp Māori land, and his insistence that The Treaty of Waitangi “had become some kind of Universal Solvent” and “an unquestionable ‘truth’” (Evans, 2006, p. 15).

The text’s fence/treaty analogy segues into a commentary on cultural relationships within the urban contact zones. Although having extended ‘overtures of friendship’, the neighbors on both sides of the fence live under the shadow of ‘doubt and caution’ (Ihimaera, 1972, p. 70). Moreover, Jack’s assertion that “this city suburb was certainly not a Maori community” is succinctly historicized in Ranginui Walker’s (1990, p. 198) assessment of urbanization:

Ethnicity, cultural difference, and the experience of being colonized impelled the Maori to dwell in the dual world of biculturalism or surrender to the Pakeha imperative of assimilation.

Jack’s narrow-mindedness – “and he had known very well when he was told his neighbors were Maori, that he would have to expect the worst” (Ihimaera, 1972, p. 61) – reinforces the difficulty of reckoning with the juxtaposition of indigenous/non-indigenous cultural values inherent in Walker’s statement.

The text avoids subtleties in this conversation – like the fence/treaty analogy – and puts forth a demeaning, non-indigenous opinion of Māori immigrants to the city. Jack surmises (Ihimaera, 1972, p. 82):

If only the Heremaia weren’t so *large*, so obvious. They stick out like a sore thumb in the neighborhood. They have not yet learnt the art of living with European people who may not understand their ways nor like them.

Worse yet, Jack sees in the Heremaia children cultural traits that are defined by a wavering ‘sense of morality’ (Ihimaera, 1972, p.61) and their condition a ‘natural mishap of birth’ (p. 74). The list of slights continues, but is perhaps best summed up by Jack’s thoughts on Jimmy, the youngest of the Heremaia children (pp. 73 & 74):

Heavens, it wasn’t his fault that he was Maori . . . Hopefully, Jimmy would grow up without acquiring too many of the Maori habits and characteristics displayed by the rest of the children...The quicker the Maoris adjusted to European life the better.

On that note, the story suggests that for Māori neither assimilation nor biculturalism is possible in the city. Jack screams at the Heremaia: “And don’t *any of you* set foot over this side of the fence again” (Ihimaera, 1972, p. 78). Their response: “Why don’t you go back to where you came from, Jack Simmons? You don’t belong here, none of you. We never wanted you here in the first place” (p. 78). The conclusion: “On the other side of the fence, the lights go out in the Heremaia’s house” (p. 86).

House Made of Dawn, like *Pounamu Pounamu*, conveys the images of the disparate urban and rural settings through the separation of the novel into four distinct parts. After

having been plucked from the Jemez Pueblo/Walatowa community and thrust into the heart of a western war, for example, service as a soldier in WWII leaves Abel suffering from alcoholism and full of self-loathing when he returns to his tribal homelands in Part 1, 'The Longhair'.² Here the narrative is suffused with Abel's inability to function as a positive member of the tribe and his situation is compounded when he kills a sacred eagle and murders the albino man Juan Reyes Fragua. Part 4, 'The Dawn Runner', sees Abel return once again to the reservation in order to recover his sense of self within the tribe and the landscape. These parts are interrupted, however, by the urban narratives that traverse Part 2, 'The Priest Of The Sun', and Part 3, 'The Night Chanter'. In these two sections, "the Indian community in Los Angeles can be read as a social study of the various experiences of and strategies to overcome Native displacement" in the urban diaspora (Teuton, 2008, p. 70). Duly convicted of his crime, removed from the reservation, imprisoned, and funneled into the United States Government's relocation program, Abel meets two characters who highlight the plight of his urban experience: Ben Benally the Navajo Night Chanter and The Right Reverend John Big Bluff Tosamah, the novel's trickster figure. His failure to negotiate the trappings of urbanisation culminates in a near-death experience at the hands of Martinez the *culebra*/snake, a sadistic policeman. Both parts are composed of related yet disjointed memory fragments and overlapping, non-linear narratives that read like the scattered pieces of a jigsaw puzzle. Thus, Abel's tenure in the city is best understood when a deductive line of reasoning is applied to Parts 2 and 3 as a whole.

Central to the discussion of the city narratives is Abel's association with the various characters who impede his ability to ground himself in the city. In Part 3, for example, the relocated Navajo Ben Benally befriends the newly freed Abel and unwittingly assists in his downward spiral. It is through Ben's recollections of the dysfunctional relationship shared by himself, Abel and Milly (Abel's social worker/girlfriend) that we gain an overall picture of Abel's short history in Los Angeles (Momaday, 1968, p. 162):

He was drunk about half the time, and I couldn't keep up with him. I tried to get him to slow down, you know, but he just got mad whenever I said anything about it, and it made him worse. Right away his money ran out, and he started hitting me up for a loan every night, almost. Pretty soon I wouldn't give him any more, but you know what he did? He started asking Milly for money. He would tell her he needed some new clothes, or bus fare to look for a job or something, and she would give him two or three dollars, sometimes five, every time. And he would blow it on liquor right away. I told her what he was doing, but she said she knew it; she just felt sorry for him. The Relocation people got him a job with the schools, taking care of the grounds and all, but he showed up drunk a couple of times and they fired him after the first week and a half.

Teuton (2008, p. 72) suggests that the most noteworthy aspect of this passage is the idea that "Abel seems to suffer more from his displacement than do Benally" and the other indigenous characters in the novel. Michael Raymond (1983, p. 69) concurs when he proposes that the other characters "seem to have either overcome the sense of not belonging or at least come to grips with it". Thus, Ben's narration serves not only to reveal Abel's placelessness but also to exemplify an indigenous state of being in the city that Abel is unable to – or, more likely, unwilling to – achieve.

If Abel is to overcome his loss of self, he must engage with characters who are able to teach him to adjust to life in the city and accept the culture of the place in which he exists. Ben's continued narration in Part 3, however, suggests that the Navajo has also lost his indigenous way of knowing an indigenous place and therefore his way of knowing any place, in general. He reminisces on life in the city versus a rural existence (Momaday, 1968, p. 181):

Once you find your way around and get used to everything, you wonder how you ever got along out there where you came from. There's nothing there, you know, just the land, and land is empty and dead.

According to Owens (1992, p. 113), "Ben has bought into the metanarrative of Euramerica with its historic, entropic definition of time and indigenous culture as well as place". As a result of his passive acceptance of these confines, Ben is content living in the city (Momaday, 1968, pp. 180 & 182):

It's a good place to live. . . . Everything is here, everything you could ever want...The Relocation people are all right, too. . . . They know how it is when you first come, how scared you are and all, and they look out for you. They pay your way; they get you a job and a place to stay; I guess they even take care of you if you get sick. You don't have to worry about a thing.

Ben's complacency, although expressed with the honest intention to 'look out' for his friend, only serves to stifle Abel's progress (p. 162). His earlier thoughts on Abel's condition are in diametrical opposition to Abel's needs: "You know, you have to change. That's the only way you can live in a place like this. You have to forget about the way it was, how you grew up and all" (p. 148).

Abel's disintegration amid the setting of Los Angeles is further highlighted in his association with Tosamah. The Priest of the Sun, as he is first introduced in Part 2, preaches from the pulpit of the Los Angeles Holiness Pan-Indian Rescue Mission in the basement of the A.A. Kaul Office Supply Company. As the novel's trickster figure, Owens singles Tosamah out most notably for his 'subversive role' in regard to Abel's future (Owens, 1992, p. 108). In much the same manner as the 'traditional trickster' of Native American oral traditions and fictions, "Tosamah is in dialogue with himself, embodies contradictions, challenges authority, mocks and tricks us into self-knowledge" (p. 110). Also like the traditional trickster, his aim is to induce a self-knowledge that is both positive and negative within the members of his congregation.

Tosamah's actions, like Ben's, are born of placelessness. His preoccupation with Abel subsequently manifests as an envious demeanor. Owens (1992, p. 110) elaborates:

While Abel can go home again, and Benally at least retains the world of his Navajo people intact within his imagination and memory, Tosamah – like the peripatetic trickster/creator of Native American mythologies – has nothing except imagination and language out of which to fashion his world.

Bernard Hirsch (1983, p. 113) continues the conversation:

Seeing Abel through Indian eyes, Tosamah cannot help but admire him as a kind of modern-day warrior who refuses to give in meekly to the torment and tribulations of urban Indian life.

Thus, in Part 3, Tosamah unveils his malevolent nature in an impromptu sermon intended to wound the already helpless Abel. Ben recalls Tosamah's spiteful words (Momaday, 1968, pp. 148 - 149):

"You take that poor cat," he said. "They gave him every advantage. They gave him a pair of shoes and told him to go to school. They deloused him and gave him a lot of free haircuts and let him fight on their side. But was he grateful? Hell, no, man. He was too dumb to be civilized. So what happened? They let him alone at last. They thought he was harmless. They thought he was going to plant some beans, man, and live off the fat of the land. Oh, he was going to make his way all right. He would get some fat little squaw all knocked up, and they would lie around all day and get drunk and raise a lot of little government wards. They would make some pottery, man, and boost the economy. But it didn't turn out that way. He turned out to be a real primitive sonuvabitch, and the first time he got hold of a knife he killed a man. That must have embarrassed the hell out of them."

Other Destinies asserts that Tosamah's sermon "mocks and taunts Abel into self-knowledge", and is a "painful process" for the protagonist (Owens, 1992, p. 111). Although the priest's means achieve his primary ends, the very nature of this act elicits multiple responses; another trait common to the trickster tales. Tosamah's words, for example, represent the negative self-knowledge that drives Abel further into his disintegration. The realization, however, is one that will help prepare Abel for his return to the reservation and regain a positive identity in Part 4.

In Part 2, Abel's final fall is read in light of the running metaphor of the grunion fish and the following question: 'Why should Abel think of the fishes?' (Momaday, 1968, p. 98). The text provides an image of the grunion run that is both a fair description of the fish's actual behavior and an answer to the question (p. 89):

There is a small silversided fish that is found along the coast of southern California. In the spring and summer it spawns on the beach during the first three hours after each of the three high tides following the highest tide. These fishes come by the hundreds from the sea.

The sheer number by which the grunion fish approach the shores of the beach is an overt allusion to the thousands of Native Americans expanding the populations of west coast cities in the post-WWII era. Central to the metaphor, however, is the poetic interpretation of the grunions' desperation; the fish struggling to survive in this foreign setting. As they "hurl themselves upon the land", separated from their natural habitat, the grunion "writhe in the light of the moon, the moon, the moon; they writhe in the light of the moon" (p. 89). "They are", like Abel and many of his fellow Native Americans in the cities, "the most helpless creatures on the face of the earth" (p. 89). In this passive and exposed condition, they are subject to the whims of "Fisherman, lovers, passers-by" – and in the case of Abel, fellow relocated Native Americans and malevolent policeman – who will "catch them up in their bare hands" (p. 89).

When Abel wakes up on the beach in the opening of ‘The Priest of the Sun’, “his body . . . mangled and wracked with pain” (Momaday, 1968, p. 101) from the encounter with Martinez, his condition mirrors that of the vulnerable grunions. Abel senses that “his whole body was shaking violently, tossing and whipping, flopping like a fish”; writhing (p. 115). The “physical disintegration” he feels “parallel[s] his psychic disintegration” (Owens, 1992, p. 113). Specifically, *Red Land, Red Power* emphasizes that six years in a jail cell have “distorted his understanding of his body in relation to place” (Teuton, 2008, p. 68). Thus (Momaday, 1968, p. 104):

The walls of his cell were white, or perhaps they were gray or green; he could not remember. After a while he could not imagine anything beyond the walls except the yard outside, the lavatory and the dining hall – or even the walls, really.

For a man who “had loved his body”, the enormity of the moment settles upon him as he realizes that the same body is no longer “quickly and surely responsive to his mind and will” (p. 100). Lying on the beach, he felt (p. 104):

. . . the world was open at his back. He had lost his place. He had been long ago at the center, had known where he was, had lost his way, had wandered to the end of the earth, was even now reeling on the edge of the void.

In the city, Abel is a fish out of water; sick and helplessly exposed to the elements of urbanization.

Breaking the grandparent/grandchild bond

Abel’s sickness, his inability to realize his self in relationship to a place, further resonates as a symptom of his separation from the community at Jemez Pueblo. In particular, the bond between grandparent and grandchild – in this case Abel and his grandfather, Francisco – carries the same weight as the grunion metaphor in these urban narratives. Chadwick Allen (2005, p. 212) explains the significance of the relationship in ‘N. Scott Momaday: becoming the bear’:

The bond [...] becomes a running theme in the novel, emblematic of the increasingly tenuous link between generations that are separated not only by time but also by dramatic demographic and socio-cultural changes, including those specific changes brought by World War II and the era of Indian Relocation that followed in its immediate aftermath.

Abel, Tosamah, and Ben, for instance, all recount identity-forming experiences that are framed within the memory of grandparents. The significance of this bond in *House Made of Dawn* becomes more apparent in light of the fact that Francisco, who exists for Abel as “the voice of tradition, the living embodiment of the ancestors who trust the present generation to ensure the continued flourishing of the people” (Teuton, 2008, p. 64), is his only biological link to Walatowa.

Bernard Selinger (1999, p. 54), remarking on this theme in ‘*House Made of Dawn: A Positively Ambivalent Bildungsroman*’, notes that the text is “fairly heavy-handed” in its attempt to establish Francisco as “the model *par excellence* for Abel”. In Part I, the

narrator speaks to the strength of Francisco's position – and that of the old man's peers – in the face of European encroachment upon Walatowa ancestral lands (Momaday, 1968, p.58):

Their invaders were a long time in conquering them; and now, after four centuries of Christianity, they still pray in Tanoan to the old deities of the earth and sky and make their living from the things that are and have always been within their reach; while in the discrimination of pride they acquire from their conquerors only the luxury of example. They have assumed the names and gestures of their enemies, but have held on to their own, secret souls; and in this there is a resistance and an overcoming, a long outwaiting.

This ability to maintain a cultural identity under such circumstances establishes Francisco, in Owens' opinion, as "the syncretic 'balanced man' of the novel, he who has successfully fused the two worlds he inhabits" (Owens, 1992, p. 103). In Abel's time of need, the essence of Francisco's experience, wisdom, and sense of knowing what will come – everything the grandchild needs from a grandparent – is captured in his voice when he tells Abel: "You ought to do this and that" (Momaday, 1968, p. 22). But Allen (2005, p. 212) reminds us that two removals from the community have broken this link to "the power of tradition and continuity". Consequently, when Abel first returns from the war and meets Francisco: "He was drunk, and he fell against his grandfather and did not know him" (Momaday, 1968, p. 9). Urbanization denies Abel another seven years of knowing Francisco. Furthermore, when Abel returns to Walatowa in Part 4, Francisco – the man "whom, the text insists, Abel must model himself" (Selinger, 1999, p. 58) – dies.

Blood Narrative reveals that the grandparent-grandchild bond 'also figures prominently' in *Pounamu Pounamu* (Allen, 2002, p. 133). Allen's critique then makes a direct link between the two writing cultures and the inherent theme when he states that the connection represents "the Maori community – those members living, those passed on, and those yet to arrive" (p. 129). For instance, the various images of this bond, although "seemingly nostalgic" when presented in the short stories, recall the role of Francisco in that "they place at their center the scene of instruction through which young Maori may lay claim to their cultural inheritance and indigeneity"(p. 134). In the first story in the collection, 'A Game of Cards' (Ihimaera, 1972), Nanny Miro is seminal in conveying these lessons to her urbanized grandson, Tama. Upon his return from Wellington, Tama remembers her teachings against the backdrop of her card-playing antics and her impending death. More importantly, he refers to her as both his *kuia* (p. 9) and his *whaea* (p. 15) throughout the story. By themselves the terms are very different; *kuia* being an elderly grandmother figure and a female of high respect on the *marae* whilst *whaea* denotes a mother or aunt. However, both words also invoke the idea of a teacher. Linking the two terms thus gives broader meaning to Nanny Miro's role and her close relationship with Tama when she asks (p. 12):

How are you going to do good things for your people if you can't concentrate?
. . . Here I am, counting on you to get a good education so that you can get the
rest of our land back and you're just hopeless . . .

The potential loss of the value and benefits of these lessons are highlighted in Nanny's allusion to Tama's city education as well as her own death at the end of the story.

Bluntly admitting negligence in regard to his future and his obligations to Nanny, Tama's following statement succinctly reflects the deteriorating effects of urbanization on the grandparent-grandchild bond and the impact that the separation may have on the tribe: "I couldn't see you last time I was home", I explained. "I was too busy" (Ihimaera, 1972, p. 14). For Tama, the time constraints associated with the distance and travel between Wellington and Waituhi allow him to justify his own diffusion of responsibility in an offhand manner. Nanny's responses to Tama's lackadaisical attitude – "Don't let me down" (p. 12) – suggest that she is well aware of this link being severed. It is for this reason also that she exudes desperation in her voice when she reverts to a card player's perspective in one of her signature remarks that speaks directly to the urban crisis: "If you can't beat the Pakeha one way remember that all's fair in love – or cards . . ." (p. 12).

Desperation in these circumstances also influences the voice of Koro in 'The Whale'. Sitting in the decaying meeting house on his marae, the state of the building itself a symbolic reminder of urbanization, he is "the last of his generation" and a solitary holdout against the lure of the city (Ihimaera, 1972, p. 152). In a last ditch attempt to balance the "pull of the Pakeha world" on those who are "like fish too eager to grab at a dangling hook", he imparts all of his knowledge to his niece Hera; "one of the few of his mokopuna who'd been interested in the Maori of the past" (p. 153). But even Koro's "fierce and passionate" voice (p. 156), his drive to instill in her the importance of her whakapapa (genealogy), her ancestry – "And don't you ever forget who you are. You're Maori, understand? You're Maori." (p. 155) – is lost on the girl as she also moves to the city. Her words paint a picture of a losing battle and stifle his voice: "Don't, Koro! The world isn't Maori anymore. But it's the world I have to live in. I know you want me to stay. But I can't" (p. 155).

In another story from *Poumanu Pounamu* (Ihimaera, 1972), 'In Search of the Emerald City', the text extends the discussion of urbanization and the loss of community, although with less emphasis on the grandparent-grandchild bond and more on the family, in general. Images are invoked of *The Wizard of Oz* when Matiu's parents prepare to leave Waituhi in order to find work and schooling for himself and his siblings in the city; a place that is symbolic of hope and prosperity for them. Matiu's father captures the spirit of the moment: 'Wellington's the place. Plenty jobs, plenty money' (p. 90). But the urban milieu, like *Oz*, holds uncertainties. For those who stay in Waituhi, the lure of the city is directly linked to European assimilation and the dissolution of Māori culture. Matiu's uncle, in a remark that addresses urbanization as well as counters his brother's excitement, cries, "The Pakeha way, the Pakeha way. . . . And next thing you know, everybody is leaving" (p. 91). As the small group packs the family car and exchanges farewells with extended family members and friends, Matiu expresses all of the emotions inherent in these urban narratives thus far: "Those are my relatives, my whanau, my home. Now I am leaving them all and I am sad" (p. 92).

Asserting the indigenous consciousness

In spite of the losses conveyed in these texts, both authors create stories that begin to assert indigenous perspectives and themes – or indigenism – as counter-narratives to urban discourse. Annette Jaimes (1995, p. 224), in 'Native American Identity and Survival: Indigenism and Environmental Ethics', outlines some of the basic principles of indigenism as it relates to 'differences in world view' and the literatures in this article: "Native peoples are polytheistic, derive an understanding of the world from the

natural order's rhythms and cycles of life, and include animals and plants as well as other natural features in their conceptions of spirituality". However, when we consider the debilitating aspects of urbanisation, as it occurs in the literary texts of the period we find that the experience appears as a form of resistance and laid the seeds for a growth of new ethnic consciousness within both the Native American Renaissance and its counterpart, the New Zealand Māori Renaissance.

Endnotes

1. Te Whānau-a-Kai is a sub-tribe of Rongowhakaata.
2. Walatowa is the indigenous name for the Jemez Pueblo community.

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Teaching Māori in English-medium schools in New Zealand: Teacher responses to aspects of the curriculum guidelines for *te reo Māori* in English-medium school settings

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Abstract

Opinions are divided about how the content of language courses should be specified and whether educational authorities should include specifications/ suggestions about language content in national curriculum documents. Issues associated with language content are, however, not ones that can be avoided, particularly as teachers are expected to prepare students for national examinations at the upper levels of schooling and these examinations are necessarily predicated on general expectations about proficiency achievements and more specific expectations about the types of language with which students will be familiar. In this article, we explore the complex nature of some of the issues involved and the ways in which the New Zealand Ministry of Education has sought/ is seeking to resolve them in the case of the curriculum for Māori in English-medium schools. We also report on the responses of a sample of teachers of Māori in secondary schools in New Zealand to the omission of language examples from the final version of the curriculum guidelines document.

Introduction

Prior to 2009, the New Zealand Ministry of Education published only one curriculum document (referred to as a syllabus) that was directly concerned with Māori and that that was considered appropriate for use in English-medium school contexts. That document, *Tihē Mauri Ora!*, first appeared in 1990 and was intended for use with students from the beginning of schooling (age 5+) through to Form 2 (age 12+). With reference to that document, Crombie, Johnson and Te Kanawa (2001, p. 2) have made the following observation:

The writers were presented . . . with an extremely difficult task. First, there are no specific minimum requirements in relation to the teaching of Māori language and culture in mainstream schools in New Zealand. Secondly, the background of children in relation to knowledge and understanding of Māori language and culture differs considerably as does that of their teachers. Finally, the educational contexts in which children are introduced to Māori language and culture vary widely: from mainstream classes in which the predominant language is English, through bilingual (Māori and English) classes to, more recently, Māori immersion educational settings. In each of these settings, the cultural and linguistic expectations are very different. . . . In this context, it is not surprising that the aims, and the majority of the objectives, are expressed in very general terms.

The newly released curriculum guidelines document goes some way towards resolving these issues. It is intended for use in relation to the teaching of Māori as a school subject, to be applicable throughout schooling (from Years 1 – 13) and to be used in English-medium school settings only. In relation to the last of these, it is important to note that the reference to English-medium schooling is intended to refer

to school settings in which English (rather than Māori) is the usual medium of instruction. It is not intended to refer to the medium in which Māori is taught. Indeed, the preferred approach, as stated in the curriculum guidelines document itself, is one that is based on communicative language teaching (CLT). The implication is, therefore, that English will not be the primary medium of instruction in the case of the teaching of *te reo Māori*. Indeed, teachers are advised that “*te reo Māori* [should be] used as much as possible in the learning environment” (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2009a, p. 24).

It is made clear in the curriculum guidelines document that although each of the Achievement Objectives (AOs) is introduced at one of the eight curriculum levels (and is a primary focus at that level), the expectation is not that all of the language that could be associated with that AO will be introduced at that level. Once AOs have been introduced, the intention is that they should be recycled (for revision and extension) on an ongoing basis. Thus, the language associated with a particular AO at the point where it is first introduced will be ‘simpler’ than that with which it is later associated. *Table 1* below illustrates, with reference to German, the language with which a particular AO might be associated when it is first introduced (level 1) and the language with which it might be associated when it is recycled at a higher level (level 2) - see Bruce and Whaanga, 2002 (pp. 9 & 11).

Table 1: *The recycling of AOs illustrated with reference to German (levels 1 & 2)*

Achievement Objective	Suggested structures: Curriculum level 1	Example: Curriculum level 1
Recognise, express and enquire about location . (Recycle at Levels 2 & 5)	<i>location e.g. hier, dort, da</i>	Wo ist das Buch? Hier.
	Suggested structures: Curriculum level 2	<i>Examples: Curriculum level 2</i>
	<i>location (locative prepositions only with dative singular of the definite article)</i>	Wo ist das Buch? Unter dem Tisch.
	<i>where you live (e.g. wohnen (in))</i>	Wo wohnst du? Ich wohne in Auckland.

The fact that AOs are introduced and then recycled means that decisions need to be made about the type of language the AOs will be associated with at different curriculum levels. There is a range of critical issues associated with who should make these decisions (decisions about *what* to teach), how they should be made, and how they relate to decisions about methodology (*how* to teach). Leaving such decisions to individual teachers may be consistent with their need to be responsive to the needs of particular learners and groups of learners. However, making decisions of this type is a complex matter. Furthermore, unless there is some consistency in the decision-making, learners who, for example, move from one school to another will be likely to experience difficulties. In addition, the decisions that teachers make at lower levels will inevitably have an impact at higher levels when students take national examinations, examinations that are necessarily predicated on general expectations about proficiency achievements and more specific expectations about the types of language with which students will be familiar. The situation becomes even more complex when we add to the mix the need to take account of much more than grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation (e.g. politeness conventions and the structure of written genres). In attempting to address issues such as these, the curriculum

writers included in early drafts of the curriculum guidelines a range of suggestions in the form of examples and language notes (associated with the AOs) and language focus summaries (associated with each of the eight curriculum levels). These were omitted from the final version of the document. However, teachers have been provided with an online 'grammar progression' and invited to provide feedback. Before discussing in more detail some of the issues associated with language content as they relate to the curriculum guidelines for Māori in the New Zealand curriculum, it is important to consider some of the ways in which these issues have been addressed in literature on language teaching and learning more generally.

Review of selected literature on curriculum, syllabus and course content in the case of additional languages

Issues associated with curriculum and curriculum content

The terms 'curriculum' and 'syllabus' are typically used in rather different ways in the context of different educational systems. Thus, for example, in the context of the North American educational system, the term 'syllabus' is rarely used, the term 'curriculum' being used *either* to cover all aspects of the design of language programmes, including programme content (that is, what is taught) *or* to refer exclusively to programme content. In the British educational system, and in educational systems modelled on it, the term 'curriculum' may be used *either* to refer to all aspects of language programmes, including their content (that is, in a way that encompasses syllabus) *or* all aspects of language programmes with the exception of their content (for which the term 'syllabus' is reserved). Confusion and uncertainty surrounding what is intended by use of the term 'curriculum' is particularly evident in the area of language education. This confusion and uncertainty appear to relate, in part, to publications that have emerged from the Council of Europe since the mid-1970s and, in particular, to aspects of the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR) (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 1) makes the following claim:

[It] provides a common basis for the elaboration of language syllabuses, curriculum guidelines, examinations, textbooks, etc. across Europe. It describes in a comprehensive way what language learners have to learn to do in order to use a language for communication and what knowledge and skills they have to develop so as to be able to act effectively. The description also covers the cultural context in which language is set. The Framework also defines levels of proficiency which allow learners' progress to be measured at each stage of learning and on a life-long basis [emphasis added].

Although the CEFR was designed for use within Europe and, in particular, aims to "facilitate the mutual recognition of qualifications gained in different learning contexts, and accordingly will aid European mobility" (p. 1), it is now having considerable influence in countries outside of Europe (including New Zealand). It is therefore interesting to note what it has to say on issues associated with curriculum, syllabus and course content. Thus, for example, it is noted in the CEFR (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 141) that:

Authorities, when drawing up curricular guidelines or formulating syllabuses, may concentrate on the specification of learning objectives. In doing so, they may specify only higher-level objectives . . . They are not obliged, although

they *may* wish to do so, to specify, in detail the vocabulary, grammar and function/notional repertoires which will enable learners to perform . . . tasks and treat . . . themes. They are not obliged, but *may* wish, to lay down guidelines or make suggestions as to the classroom methods to be employed and the stages through which learners are expected to progress [emphasis added].

This statement provides ‘authorities’ (presumably including Ministries of Education) with a justification for almost any approach to the language curriculum. If they decide to focus only on ‘higher level objectives’ (e.g. the type of objectives that may be associated with general levels of language proficiency), if they decide not to specify (in detail or otherwise) the types of language that learners are expected to be able to recognise and use at different educational stages, then who will be responsible for making decisions about more specific learning objectives and their realization? The answer to this question is provided in the CEFR (p. 141):

Textbook writers and course designers . . . are obliged to make concrete, detailed decisions on the selection and ordering of texts, activities, vocabulary and grammar to be presented to the learner. They are expected to provide detailed instructions for the classroom and/or individual tasks and activities to be undertaken by learners in response to the material presented.

Those who design textbooks and courses may (or may not) include practicing language teachers with expertise in pedagogically relevant ways of describing the target language. As is noted in the CEFR (Council of Europe, p. 141), “[their] products greatly influence the learning/teaching process”. What others might play a role in deciding what aspects of the target language learners are expected to master? According to the CEFR (p. 141), these others will include:

Those concerned with examinations and qualifications [who] will have to consider which learning parameters are relevant to the qualifications concerned, and the level required. They will have to make concrete decisions on which particular tasks and activities to include, which themes to handle, which formulae, idioms and lexical items to require candidates to recognize or recall, what sociocultural knowledge and skills to test, etc.

So far as the New Zealand school system is concerned, the upper levels of the curriculum are associated with national examinations, the prescriptions for these examinations being determined by the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA). Presumably, therefore, the New Zealand Qualifications Authority is expected either to (a) establish learning parameters for its examinations, or (b) respond to those learning parameters that have been established elsewhere. If the latter is the case, these learning parameters would need to have been firmly established. Thus far, most of them have not been. One of the reasons for this may be that it is considered best to leave language teachers free to make these decisions about learning parameters for themselves in the light of the needs to their students. However, responsiveness to the needs of students should not entail specifying the content of curriculum levels differently in the case of different students/ groups of students. It may, however, relate to the time taken to cover curriculum levels and/ or the teaching methodologies and materials used. It may relate to decisions about the integration of material associated with different levels. Thus, for example, teachers may decide to

extend students who are working mainly at a lower level by including some of the material that would generally be associated with a higher level, material that can be revisited again later.

We have seen that the CEFR makes reference to the roles of authorities, textbook and course designers and those concerned with examinations and qualifications. What, then, is the role of language teachers? So far as the writers of the CEFR (p. 141) are concerned:

Teachers are generally called upon to respect any official guidelines, use textbooks and course materials (which they may or may not be in a position to analyse, evaluate, select and supplement), devise and administer tests and prepare pupils and students for qualifying examinations.

All of this raises important issues relating to responsibility and consistency. If, in the absence of specific guidelines on content, authorities rely on textbook designers, course designers and examination bodies to determine the content of language programmes, how can they be sure that that content will be appropriate, particularly in a context where teachers may not be in a position to “analyse, evaluate, select and supplement”? If, on the other hand, they decide to make many of these decisions themselves, in consultation with teachers, they will need to take account of all of the relevant factors, including debates surrounding the ways in which content is specified.

Issues associated with syllabus and syllabus content

In the 1950s and 1960s, linguistic structuralism was a significant factor in the development of second/ foreign language syllabuses in which language structures, particularly syntactic structures, were central (structural syllabuses). However, as the influence of structuralism waned, as linguists and applied linguists became increasingly aware of the fact that much of what is communicated is not directly encoded in language, as the concept of ‘communicative competence/s’ developed (see, for example, Hymes, 1971), the relevance of syllabuses that were almost entirely based on linguistic structures was increasingly subject to challenge.

One of the first coherent challenges to the concept of language syllabuses that focused almost exclusively on linguistic structures was launched from within the Council of Europe. Wilkins (1976) argued in favour of what he referred to as a ‘notional syllabus’ which, he maintained, was superior to a structural syllabus in that it started from/ focused on meaning rather than form. The major categorizing principles of such syllabuses were *functions* (e.g. greetings, threats, warnings), *notions* (which can relate to (a) meanings that can be conveyed structurally (e.g. past time), (b) meanings that are conveyed lexically (e.g. family membership), or (c) meanings that can be conveyed through a combination of vocabulary and structure), and *modal meanings* (e.g. perspectives such as possibility and probability that can be conveyed in a range of ways). Clearly, this sort of organization is predicated on the assumption that (a) there will not be a strict separation of vocabulary and form and pedagogically oriented language descriptions, and (b) different ways of expressing the same/ similar functions, notions and modal meanings will be highlighted. All of this has implications in terms of the providing teachers with a meaning-based system of content-based decision-making.

Although there are some problems associated with functional specification (see, for example, Crombie, 1988), “many practitioners find it . . . advantageous to go from meaning to form” (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 116). This is the approach that underpins Council of Europe publications such as *Threshold 1990* (van Ek & Trim, [1991a]/ 1998a), *Waystage 1990* (van Ek & Trim, [1991b]/ 1998b) and *Vantage* (van Ek & Trim, [1997]/2001) which include specifications relating to the teaching of English “that [start] from a systematic classification of communicative functions and of notions, divided into general and specific, and secondarily [deal] with forms, lexical and grammatical, as their exponents” (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 116). Thus, where Achievement Objectives are specified in terms of communicative tasks (as they are in the case of the curriculum guidelines for Māori), “analysis of the functions, notions, grammar and vocabulary necessary to perform the communicative tasks . . . could be part of the process of developing new sets of language specifications” (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 33). This is, of course, not all that is required. Other aspects of linguistic skills and knowledge need to be accommodated (e.g. phonology and orthography) as do aspects of sociolinguistic skills and knowledge (e.g. rules of politeness) and pragmatic skills and knowledge (e.g. the ability to structure complete texts of different kinds according to accepted conventions.)

Among the many other approaches to designing language syllabuses are, for example, approaches that prioritize culture (*the cultural syllabus* – see, for example, the discussion in Stern, 1992), situations (*the situational syllabus* - see, for example, the discussion in Ur, 2000, p. 178; Wilkins, 1976, p.16), subject content (*the content syllabus* - see, for example, the discussion in Eskey, 1997), vocabulary (*the lexical syllabus* - see, for example, the discussion in Sinclair & Renouf, 1988; Willis, 1990), tasks (*the task-based syllabus* - see, for example, the discussion in Gaffield-Vile, 1996; Nunan, 2004) and topics (*the topic-based syllabus* - see, for example, the discussion in Bourke, 2006). The fact is, however, that most current approaches to language syllabus design are multi-dimensional, with different aspects of content being likely to be given different degrees of priority depending on the nature of the learning programme, the needs/interests of the learners and the stage of learning. Thus, for example, it is noted in the CEFR (Council of Europe, p. 168) that whereas “language teaching in schools has to a large extent tended to stress objectives concerned with either the individual’s *general competence* (especially at primary school level) or *communicative language competence* (particularly for those aged between 11 and 16)”, courses designed for working adults may “formulate objectives in terms of specific *language activities* or functional ability in a particular *domain*”.

The certainties that accompanied the design of language syllabuses in the heyday of linguistic structuralism have long gone. The issues that need to be addressed in designing contemporary language syllabuses are complex ones. Factors that impact on syllabus content are often now seen as overlapping with those that impact on materials and methodology. The fact remains, however, that complex though these issues are, they need to be addressed. Within the context of a national curriculum framework that provides Achievement Objectives, they need to be addressed in ways that ensure some consistency of interpretation of these objectives. Otherwise, there is little or no point in providing them in the first place. As Brumfit (1980, p. 3) stressed three decades ago:

A syllabus is a way of describing something that must be learnt for pedagogic purposes, and the chief characteristic of an educational institution is its

focusing function; that is, an educational institution acts as a physical and temporal focus for learning. The limitations in time and place provide the major differences between formal and informal learning: there is an implicit promise in setting up an educational institution to use procedures that will in some sense be more efficient than the more or less random ones of informal learning in the world outside. And a syllabus is a statement of efficient learning.

Examples, notes and language focus points included in early versions of the *te reo Māori* curriculum guidelines document

The New Zealand Ministry of Education curriculum guidelines document for Māori in English-medium schooling includes each of the following:

- an initial section dealing with, among other things, reasons for learning te reo Māori, what is involved in communicative language teaching, community involvement in the teaching and learning process, approaches to assessment and the structure of the New Zealand curriculum with its eight levels;
- four proficiency target statements, each one associated with two of the eight levels of the curriculum;
- achievement objectives for each of the eight curriculum levels, expressed in terms of communicative outcomes rather than specific linguistic realizations (e.g. communicate about likes and dislikes, giving reasons where appropriate) accompanied by *language modes* (reading, writing, listening, viewing, presenting), *suggested socio-cultural aspects*, *suggested text-types*, *topics*, and *learning and assessment activities*.

In early versions of the guidelines document, each of the Achievement Objectives (AOs) was accompanied by examples of the type of language that that might be associated with its realization at the level at which it was introduced.¹ There were also notes focusing on particular aspects of language and, at the end of each level, an indication of the overall suggested language focus points for that level. Thus, for example, at curriculum level 6, the following examples were associated with the achievement objective *Give and follow instructions*:

Kia pai te tunu i ngā whāngai i a ia ā te rima karaka ***kei*** matekai ia.
Kaua e wareware ki te waea mai ā te waru karaka. ***Kaua e*** kaipaipa.
Kaua e noho ki runga i te tēpu.

Included in the suggested language focus list for curriculum level 6, were:

Use of *kaua e . . .* in the context of negation;
Use of *kia* in imperative constructions.

Associated with the AO *greet, farewell and thank people and respond the greetings and thanks* (appearing at level 1) were the following examples and notes (see *Table 1*):

Table 1: Examples and notes accompanying one of the AOs appearing at level 1 (greet, farewell and thank people and respond the greetings and thanks) in an early version of the curriculum guidelines document

	Examples	Notes
Greetings	Kia ora. Tēnā koe. Tēnā kōrua. Tēnā koutou. Tēnā koe e koro. Tēnā koe e Tio. Tēnā koe e Te Ika. Tēnā koe Aroha. Tēnā koe Lee. Tēnā koe Sylvia.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Note the inclusion of singular, dual and plural in Examples 2 – 4. Note that ‘e’ is used with names and terms of address except where (a) the name is not a Māori name, or (b) where the name has three or more morae (A mora is a bit like a syllable. Consists of either a single short vowel or a consonant followed by a short vowel.)
Farewells	Ka kite anō. Ka kite i a koe. Ka kite i a kōrua. Ka kite i a koutou. Noho mai rā.	
Thanks	Kia ora. Ka nui ngā mihi ki a koe. Ka nui ngā mihi ki a kōrua. Ka nui ngā mihi ki a koutou.	

Examples and notes that accompanied one of the AOs introduced at level 2 (communicate about relationships between people) are provided in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Examples and notes accompanying one of the AOs appearing at level 2 (communicate about relationships between people) in an early version of the curriculum guidelines document

Examples	Notes
<p>Grandparents A: Ko wai mā ō tīpuna? B: Ko Kohu rāua ko Whiti.</p> <p>Uncles and aunts A: Ko wai mā ō mātua kēkē? B: Ko Poia rātou ko Pare ko Hone.</p> <p>Siblings of the same gender A: Tokohia ō tēina? (younger siblings) B1: Tokowhā aku tēina. (plural) B2: Kotahi taku teina. (singular)</p> <p>A: Tokohia ō tuākana? (older siblings) B1: Tokowhā aku tuākana. (plural) B2: Kotahi taku tuakana. (singular)</p> <p>Siblings of a different gender A: Tokohia ō tungāne? (brothers of a female) B1: Tokorima aku tungāne. (plural) B2: Kotahi taku tungāne. (singular)</p> <p>A: Tokohia ō tuāhine? (sisters of a male) B1: Tokorima aku tuāhine. (plural) B2: Kotahi taku tuahine. (singular)</p> <p>Relationship questions with negative response A: Tokohia ō tēina? (younger siblings) B: Kāore aku tēina.</p> <p>A: Tokohia ō tuākana? (older siblings) B: Kāore aku tuākana.</p> <p>A: Tokohia ō tungāne? (brothers of a female) B: Kāore aku tungāne.</p> <p>A: Tokohia ō tuāhine? (sisters of a male) B: Kāore aku tuāhine.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> tō becomes ō for plural. Mā also indicates plural. toko- is used for counting human individuals with the numeral rua – iwa, and with hia indicating the question form. aku indicates plural. In the case of names for relatives (e.g. teina (sg.); tēina (pl.)), the vowel is lengthened to indicate plural. Note that the vowel is not lengthened to indicate plural in the case of tungāne. Plural is marked in the determiner preceding it. Answering in the negative involves the plural form.

The examples and notes included in early versions of the curriculum document did not focus exclusively on vocabulary, grammar and grammatical meanings. Also included were idiomatic expressions and discourse markers. Thus, the following examples and notes (see *Table 3*) accompanied one of the AOs that appeared at level 8 (*present an argument or point of view, with reasons*).

Table 3: Examples and notes accompanying one of the AOs appearing at level 8 (*present an argument or point of view, with reasons*) in an early version of the curriculum guidelines document

Examples	Notes
<p><i>Tēnā whakarongo mai ki tāku kōrero.</i> <i>Nā, whakarongo mai ki āku kōrero.</i> <i>Tuatahi, he ātaahua te ia o te reo Māori, nā te mea, ka āhei te tangata ki te rongō i te mauri o ngā kupu.</i> <i>Nā reira, kei te tika tāku kōrero.</i> <i>Heoi anō, me whakapono mai ki tāku kōrero. E kī mai te kōrero:</i> <i>‘Tā te tamariki, tāna mahi, he wāwāhi tahā’</i> <i>E ai ki te pepeha:</i> <i>‘Waikato taniwha rau, he piko he taniwha, he piko he taniwha’</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Note the idiomatic introduction. • firstly, secondly etc. • therefore: conclusion/ summary. • introducing concluding remarks • proverbial saying used to support the argument • proverbial saying to refer to iwi.

Associating the AOs with examples and providing notes, as is done in the New Zealand curriculum guidelines for French and German (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2002a & b) has a number of potential advantages. These examples and notes can be related *directly* to particular AOs (so that the focus is primarily on the role they play in conveying particular types of meaning) and can be designed in such a way as to focus attention *only* on that information that is likely to be most useful at a particular stage in relation to lesson planning.

At the end of each curriculum level, a summary of suggested language focus points was included. Thus, for example, the language recommended for focus in connection with the AOs introduced at level 1 were as indicated in *Table 4* below.

Table 4: Language focus points associated with the AOs introduced at level 1) in an early version of the curriculum guidelines document

Suggested language focus	Some suggested vocabulary	Notes
Affirmative	<i>Āe</i>	
Articles definite indefinite demonstrative (close to speaker) interrogative determiner	<i>te</i> (singular); <i>ngā</i> (plural) <i>he</i> <i>tēnei</i> (singular); <i>ēnei</i> (plural) <i>tēhea</i> (singular)	In response to a question involving the singular/plural demonstrative for location near the speaker (e.g. <i>tēnei/ēnei</i>), teachers should accept a noun group such as ‘ <i>he pene</i> ’ (meaning ‘a pen’, ‘pens’) as an appropriate reply at this level.
Declarative form with rising intonation for question	<i>Kei . . . ?</i>	
Locative Nouns	<i>runga, muri, mua, raro, roto</i>	
Negation	<i>kāore/ kāo</i>	

Table 4 (cont.): Language focus points associated with the AOs introduced at level 1) in an early version of the curriculum guidelines document

Suggested language focus	Some suggested vocabulary	Notes
Nouns classroom objects days of the week months tribes parts of the marae personal names names of people special occasions	<i>tēpu, tūru, pene, pene rākau, rūri . . .</i> <i>Mane, Tūrei, Wenerei . . .</i> <i>Hānuere, Pēpuere, Māehe . . .</i> <i>Ngāti Porou, Ngāi Tūhoe, Ngāpuhi . .</i> <i>wharenuī, wharekai, marae ātea,</i> <i>marae . . .</i> <i>Tio, Aroha, Te Ika, Lee, Sylvia . . .</i> <i>koro, kui, tama, hine . . . (with ‘e’)</i> <i>rā whānau, Kirihimete . . .</i>	The terms for days and months in Māori vary according to the system. For example, there are three possible ways of referring to months: using a set of terms borrowed from English; using a set of traditional terms; and using a set of terms based on numbers. Some learners may find dates too difficult at this level. Teachers should therefore feel free to deal with dates (including birthdays) at a higher level if they believe this to be appropriate for a particular group of students.
Particles	<i>e (+ names)</i>	
Possessive Pronouns neutral: first, second, third person	<i>taku, tō, tana (singular); aku, ō, ana (plural)</i>	The ‘neutral’ form of the possessive pronouns is selected because it can be used for both <i>a</i> -category and <i>o</i> -category possession.
Prepositions location	<i>kei . . .</i> <i>i . . .</i>	
Pronouns - subject singular: (first person) singular (first person, third person) dual (second person) plural (second person)	<i>au, ahau</i> <i>koe, ia</i> <i>kōrua</i> <i>koutou</i>	In English, a gender distinction is made between ‘he’ and ‘she’. In Māori, however, this distinction is not made in the personal pronoun form ‘ <i>ia</i> ’ (he/she) where gender is normally elicited from the context.
Question forms	<i>Ko te aha . . . ?</i> <i>Ko wai . . . ?</i> <i>He aha . . . ?</i> <i>Nō hea . . . ?</i> <i>Kei hea . . . ?</i> <i>E hia . . . ?</i> <i>Kei te pēhea . . . ?</i>	
Verbs – imperative forms	<i>E tū. E noho.</i> <i>Haere mai. Haere atu.</i> <i>Whakarongo. Pānui mai. Titiro mai.</i> <i>Titiro atu. Hoihoi. Turituri.</i>	
Other Cardinal numbers 1 . . . 9 10 11 . . . 19 20, 30 21 . . . 31 (not including 30) Ordinal numbers 1 . . . 9 10 . . . 31	<i>tahi, rua, toru, whā, rima, ono, whitu,</i> <i>waru, iwa</i> <i>tekau</i> <i>tekau mā tahi . . . tekau mā iwa</i> <i>e rua tekau, e toru tekau</i> <i>e rua tekau mā tahi . . . e rua tekau mā iwa . . .</i> <i>e toru tekau mā tahi</i> <i>tuatahi, tuarua . . . tuaiwa,</i> <i>tekau, tekau mā tahi . . .</i>	Often referred to as ‘basic numbers’ Formula is ‘ <i>tekau mā X</i> ’, where X is one of the basic numbers. <i>Mā</i> can never be omitted here. Formula is ‘ <i>e X tekau</i> ’, where X is one of the basic numbers from <i>rua</i> (2) to <i>iwa</i> (9). Formula is ‘ <i>e X tekau mā Y</i> ’, where X ranges from <i>rua</i> (2) to <i>iwa</i> (9), and Y from <i>tahi</i> (1) to <i>iwa</i> (9). <i>Mā</i> can never be omitted but ‘ <i>e</i> ’ is frequently left out. Ordinal numbers 1-9: prefix <i>tua</i> -plus basic number. Ordinal numbers: 10-31 no prefix. The formula here is exactly the same as that used for cardinal numbers from 10 onwards.

The grammar progression resource

As indicated by Crombie and Whaanga (2006, p.53), an early version of the curriculum guidelines document was trialled. The trials included:

- written questionnaires for teachers;
- semi-structured interviews with teachers;
- classroom-based observation schedules; and
- questionnaires for facilitators.

Following the trials, the Ministry's curriculum review group made a number of recommendations. These included:

- to avoid any possibility that they would be interpreted as a listing of expected lesson content, the number of examples should be reduced;
- examples should be accompanied by English translations.

Because "the trials indicated that teachers were interested in understanding more about the Māori language" the principal writers recommended that "the language notes that appeared in the draft version of the curriculum document be retained" (see Crombie & Whaanga, p. 54).

When the final version of the curriculum guidelines document appeared, a few very general language indicators were included. These were associated with what are referred to as 'language modes' (*whakarongo* (listening); *pānui* (reading); *mātakitaki* (viewing); *kōrero* (speaking); *tuhituhi* (writing); *whakaatu* (presenting)). Thus, for example, associated with *whakarongo* at curriculum level 5 is "distinguish between past and present actions and states". All other language indicators (which had been presented as suggestions only) had been removed. This appeared to be a very significant omission, particularly in view of the fact that many of the teachers consulted had responded positively to them and in view also of the following point made by Bruce and Whaanga (2002, p. 13):

For many languages, particularly those languages that are used widely internationally, the resources that are available to curriculum developers are vast. Not only is there a wide range of approaches to the pedagogic description of these languages, but there are also many existing curriculum and syllabus documents and many teaching resources of various kinds. In the case of te reo Māori, there are considerably fewer resources. . . . For example, in the case of English, curriculum developers who need to determine exactly how a particular structure works or exactly what the differences are between the contexts in which one structure rather than another can be used, can consult a wide range of resource materials.

However, even though the language focus sections were removed from the curriculum guidelines document itself, the Ministry of Education, as indicated earlier, released a 'grammar progression' (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2009b). It is noted in the introduction to that grammar progression that "[at] levels 1 and 2, some items are best treated as 'unanalysed chunks'. This is certainly consistent with the approach adopted in the curriculum guidelines document. However, the examples provided in the grammar progression raise issues of some significance. These examples are (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2009b, ¶2):

Kia ora' is one way of saying hello or thank you. (It is in the form of a verb phrase, literally meaning 'be well', with the elements 'kia' verb particle and 'ora' verb, but do your particular learners need to know that at this stage?)
'Kei te pēhea koe?' is a common part of a greeting routine – you tend to ask how someone is when you greet them. (It is in the form of a Verbal Sentence made up of a Predicate and Subject. The predicate is in the form of a verb phrase and the subject is in the form of a noun phrase etc but is this information appropriate for your learners at this level?)

The answer to the questions asked in the two extracts above is surely '*Certainly not*'. However, if the same question were to be asked with reference to higher levels, the answer should, we believe, be very similar – '*Almost certainly not*'. The aim in teaching *te reo Māori* in schools is to produce students with proficiency (specified in different ways at different curriculum levels) in speaking, listening, reading and writing. It is not to produce language analysts. It does not follow from this that it is never appropriate to discuss *te reo Māori* in analytical terms. There is no doubt that certain types of 'knowledge *about* language' can benefit language learners. However, presenting language rules *explicitly* is not generally now regarded as a useful way of teaching learners to use a language, particularly where a communicative approach is recommended (as it is in the case of the *te reo Māori* curriculum guidelines). The teacher's task is to present rules and constraints² *implicitly*, that is, to provide learners with contextualized samples of language in ways that will encourage them to notice those similarities and differences that will lead them towards awareness of rules and constraints.³ Thus, so far as the principal writers were concerned, reference in the curriculum guidelines document to the fact that students in the early stages of learning will often treat segments of language as 'unanalyzed chunks' was intended to indicate that all that is sometimes necessary is that they should associate *whole utterances* (e.g. *Haere atu*) with 'global meanings' (e.g. *Go away*). At later stages, they will begin to realize that parts of these utterances have particular meanings, that, for example, *atu* has the specific meaning of 'in a direction away from the speaker'. Unfortunately, the extracts from the grammar progression resource quoted above give the impression that providing explicit detailed grammatical rules is a necessary part of teaching higher level learners to use the language. Furthermore, it seems to conflict with the following advice that appears later in the introduction to the grammar progression resource: *Introduce grammar in 'context'. This is a key way to achieving understanding.*

Further extracts from the introduction to the grammar progression resource are provided below (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2009b, ¶4):

The references given here are for the teacher. They provide explanations for aspects of the grammar of Māori written for adults. *In most cases* teachers will not show their learners the reference books. Nor will they *necessarily* use the technical language used in the books. [Italics added]

The extract above implies that there are occasions on which it might be appropriate for teachers of *te reo Māori* to show learners the reference books to which reference is made in the grammar progression resource and even to use the technical language that appears in them. Certainly, there are occasions on which it may be appropriate to teach learners *about* *te reo Māori*. However, the danger is that the extract above will be interpreted as having some direct bearing on teaching learners *to use* *te reo Māori*.

This danger is reinforced by advice such as the following (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2009b, ¶5):

The teacher can explain the basic shape of a phrase in Māori, and then explain the different types of phrases (for example, noun phrases, verb phrases, prepositional phrases) and the parts they have, and the types of words that can fit into each part. *Then* the learners can experiment with making their own phrases to express their own meanings [Italics added].

The danger is that the extract above could be read as signalling that learners require *explicit* grammatical explanation prior to/ in order to be able to experiment with creating their own meanings.

The following extract of the grammar progression is also potentially confusing/misleading (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2009b, ¶9):

The grammar progression is presented with the needs of secondary school teachers and learners in mind. Younger learners are likely to progress more slowly through the levels, partly because of their level of conceptual development, but also because they may not spend as much time on *te reo Māori* each week in their primary or intermediate school settings.

In common with all other New Zealand Ministry of Education curriculum guidelines documents, the curriculum guidelines document relating to *te reo Māori* has eight attainment levels. The achievement objectives remain the same irrespective of the age of learners and of the time it takes them to complete each level. Therefore, a grammar progression that relates to the curriculum document and to the achievement objectives it contains should be the same irrespective of the age of the learners or of the amount of time it takes them to complete each level. This is surely an assumption that is built into the New Zealand Curriculum Framework overall.

At the end of the introduction, the grammar progression provides a list of references (Bauer, 1997; Harlow, 2001; Head, 1989; Te Taura Whiri, 1999), followed by grammar progression tables, one for each two levels of the curriculum. Each of the tables is preceded by a summary. The following extract from the summary that precedes the table relating to curriculum levels 1 & 2 reinforces the impression that teachers are actually expected to teach grammar rules explicitly:

At levels 1 and 2 - introduce basic ideas about the structure of words, phrases and sentences in Māori. Add to this ‘unanalysed chunks’, or formulaic and routine ways of expressing particular meanings – for example, simple greeting and leave-taking routines - without analysing their structure.

The tables provide information about the structure of *te reo Māori*, generally (but not always), accompanied by an indication of where in the resource materials recommended further information is to be found. Thus for example, for information about non-past progressive (with *ka* + verb and *kei te* + verb), progressive aspect (with *e* + verb + *ana*), simple past tense (with *i* + verb) and perfect aspect (with *kua* + verb), readers are directed to sections headed ‘verb phrases’ and ‘verbal particles’ in Harlow (2001, pp, 108 & 51 – 64).

It is difficult to see how all of the information referred to above can be motivated by the achievement objectives that appear at levels 1 & 2 of the curriculum guidelines document.⁴ Thus, for example, it is not until curriculum levels 3 and 5 that the following achievement objectives (referring to past time) occur:

- 3.5 Communicate about immediate past activities;
- 5.1 Communicate about past activities and events;
- 5.5 Communicate about present and past states, feelings and opinions.

In connection with this, it is important to note that users are invited to provide feedback about the grammar progression. Issues such as this may be resolved in that process of consultation.

Before considering why The New Zealand Ministry of Education may have decided to exclude all language indicators from its curriculum guidelines for *te reo Māori* in English-medium settings, it is important to give careful consideration to some critical developments in the area of the design of language curricula and language syllabuses.

Responses of a sample of teachers to the New Zealand Ministry of Education's curriculum guidelines for *te reo Māori* in English-medium school settings

In 2009, a questionnaire-based survey of a sample of teachers of *te reo Māori* in English-medium secondary school settings was conducted as part of the doctoral research of one of the authors of this paper. The primary aim of the survey was to investigate the backgrounds, attitudes and practices of a sample of teachers of Māori in mainstream school settings, the main focus being on language background, teaching qualifications and teaching experience, and attitudes, beliefs and practices relating to curriculum documentation, teaching resources and pedagogic approaches. The questionnaire contained 42 questions. The questionnaires were mailed to 50% of those New Zealand English-medium schools that offer *te reo Māori* as a school subject and were also made available at a meeting of the Tainui Teachers' Association. Thirty-two (32) completed questionnaires were returned in the first round. In terms of age range, 2 of the respondents were 30 or under, 8 were between 31 and 40, 10 between 41 and 50, 9 between 51 and 60 and 3 over 60. Twenty eight (28) indicated that their first language was English, 8 that it was *te reo Māori*. Sixty five per cent (65%) indicated that they had a qualification that was specific to the teaching of *te reo Māori*. In this section, we report on responses to that part of the questionnaire that related to responses the Ministry of Education's curriculum guidelines document for the teaching and learning of *te reo Māori* in English-medium school settings.

Asked whether they had received a copy of the final draft version of the Ministry of Education's curriculum guidelines for the teaching and learning of *te reo Māori*, 27 indicated that they had, 3 that they had not and 2 that they could not remember.⁵ Asked whether they had completed the questionnaire that accompanied that draft version, only 12 indicated that they had. When those who had completed the questionnaire were asked whether they believed that the questions included in that questionnaire were the right ones (i.e. the questions that needed to be asked), 4 reported believing that the questions asked were the right ones, 7 that they were not and 1 that only some of them were.

Asked whether they believed that the document would be useful to them in planning *te reo Māori* programmes in their school, 28 responded. Of these, 17 indicated that it would, 9 that it would be useful to some extent and 2 that it would not be useful at all.

It was noted in connection with the next question that the final version of the curriculum document did not provide examples of the type of language that could be associated with each of the achievement objectives (AOs). An indication of the type of guidance that might have been provided (taken from an early version of the curriculum document) was provided (see *Table 5* below).

Table 5: An indicator of the type of examples that were provided in an early version of the curriculum document

AO	Examples
1.1 Greet, farewell and thank people and respond to greetings and thanks	Formal greetings: <i>Tēnā koe/kōrua/koutou.</i> <i>Tēnā kōrua, e hoa mā; Tēnā koutou, tamariki mā.</i> Informal greeting: <i>Kia ora.</i> Informal farewells: <i>Ka kite anō; Hei konei rā, Hei konā rā, Noho ake rā.</i> Formal farewells: <i>E noho rā; Haere rā; Hei konā rā</i> (phone). Informal thanks: <i>Tēnā koe; Kia ora.</i> Formal thanks: <i>Ngā mihi nui ki a koe/kōrua/koutou.</i> Terms of address: <i>E kui, e koro, e tama, e kare, e hika, e mara, e hine, e hoa</i>

Survey participants were asked to indicate whether they believed that examples of this type would have been useful. Thirty (31) of the 32 participants responded to this question, with 30 indicating that they believed that examples of this type would have been useful and 1 that they would not.

As a preamble to the next question, it was indicated that even more detail could have been provided, the example below (also taken from an earlier version of the curriculum document) was provided (see *Table 6* below).

Table 6: An indicator of the more detailed type of examples that were provided in an early version of the curriculum document

AO	Suggested structures	Examples
1.5 Recognise, express and enquire about location	<i>Location</i> Past location: using 'i' preposition to mark tense. Present location using 'kei' preposition to mark tense. <i>Interrogative forms</i> Past tense: using 'i' preposition to mark tense with question form 'w/hea'. Present tense: Using 'kei' preposition to mark tense with question form 'w/hea'.	Location Past location <i>I runga i te whare; I roto i te whare;</i> <i>I muri i te whare; I mua i te whare.</i> Present location <i>Kei runga i te whare; Kei roto i te whare;</i> <i>Kei muri i te whare; Kei mua i te whare.</i> Interrogative forms Past tense <i>I w/hea te ngeru?</i> Present tense <i>Kei w/hea te ngeru?</i>

Survey participants were asked to indicate whether they believed that examples of this type would have been useful. This time, 30 of the 32 participants responded, with 29 indicating that they believed that examples of this type would have been useful, and 1 that they would not.

The curriculum guidelines for the teaching and learning of *te reo Māori* in English-medium schools recommend a communicative approach. Asked to select, from a list of possible options, one or more of their preferred approaches, 22 (69%) selected *communicative*, with a surprisingly high number (18/56%) selecting *grammar translation*. Clearly, some of the survey participants selected both of these categories. Even so, when asked to indicate which of a number of areas they felt they needed to know more about, only 17 (53%) selected teaching methodologies.

Conclusion

The certainties that accompanied the teaching of modern languages in the heyday of linguistic structuralism are long gone. In the context of the uncertainty and disagreement that have characterized much that has been written about the teaching and learning of languages over the past few decades, it is extremely difficult to provide effective guidance at a national level. This difficulty is compounded by the need to ensure that any guidelines that are provided are open to similar types of interpretation by examination authorities, course designers, materials writers, teachers, and those who provide supplementary resources of various kinds. These problems are unlikely to be resolved in the absence of *specific agreement* about how decisions are to be made about the language content associated with different curriculum levels and about how these decisions can best be articulated so as to make them directly relevant to the pedagogic contexts in which teachers are operating. In the context of the teaching and learning of languages, decisions about *what* to teach cannot be divorced from decisions about *how* to teach. It is the *integration* of Achievement Objectives, language content, topics, texts types, modes, socio-cultural themes, and learning and assessment activities that breathes life into a language programme. In producing a curriculum guidelines document for *te reo Māori* in English-medium schools, the New Zealand Ministry of Education began a process that will necessarily involve many years of discussion and experimentation if it is to be of genuine usefulness to teachers and learners.

Endnotes

1. Arguably, it would have been better had there also been examples of the language that might be associated with each of these AOs when it was recycled at a higher levels.
2. The term ‘constraints’ is intended to refer here to social and cultural constraints such as the use of certain politeness forms in certain circumstances.
3. An example of this is provided in the article by Johnson and Nock that also appears in this issue.
4. These are as follows:
 - 1.1 Greet, farewell, and thank people and respond to greetings and acknowledgments;
 - 1.2 Introduce themselves and others and respond to introductions;
 - 1.3 Communicate about number, using days of the week, months, and dates;
 - 1.4 Communicate about personal information, such as name, parents’ and grandparents’ names, iwi, hapū, mountain, and river or home town and place of family origin;
 - 1.5 Communicate about location;
 - 1.6 Understand and use a range of politeness conventions (for example, ways of

- acknowledging people, expressing regret, and complimenting people;
- 1.7 Use and respond to simple classroom language (including asking for the word to express something in Māori);
 - 2.1 Communicate about relationships between people;
 - 2.2 Communicate about ownership;
 - 2.3 Communicate about likes and dislikes, giving reasons where appropriate;
 - 2.4 Communicate about time, weather and seasons;
 - 2.5 Communicate about physical characteristics, personality and feelings.
5. It may be that some of these teachers did not receive a copy because they were not distributed by heads of department.

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Using the curriculum guidelines for the teaching and learning of *te reo Māori* in Years 1 – 13 of New Zealand schools to create lessons for young learners

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Abstract

In 2009, The New Zealand Ministry of Education published curriculum guidelines for *te reo* Maori in Years 1 – 13 of English-medium New Zealand schools, that is, from age 5 upwards. These guidelines recommend a communicative approach to the teaching and learning of *te reo Māori*. In this article, we discuss communicative approaches and provide examples of ways in which teachers can design communicative language lessons that are appropriate for very young learners, lessons that are not only fun but also effective in developing genuine communicative competence in *te reo Māori*.

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Introduction

In 2009, the New Zealand Ministry of Education released curriculum guidelines for the teaching and learning of *te reo Māori*. That document - *Te aho arataki marau mō te ako i te reo Māori: Kura auraki (Curriculum Guidelines for Teaching and Learning Te Reo Māori in English-medium Schools: Years 1 – 13)* – recommends a communicative way of language teaching (pp. 23 - 24).¹ The following extract is from that section:

Communicative language teaching is teaching that enables students to engage in meaningful communication in the target language. Such communication has a function over and above that of language learning itself.

Among other things, teaches are advised to ensure that:

- *te reo Māori* is used as much as possible in the learning environment;
- interactive, learner-centred tasks are central to the programme;
- language structures are introduced and practised in meaningful contexts;
- non-verbal aspects of communication are included in the programme;
- students develop a range of different language learning strategies;
- students' language learning strategies include strategies for engaging with unfamiliar language;
- language is presented in a way that encourages students to look for patterns and rules.

We begin here by exploring some aspects of communicative language teaching (CLT) through the review of some selected publications in the area. We then suggest ways of

developing communicative materials for young learners of *te reo Māori* (from 5 – 11) that are consistent with the achievement objectives included in the curriculum guidelines, providing an example.

A review of selected literature on communicative language teaching (CLT)

The concept of communicative language teaching (CLT) is closely linked to concepts of communicative competence/ communicative competences. In the 1970s, a number of linguists (e.g. Campbell & Wales, 1970; Habermas, 1970; Hymes, 1971; Jakobovits, 1970) directed attention to the range of things that users of a language needed to be able to do in order to use that language to communicate, that is, in order to develop ‘communicative competence’. For Hymes (1971), communicative competence included: *formal possibility* (understanding of the rules of language), *implementational feasibility* (understanding of the factors, such as memory limitations, that impact on whether a particular utterance is likely to be understood), *contextual appropriacy* (understanding of the contexts in which particular utterances are, or are not appropriate), and *the performative role of utterances* (understanding of the ways in which the interaction between utterances and the contexts in which they occur contributes to the functions, such as warning or complimenting, that these utterances perform). Definitions of communicative competence have changed over time, becoming more complex and multi-faceted. Thus, for example, Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei and Thurrell (1995) divided communicative competence into five major components - *discourse competence* (the ability to understand and create coherent spoken and written discourses), *linguistic competence* (knowledge of language structure), *transactional competence* (the ability to use language to negotiate), *sociocultural competence* (the ability to use language appropriately in a range of social and cultural contexts), and *strategic competence* (the ability to use a range of strategies to maximize effective communication). More recently, the Council of Europe (2001, pp. 108-130) has proposed a model that divides communicative competence into *linguistic skills and knowledge* (including phonology, orthography, vocabulary, morphology and syntax), *sociolinguistic skills and knowledge* (including rules of politeness, norms governing relationships and codification of social rituals), and *pragmatic skills and knowledge* (including discourse competence, functional competence and design competence).

Essentially, the notion of ‘communicative competence’ or ‘communicative competences’ acts as a reminder that using languages accurately and appropriately involves much more than understanding grammatical rules. This being the case, it is necessary to develop approaches to the teaching of languages that ensure that there is adequate opportunity for learners to use the target language in genuinely meaningful ways (rather than simply to engage in decontextualized repetitive practice of language segments). It is this that led to the development of what is commonly referred to as ‘communicative language teaching’ (CLT) which is an overall approach to language teaching that can be associated with a range of different methodologies. Differences among learners need to be reflected in the variety of methods and materials employed.

Littlewood (1981) defined communicative language teaching in terms of four broad skill domains and three general principles. The skill domains were: *manipulation of the language system*; *ability to relate form and communicative function*; *understanding of the social meanings of linguistic forms*; and *strategic control in the use of language to communicate effectively in specific situations* (p. 6). The principles

were: *the communication principle* (involving the belief that activities that involve genuine communication promote learning); *the task principle* (carrying out meaningful tasks is regarded as important to language learning); and *the meaningfulness principle* (the learning process is supported to the extent that language is used meaningfully) (pp. 6, 77 & 78).

One of the best known definitions of communicative language teaching is that provided by Nunan (1991, pp. 279-295) which includes:

- emphasis on learning to communicate through interaction in the target language;
- introduction of authentic texts into the learning situation;
- provision of opportunities for learners to focus not only on language but also on the learning process itself;
- enhancement of the learner's own personal experiences as important contributing elements to classroom learning; and
- attempt to link classroom language learning with language activities outside the classroom.

It is important to be clear about the fact that 'authentic materials' does not necessarily, particularly in the early stages of language learning, mean materials that are/ were designed for purposes other than the teaching/ learning of languages. As Widdowson (1983, p. 30) has observed, the concept of authenticity should not be confused with that of genuineness: materials may be regarded as authentic so long as they are appropriate and accessible.

Preparing communicative lessons for very young learners: An example

The expectation is that the Achievement Objectives (AOs) that appear at different levels will be included at the level at which they appear in the curriculum guidelines. However, depending on the context and the needs and interests of the students, they can also provide the foundation for lessons at higher or lower levels. They can, in addition, be divided up into a number of parts and/ or combined with other Achievement Objectives (from the same or different levels) and can be realized in the context of a wide range of topics, text-types and sociocultural themes.

The following lesson plan is based largely on an Achievement Objective that appears at level 1: *use and respond to simple classroom language*. It is important to note, however, that this is only one of many possible lessons that could relate to this Achievement Objective, each one of which could introduce and/or practise the type of language that might be used on a day-to-day basis in the classroom. It is relevant also to note that this lesson can also be related to an Achievement Objective that appears at level 6: *give and follow instructions*. Instructions can be simple or complex. The instruction-types that are introduced at level 6 are likely to be more complex. This lesson would be likely to occur as one of a sequence of lessons dealing with the topic of animals. Some of them would focus on themes of particular social or cultural relevance (e.g. ensuring that domestic animals are excluded from the *marae atea*); others (such as this one) may be socially and culturally relevant in a more general sense. In this case, the emphasis is on treating animals well and teaching them through the provision of praise and rewards.

The assumption here is that the learners have already been introduced to simple greetings in *te reo Māori*. They are re-introduced to one of these in the scene-setting section at the beginning of the lesson (where they meet the characters who appear in the lesson).

The pictures included in the main part of the lesson are intended to help the learners to understand the meaning of each utterance without the need for translation. In this way, and through the use of gestures and teaching aids (such as a toy dog), it should be possible to keep the use of English in the classroom to the absolute minimum without creating any comprehension problems. As a rule of thumb, we would recommend that English is used in this lesson, if at all, only in setting the scene at the very beginning and, if necessary, in helping the learners to understand what the final tasks involve.

Although the lesson can be presented verbally, with taped utterances being played to accompany each of the illustrations (or simply with the teacher saying each of the utterances initially), it can also be useful to provide students with a written version of the text that they can look at while listening to the tape (or the teacher's voice). Decisions about whether or not to focus on reading and writing as well as listening and speaking will depend on the existing competences of the learners.

The lesson is presented below in the form of instructions for teachers. Teachers who design their own lessons (which are often very simple to prepare and can make use of clipart collections for illustrative purposes) would be likely to follow a lesson plan (such as the one included at the end of this lesson). In this case, the lesson is presented in the form of the type of instructions that would be likely to appear in a teachers' guide.

The lesson: *Haere mai!*

Main teaching points

Giving instructions: *Haere atu! Hoki mai! E noho! E tū! Hoihoi!*

Vocabulary

Nouns: *kurī*

Adjectives: *pai*

Pronunciation

Associating vowel length and the macron (in the case of a focus on reading and writing as well as listening and speaking).

Revision

Greeting more than two people: *Tēnā koutou!*


Introducing yourself: *Ko . . . ahau.*


Praising: *Ka pai!*

Instructions: *Titiro mai! Whakarongo mai! Kōrero mai!*

Stage 1: Setting the context for the lesson

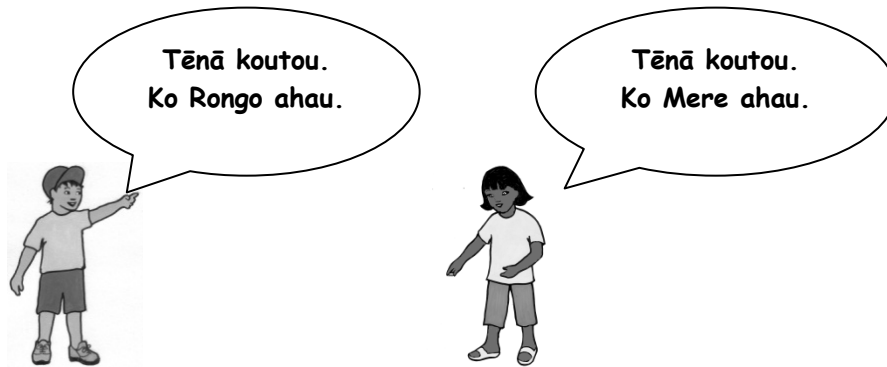
In this section, the learners meet the characters who will appear later in the lesson, using language with which they are already familiar.

Say '*titiro mai*' while pointing to a picture of eyes  and then to your eyes.

Say '*whakarongo mai*' while pointing to the picture of an ear  and then cupping

your hand round your ear.

Attach the following words and pictures (appropriately sized) to the whiteboard.



Facing the class, point to the speech bubble in the first picture and say:
Tēnā koutou. Ko Rongo ahau.

Point to the speech bubble in the second picture and say:
Tēnā koutou. Ko Mere ahau.

At this point, you could, if you wish, tell the learners in English that today's lesson is going to be about Rongo and Mere who have decided to teach their dogs to follow some simple instructions.

Stage 2: Introducing and/or revising vocabulary

This section of the lesson involves introducing (or revising) vocabulary that is relevant to the main part of the lesson. You will be introducing or revising the noun ***kurī***, the adjective ***pai*** and the phrase ***Ka pai!*** The instructions that make up the main part of the lesson (the new language) will be introduced later.

Attach the picture of a dog (appropriately sized) to the whiteboard with the word ***kurī*** beside it.



Cup your hand around your ear and say: ***Whakarongo mai!***
Now point to your eyes and say ***Titiro mai!***

Point to the picture and say: ***He kurī.***

(Keep your language as simple as possible. **Avoid** asking the question *He aha tēnei?* This question form along with *tēnei* and *tēnā* can be introduced in a separate lesson.)

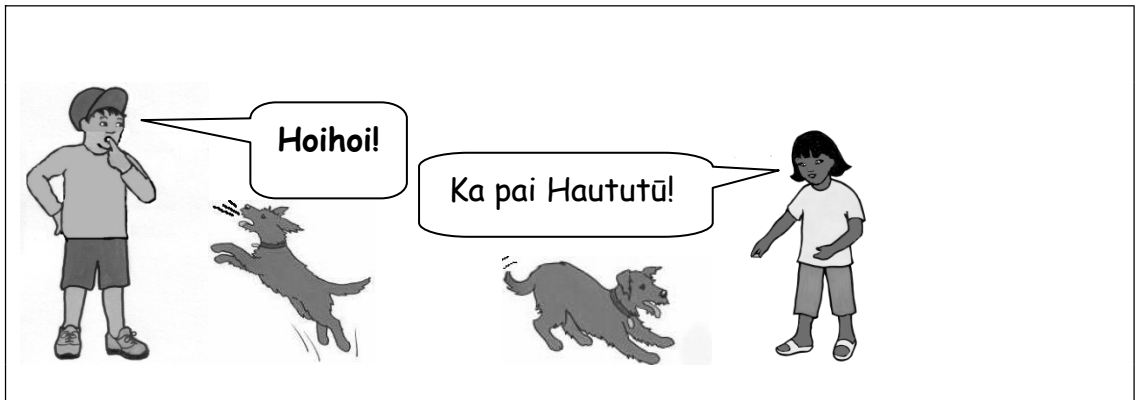
Stage 3: Introducing the language associated with the teaching points

This is the part of the lesson where we introduce the language associated with the main teaching points. At this stage, we are simply introducing the language in the context provided by the pictures where it is likely to be understood. The language introduced in this section, along with *Whakarongo mai!* and *Titiro mai!* which were introduced earlier, may be useful in the context of classroom management throughout the language programme.

Notice that you don't need to use written words. If you are focusing only on listening and speaking, you can have empty speech bubbles and simply say the words or use a tape recording.

Attach the pictures and words (appropriately sized) to the whiteboard in sequence.





At this stage of the lesson:

- read the picture story (or play a tape of the picture story), getting the learners to look at the pictures as you read;
- read the story again (or play a tape of the picture story again), getting the learners, if they are familiar with writing, to try to read the words as they listen or, if they are not yet familiar with writing, to look again at the pictures as you read;
- read the picture story for a third time (or play a tape of the picture story again), pausing before some of the words (e.g. before *Ka pai Haututū!*) and getting the learners to read them with you or, if they are able to, to repeat them from memory as you read. Help as much as necessary.

Stage 4: Teaching the language and checking understanding

The new language has been introduced in the context of a picture story. Now you need to teach the language associated with the teaching point and check understanding. A toy dog would be useful for this stage of the lesson.

Get the learners to look at the first picture of the text again. Now point away from you and say **Haere atu!** and make the toy dog run away from you.

Say **Kōrero mai!** and make an inclusive hand gesture around the class, getting everyone to say **Haere atu!** together (several times).

Pass the toy dog round the learners getting them to do what you did and say **Haere atu!**

Follow the same procedure for: **Hoki mai! E tū! E noho!** and **Hoihoi!**

Now you need to check understanding (concept checking).

Gesture to three of the learners to come up to the front of the class, saying **Hoki mai!** These learners are going to pretend to be the dog. You are going to give instructions. At this stage, use words only (without gestures) unless the students still need to have gestures associated with the words.

Give instructions in different sequences and get the learners to follow them (make sure you don't ask them to stand up if they aren't already sitting down or to come here if they are already here or to be quiet if they aren't making a noise though). Remember to say **Ka pai!** when the learners do the right thing.

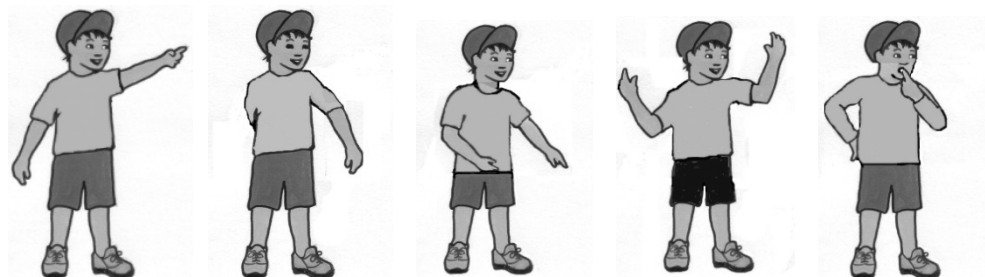
Stage 5: Controlled practice

The aim of this section of the lesson is to give the learners lots of opportunity to have fun practising things they have learned. Get the learners to work in pairs - with one giving instructions and the other (pretending to be a dog if you think this is appropriate) following them (and then reversing the roles).

Stage 6: Freer practice

The aim of this section of the lesson is to get the learners to select the language they want to use. This activity is appropriate only in the case of learners who have already been involved in reading and writing in *te reo Māori*. If this is not the case, omit this stage of the lesson.

Give each of the learners a large piece of cardboard (about A4 size). Make lots of copies of the pictures below cut out each one separately. Put them in a pile and get each student to select three.



Now let each learner choose three speech bubbles containing the words they will need

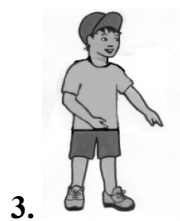
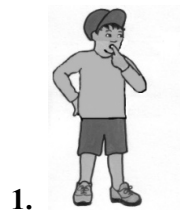
to match their pictures. They select from piles of the speech bubbles.



Their task is to make posters. They should stick their three pictures one below the other down the left hand side of their piece of cardboard and then stick the appropriate speech bubble next to each of the pictures. They should then draw beside each of the learners and speech bubbles a dog that has followed the instruction. You could also get them to write *Ka pai!* beside each of their dog pictures.






Stage 7: Checking learning (assessment)

Put the pictures below (appropriately sized) on the whiteboard. Then give the instructions several times in any order, getting the learners (together or individually) to say the number of the picture that illustrates each instruction you give (in Māori if they have already learned the numbers one to five) or to point to the appropriate picture. Remember to praise correct responses by saying *Ka pai!*



Activities for subsequent lessons or for homework (optional)

1. Tahī: Get the learners to match the pictures and the word numbers.

Pikitia	Nama
	
	
	
	
	

1. Haere atu! 2. E tū! 3. Hoki mai! 4. E noho! 5. Hoihoi!

2. Rua: Get learners to find words that match the pictures in the puzzle and then write them underneath the pictures.





_____ **mai**



_____ **mai**



Ka _____!



_____!




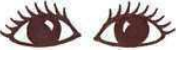




n	ō	m	p	n	g	u	h	ā	h	ī
g	w	h	a	k	a	r	o	n	g	o
k	h	u	i	u	n	p	i	g	r	p
u	ū	o	h	ō	m	ī	h	e	k	m
r	p	t	i	t	i	r	o	w	h	t
ī	n	k	w	h	ū	k	i	p	u	ā

The completed puzzle with the words highlighted is printed below.

n	ō	m	p	n	g	u	h	ā	h	ī
g	w	h	a	k	a	r	o	n	g	o
k	h	u	i	u	n	p	i	g	r	p
u	ū	o	h	ō	m	ī	h	e	k	m
r	p	t	i	t	i	r	o	w	h	t
ī	n	k	w	h	ū	k	i	p	u	ā

3. Toru Get the learners to try to complete the crossword puzzle.



1. E _____ ! 	1.  mai!
2. _____ ! 	3. E _____ ! 
4. _____  mai!	5. _____  atu!

					1					
2										
									3	
4	5		6							

The completed puzzle is printed below.

					¹ t	ū			
² h	o	i	h	o	i				
					t				
					i				³ n
⁴ w	⁵ h	a	⁶ k	a	r	o	n	g	o
		a			u				h
		e			r				o
		r			ī				
		e							

The lesson plan

The following lesson plan outlines all that is necessary for the lesson outlined here.

Lesson Plan	
Achievement objective/s	Level 1: Use and respond to simple classroom language
Outcomes	By the end of the lesson, learners will be able to give, and respond appropriately to a number of simple instructions.
Subsidiary aims	The lesson will involve listening and speaking OR listening, speaking, reading and writing.
Assumptions	Learners will have already been introduced to simple greetings and introductions and to two instructions.
Language focus	Instructions: <i>Haere atu! Hoki mai! E noho! E tū! Hoihoi!</i>
Vocabulary	Noun: <i>kurī</i> . Adjective: <i>pai</i> .
Pronunciation focus	Focus on relationship between macron and long vowels (if the learners have already been introduced to reading and writing in Māori).
Sociocultural aspect/s & values	Teaching animals to follow instructions/ commands through positive reinforcement.
Topic/s	Teaching dogs to obey instructions/commands.
Text type/s	Simple picture-based story sequence. Posters.
Learning activities	Decoding text (listening OR listening and reading); Practising giving instructions (listening and speaking); Practicing following instructions; Drawing pictures in response to spoken instructions (pictures only) or adding words to pictures or drawing pictures and adding words to make posters)
Assessment activity	Listening to instructions and ticking a picture-based answer sheet or pointing to appropriate pictures on the whiteboard.
Resources	Pictures; word bubbles; pieces of A4 cardboard; pens or pencils.
Lesson staging	
Stage 1	Set the context for the lesson
Stage 2	Introduce/ revise vocabulary: <i>kurī</i> ; <i>pai</i>
Stage 3	Introduce the language associated with the teaching points – introduce text (picture-based story sequence), includes the instructions that are the primary focus of the lesson.
Stage 4	Teach the new language and check understanding.
Stage 5	Controlled practice activity - listening and speaking: Learners give and follow instructions in pairs.
Stage 6	Freer practice activity (optional) - Making posters
Stage 7	Assessment: Listening to instructions and ticking a picture-based answer sheet or pointing to appropriate illustrations on the whiteboard.
Stage 8	Tasks for subsequent lesson or homework (optional): Matching words and pictures; Word puzzle; Crossword puzzle.

What are the communicative characteristics of this lesson?

Let's think again about the advice provided in the curriculum guidelines. First, teachers are advised (p. 23) that:

Communicative language teaching is teaching that enables students to engage in meaningful communication in the target language. Such communication has a function over and above that of language learning itself.

In the case of this lesson, the imperative construction in Māori is presented in a context in which they would naturally occur and the learners are encouraged to use the language in that context of giving instructions.

How closely does the lesson follow the advice given in the curriculum guidelines (p. 24)?

Te reo Māori [should be] used as much as possible in the learning environment

The lesson is designed in such a way as to ensure that there is little need to use English. The illustrations are carefully selected to ensure that translation is not necessary in order for meaning to be conveyed.

Interactive, learner-centred tasks [should be] central to the programme.

The lesson includes lots of tasks that are appropriate for young learners. In several of these, the learners work together giving and following instructions.

Language structures [should be] introduced and practised in meaningful contexts.

In the lesson, imperative constructions are introduced and practiced in a context (training dogs) that has meaning for young learners.

Non-verbal aspects of communication [should be] included in the programme.

In this case, the context has been carefully chosen so that gestures that help the learners to understand the meaning of the utterances can be used appropriately, that is, in the context of training dogs. In this case, the inclusion of gestures is largely a matter of methodology. The advice in the curriculum guidelines document is intended largely to refer to non-verbal aspects of communication (such as *hongi*) that are culturally specific.

Students develop a range of different language learning strategies.

In the case of this lesson, the learners are encouraged to pay careful attention to the illustrations. Attending to the interaction between illustrations and words can be a useful language learning strategy, particularly in the early stages of language learning.

Students' language learning strategies [should] include strategies for engaging with unfamiliar language.

All of the new language takes the form of instructions. Two of these begin with activity verbs ('haere' and 'hoki'). One ends with the directional particle 'mai', signalling direction towards the speaker (*Hoki mai!*). The other ends with the directional particle 'atu', signalling direction away from the speaker (*Haere atu!*). The replacement (*mai/ atu*), combined with the clear directional indications in the illustrations, helps the learners to begin to associate parts of the utterance with particular general meanings. These meanings will become more specific as the learners begin to make connections with utterances to which they have already been introduced (*Titiro mai!*; *Whakarongo mai!* *Kōrero mai!*) and encounter further examples later in their course. Two of the examples begin with 'e', a particle that is used in commands before verbs that have one long vowel or two short vowels. Once again, further exposure to a range of examples will allow learners to gradually begin to associate the initial 'e' particle with certain contexts of use. With older learners, teachers may wish to refer to the rule at some stage (but not in a way that disrupts the progress of lessons whose focus is language acquisition).²

Language [should be] presented in a way that encourages students to look for patterns and rules.

As indicated above, the new language is made up of instructions presented together in a way that highlights similarities and differences among them and between two of them and two instructions that were introduced earlier. At first, the learners will almost certainly use the language in a formulaic way. Gradually, however, if the examples to which they are introduced initially are selected carefully, the learners will become aware of the fact that different segments carry different meanings, particularly if appropriate gestures and/ or visual aids are used as the different segments are articulated.

Conclusion

Effective language courses are generally characterized by: the inclusion of lots of revision; the careful selection of new language (so as to highlight similarities and differences and build on existing competences); the embedding of new language in contexts that are meaningful (make sense to learners) and authentic (have relevance outside of the classroom); provide a context for further meaningful activities; and include relevant social and cultural references. With all of this in place, it should be possible, from the very beginning, even with very young learners, to avoid that form of teaching through translation that so often characterizes lessons that have not been carefully thought through in advance. Using some readily available resources (such as toys, everyday objects, pictures cut out of magazines and clipart), teachers can prepare effective lessons that learners will enjoy.

Endnotes

1. For a discussion of the interaction between CLT and Māori pedagogy, see Nock and Crombie (2009)
2. Notice that we have not used 'e' with 'hoki mai' although it would have been possible to do so. At this stage, it is better that learners should be able to make a direct link between *Haere mai* and *Hoki atu*.

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Texts written in English and Chinese by expert writers: A genre-based comparative study from the Pacific Rim

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Abstract

On the basis of the analysis of the structure of text segments occurring in a range of journals, Bruce (2003) proposes four prototypes for the overall rhetorical structure and internal discourse structure of academic texts in English that focus on *explanation*, *argument*, *recount* and *classification*. This paper reports on a study involving 20 texts written in Chinese by native speakers of Chinese resident in Taiwan who were judged to be highly competent writers of Chinese. Five of these texts focused on *explanation*; five on *argument*, five on *recount* and five on *classification*. Analysis of these texts in terms of overall rhetorical structuring and internal discourse structuring suggests that texts written in Chinese by competent writers of Chinese may be closer to texts written in English by competent writers of English than is sometimes supposed, something that may have significant implications for the teaching of writing in English to native speakers of Chinese. However, the participants in this study were residents of Taiwan, a country that has had long-term academic and trading links with the USA and one in which most residents have some competence in English. It may be that a similar study involving native speakers of Chinese from other areas would yield different results.

Introduction to the research

This article reports on a research project whose aim was to explore the overall rhetorical structure and internal discourse structure of texts (between 200 and 250 words) written in Chinese in response to four prompts. Each of the prompts was intended to elicit a text exhibiting a different cognitive/ elemental genre – *explanation*, *argument*, *recount* or *classification*. The texts were composed by five writers from Taiwan, all of whom are speakers of Mandarin Chinese as a first language and all of whom were judged to be competent writers of Chinese – four were teachers of Chinese and one was a journalist. The overall rhetorical structure and internal discourse structure of these texts was compared with prototypical structures proposed by Bruce (2003) on the basis of an analysis of texts written in English that appeared in a number of academic journals. It was hoped that this study would provide data of relevance to the design of writing courses for Taiwanese students of English that are based on cognitive/ elemental genres.

Critical review of selected literature on the teaching of writing: From product through process to post-process

In the first half of the twentieth century, the primary emphasis in teaching and assessing writing tended to be on the final product and, in particular, on morphological and syntactic accuracy. So far as paragraphing was concerned, there was a tendency, whatever the topic, to encourage students to write according to a five paragraph scheme that included an introductory paragraph, a concluding paragraph and three central paragraphs (Nystrand, Greene & Wiemelt, 1993, p. 275). This

approach to the teaching of writing is now often referred to as ‘current-traditional rhetoric’ (Fogarty, 1959; Young, 1978, p. 31). It was, however, by no means the only approach adopted. As early as the second decade of the 20th century, there is evidence of the beginnings of a developmental approach (see, for example, Leonard, 1914; 1917). Mills (1953) made reference to writing as process in the early 1950s, and a number of studies reviewed by Braddock, Lloyd-Jones and Schoer (1963) in the early 1960s had begun to direct attention towards the importance of compositional processes. It was, however, at an Anglo-American conference held at Dartmouth in New England in 1966, a conference that focused on student composition, that the context in which process-based approaches could flourish was established. Following that conference, Dixon (1967) published an extremely influential book that stresses the importance of learning to write through the experience of writing, through focusing on the processes that writers undergo as they attempt to produce texts. This redirection of emphasis in the teaching of writing, which was initially directed almost exclusively towards the teaching of writing in English to native speakers of English, was more fully developed in a work produced by Emig (1971) that focused on the compositional processes of twelfth grade students. All of this led to reduced emphasis on mechanical aspects of writing and increased emphasis on the processes thought to be involved in writing, particularly in relation to the teaching of first language writing to young learners. So far as the teaching of writing in a second/ additional language is concerned, process-centred approaches made inroads only very gradually.

As a number of researchers have pointed out (see, for example, Bizzell, 1986; Faigley, 1986; Hairston, 1882), there are many different approaches to the teaching of writing. Thus, for example, Elbow’s (1973, p. 6) emphasis on what he refers to as ‘free writing’ is not shared by all of those involved in process-centred approaches to the teaching of writing. Even so, there can be little doubt that most of them see writing as primarily problem solving (Flower & Hayes, 1981, p. 370; Hayes & Flower, 1980, p. 3; Odell, 1980, p. 140), and agree that it should be taught in a positive, encouraging, co-operative environment, with interference kept to a minimum (Gould, 1980; Odell, 1980; Raimes, 1983, 1985; Zamel, 1983) so as to reduce the cognitive strain that is inevitably involved (Flower & Hayes, 1980, pp. 31-32; Silva, 1990, p. 15). For many, writing is conceptualized as involving a number of overlapping and recursive processes - *prewriting* (gathering ideas and planning), *drafting*, *revising*, *editing* and *publishing* (sharing a final version with others. However, although it has sometimes been claimed that the processes that are focused on in the teaching of writing are cognitive ones (Atkinson, 2003, p. 10; Bereiter, 1980, p. 78) that are grounded in cognitive psychology (Grabe & Kaplan, 1996, p. 84), it has been argued that there is no theoretical justification for such claims (North, 1987; Susser, 1993), and, furthermore, that “there is actually little hard evidence that process-writing techniques lead to significantly better writing” (Hyland, 2002, p. 29).

It is important to recognize that although reference is sometimes made to the process approach, as if it were some sort of unitary phenomenon (see Hairston, 1982), this is, in many ways, as much of a myth as is the notion that ‘current-traditional rhetoric’ is some sort of unitary phenomenon. There are, as has been pointed out by, among others, Bizzell (1986) and Faigley (1986), a multiplicity of approaches that claim to be process-oriented. As Tobin (1994, p.4) observes, “a misleading image of unity and coherence” has often been presented in the context of process pedagogy. The same is true of what is often now referred to as ‘post-process’ pedagogy, which as Matsuda

(2003, p. 65) argues, is actually no more than “a heuristic for expanding the scope of the field of second language writing” and “needs to be understood not as the rejection of process but as the recognition of the multiplicity of L2 writing theories and pedagogies”.

Although it is generally recognised that process-centred approaches to the teaching of writing have something useful to offer, there are many who now believe that they are lacking in a number of important respects, particularly as a primary basis for teaching writing to learners of second/ additional languages. It has, for example, been argued that the processes involved in L1 and L2 writing are not the same (see, for example, Arndt, 1987; Wolff, 2000). Those who believe that it is important to fully accommodate “the constraints imposed by imperfect knowledge of the language code involved” in the case of novice L2 writers (Caudery, 1995, ¶41), now often argue that there is a need for “a specific methodological approach which is different from the L1 approach” (Wolff, 2000, p. 107). As both Silva (1993, p. 669) and Susser (1994, p. 39) point out, process-centred approaches were developed primarily with novice L1 writers in mind and inadequate knowledge of the L2 may have a negative impact on a novice writer’s ability to benefit from such approaches. So far as novice L2 writers are concerned, assistance with the logical organization of ideas can be of fundamental importance (Ferris, 2003), as can assistance in the areas of lexical and grammatical development (Badger & White, 2000, p. 15).

So far as *both* L1 and L2 writers are concerned, it has been argued that process-centred approaches “[fail] to introduce [them] to the cultural and linguistic resources necessary for them to engage critically with texts” (Hyland, 2003, p. 20) and may result in students failing to develop an adequate understanding of contextualized language knowledge (Knapp & Watkins, 2005, pp. 8 & 14). They may, for example, lack adequate lexical, grammatical and text construction skills (Hinkel, 2004, p. 7) and may, as a result, be judged negatively in academic and employment contexts (Shine, 2008, p. 564). Furthermore, although students from some cultural backgrounds may flourish in contexts where creativity and experimentation are emphasised, students from other cultural backgrounds may prefer to be provided with more direction (Reid, 2001, p. 145). Whatever the context, many of those who reject approaches to the teaching of writing that focus on compositional processes argue that novice writers have the right to expect explicit and informed guidance. It is this, above all, that has led to the development of approaches to writing that are often referred to as ‘post-process’ approaches.

What approaches to the teaching of writing that have been referred to as ‘post process’ approaches have in common is “the rejection of the dominance of process at the expense of other aspects of writing and writing instruction” (Matsuda, 2003, pp. 78-79). Although approaches that have this in common may differ in significant ways from one another, many of them rely heavily on research in the area of genre. In fact, genre-centred approaches are generally considered to be “the main institutionalized alternative to process pedagogy currently on offer” (Atkinson, 2003, p. 11). Genre-centred approaches to the teaching of writing can themselves differ from one another in fundamental ways, focusing on what Bruce (2003, pp. 4-5) refers to as ‘social genres’ or on what he refers to as ‘cognitive genres’:

Social genres are similar in type to the category of *text genre* proposed by Pilegaard and Frandsen (1996), referring to socially recognised constructs according to which whole texts are classified in terms of their overall social purpose. Thus, for example, personal letters, novels and academic articles are examples of different social genres. . . .

The term *cognitive genre* is used to refer to what Pilegaard and Frandsen (1996) label *text type*. As examples, they cite: “narrative, expository, descriptive, argumentative or instructional text types” (Pilegaard & Frandsen, 1996. p. 3).

It is on the first of these (social genres) that many approaches to the teaching of writing focus. Thus, for example, Henry and Roseberry (1998) conducted a study in Brunei that involved two groups of sixteen first year university students who were involved in writing expository texts of between 150 and 200 words intended for tourists. Both groups were provided with six hours of writing instruction over a three week period. The texts produced at the end of the course by that group of students showed greater control of rhetorical structure and linguistic features (including topic, topic-shift, connectivity and the inclusion of obligatory moves) than did the texts produced by the other group of students (pp. 154-155). Another example focusing on social genres is a study conducted by Lin (2009) involving fourth grade students attending an elementary school in Taiwan. Participants were divided into two groups, an experimental group and a control group, with members of the experimental group only being provided with structural guidelines on writing summaries of narratives they had read and on writing their own stories. Analysis of pre-tests and post-tests indicated that the experimental group outperformed the control group in terms of “content . . . organization . . . text length and . . . language use” (p. 81).

Of particular relevance so far as the present study is concerned are studies that focus on cognitive genres (referred to by Hyland (2007, p. 153) as ‘elemental genres’). It is on cognitive genres that both Derewianka (1994) and Knapp and Watkins (1994) focus in their discussion of approaches to the teaching of writing to young learners. In each case, this focus on cognitive genres is accompanied by a focus on structural elements and linguistic features with which these cognitive genres are typically associated. Thus, for example, Derewianka (1994) associates recount, in the case of texts in English produced by young learners, with the chronological sequencing of events (and the occurrence of signals of sequence and overlap such as ‘then’ and ‘at the same time’), action verbs (often in simple past tense form), and the provision of background information about participants and circumstances. For Derewianka (2003, p. 140), a critical aspect of this type of approach is that it focuses on the way in which “the creation of meaning at the level of the whole text” helps students to “become aware of how the grammar is creating particular meanings relevant to the genre in question”. In a study involving 35 students in their second year of study at a university in Indonesia, Rozimela (2004) provided a two and a half month course focusing on argumentative writing. Comparison of texts written by the students at the beginning and end of the course indicated enhanced understanding of schematic structure, improved development of the argument sections of the texts and more accurate use of those grammatical structures associated with this genre that had been discussed in class. On the basis of a study involving 26 first year university students majoring in English who were provided with explicit instruction in aspects of the

narrative genre over a four week period, Cheng (2008) concluded that even limited exposure to genre-centered writing instruction can lead to overall improvement in the quality of texts and to increased awareness of the interaction between text-type and language functions (p. 173).

According to Lemke (1994, p. 11), genre-centered approaches to writing instruction teach learners “to dissect a text into its component parts, and to construct a text from its component parts, emphasizing an explicit understanding of the parts, their relations to one another, and the functions of parts and the whole in their contexts”.

Background to the research

A number of researchers have identified particular cognitive genres that are frequently associated with academic writing. On the basis of the research of Biber (1989) and Quinn (1993), Bruce (2003, p.14) identified four Rhetorical Types (RTs) associated with academic writing in English which he referred to as follows: *Report; Explanation; Discussion; Recount*. He searched a corpus of 20 academic journal articles (randomly selected from a population of 99) for occurrences of these four RTs, identifying 71 instances: Report (19); Explanation (16); Discussion (19); and Recount (17). He then analysed each of these in terms of overall rhetorical structure and internal discourse patterning.¹ In analysing overall rhetorical structuring, he made reference to the rhetorical patterns proposed by Hoey (1983) and outlined in *Table 1* below.

Table 1: *Rhetorical patterns identified by Hoey (1983)*

Label	Rhetorical Segments	Nuclear (obligatory) segments	Prototypical pattern
PSn (Problem-Solution)	S (Situation) P (Problem: aspect of <i>situation</i> requiring a response) Sn (Solution/ Response to Situation) Ev (Evaluation of response)	P Sn	<i>S-P-Sn-Ev</i>
Matching: (Matching compatibility OR Matching contrast)	S (segment) CompS (compatible segment); S (segment) ContS (contrasting segment)	S CompS ; S ContS	S-CompS ; S-ContS
General-Particular (Generalization-Example OR Preview-Details)	G (generalization) Ex (example) OR T (topic) R (restriction) I (illustration) OR P (preview) D (details)	G-Ex ; T-R OR T-I ; P-D	

In analysing internal discourse structuring, Bruce (2003) made reference to a taxonomy of cognitive processes and semantic relations presented by Crombie (1985 & 1987) as outlined in *Table 2* below.²

Table 2: Cognitive processes and semantic relations (Crombie, 1985, 1987) as presented by Bruce (2003, p. 246)

Cognitive processes	Associative (comparison/ contrast)	Logico-deductive (cause and effect)	Temporo-contigual (time and space)
Semantic relations	Simple contrast; Simple comparison; Statement – Affirmation; Statement-Exception; Statement-Example; Statement-Denial; Denial – Correction; Concession- Contraexpectation; Supplementary alternation; Contrastive alternation; Amplification	Condition- Consequence; Means-Purpose; Reason-Result; Means-Result; Grounds-Conclusion	Chronological sequence; Temporal overlap; Bonding

On the basis of his analysis, Bruce (2003) proposed a typical patterning for each RT as outlined in *Table 3* below (in which two of the labels used by Bruce (2003) have been replaced by ‘classification’ and ‘argument’).

Table 3: Findings of analysis of academic article-based corpus (see Bruce, 2003, p. 265)

Rhetorical Type (RT)	Report (Classification)	Explanation	Discussion (Argument)	Recount
Overall rhetorical structure	<i>General – Particular (Preview – Details)</i>	<i>General – Particular (Preview – Details)</i>	<i>General – Particular (Generalization-Examples) and Matching</i>	<i>Problem - Solution</i>
Internal discourse structure (cognitive processes) (calculations include Bonding relations, as exemplars of temporo-contigual processes)	Temporo-contigual (59%) Associative (26%) Logico-deductive (15%)	Temporo-contigual (60%); Associative and Logico-deductive (20% each)	Temporo-contigual (46%); Associative (27%); Logico-Deductive (26%)	Temporo-Contigual (60%); Associative & Logico-Deductive (20% each)
Internal discourse structure (specific semantic relations) (Bonding (the most commonly occurring relation) removed; Only relations with 10% or more included)	Amplification (approx. 18%); Reason-Result & Grounds-Conclusion combined (approx. 17%); Simple Contrast & Simple Comparison combined (approx. 15%); Concession-Contriaexpectation (approx. 10%); Condition-Consequence (approx. 10%)	Means-Purpose & Means-Result combined (approx. 29%); Amplification (approx. 17%); Concession-Contriaexpectation (approx. 12.5%)	Grounds-Conclusion & Reason-Result combined (26%); Means-Purpose & Means-Result combined (approx. 22%); Concession-Contriaexpectation (approx. 19%)	Means-Purpose & Means-Result combined (approx. 19%); Amplification (approx. 17%); Chronological Sequence (approx. 15.5%); Grounds-Conclusion & Reason-Result combined (approx. 14.5%)

Bruce (2003) then asked a number of subjects (New Zealand-based English teachers who were graduates and native speakers of English; students in the final year of school or first year of university who were native speakers of English; first year

university students (largely from East Asian countries) who were not native speakers of English) to write texts of between 200 and 250 words in response to prompts. The prompts, outlined in *Appendix 2*, were intended to elicit texts that related to particular RTs (see Bruce, 2003, p. 263):

- reporting data from a numerical table (*Classification RT*)³;
- explaining a diagram conveying information about the means by which something is achieved (*Explanation RT*);
- discussing both sides of an issue (*Argument RT*)⁴; and,
- recounting a sequence of events (*Recount RT*).

Bruce's (2003, pp. 263 – 264) overall aim was to determine the extent to which the organisational features present in the samples of writing conformed to those identified in the proposed prototype models of the four Rhetorical Types. In order to do this, there was a need to establish prototypicality ratings. The prototypicality rating schedules for overall rhetorical structure are outlined in *Table 4* below.

Table 4: Overall rhetorical structuring: Prototypicality rating schedule as calculated by Bruce (2003, pp. 273, 285, 295, 306)

	Rating 1	Rating 2	Rating 3	Rating 4	Rating 5
Classification	Closely follows a <i>Preview Details</i> discourse pattern.	Mainly follows a <i>Preview Details</i> discourse pattern, but incorporates <i>Problem Solution</i> within the <i>Details</i> section.	Begins with a general topic statement about the data followed by a <i>Details</i> section.	Consists solely of a <i>Details</i> section, no introductory <i>Preview</i> or general section.	No clear discourse pattern.
Explanation	Closely follows a <i>Preview - Details</i> discourse pattern	Follows a <i>Preview - Details</i> discourse pattern but <i>Preview</i> section is minimal.	No <i>Preview</i> or introductory section; but contains a <i>Details</i> section.	No clear discourse pattern.	
Argument	Closely adheres to <i>Generalisation Example</i> discourse pattern with several <i>Matching</i> sections	Generally adheres to <i>Generalisation Example</i> discourse pattern with some occurrence of <i>Matching</i> sections .	Has a some form of a <i>General - Particular</i> pattern but does not employ <i>Matching</i> to contrast viewpoints	Has a <i>General - Particular</i> pattern, but adds a <i>Problem - Solution</i> discourse pattern as an additional organisational pattern.	Uses an overall pattern other than <i>Generalization-Example</i>
Recount	The whole text closely adheres to <i>Problem - Solution</i> pattern	Most of the text has a <i>Problem - Solution</i> pattern	At least one <i>Problem - Solution</i> pattern appears in the text	The text has no features of a <i>Problem - Solution</i> discourse pattern	No clear discourse pattern.

Establishing prototypicality ratings for internal discourse structuring was more problematic. In this case, where 10% or more of the semantic relations in the academic article-based corpus were of a particular type (e.g. *Amplification*) or belonged to a particular group (e.g. *Reason-Result and Grounds-Conclusion*

combined), these relations were considered to be prototypical. The percentage occurrence of these relations or relational groupings and of the perceptual categories to which they belong (associative; logico-deductive and tempero-contigual) was then compared with the percentage occurrence in texts written by members of each of the three groups in the study (native speaker teacher group; native speaker student group; non-native speaker student group). Finally “to establish categories of prototypicality in the use of semantic relations in the sample of Report RT responses, a descriptor number was assigned to each response in relation to its overall use of the cognitive processes and semantic relations of the model. The descriptors were calculated on the basis of texts in the corpus of between 200 and 250 words containing approximately 16 semantic relations (including Bonding) and 11 semantic relations if Bonding is removed” (Bruce, 2003, pp. 278 – 279). On the basis of the number of occurrences of each of these relations or relational groupings in the corpus, an average number in each text was then calculated and this was used as the basis for establishing prototypicality ratings (see *Table 5* below).

Table 5: *Internal discourse structuring: Prototypicality rating schedule as calculated by Bruce (2003, p. 279, 290, 301,311)*

	Prototypicality Rating 1	Prototypicality Rating 2	Prototypicality Rating 3	Prototypicality Rating 4	Prototypicality Rating 5
Classification	Amplification (x2); Reason – Result and/or Grounds Conclusion (x2); Simple Contrast and/or Simple Comparison (x 2); Concession – Contraexpectation/ Condition-Consequence ⁵ (x 1)	6 or 7 of these	4 or 5 of these	2 or 3 of these	1 or none of these
Explanation	Means – Purpose and/or Means – Result (x3); Reason – Result and/or Grounds – Conclusion (x 3); Concession – Contraexpectation (x 1)	5 or 6 of these	3 or 4 of these	1 or 2 of these	None of these
Argument	Means – Purpose and/or Means Result (x 2 or x 3); Reason – Result and/or Grounds – Conclusion (x 3); Concession Contraexpectation (x 1)	5 of these	4 of these	3 of these	2 or fewer of these
Recount	Means – Purpose and/or Means Result (x 2); Amplification (x 2); Chronological Sequence (x 2); Reason – Result and/or Grounds – Conclusion (x 2).	7 of these	6 of these	5 of these	4 or fewer of these

The prototypicality ratings for Bruce’s study as they relate to graduate teachers of English who are native speakers of English are provided in *Table 6* below.

Table 6: *Bruce’s (2003) study: Texts written by graduate teachers of English who are native speakers of English - percentages of texts written with prototypicality ratings from 1 (closest to the prototype) to 5 (furthest from the prototype)*

	Overall rhetorical structure					Internal discourse structure				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
Classification	68%	20%	12%	4%	-	12%	28%	28%	18%	-
Explanation	56.6%	34.7%	8.7%	-	-	13%	30.5%	30.5%	26%	-
Argument	58%	4%	17%	21%	-	54%	33.5%	12.5%	-	-
Recount	80%	12%	8%	-	-	36%	40%	24%	-	-

Research outline and rationale

Rationale for the research

There is a considerable body of research in the area of contrastive rhetoric that indicates that linguistic and cultural background play an important role in the ways in which texts belonging to different genres are structured. However, much of that research relates to texts that exhibit a number of what are referred to here as ‘social genres’ (that is, genres such as *myths*, *business letters* or *lullabies* that are defined in terms of the social and cultural purposes they are intended to serve). Texts belonging to any particular social genre are made up of one or more of what are referred to by Bruce (2003) as ‘cognitive genres’ and by Hyland (2007) as ‘elemental genres’ such as *recount* and *argument*. Thus, for example, in the process of writing a *personal letter* to a friend (an example of a social genre), a writer may *recount* what happened recently (e.g. during a home visit by a heating consultant) and *argue* (e.g. in favour of the installation of a heat pump in the friend’s new home). From this perspective, cognitive/elemental genres, several of which have been particularly associated with academic writing, can be described as the ‘building blocks’ of text construction. For those involved in learning to write texts, whether in a first or additional language, an initial focus on these building blocks (cognitive/ elemental genres) can be extremely productive. However, the ways in which writers construct texts in their first language may impact on the ways in which they construct texts in other languages. It is therefore important to analyse texts of similar types written in different languages by competent writers of these languages in order to determine whether there are any differences in the ways in which they are constructed. Awareness of any such differences can help students to make informed decisions about their own writing. Thus, for example, a Taiwanese student who is preparing to undertake graduate study in New Zealand may be well advised to focus on learning to structure academic texts in a way that conforms to the typical structuring of such texts in New Zealand, whereas a Taiwanese student who is preparing to undertake graduate study through the medium of English in Taiwan may prefer to focus on learning to structure academic texts in a way that conforms to the typical structuring of such texts in Taiwan. The research reported here is intended to provide information that can inform such decisions and can play a role in the design of writing courses in which cognitive genres play a central role.

Research questions and research methods

The research questions that underpin the research reported here are:

1. In terms of overall rhetorical structuring and internal discourse patterning, in what ways, if any, do *texts written in Chinese by a sample of competent writers of Chinese* who are native speakers of Chinese differ from the prototype models established for texts written in English by Bruce (2003)?
2. What contribution could the findings of this study make to the design of genre-centred writing courses intended for Taiwanese students of English who are involved in general (rather than subject-specific) academic writing courses?

Research participants

I selected five research participants. All of them were native speakers of Chinese who were resident in Taiwan. Four of them were teachers of Chinese; one was a journalist.

I asked each of these five participants to write four texts in Chinese (of between 200 and 250 words each) in response to four different text prompts. Except in one case (where changes were made to make a particular prompt more appropriate for use in a Taiwanese context), these prompts were translations into Chinese of the text prompts designed by Bruce (2003) to elicit texts whose primary focus was *report (classification)*, *explanation*, *discussion (argument)* or *recount*. This resulted in five texts that focused on report (classification), five that focused on explanation, five that focused on discussion (argument) and five that focused on explanation and five that focused on recount.

The text prompts

Each research participant was asked to write four texts (of between 200 and 250 words in length) in response to four different text prompts, each of which was designed to elicit a text representing a different cognitive genre (classification; explanation; argument; recount). The text prompts were the same as those used by Bruce (2003) (see *Appendix 2*) except that (a) few small changes intended to make them more relevant to Taiwanese research participants, and (b) they were translated into Chinese.

Text analysis

I then analysed each text belonging to each group of texts in terms of overall rhetorical structuring and internal discourse structuring and compared the findings for the group as a whole with the prototypical model for each Rhetorical Type (RT) established by Bruce (2003).

The research findings

The prototypicality ratings for the texts written in Chinese are outlined in Table 7 below (where 1 = highly prototypical and 5 = least prototypical, and the percentage of texts in each category that is assigned to each prototypicality rating is provided).

Table 7: Prototypicality ratings

	Overall rhetorical structure					Internal discourse structure				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
Classification	-	40%	60%	-	-		40%	60%	-	-
Explanation	60%	40%	-	-	-	40%	20%	20%		20%
Argument	80%	20%	-	-	-	60%	20%	20%	-	-
Recount	100%	-	-	-	-	100%	-	-	-	-

Discussion

The findings reported above are based on a small number of text samples only – 20 texts (five representing each RT) - written in Chinese by native speakers of Chinese resident in Taiwan who are competent writers of Chinese. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that:

- in terms of *both overall rhetorical structure and internal discourse structure*, all of the **recount** texts in Chinese conform to the prototype for academic recount texts in English proposed by Bruce;
- in terms of *overall rhetorical structure*, all except one of the **argument** texts in Chinese conform to the prototype for academic argument texts in English proposed by Bruce, with, in terms of *internal discourse structure*, three of the five conforming to the prototype and a further one being very close to it;

- in terms of *overall rhetorical structure*, three of the *explanation* texts in Chinese conform to the prototype for academic explanation texts in English proposed by Bruce, with the remaining two being very close to it and, in terms of *internal discourse structure*, two of the five conform to the prototype, a further one being very close to it;

The major differences relate to the structure of the *classification* texts. However, although none of the classification texts in Chinese conforms to the prototype for academic classification texts in English proposed by Bruce, two of them, in terms of *both overall rhetorical structure and internal discourse structure*, are very close to it. In view of the close academic and trade links between Taiwan and the US, it may be that the structure of texts written in Chinese by residents of Taiwan has been influenced by the structure of texts written in English. Studies of a similar type involving native speakers of Chinese from other areas might yield different results. Furthermore, more extensive studies of the Chinese writing of Taiwanese residents would be required before any definite conclusions could be reached. If such studies reinforced the findings of this one so far as Taiwan is concerned, there would be significant implications for the design of genre-based writing courses for learners of English in Taiwan. If the findings of this study were replicated in studies involving Chinese writers from a range of different areas, there would be significant implications for the design of genre-based writing courses for native speakers of Chinese more generally. Furthermore, similar studies involving texts written by competent writers of other languages from a range of cultural backgrounds could have much to offer in relation to the teaching of writing in first and additional languages.

Endnotes

1. Bruce (2003) also analysed these texts in terms of gestalt structuring (e.g. WHOLE-PART; SOURCE-PATH-GOAL) but that aspect of his analysis, and its use in his subsequent research, has been excluded from consideration here.
2. For examples of each of these semantic relations, see *Appendix 1*.
3. Referred to by Bruce (2003) as 'Report RT'.
4. Referred to by Bruce (2003) as 'Discussion RT'.
5. There was clearly an error in prototypicality rating 1 for the Classification RT. *Condition-Consequence* should have been included but was not. As I was keen to compare my findings with those of Bruce (2003), this presented a problem for me. I decided that the best way to deal with it would be to count one instance of *either Concession-Contraexpectation or Condition-Consequence* as making up Prototypicality Rating 1 (Report RT), leaving all other rating descriptors unaltered.

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Texts written in English and Chinese by expert writers: A genre-based comparative study from the Pacific Rim

Appendix 1: Examples of semantic relations

Semantic relations	Examples
<i>Simple Contrast</i>	The common cold is a minor infection of the nose and throat; influenza is a more serious infection involving the lungs.
<i>Simple Comparison</i>	Both the common cold and influenza are illnesses caused by infection by a virus.
<i>Statement-Affirmation</i>	She said he was wrong and I agree.
<i>Statement-Exception</i>	All of the buildings leak except the one built by my company.
<i>Statement-Example</i>	He never considers others. For example, he ignored Anne's request for help.
<i>Statement-Denial</i>	She said he was wrong but I disagree.
<i>Denial-Correction</i>	He's not a priest; he's a soldier.
<i>Concession-Contraexpectation</i>	Although it's hot, he's wearing heavy clothing.
<i>Supplementary Alternation</i>	You could mow the lawn or cut back the roses.
<i>Contrastive Alternation</i>	You can go or stay.
<i>Amplification</i>	Atoms are made up of smaller particles. The three main particles that atoms are made of are protons, neutrons and electrons.
<i>Condition-Consequence</i>	If you install a security alarm, your home will be safer.
<i>Means-Purpose</i>	He installed a security alarm in order to make his home safer.
<i>Reason-Result</i>	Because he installed a security alarm, his home is safer now.
<i>Means-Result</i>	By installing a security alarm, he made his home safer.
<i>Grounds-Conclusion</i>	He installed a security alarm so his home must be safer now.
<i>Chronological Sequence</i>	He found the fault and then turned off the computer.
<i>Temporal Overlap</i>	He sang while he repaired the fault.
<i>Bonding</i>	She found a pair of shoes and a broken pen.

Appendix 2: Text prompts included in Bruce (2003, pp. 403-406)

WRITING TASK 1

The following table shows data about road deaths in New Zealand for one year.

Road Deaths in NZ - 12 months to April 1997

Type of Road User

Age group	Driver	Passenger	Motorcyclist	Pedestrian	Cyclist	Unknown
0-4 years		15		5		
5-9 years		7	1	7	3	
10-14 years		11		4	4	
15-19 years	31	44	13	5	3	1
20-24 years	41	17	12	4		
25-39 years	83	39	18	12	2	
40-49 years	52	18	5	6	2	
60+ years	45	27	2	13	3	
Unknown	1			1		
Total	253	178	51	57	17	1

- *Write a brief report in paragraphs on the basis of the data in the table.*
(200 words)
- *Spend as much time as you wish on the task up to a maximum of 30 minutes*
- *Assume that the table accompanies your report and you are able to refer to it directly*

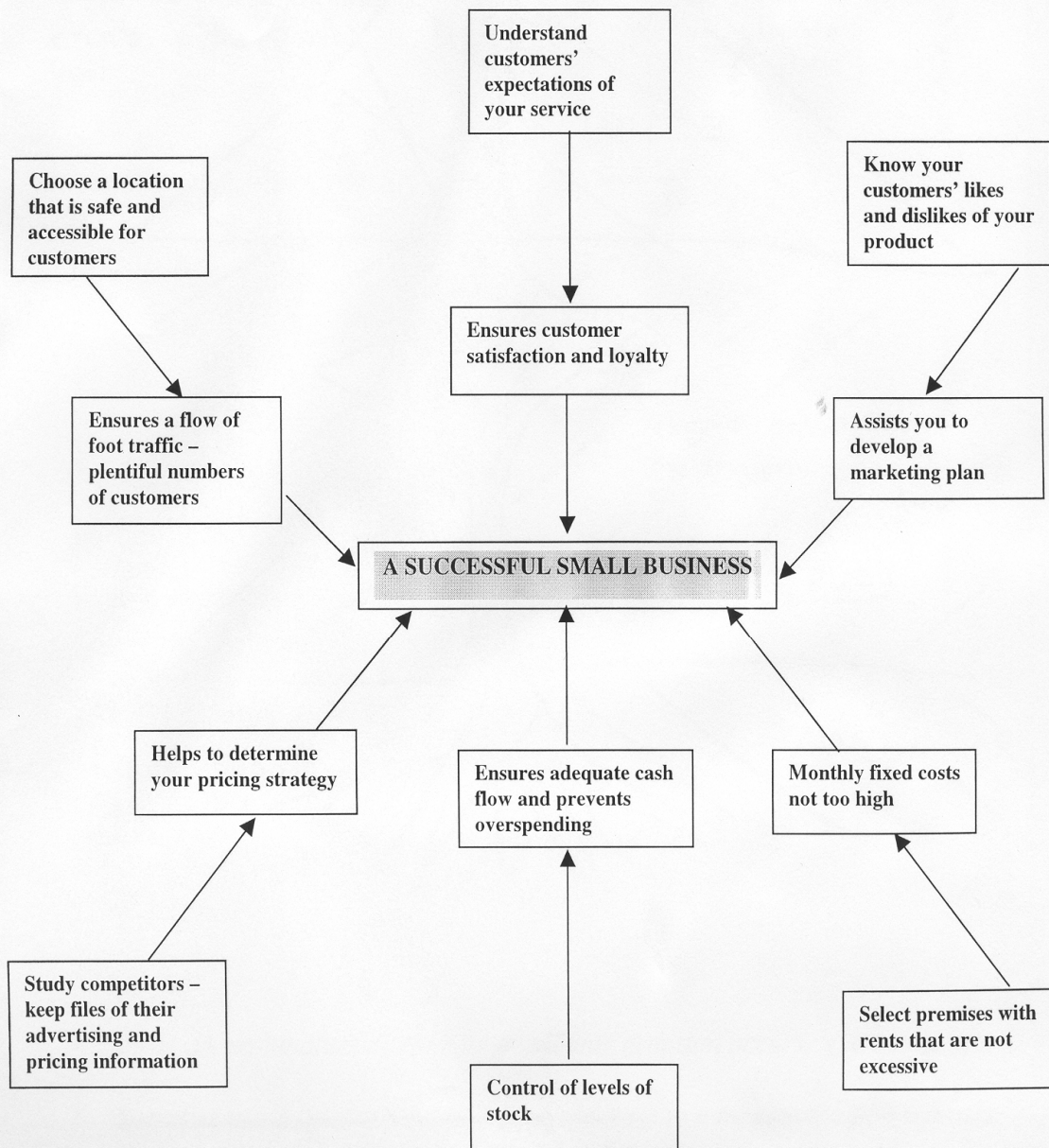
directly

WRITING TASK 2

The following diagram shows advice to people who are starting a small business.

- *Express the advice below in an explanation organised in paragraphs (approximately 250 words).*
- *Spend as much time as you wish on the task up to a maximum of 30 minutes*
- *Assume the diagram accompanies your explanation and you are able to refer to it.*

KEY FACTORS IN RUNNING A SUCCESSFUL SMALL BUSINESS



WRITING TASK 4

Here is some information about the development of the Japanese economy since World War 2. The information is not organised in any particular way.

What is the likely future of the Japanese economy?

long slow restructuring

- loss of national confidence / identity (which is built on the economic success of the modern state).

What was the state of the Japanese economy in 1945, at the end of World War 2?

Starvation rations

- Japan's merchant fleet destroyed
- Japan was cut off from its food suppliers (China, Korea, Formosa)

What was the situation of the Japanese economy in 1990?

GDP¹ - second highest in the world

- twice that of Germany
- 70% that of the USA
- GDP per capita - third highest in the world

What is the state of the Japanese economy in the year 2000?

decade of stagnant performance

- since 1990 the government spent ¥20 billion in ten spending packages to simulate the economy in the present recession.
- the government gross debt 130% of GDP in 1999 (worst in the OECD²)
- incapable of growth, currently massive misallocation of capital, labour, and technology.

How did the Japanese economy develop during the Post War Period?

Development based on a social contract between

the Government, banks, corporate sector, the people.

- Government directed banks to invest in strategic sectors
- Corporate sector promised lifelong employment
- People maintained high rates of savings

- *Write a paragraphed recount about the development of the Japanese economy (up to 200 words).*
- *Spend as much time as you wish on the topic up to a maximum of 30 minutes.*

¹ GDP = gross domestic product (the total value of a the goods or services produced in a country)

² OECD = *The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development*. An organisation of the world's 24 developed countries.

College learner's English learning beliefs in Taiwan EFL context

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Abstract

Wenzao Ursuline College of Languages (Wenzao) in Kaohsiung, Taiwan has run the 36-credit General English courses for seven years. Although it has collected information about the students' language proficiency, it has not, until now, collected information about students' beliefs about language learning. This paper reports on a survey of the beliefs about English language learning (ELL) of a group of tertiary level students learning English as a Foreign Language (EFL) at Wenzao. The survey instrument, the Beliefs About Language Learning Inventory (BALLI) developed by Horwitz (1987), was designed to collect information about students' beliefs in the following areas: language learning aptitude, difficulty of language learning, the nature of language learning, learning and communication strategies, and motivation and expectations. Data were collected from the 38 freshmen attending one of one of Wenzao's 36-credit English program classes. The data were analyzed using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), a t-test being performed in the analysis of the learners' responses. The findings reveal that survey participants overall have a strong instrumental motivation for learning English and that most of them believe that they will ultimately succeed in speaking it very well. Even so, many of them appeared to have unrealistic expectations, with as many as 37% reporting believing (or strongly believing) that it is possible to become fluent in English in less than one year if you spend one hour a day learning the language. Among the most surprising findings were the fact that as many as 34% reported believing (or strongly believing) that learning English as a foreign language is mostly a matter of translation, and as few as 39% reporting believing (or strongly believing) that learning vocabulary is essential to learning English.

Keywords: Beliefs about Language Learning Inventory; 36-credit English program

Introduction

Wenzao Ursuline College of Languages (Wenzao), the only foreign language college in Taiwan, has a particular interest in ongoing language curriculum review, and faculty members are encouraged to experiment with new approaches to teaching and learning and to conduct classroom-based research. In 2003, Wenzao began to offer a 36-credit General English program in its four-year college, with students who are not majoring in English taking a number of courses in English (each associated with a number of credits) over a four year period. The overall aims of the 36-credit program are to improve students' English proficiency and to broaden their learning horizon. Although students following the program have 572 hours of class contact in English (380 hours more than students in some other institutions in Taiwan), many of them fail to achieve the graduation English language proficiency benchmark.

Although Wenzao has offered a 36-credit General English program for seven years, and although it has collected information relating to the proficiency achievements of

students, it has not conducted any empirically-based studies relating to students' beliefs about language learning although there is a considerable body of evidence that suggests that beliefs can influence expectations and motivation (Bernat, 2004; Chuo & Yen, 2008; Horwitz, 1987; Tanaka & Ellis, 2003; Victori & Lockhart, 1995; Yang, 1993, 1998). In particular, Horwitz (1987) has claimed that erroneous beliefs about language learning can lead to less effective language learning strategies. Since beliefs can impact on approaches and, therefore, on degrees of success in learning, it is important that there should be awareness of students' beliefs (and their change, or resistance to change over time), exploration of the relationship between these beliefs and teaching and learning practices, and consciousness of the role that this knowledge and understanding can play in curriculum development.

Literature Review

Victori and Lockhart define beliefs as "general assumptions that students hold about themselves as learners, about factors influencing learning and about the nature of language learning" (1995, p. 224). In the context of foreign language learning, beliefs held by students can relate to many things such as, the nature of the language under study; the perceived difficulty of learning a language and the time that it takes; the effectiveness of different learning strategies, the role of aptitude; and the impact of age and gender (Bernat & Gvodenko, 2005; Bernat & Lloyd, 2007, p. 80). Several researches have argued that beliefs about language and language learning can have an impact on achievement (Banya & Chen, 1997; Bernat, 2006; Bernat & Gvodenko, 2005; Siebert, 2003; Tanaka & Ellis, 2003; Wen & Johnson, 1997). Indeed, it has been argued that they can play a decisive role not only in the successes of language learners in language learners' success, but also in their failures and their responses to their language learning experiences (Cotterall, 1999, p. 597). Thus, for example, negative beliefs about language learning can lead to negative attitudes towards learning and learner autonomy and to the adoption of strategies that are less effective (Victori & Lockart, 1995). They can also lead to classroom anxiety (Hortwitz, Hortwitz, & Cope, 1986; Miyuki, 2000), and to poor cognitive performance (Reid & Hresko, 1981). Knowledge of students' beliefs about language learning may provide language teachers with a better understanding of their students' "expectations of, commitment to, success in and satisfaction with their language classes" (Horwitz, 1988, p. 283). This, in turn, can equip teachers to adopt "a more sensitive approach to the organization of learning opportunity" (Cotterall, 1999, p.594).

The Beliefs about Language Learning Inventory (BALLI) developed by Horwitz (1987), was designed to collect information about students' beliefs in the following areas: language learning aptitude, difficulty of language learning, the nature of language learning, learning and communication strategies, and motivation and expectations. It has been widely used to gain a better understanding of learner beliefs and their role in second/foreign language acquisition. Recent studies have focused on differences in terms of beliefs among and within various nationality groups, including, American undergraduate students (Horwitz, 1987, 1988), Yemen students and teachers (Kuntz, 1996); EFL learners in Taiwan (Banya & Cheng, 1997; Yang, 1992); Japanese students (Sakui & Gaies, 1999); EFL learners in New Zealand (Cotterall, 1995; Tanaka & Ellis, 2003); Korean students (Kim-Yoon, 2000; Truitt, 1995) and groups from a variety of ethnic backgrounds (Siebert, 2003)¹. The findings of these studies suggest that learner beliefs about language learning are context-specific (Bernat, 2004; Nikirin & Furuoka, 2006).

Aim

The aim of the study reported here is to identify overall trends in beliefs about language learning held by 38 college freshmen students involved in a tertiary-level 36-credit English program offered by Wenzao Ursuline College of Languages (Wenzao) in Taiwan.

Participants

The participants in this study were 38 freshmen (M=2; F=36) who were attending one of the classes in the 36-credit English program at Wenzao. They were from a number of different departments: Foreign Language Instruction (N=10); Translation (N=1); and Applied Chinese (N=27). Their overall average CSEPT score was 100.

Instrument

In this study, a Chinese language version of the *Beliefs about Language Learning Inventory* (BALLI)² developed by Horwitz (1987), was administered in order to collect information on language learners' beliefs in the EFL context in five major areas: (a) language learning aptitude; (b) difficulty of language learning; (c) the nature of language learning; (d) learning and communication strategies, and (e) motivation and expectations. Participants are asked to rate their agreement with 34 items on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree), to 5 (strongly agree).³ Data were collected in autumn 2009, at the beginning of the participants' first semester at Wenzao. Before the survey was conducted, participants were informed about the overall aims of the study and guaranteed that their names would remain confidential.

Data Analysis

Data were analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS version 13.0). Descriptive statistics reveals participants' responses, with frequencies and means being calculated in order to provide a summary of the data. For ease of viewing, the BALLI item ratings have been collapsed into three categories, representing agree (agree; strongly agree), neutral and disagree (disagree; strongly disagree) and difficult (difficult; very difficult), neutral and easy (easy; very easy) (Bernat & Lloyd, 2007; Peacock, 1998; Tercanlioglu, 2005).

Results and Discussion

The findings are presented by frequency of response and means in the tables below in relation to the five main areas covered in the BALLI. Note that values represent percentages and that percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number (and thus may not add up to 100).

A = collapsed scores for Strongly Agree and Agree; N = Neutral; D = collapsed scores for Strongly Disagree and Disagree. *A = A very easy or easy language; N = language of medium difficulty; D = A very difficult language. **

Table 1: *Foreign Language Aptitude*

Items		A	N	D
1	It is easier for children than adults to learn English.	92	0	8
2	Some people are born with a special ability that helps them learn English.	89	11	0
8	It is easier for someone who already speaks English to learn another language.	45	21	34
12	I have an English language aptitude.	47	34	18
19	Women are better than men at learning English.	3	18	79
26	People who are good at math and science are not good at learning English.	13	21	66
29	People who speak more than one language well are very intelligent.	47	24	29
30	Taiwanese are good at learning English.	37	55	8
31	Everyone can learn to speak English.	97	3	0

As indicated in the table above, a large majority (92%) reported believing that it is easier for children than adults to learn a foreign language. Eighty-nine percent (89%) of participants indicated that they believed some people have a special ability for learning foreign languages. A vast majority (97%) agreed that everyone can learn to speak English. Forty-five percent (45%) participants agreed it is easier for someone who already speaks English to learn another language. Forty-seven percent (47%) of participants believed that they have special ability for language learning and people who speak more than one language well are very intelligent. However, a majority (79%) of participants disagreed women are better than men at learning English. Sixty-six percent (66%) of participants disagreed with the statement that people who are good at math and science are not good at learning English. Also, over half (55%) of participants neither agreed nor disagreed that Taiwanese are good at learning English.

Table 2: *Difficulty of Language Learning*

Items		A	N	D
3	Some languages are easier to learn than others.	58	16	26
25	It is easier to read and write English than to speak and understand it.	26	26	47
32	Learning English is easy	63	5	32
33	If someone spent one-hour a day learning English, how long would it take him/her to become fluent?			
	- Less than 1 year			37
	- 1-2 years			26
	- 3-5 years			5
	- 5-10 years			11
	- You can't learn a language in 1 hour a day			21

These questions (see *Table 2*) concern perceptions of the general difficulty of learning a foreign language and the specific difficulty of learning English. More than half of the respondents (58%) agreed the statement of some languages are easier to learn than others. A significant portion of participants (47%) disagreed with the statement that it

is easier to read and write English than to speak and understand it, which indicated that students either believe that it is easier to understand than speak English or that they may be both difficult. In addition, sixty-three percent (63%) participants believed it would take less than 2 years to learn English, and they also believed learning English is easy (63%).

Table 3: Nature of Language Learning

Items		A	N	D
6	It is necessary to know English culture in order to speak English	66	21	13
9	It is better to learn English in an English country.	74	13	13
13	Learning vocabulary is essential to learn English.	39	24	37
17	Learning English is mostly a matter of learning the grammar rules.	24	26	50
22	Learning English is different from learning other school subjects.	42	29	29
23	Learning English as a foreign language is mostly a matter of translation.	24	34	42

In this category (see *Table 3*), questionnaire items cover a broad range of issues related to the nature of language learning process. A majority of respondents (66%) agreed with the statement that it is necessary to learn about English cultures in order to speak English. Seventy-four percent (74%) of participants indicated that it is best to learn English in an English speaking country. Forty-two percent (42%) of participants believed that learning English is different from learning other school subjects. Nevertheless, only thirty-nine percent (39%) of participants agreed learning vocabulary are essential to learn English; Thirty-seven percent (37%) disagreed placing a great emphasis on learning vocabulary. Two rather surprising findings are noted that 50% of participants disagreed learning English is mostly a matter of learning the grammar rules; 42% of participants also disagreed learning English is mostly a matter of translation.

Table 4: Learning and Communication Strategies

Items		A	N	D
5	It is important to speak English with an excellent pronunciation.	97	0	3
7	You should not say anything in English until you can say it correctly.	13	13	74
10	If I heard someone speaking the language I am trying to learn, I would go up to them so that I could practice speaking the language.	45	26	29
11	It is okay to guess if you do not know a word in English.	39	37	24
14	It is important to repeat and practice often.	97	3	0
15	I feel self-conscious speaking English in front of other people.	68	21	11
16	If you are allowed to make mistakes in the beginning, it would be hard to get rid of them later on.	47	16	37
18	It is important to practice in the language laboratory.	89	8	3

Learning and Communication Strategies reported (see *Table 4*) are probably most directly related to students' actual language learning practices. An overwhelming majority of respondents (97%) believe that it is important to speak English with an excellent pronunciation. In addition, 97% of participants indicated it is important to

repeat and practice often. Many believed the statement that if they heard someone speaking the language one is trying to learn, they would go up to them so that they could practice speaking the language (45%), with small proportion disagreeing with this statement (29%). Sixty-eight percent (68%) of participants agreed that they feel self-conscious speaking English in front of other people. Forty-seven percent (47%) respondents believed that if they are allowed to make mistakes in the beginning, it would be hard to get rid of them later on, with thirty-nine percent (39%) disagreeing with this statement. A large majority of respondents (89%) believed that it is important to practice in the language laboratory. Responses for item 11 were fairly evenly spread over the response categories. However, seventy-four percent (74%) respondents disagreed with the statement that one should not say anything in English until one can say it correctly.

Table 5: Motivation and Expectations

Items		A	N	D
4	I believe that I will ultimately learn to speak English very well.	89	8	3
20	If I speak English very well, I will have many opportunities to use it.	100	0	0
24	If I learn to speak English very well it will help me get a good job.	92	5	3
27	Taiwanese think that it is important to speak English.	97	3	0
28	I would like to learn English so that I can get to know its speakers better.	40	34	26

Responses on items for motivations and expectations reflect the learners desire for and optimism in achieving their language goals (see *Table 5*). For example, in item 20, one hundred percent (100%) of respondents agreed that if they speak English very well, they will have many opportunities to use it. Eighty-nine percent (89 %) of the participants indicated that they want to learn to speak English very well and in item 24, ninety-two percent (92%) believed that if they learn to speak English very well, they will have better job opportunities. In addition, ninety-seven percent (97%) of the participants agreed the statement that Taiwanese think that it is important to speak English. The lowest positive response was obtained for learning English so that they can get to know native speakers better (40%).

Comparison of the scales

With the help of the principal component analysis, five scales were established, each corresponding to one of Horwitz's (1988) themes (see *Table 6*). In this section, the means of these five scales will be discussed.

Table 6: The means of the established components

Components		Mean Average
5	Motivation and Expectations	4.29
4	Learning and Communication Strategies	3.62
2	Difficulty of Language Learning	3.56
1	Language Learning Aptitude	3.41
3	Nature of Language Learning	3.15

Component 5 had the highest mean average, 4.29 (N = 38) of the five the components, indicating that the respondents reported high degrees of motivation. They believe that they will ultimately learn to speak English well and that if they learn to speak English very well, they will not only have many opportunities to use it, but also to get a good job.

The averages for components 1, 2 and 4 were very close. The mean average of Component 4 was 3.62 (N = 38), indicating that the respondents believed that repeating and practicing the English is an important part of language learning and that excellent pronunciation is important in speaking English. The second component deals with the perceived difficulty of language learning and the relative difficulty of mastering speaking and listening skills over reading and writing skills in English. The average for this component was 3.56 (N = 38), indicating that overall the respondents believe that that English is of medium-level difficulty. The results for the first component (M = 3.41) indicate that overall the respondents believe in the existence of language aptitude and believe not only that some people are born with a special ability that helps them learn English but also that is easier for children than adults to learn English.

The mean average of Component 3 was 3.15, the lowest mean, indicating that overall respondents lean towards disagreeing with the propositions that there are certain approaches, such as focus on learning vocabulary or grammar rules that make learning successful.

Conclusion

Some of the findings of this survey were surprising. Thus, for example, 37% of the respondents reported believing (or strongly believing) that it is possible to become fluent in English in less than one year if you spend one hour a day learning the language. In view of this, it is hardly surprising that so many learners appear to become disappointed with their own achievements (and, sometimes, also with those of their teachers). Also surprising is the fact that only 39% of respondents reported believing (or strongly believing) that learning vocabulary is essential to learning English and as many as 24% reported believing (or strongly believing) that learning English as a foreign language is mostly a matter of translation. Furthermore, 68% reported that they felt (or felt strongly) self-conscious when speaking English in front of other people. Even so, the vast majority (89%) reported believing (or strongly believing) that they would ultimately learn to speak English very well and that, if they did so, it would help them to get a good job.

The aim of the study was to investigate the beliefs about language learning of a sample of freshman students studying the 36-credit English program at Wenzao Ursuline College of Languages. Although the survey was a relatively small-scale one, the findings are sufficiently interesting to indicate that conducting a larger, longitudinal study would be worthwhile.

Endnotes

1. Siebert's (2003) USA-based study involved 22 nationalities.
2. The inventory was translated into Chinese by the researchers in order to ensure that the students fully understood the questions.

3. Although there is no evidence of any attempt to establish empirically the degree of stability/ consistency of responses to the BALLI, (Sakui & Gaies, 1999), it has been found it has a Cronbach alpha of .79 (Sakui & Gaies, 1999), with, according to Hair, Anderson, Tatham, and Black (1998), an acceptable value being at least .70.

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Vocabulary games as a memory enhancement device¹

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I report here on a study whose aim was to determine whether any long-term vocabulary gains were achieved as the result of participation in a game program involving three vocabulary games based loosely on Poker (Pick Red), Chinese Blind Chess and Gobang. Forty six students from a language college in Taiwan participated in a twenty hour game program involving the creation of English compound words from single English words appearing on game cards and game pieces. A vocabulary test relating to these compounds was administered at the beginning of the program (the pretest), on two occasions during the program, on completion of the program and 45 days after completion of the program (the delayed test). Although the results indicated some vocabulary losses between the end of the program and the delayed test, comparison of pretest and delayed test results indicated significant vocabulary gains.

Keywords: educational game; memory enhancement; retention; vocabulary strategies.

Introduction

I have previously reported on different aspects of a study involving the impact of a vocabulary games program on acquisition of vocabulary (Chen, 2009a) and on vocabulary learning strategies (Chen, 2009b). The initial study was conducted in a language college in Taiwan. It involved a 20 hour English vocabulary game training program involving 46 students with an average score of 143.65 in the College Students English Proficiency Test (CSEPT), a score that is roughly equivalent to Common Reference Level A1 in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe, 2001). During the program, the students were grouped and regrouped according to the nature of the games in which they were involved but an attempt was made to ensure that each group was made up of students with similar proficiency test scores. Three vocabulary games invented by the author on the basis of three popular games – Poker (PickRed)², Chinese Blind Chess³ and Gobang⁴ – were used. In each case, game players had to attempt to create compound words in English (e.g. cowboy) by pairing single words that appeared on game cards or game pieces. The total number of (unrepeated) compound words that can be produced in these vocabulary games is 454. Samples of the game cards and game pieces are provided in *Figures 1 – 3* below.⁵

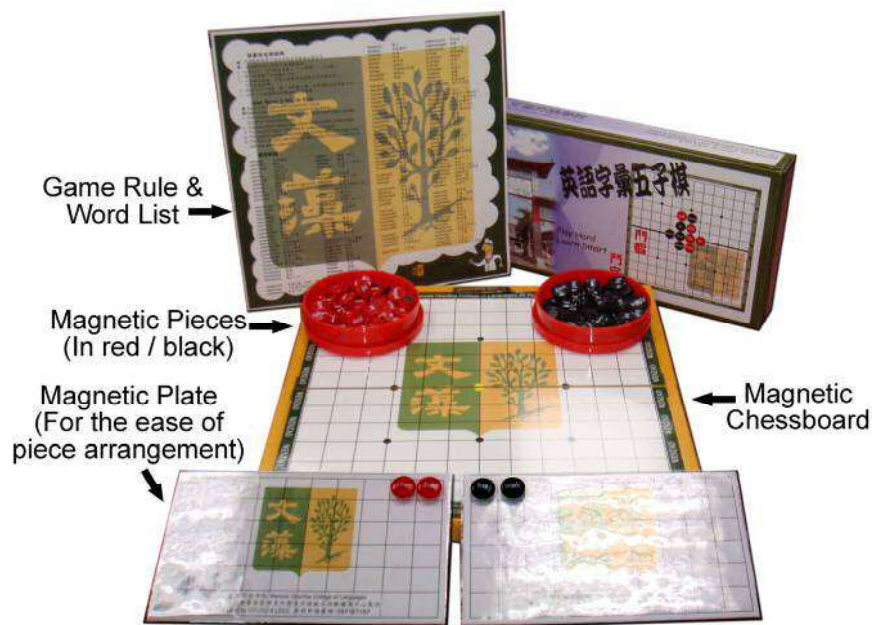
Figure 1: Sample cards from Poker vocabulary game



Figure 2: Sample pieces from Chinese Blind Chess (Xiangqi) vocabulary game



Figure 3: Sample pieces from Gobang vocabulary game



Review of selected literature on vocabulary acquisition and vocabulary learning strategies

Over the past few decades, the importance of vocabulary to language acquisition has been highlighted in a number of studies, the extent of a language learner's vocabulary having been shown to be a critical factor in effective language manipulation (Horwitz, 1988). Nation (2006) has estimated that a learner of English as a foreign or second language (EFL; ESL) will require approximately a 6,000 to 7,000 word-family vocabulary to comprehend spoken texts and an 8,000 to 9,000 word-family vocabulary for unassisted reading comprehension. In addition, research has indicated that the extent of learners' vocabulary has a significant impact on reading achievement (Francis & Simpson, 2003; Qian, 2002) and on language learning outcomes more generally (Gu & Johnson, 1996; Kojic-Sabo & Lightbown, 1999). Studies such as these have reinforced the importance of research on vocabulary

learning strategies and vocabulary strategy learning programs such as, for example, those conducted by Gu and Johnson, 1996; Merefat and Shirazi, 2003; On-Lai, 1993, Rasekh, and Ranjbary, 2003; Sanaoui, 1995; Siyanova and Schmitt, 2007; and Wesche and Paribakht, 2000.

Schmitt and Schmitt (1993) conducted research whose aim was not only to identify the strategies used by Japanese EFL students when learning vocabulary, but also to determine participants' perception of the usefulness of various vocabulary learning strategies. Fourteen methods of learning new words and 28 strategies for memorizing and retaining words learned were reported by the 600 participants in this study. So far as the participants in this study were concerned, verbal repetition and writing were highly favored strategies, whereas the use of word lists and flash cards was considered to be the least useful strategies. On the basis of a similar study involving 50 adult ESL students, Sanaoui (1995) concluded that adult learners used both structured and unstructured approaches, with repetition, imagination and association being used as mnemonic strategies by both beginners and advanced language learners.

Gu and Johnson (1996) explored the relationship between the use of vocabulary learning strategies and learning outcomes in the case of 850 non-English major university students in China. They found that although self-initiation, elective attention, oral repetition and cognitive strategies correlated with both vocabulary size and language proficiency, the use of memory strategies (such as imagery and visual and auditory associations) correlated with vocabulary size only.

Kojic-Sabo and Lightbrown (1999) explored the use of vocabulary learning strategies in different language learning settings involving 47 ESL and 43 EFL learners. They found that although the EFL learners tended to review what was learned more often than the ESL learners and to use repetition (in speech and writing) more frequently, both groups made frequent use of note-taking strategies and the dictionary.

A number of strategy instruction programs aiming to reinforce learners' short-term and long-term memory have been introduced in (Y. M. Chen, 2006; Chien, 2006; Chu, 2007; Dunbar, 2004; Hsu, 2004; Huang, 2004; Yek, 2006).

Y. M. Chen (2006) investigated the use of memory strategies by young learners in the context of the use of keywords and flashcards. Sixty-nine (69) participants aged 11 were divided into three groups. With one group, a keyword-received method was employed; with another, a keyword-generated method was employed;⁶ with the third group, the focus was on rote repetition. In tests given after one week, two weeks and three months, students exposed to the keyword-received method outperformed the others.

Chu (2007) conducted research involving the interaction between memory strategy training, use of vocabulary learning strategies and spelling accuracy. One hundred and twenty six (126) fourth graders were divided into two groups (control and experimental). The experimental group, whose members were provided with strategy training, outperformed the control group in terms of both spelling accuracy and use of vocabulary learning strategies.

Strategies involving imagery and visual repetition have been found to relate generally to students at higher levels. Huang (2004) conducted research involving the

association of drawing activities with vocabulary learning in the case of an experimental group and more traditional methods in the case of a control group. In-depth interviews revealed participants in the experimental group had positive attitudes towards the use of drawing as an aid to the memorization of vocabulary and believed that it contributed towards lexical recall.

In research involving 91 senior high school students, Hsu (2004) used three different approaches to teaching commonly used roots – an iconic-morphological approach, a non-iconic-morphological approach and a traditional-definition-based approach. The students who had been introduced to the iconic-morphological approach were found to perform better than the others in terms of morphological awareness, spelling ability and short-term and long-term retention.

Research conducted in Taiwan has demonstrated a strong connection between the implementation of vocabulary learning strategies (either in regular classroom teaching or in activities outside of classrooms) and successful learning. Even so, there are areas of disagreement and/or uncertainty. Thus, for example, whereas some researchers have emphasized the importance of learning words in context, others have found that decontextualized approaches to vocabulary learning, such as the use of word lists, can result in transfer to long-term memory (Martin-Chang, Levy & O’Neil, 2007). The fact remains, however, that language learning, including the learning of vocabulary, whether contextualized or decontextualized, is often associated with frustration and high levels of stress. It follows that any approach that students are likely to enjoy, such as learning through game playing, is worthy of investigation.

The word ‘edutainment’ (from ‘education’ and ‘entertainment’) began to be used in the early 1990s and has now become popular (Hadfield, 1990; Lewis & Bedson, 1999). Indeed, the importance of educational games, games that educate by combining fun with goal-setting, challenge and competition, has been stressed by a number of educationalists (Crookall, Oxford & Saunders, 1987; Hadfield, 1990; Lewis & Bedson, 1999; Shie, 2004; Thornton & Cleveland, 1990). Games used in ESL/EFL classrooms often involve a high level of repetition, thus assisting students to build competency, speed, and accuracy (Newby, Stepich, Lehman & Russell, 2000), while, as familiarity with the games grows, leading to a reduction on anxiety (Macedonia, 2005). Central to the research reported here is an attempt to determine whether combining game playing with vocabulary learning can enhance strategy use and lexical retention.

The study

Overall purpose

The overall purpose of the study reported here was to determine whether:

- a 20 hour game program based on adaptations of PickRed, Chinese Blind Chess and Gobang (in which players attempt to combine game cards and game pieces involving single English words in ways that create compound words) would result in a significant level of lexical retention;
- any of the three game types led to more significant vocabulary gains;
- participants’ proficiency levels had an impact on vocabulary gains and retention.

Participants

The study involved 46 students from a language college in Kaohsiung, Taiwan. The students, aged from 17 to 31 with an average proficiency score of 143.65 in the CSEPT, had voluntarily participated in an earlier study (Chen, 2009a & b).

Research instruments

The instrument used in this part of the research was a vocabulary test, designed by the author, used a format adapted from a vocabulary level test designed by Schmitt, Schmitt and Clapham (2001). It was made up of 174 questions (in Chinese), associated with which were 348 English compound nouns taken from the three vocabulary games to which the students had been introduced. The students' task was to select the correct Chinese definition for the compound nouns (see *Table 1* below).

Table 1: A sample from the vocabulary test

1. lifetime 2. lifework 3. handline 4. website 5. workhand 6. worksite	_____ 一生 _____ 雇工 _____ 畢生的工作
1. horseback 2. horseman 3. horsepower 4. mankind 5. manpower 6. workhorse	_____ 馬力 _____ 人類 _____ 吃苦耐勞 的人
1. doorkeeper 2. doorway 3. eyebath 4. sunbath 5. suntrap 6. trapdoor	_____ 日光浴 _____ 陷阱門 _____ 守門人

The test, which was administered 45 days after completion of the program, was also administered four times during the program (at the beginning; after completion of the Poker vocabulary games; after completion of the Chinese Blind Chess vocabulary games; and at the end of the program, that is after completion of the Gobang vocabulary games). The order of the test items was changed once.

Data Collection

The game-based vocabulary learning program was run in two separate sessions. Participants who were involved in the program in July took the test to which this study largely relates in the second week of September; participants who were involved in the program in August took the test in the second week of October. The data from these tests was analyzed along with the data from the tests the participants had taken earlier.

Data Analysis

The Statistics Package for Social Science (SPSS) was applied to calculate the mean scores and the standard deviations of the vocabulary tests. All the participants were grouped according to their proficiency and the group test score was further analyzed in a *one-way ANOVA* test. A *paired-sample-t-test* was used to investigate vocabulary gains between different tests.

Vocabulary test results

The average number of correct answers increased from 132 items in the 1st test to 161 items in the 4th test (out of a possible total of 174). Furthermore, the standard deviation diminished from test to test, indicating that the gap between participants' performance narrowed as a result of the program. Comparison of the results of the first and fourth tests reveals a significant difference in Pair IV ($p=.000^{***}$), the *t-value* in Pair IV indicating the effectiveness of the learning program. The *paired-sample-t-test* scores indicate significant improvement ($p=.000^{***}$) between each of the first four tests. Although the overall mean for the fifth test (taken 45 days after completion of the program) was approximately 6 items lower than it was for the fourth test, the standard deviation increased from 7.6 to 8.5. The results of the fifth test are similar to those achieved in the third test, indicating that although there had been some loss in the longer term, the gains retained were similar to those achieved in the third test (see *Table 2*). Note that * = $p<.05$, ** = $p<.01$, *** = $p<.001$; N = 46; T1=pretest, T2=test after Poker, T3=test after Chess, T4=test after Gobang, T5=delayed test.

Table 2: Comparison of the results of vocabulary tests taken immediately before and immediately after the program, on two occasions during the program and after a delay of 45 days

	Pair I		Pair II		Pair III		Pair IV		Pair V		Pair VI		Pair VII	
	T1	T2	T2	T3	T3	T4	T1	T4	T4	T5	T1	T5	T3	T5
M	131.7	148.0	148.0	154.8	154.8	161.1	131.7	161.1	161.1	154.7	131.7	154.7	154.8	154.7
SD	11.6	9.6	9.6	8.4	8.4	7.6	11.6	7.6	7.6	8.5	11.6	8.5	8.4	8.5
<i>t</i>	-12.458		-9.181		-10.466		-21.850		9.158		-18.680		.067	
<i>p</i>	.000***		.000***		.000***		.000***		.000***		.000***		.947	

Comparison of the results of the first four tests indicates that the participants learned most new words from playing the Poker vocabulary game, followed by the Gobang vocabulary game and, finally, the Chinese Blind Chess vocabulary game. However, there are a number of factors that could have impacted on the results. Thus, for example, because each of the games includes content that appears in the other games, there is an element of reinforcement as the participants proceed through the games that may have accounted for the higher level gains in the case of the Poker game as compared to the Gobang game. However, the fact that there is an overlap among the games in terms of the compound words that can be created may have led participants to rely more heavily as the program proceeded on words already learned, thus remaining within their comfort zone. This could have been a factor in the lower level of vocabulary gains following the final game as compared to the vocabulary gains following the other two games.

On the other hand, the novelty of learning vocabulary through game playing may have begun to wear off towards the end of the program, something that might have

accounted for lower gains in the case of the Chinese Blind Chess game as compared with the Gobang game. To test these hypotheses, it would be necessary to rerun the program several times changing the game order and, on some occasions, altering the game cards and game pieces so as to ensure that each game is associated with a unique set of compound word possibilities. In this way, it should be possible to determine whether any of the games is typically more effective than the others in terms of vocabulary gains and whether similar gains can be achieved in less time where a particular game is the focus of attention.

The interaction between proficiency and vocabulary gains was explored by grouping participants (three groups) in terms of proficiency scores in the CSEPT test and comparing the proficiency scores of each group. A *one-way ANOVA* test was used to determine whether there was a significant difference among the three proficiency groups for all the five vocabulary tests taken during and after the program. The findings are presented in *Table 3*. Note that the maximum score obtainable in the CSEPT is 360.

Table 3: Relationship between proficiency and vocabulary gains

Group	No.	CSEPT Range	Means	SD
Group 1	7	114	96.86	8.84
Group 2	30	115~172	142.43	17.37
Group 3	9	173	184.11	9.31
Overall	46	86~198	143.65	29.82

A significant difference was detected among the three proficiency-based groups in terms of vocabulary gains for the first four tests, particularly the tests taken after players finished playing Poker Cards (*Test 2*) and Chinese Chess (*Test 3*). In this connection, it is important to note that a slight difference was found between Group 1 and Group 3 in the pretest but that the results for Group 1 and Group 2 were very similar. However, after finishing playing the Poker Card vocabulary game, a significant difference between Group 1 and Group 2 is detectable. On average, the three groups improved by about 15 items. However, whereas the first group (lowest proficiency group) improved by 16 items and the second group by 17.6 items, the third group (highest proficiency group) improved by only 12.3 items (*Test 4*).

After finishing the Chess game, the third test was administered. At this point, there was also a significant difference between Groups 1 and 2. Group 2 increased to 157 items (a 6.8 item improvement); Group 1 increased to 145.6 items (a 7.9 item improvement). Group 3 improved by 5.6 items. Surprisingly, the lowest proficiency group showed the most improvement, the highest proficiency group showed the least improvement. The fourth test result (on completion of the program) indicated a slight difference among the three groups ($p=.032^*$). The gap had diminished. In the case of the final test (45 days after completion of the program), the mean for each group decreased (by about 6 items) and the standard deviation increased from 7.6 to 8.5 (see *Table 2*). However, there was no significant difference among the groups, indicating that proficiency was no longer a factor. Even so (see *Table 4*), the scores were similar to those achieved in the third test. Note that $^* = p < .05$, $^{**} = p < .01$, $^{***} = p < .001$; T1=pretest, T2=test after Poker, T3=test after Chess, T4=test after Gobang, T5=delayed test.

Table 4: Relationship between proficiency and vocabulary gains (mean and standard deviation)

	Test 1		Test 2		Test 3		Test 4		Test 5	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Group 1	121.7	6.3	137.7	8.0	145.6	8.5	154.3	9.0	148.0	7.9
Group 2	132.6	11.6	150.2	8.2	157.0	7.4	162.3	7.2	155.8	8.4
Group 3	136.4	11.1	148.7	10.5	154.3	6.9	162.4	5.4	156.2	7.3
p	.029*		.005**		.003**		.032*		.072	
f-ratio	3.855		5.901		6.619		3.730		2.797	
Post-hoc	G3>G1*		G2>G1**		G2>G1**		G2>G1*			

The relationship between proficiency and the vocabulary gains associated with completion of each game is indicated in *Tables 5 – 7*. There were 7 participants in the lowest proficiency group, 30 in the middle proficiency group and 9 in the highest proficiency group. In considering the results recorded in these tables in terms of significance, it is important to bear in mind the small size of two of the groups.

Table 5: Lowest proficiency group test results

	Pair I		Pair II		Pair III		Pair IV		Pair V		Pair VI		Pair VII	
	T1	T2	T2	T3	T3	T4	T1	T4	T4	T5	T1	T5	T3	T5
M	121.7	137.7	137.7	145.6	145.6	154.3	121.7	154.3	154.3	148.0	121.7	148.0	145.6	148.0
SD	6.3	8.0	8.0	8.5	8.5	9.0	6.3	9.0	9.0	7.9	6.3	7.9	8.5	7.9
t	-4.024		-3.442		-4.620		-6.953		3.167		-5.966		-1.415	
p	.007**		.014*		.004**		.000***		.019*		.001***		.207	

Table 6: Middle proficiency group test results

	Pair I		Pair II		Pair III		Pair IV		Pair V		Pair VI		Pair VII	
	T1	T2	T2	T3	T3	T4	T1	T4	T4	T5	T1	T5	T3	T5
M	132.6	150.2	150.2	157.0	157.0	162.3	132.6	162.3	162.3	155.8	132.6	155.8	157.0	155.8
SD	11.6	8.2	8.2	7.4	7.4	7.2	11.6	7.2	7.2	8.4	11.6	8.4	7.4	8.4
t	-12.472		-8.428		-8.875		-18.962		7.285		-16.977		1.577	
p	.000***		.000***		.000***		.000***		.000***		.000***		.126	

Table 7: Highest proficiency group test results

	Pair I		Pair II		Pair III		Pair IV		Pair V		Pair VI		Pair VII	
	T1	T2	T2	T3	T3	T4	T1	T4	T4	T5	T1	T5	T3	T5
M	136.4	148.7	148.7	154.3	154.3	162.4	136.4	162.4	162.4	156.2	136.4	156.2	154.3	156.2
SD	11.1	10.5	10.5	6.9	6.9	5.4	11.1	5.4	5.4	7.3	11.1	7.3	6.9	7.3
t	-3.369		-2.713		-4.785		-9.693		4.128		-7.420		-1.241	
p	.010**		.027*		.001***		.000***		.003**		.000***		.250	

In the case of the group with the lowest proficiency scores (see *Table 5*), the biggest increase was achieved after completion of the Gobang game (Pair IV). Although there was a loss in the case of the delayed test as compared with the fourth test, the results of that test were similar to those of the third test and indicated a significant gain compared to the pretest (Pair 6, $p=.001***$).

In the case of the middle proficiency group (see *Table 6*), a group whose CSEPT scores were around the average for all of the participants, the standard deviation (except in the case of the pretest) was more stable it was for the other groups. The differences among the first four tests were significant, indicating continuing vocabulary expansion. However, the *p-value* from Pair V (fifth test) indicates significant loss (a loss of around 7 items) in relation to the fourth test. Nevertheless, there was still a significant difference (indicating vocabulary gains) between the results of the first and last tests.

So far as the group with the highest proficiency level is concerned (see *Table 7*), the gains were initially more gradual, with the most significant increase occurring in the fourth test (as compared to the third test). Although there was a loss in the fifth test (as compared with the fourth), there was, nevertheless, an overall gain in comparison with the pretest.

Conclusion

As indicated in *Table 2*, although the participants' vocabulary gains immediately following the game program were higher than they were after a 45 day delay, comparison of the pretest results with those of the delayed test results provides evidence of significant long-term vocabulary gains. However, the small number of participants in two of the proficiency groups (the highest and lowest) was a limiting factor and further research involving a higher number of students with different proficiency levels would be required before any definite conclusions could be reached in relation to the impact of proficiency level on vocabulary gains. Furthermore, a more extensive research project involving different game sequences would be required in order to determine whether any of the games is more effective in relation to vocabulary gains. Finally, in order to determine the comparative effectiveness of this game-based program, it would be necessary to establish control groups whose members were introduced to the same vocabulary in different ways.

Endnotes

1. A version of this paper was presented at the 26th Conference of English Language Teaching and Learning in Republic of China.
2. PickRed is a game in which players are given up to six cards, depending on the number of players. The rest of the cards are put aside and four cards are placed face-up on the table. Players aim to match cards (from their hands or the cards on the table), producing pairs of red cards (hearts and diamonds) that add up to ten. In the version of the game designed by the author, the cards have pictures and words on them and paired cards must combine to create compound nouns.
3. Blind Chess is played with all pieces upside down on one half of the board. There are 16 red pieces and 16 black pieces which, depending on type, may move horizontally, vertically and/or diagonally. Pieces can leap over one another to capture their target or capture their target directly by moving in any direction except diagonally. In the version of the game designed by the author, the pieces have words written on them and players gain points by lining up pieces to form compound nouns. The game ends when one player successfully takes the general, or checkmates the other player.
4. Gobang, also known as 5-in-a-Row, is a traditional oriental game played with black and white pieces on a 19x19 go board. The pieces can be lined vertically, horizontally and diagonally. It can be played by two individuals or two teams. In the version of the game designed by the author, each piece has a word written on it and players need to line up the pieces so that each juxtaposed pair makes up a compound noun.

5. Note that a patent application has been made in respect of these games (Application No. 097101167).
6. Note that 'keyword-received' refers to situations in which students are provided with a verbal description of an interactive picture and asked to imagine the picture, whereas 'keyword-generated' refers to a situation in which students create their own interactive images.

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Acknowledgments

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