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ABSTRACT

A major controversy in education in Papua New Guinea (PNG) has been the choice of language for initial literacy education. It is now generally accepted by academics, education leaders, and politicians that this should be a language already spoken by the learner. Research suggests that this will contribute to better, not worse skills in English at a later point. However, another issue to be considered is the kind of language (formal or vernacular) to be taught. In early PNG colonial history, written language was seen by native people as an almost mystical force because of the uses to which it was put by the Europeans. Cognitive skills required for literacy include visual skills to make the connection between sounds and symbols, skills for linking linguistic structure and meaning, and skills in the ability to decontextualize language. Literacy materials should be produced or selected according to two main criteria: the language used must be real (meaningful) to the learner; and there must be a match between the materials and the learner's cognitive skills. Use of pictures in literacy materials also provides context for written text. A source of materials to be exploited is the newspaper. Several newspaper items in pidgin and standard English are appended. (MSE)

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LEARNING LITERACY IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA: WHICH "LANGUAGE"?

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LEARNING LITERACY IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA: WHICH "LANGUAGE"?

Background: Controversies Surrounding Initial Literacy

Unlike first-language acquisition, literacy is a skill which must be mastered consciously, in either a formal or informal educational setting. A social consequence of this fact is that the initial school learning of literacy is fraught with controversy in communities in which the first language of a significant portion of the population is not the medium of instruction. No one would think of telling a mother what to do to teach her child to speak a language, but there is considerable "expert" advice on how to teach children to read. There has been a long-standing debate between the advocates of word recognition and those who give priority to overall comprehension. (See, e.g., Hamlin, 1993.) Faraclas (1987) has reported on an Enga Tokples project which has successfully combined "syllable-based" and "process reading" approaches. In alternating class sessions, pupils focus on both the contrastive elements in the language system and the meaning of whole texts.

B. Evans (1986), on the other hand, has considered these two methods incompatible. One group of students in Oro Province were exposed to what she terms the Analytical Eclectic approach, in which words were broken into syllables and vowels and then built up into words again; reading materials were carefully controlled, with frequent drilling exercises. The other group followed the Language Experience approach, in which they were given culturally familiar materials and encouraged to read with a definite purpose and to find meaning, without giving explicit attention to the analysis of language. Evans' comparison shows that the second method is the more effective, and it confirms the now accepted view that "the only way to learn to read is at the level of meaning" (Smith, 1978: 41).

Another controversy has concerned orthography. A uniform writing system is important for teaching and promoting literacy. As Coulmas (1984) points out, a degree of standardization is necessary in order for a language to be written at all. The fact that expatriates working independently from one another established different writing systems that have taken root in various parts of PNG, has resulted in a problem for national communication. There is still no single offically recognized standard orthography (Siegel, 1981: 21). One reason for this may be fear of the social disruption which can result if new systems are imposed to replace existing conventionalized ones in particular localities (Healey and Taylor, 1977). However, the selection of a standard orthography may be less important for teaching initial literacy than it is for promoting national communication. From the point of view of the learner, the particular orthographic system used probably does not matter much. As long as it is consistent, one system will be no more or less easy to master

than another.

The major controversy in Papua New Guinea in recent years has centered on the choice of language for initial literacy. It is now generally accepted among academics, educationalists and politicians that this should be a language already spoken by the learner. B. Evans (1986: 50 f) and Moody (1992: 11 f) provide surveys of scholarship which supports the view that a person can learn to read only in a language s/he understands. And Litteral (1986) offers convincing evidence from other parts of the world that bilingual pupils who have acquired literacy in a first language perform better at school (regardless of the medium of instruction) than those who have tried to learn literacy in a second language. One reason for this is that conceptual development can best be accomplished in a first language. The concepts mastered can then be applied to other tasks, including the learning of literacy in a non-native language. Initial education in English in Papua New Guinea, it is claimed, slows down conceptual development (Matane, 1986: 37). The long-range benefits first-language literacy acquisition can bring has led Bamgbose (1984: 26) to claim that "... no one should be forced to learn to read and write while at the same time learning a new language".

But this view has not always been popular. It was long taken for granted in Papua New Guinea that since English is an important official language and since it is essential to education and development, children should learn English (and how to read and write it) from the initial stages of education. (See Johnson, 1974.) Thus, little attempt was made to incorporate first-language literacy into formal curricula. Litteral (1986) refers to the assumption motivating this neglect as the "unproven developed language quantitative hypothesis", the view that the longer the period of English language teaching, the better the learner's English skills (including literacy) will be. He refers to research proving the fallacy of the "more is better" approach. This research shows that initial literacy in a mother tongue will eventually result in better (not worse) skills in English, at some later point-- usually by the end of primary school.

Such a recommendation is also put forward in the Matane Report (p. 37), which points out that when communication skills initially learned in a first language are later transferred to English, then bilingual learners performs better than when they have received instruction in English only. Lilly (1989: 4) gives substance to this generalization: pupils in Enga Province who attained literacy in their first language did much better in their subsequent (English-only) education. And Downing's (1986) research shows that even children in PNG who had never been to school were better pupils than those who had been (supposedly) taught to read in English.

The Education Sector Review of 1991 recommends (vol. 1, pp. 43 and vol. 2, pp. 169 f) that initial literacy in a familiar language is advisable on educational, psychological and social

grounds. Subsequently these skills can be transferred to English. and other national languages. Various suggestions have been made for implementing this policy by developing and extending literacy from a first language to other languages in the school curriculum. In an earlier article Litteral (1975) proposes that all teaching be in the pupil's first language in Grades 1 and 2. Then in Grades 3 and 4 instruction should be in Tok Pisin or Hiri Motu, with English taught as a separate subject. But by the end of Grade 6 English would have become the medium of instruction with Tok Pisin/Hiri Motu as separate subjects. This suggestion probably comes closest to matching the Educational Sector Review recommendation. However, Kerema (1989) has presented other possibilities for languages in primary education in PNG. One of these is for schools to adopt a Mixed Medium: pupils and teachers would use a number of mutually familiar languages and switch freely between them.

A major reason why initial literacy is most effective in a language already known is that the experience of reading and writing becomes in the literal sense "meaningful" by being located in the real world with which the child is familiar. Although Kerema does not deal with the teaching of initial literacy directly, one implication of his proposal is that literacy should be introduced simultaneously in the various languages pupils already know. Similarly I have argued (Moody, 1992) that since the teaching of language in school should reflect the use of language in society, initial literacy ought to be acquired in PNG in a way which reflects the language experience of the individual. If the child is bi- or multilingual (as is increasingly the case in urban centers), this would mean learning to read and write in a number of different languages concurrently. The traditional notion of "first language" or "mother tongue" becomes problematic in a speech community where children may use one language with their mother, another with their father, another with their peers outside school and yet another in the classroom. It is unlikely that children make the same clear-cut distinctions between languages that linguists and teachers do. (Particularly if the languages involved are closely related ones like English and Tok Pisin.) Thus, "multiliteracy" in a multilingual society is another possibility.

Real and Unreal Language

The remainder of the present discussion, however, will not pursue these controversies. It will, rather, explore another way in which initial literacy can become a "real" experience for the child by considering familiar language from a different point of view. What I am concerned with is the question: What kind of language is most suitable for learning literacy? As an indication of the importance of literacy in communication, I would point out that the meaning of the title of this paper cannot be accurately conveyed in the spoken mode. I have put quotation marks around the word Language to indicate that what I have in mind here is

something other than entities such as "English", "Tok Pisin" or "Enga". Language in the sense I intend has been variously termed variety (Gregory and Carroll, 1978; O'Donnell and Todd, 1980), register (e.g., Halliday and Hasan, 1978: 23 f) and style (Crystal and Davy, 1969). What are usually considered discrete holistic languages have come increasingly to be viewed as configurations of various sublanguages (Kittridge and Lehrberger, 1982).

Thus, it is not sufficient for educators simply to decide that a particular language be used as the medium of literacy instruction. Careful consideration needs to go into what type of language (or sublanguage) is appropriate. Franklin (1977) claims that even in rural areas in Papua New Guinea where literacy materials are available, people are often not interested in learning to read their first language. One reason for this reluctance could be that the language of the literacy text is not considered "real". The Education Sector Review (vol. 2, p. 143) mentions the lack of interesting relevant materials to encourage readers to expand and maintain literacy skills. If, as Mihalic (1977: 1122 f) asserts, Papua New Guineans are not used to reading, then it would seem that a logical first step in literacy education would be to present them with interesting and relevant materials. This involves linking the text to what pupils know, including the type of language they already use in communication. If it is true that effective teaching establishes a link between the known and the unknown, then learning to be literate should involve making a connection between oral discourse (which is known) and writing (which is not).

The history of literacy in Papua New Guinea illustrates the dangerous consequences of failing to follow this principle in the teaching of initial literacy. When written language first came to PNG with colonialism, it was associated with the new Christian religion of the missionaries. Now when children enter school everywhere in the world, they face a series of hurdles to be overcome: they must learn new ways of social behaviour, new ideas and cognitive processes, possibly a new language, as well as the skills of reading and writing. Given this multiplicity of requirements, the demands placed upon the Papua New Guinean pupil were exacerbated by the additional demands of a foreign religion. Thus, it was almost inevitable that imperfect learning occurred.

Romaine (1992: 71 ff) offers a damning critique of literacy and schooling as it was practised under colonialism in PNG. According to her, literacy was pursued in a "cargo cult atmosphere": indigenous people were led by European settlers to regard the written word as a sacred key to wealth, quite independent of its relation to the real world (i.e., its meaning). Hence, the acquisition of literacy offered few immediate practical benefits. On the contrary, it gave people false hopes based upon a mistaken association between a written text and supernatural powers. Romaine mentions some of the unfortunate results of mistaken ideas about the power of literacy in PNG; for instance, that if application forms and lottery tickets were filled in correctly,

this would ensure admission to school and winning a jackpot. Romaine seeks to expose the literacy myth: "the view that the acquisition of literacy leads to social mobility, overcoming poverty and self fulfillment" (p. 337). These results were not achieved during the colonial period in PNG. Romaine concludes with a general observation that "literacy has seldom emerged as a response to needs inherent in traditional societies, but has been used by outsiders to achieve certain objectives" (p. 72).

Among the first uses to which vernacular literacy was put in PNG, was to enable people to sign away their traditional land rights to colonizers and to commit themselves to indentured servitude by signing contracts. Far from improving the quality of their lives, literacy made life worse for many Papua New Guineans. Romaine points out that since literacy teaching (and all education) was for a long time entirely in the hands of the missionaries, there were very few secular texts written in Tok Pisin or Tokples languages; this fact helped to promote the misconception about the nature of literacy. By divorcing the written word from the quotidian context of the actual familiar world and by associating writing with the abstractions of a foreign religion, the early missionaries, according to Romaine, caused literacy to be considered a mystical end in itself rather than a tool for communication and development. (See also Irwin, 1976: 75.)

Meggitt (1968) sees this tendency as characteristic of Melanesian society in particular. He notes that writing took on a mystical function, as a ritual means of communicating with a new god and as a direct access to material wealth in the form of the Cargo. The pas (a letter written by Europeans), for example, was taken to be a supernatural bringer of goods. Meggitt suggests that this symbolic use of literacy made region into a dangerous "quasi-technology" (p. 306) so that the written word, quite irrespective of what it meant or even whether it could be read and understood, came to be seen in itself as a means of attaining the Cargo.

Now it would require a substantial leap of faith to link directly these psycho-religious aspects of the Melanesian psyche (assuming Meggitt's assessment is valid) and the use of literacy materials unrelated to spoken language. However, it is revealing to compare the Melanesian case with Meggitt's account of the literacy situation in the New Guinea Highlands. He argues that in the Highlands literacy, from the time of its introduction, served a secular and pragmatic function. Here it was regarded as "another empirical tool" (p. 308). This meant that for Highlanders encoding and decoding the meaning of writing was essential. Less a mystical sign, the written text became a practical means of conducting business and commerce. The contrast Meggitt makes between the development of literacy in Papua and in the Highlands (its validity as historical truth notwithstanding) underscores the possible consequences of introducing literacy through texts that have no bearing on practical communicative needs. Pupils may

be able to "read" in the sense of connecting letters with sounds, but unless they can relate written communication to the spoken language they know and use, they will not understand what they read. And unless they can understand a text, literacy cannot serve any constructive practical function at all.

This section has dealt mainly with some possible personal and social consequences arising from the use of what I have termed "unreal" materials for literacy instruction in PNG. Before turning to a more positive and specific consideration of the features of the language of "real" literacy texts, I would like to look at some of the cognitive skills necessary for literacy.

The Cognitive Skills Required for Literacy

Literacy in an obvious and basic sense depends upon visual perception. Coulmas (1984: 14) has characterized it as the visual organization of knowledge. The ability to read and write depends upon making connections between sounds and the marks by which they are represented as letters, syllables, words, and at a higher level sentences and paragraphs. In fact literacy instruction has most commonly dealt with these various types of signs in a systemic hierarchy, progressing from the elementary components to their combinations in higher order structures.

As P. Evans (1982) points out, visual skills in reading should be developed to take in units longer than letters, morphemes or words. It takes us approximately the same amount of time to decode (a) as it does to decode (b):

(a)	D	T	P	J	H	C	W	O
(b)	DOG	TABLE	PAUL	JUMP	HOME	COME	WHEN	OVER

And (c) can probably be processed more quickly than either (a) or (b):

(c) THE DOG JUMPED OVER THE TABLE WHEN PAUL CAME HOME

Sequences (a) and (b) contain the same number of units, and (c) has two more than the others. This fact indicates that visual units of meaning can vary in size. If it takes us the same amount of time to read a word as it does to read a letter, then a reader who reads in units of words is more efficient than one who reads in units of letters. And reading by clause or sentence units, is more efficient still.

The fact that (c) can be read at least as quickly as (a) or (b) suggests also that other skills are involved besides sight. Evans claims that sight provides only one kind of information required in reading; the other source of information is the brain. He divides this non-visual information into three parts: syntactic knowledge (of how units of a particular language system

relate to one another to form larger units), semantic (what these units mean or stand for) and our general knowledge of the world (including, I would add, both "facts" as well as social awareness). Now the child learning initial literacy is already visually perceptive. This capacity needs to be expanded and developed. But at the same time attention needs to be given to those cognitive skills related to the brain. This is a further reason why initial literacy in a first language is advisable: it is easier for a child to develop syntactic and semantic knowledge in a language already known than in one that is not.

It has been claimed that the cognitive leap from oral to written communication involves a switch from an emphasis on the meaning or the content of language to an awareness of language structure. Siegel (1981) shows how written and spoken Tok Pisin frequently diverge as separate codes. According to Simons and Murphy (1986), the pupil learning literacy must move from the "multi-channel" communication of speech (where meaning comes from audial and visual features of the context) to the "mono-channel" of writing (where meaning comes from paying attention to linguistic structure). Following the terminology of Brown and Yule, 1983: 25ff and 46 ff), orality involves paying attention to the context (who is speaking, their tone of voice, what they are pointing to, what else the child can see in the situation, what s/he thinks and feels about the situation, etc.), while literacy requires attention to the cotext (the information and clues to meaning provided by the language used).

The cotext is, then, by definition "decontextualized". Literacy has been defined by Hamers and Blanc (1989: 269) as "[the] state of an individual or community relating to the decontextualized use of language, especially in the written mode". Written communication does not rely upon shared knowledge between sender and receiver to the extent that speech does (Siegel, 1981: 24). Literacy involves developing the cognitive ability to become aware of the internal relations and consistency between component parts of a written text (letters, words, phrases, sentences, paragraphs, etc.). This is quite different from the ability involved in recognizing the correspondence between what is said and the extralinguistic "world" of the context, typical in the oral communication with which the child is familiar (Hamers and Blanc, p. 66). In written communication, in contrast to face-to-face communication, the sender and the receiver are not usually together, and exophoric reference to the context (Halliday and Hasan, 1976) is uncommon.

Simons and Murphy say that the greatest difficulty children face in attaining literacy is in changing from "contextualized" to "decontextualized" language. Speech is acquired by children in familiar social situations where referents and participants are usually present. Speech and its meaning are in a real sense part of the child's social context. The cognitive process of reading, by contrast, is more consciously analytical, less "natural"; the reader searches the cotext for clues, typically illustrated by

the process of tracing anaphoric references (Halliday and Hasan, 1976) to the preceding cotext. From the perspective of the writer various "transactional" features of spoken language have to be coded into writing: these include suprasegmental elements, gestures, and pragmatic strategies such as hedging, equivocating, prevarication, predicting responses, all of which are characteristic of face-to-face conversation (Cooper, 1982). And from the learner's point of view, the various ways these ends can be achieved-- such as the use of punctuation, recursiveness, redundancy-- need to be recognized as means of "translating" the style of speech into the style of writing.

Thus, literacy involves an integration of many skills at several levels of visual, aural and intellectual cognition (Martlew, 1983). Learners must acquire these skills in addition to overcoming all the other problems of initial schooling mentioned earlier. It is hardly surprising, then, that children learning initial literacy in PNG are thrown into what has been termed a state of "cognitive confusion" (Faraclas, 1987: 11; Downing, 1986), regardless of whether or not they are confronted with a language they already know. A vital question for teachers, then, is how to ease the transition from spoken to written language, from the known to the unknown. The solution to this problem depends to a large extent on the type of literacy materials used.

Initial Literacy Texts for Papua New Guinea

The preceding parts of this discussion have suggested two criteria for the production and/or selection of appropriate texts for initial literacy in PNG. First is the requirement to use what counts as "real" language for the learner. This means not only the language (or languages) already known and spoken but also the particular varieties or styles which are most familiar. The second requirement is for materials which match the cognitive needs of literacy with the cognitive abilities of pupils. Is it possible to avoid (or at least to minimize) the confusion arising from the concurrent introduction of a number of new skills?

That literacy materials should be kept "simple" (Irwin, 1976: 75) or "plain" (Farnsworth, 1976) is a common view among literacy instructors. Farnsworth, for instance, advises that appropriate Tokples texts should use simple words, avoid long complex sentences, mark and define participants in the stories clearly, contain redundancy and amplification devices. Now in one sense these stylistic features of discourse are not necessarily "simple"; redundancy and amplification devices in particular would probably be quite complex in writing. But all are typical of casual conversation. In fact, Farnsworth's last recommendation makes this point clear: the writer should try to incorporate oral elements in writing, such as intonation, pause, loudness, gestures, etc.

The insistence on "simplicity" in literacy materials appears to have less to do with making them cognitively easy and uncomplicated for the inexperienced child, than with attempting to have them reflect the reality of the variety of language with which the child is most familiar. This variety is, of course, informal talk, in which a child of school age actively participates as encoder and decoder. Written texts used in initial literacy classes should resemble the daily speech of the child's community. Deibler (1976) has compared written and oral styles of a Tokples language in the Goroka area. He finds the following oral features missing from the written discourse of Bible translations and personal letters: contractions, basic verb forms, imperatives, "hidden talk" (use of indirect metaphorical expressions), specific names of people and places, loan words, long sentences with a number of clauses loosely chained together, and "post-script" sentences which occur after the final verb. (Another similar list is given by Carl, 1986.) Many of these features could be incorporated into basic literacy texts.

When a previously unwritten language develops into a written language, it undergoes a process Siegel refers to as literization. There is, as Johnston (1976: 66) observes, a "grammar" of the written mode of a language, even when it has never before been written. This grammar is determined mainly by features of the cotext, such as those Halliday and Hasan (1976) refer to as cohesive. Ordinary speech is not especially simple. Reading a transcription of an actual conversation is very difficult work, even for highly trained linguists. "Real" language for our purposes, then, is not the reproduction of actual speech in writing. But it is possible to actualize the meanings of spoken language in the written mode (Johnston, 1976, 1979). Eventually pupils will need to master the styles of written texts. As writing develops in hitherto non-written languages and as more texts are produced by a newly literate community, conventions will arise, as Johnston suggests, which will mark written texts and which will make it possible for a reader to distinguish one genre or text type from another. However, this ability should be taught at a later stage of education, after the pupil has already acquired initial literacy.

Mihalic (1977) has pointed out that readers of Tok Pisin in PNG lose interest when written language is too different from speech, especially if translations are made directly from English into Tok Pisin or if the Tok Pisin is too anglicized. Obviously a compromise is needed to produce appropriate literacy materials. Johnston (1979: 134) proposes two editing processes to transform oral language transcriptions into written texts: appropriacy editings (amendments to the text to compensate for loss of oral and visual cues available in speech) and acceptability editings (amendments to remove ambiguity and unintended vagueness and to provide stylistic elegance). Materials for initial literacy classes could be based on oral sources edited "appropriately" but not "acceptably". This would help to ensure that while the materials reflect real oral use, they are not simply talk written

down. Research conducted with first-language English-speaking children shows that they had better comprehension when structural patterns of written passages were similar to patterns of the oral language they spoke (Carl, 1986). This would seem to be an even stronger claim for children in PNG, where the conventions of written language are less stable.

Material writers should take into account both the capacities and problems of pupils at an early stage of education. One way to avoid "cognitive confusion" is to isolate the required skills and develop them sequentially. Since the most basic literacy skill is visual, materials could be developed for initial literacy which take into account and build on what pupils are already able to see. Visual skills for literacy are of two types. First, and most obvious, is the ability to recognize orthographic signs on a page, and children need practice in distinguishing letters of the alphabet. But in transferring skills from oral to written language, pupils need also to be able to recognize those aspects of the observable visual context which figure in the meaning of speech. As a preparation for literacy, they could begin to think consciously about contextual aspects of meaning they have previously taken for granted. In the terminology adopted by Hymes (1964), this means distinguishing the -emic from the -etic aspects of context and associating the former with the language being used.

P. Evans (1982: 6) recommends using pictures in the teaching of basic literacy. Pictures provide an exophoric context for the written text and help the reader to predict and decide on meaning. By confirming these predictions and decisions, they offer a sense of confidence necessary for the development of reading skills. For instance, pictures can serve to give meaning to deictic features, which can be a problem when writing imitates talk. References pointing to the physical context are common in ordinary speech, and if initial literacy texts attempt to imitate speech they will probably contain a number of pronouns, demonstratives, adverbs of place and time, and other markers of definiteness which are meaningful only when the context is known. Simons and Murphy (1986) report that when a verbal context (i.e., cotext) is provided along with quoted dialogue, for first-language English-speaking children, then they are able to interpret deictic items. This seems, however, a fairly advanced literacy skill. More basic would be an attempt to provide the notion of -emic context through direct visual evidence.

One source of material that could be exploited in the teaching of literacy in PNG is newspapers. Siegel (1981: 25 ff) mentions a range of oral Tok Pisin stylistic devices intentionally employed by the editor and writers of Wantok: news reports, feature articles, letters to the editor, traditional stories, etc. There are also certain kinds of texts in this paper which attempt specifically to actualize casual spoken language in writing and at the same time represent pictorially the -emic aspects of the visual context. These are cartoons and advertise-

ments. The Appendix of this paper contains some examples taken from Wantok and the Post Courier. The texts consist of written language imitating casual speech together with pictorial representation of the physical context within which the talk is supposed to occur. To draw attention to how such texts mean will help to reveal the decoding process that occurs for the reader. This should in turn suggest strategies for using these kinds of texts in teaching initial literacy.

In Text 1, for instance, the phrase liklik kandere bilong Biabia is identified by the drawing in the first frame, as is the referent of em. In the second frame the referents of piksa bilong wanpela gorila and long pes bilong Biabia are shown in the drawing. In the third frame the deictic adverb hia would be meaningless without the picture. The referents of the phrases piksa bilong gorila and em yu tasol in the final frame are meaningful only in relation to what has been shown in the previous frames. In Text 2, the drawings represent and hence identify the referents of Toro, ol lain poro bilong Toro and ka, and also the pronouns substituted for these expressions: ol, i, mi, em, yu. Again, without the "-emic" pictures, it would be very difficult to recover the meanings of such items.

Texts 3 - 6 illustrate a strategy of much print-media advertising in the popular press. They try to imitate casual, informal speech as a means of asserting a close relationship with the reader. The reader is, as it were, invited to accept the advice of an intimate friend who is recommending a product or service. (See Leech, 1966: 76 ff.) Thus, advertisements serve as a basic illustration of how, in written texts, the cotext and the context can become one. In these examples two features of colloquial speech help to create the context: personal pronouns and imperative and interrogative structures. The expressions yu inap win in Text 4, yu laikim seving bilong yu in Text 5 and haus bilong yu in Text 6 all make direct reference to the reader. The imperative verbs winim in Text 3, go in Text 4, and lukim in Text 6 and the questions in Texts 5 and 6 all suggest a context in which one friend is speaking to another. Texts 7 and 8 illustrate the same features in English advertisements from the Post Courier. Thus, the reader is involved in situations in a way similar to that in "real" oral communicative encounters. Features of a colloquial style are preserved so that beginning readers can connect the written word with the reality of the speech variety they already know.

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APPENDIX

Text 1 (Wantok 13-21.7.88)

Text 2 (Wantok 13-21.7.88)

Text 3 (Wantok 21.2.91)

Text 4 (Wantok 27.12.90)

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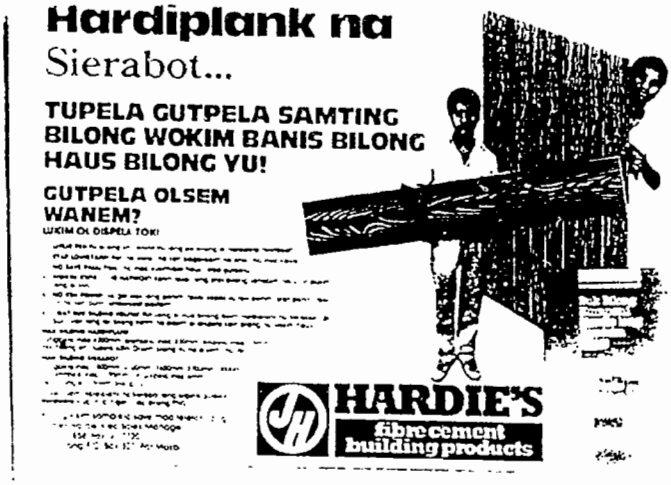
Text 5 (Wantok 21.2.91)

Text 6 (Wantok 21.2.91)



Text 7 (PC 12.7.93)

Text 8 (PC 12.7.93)

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