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Journal of the Linguistic Society of New Zealand

Volumes 56 and 57 *2013–2014*

Contents

REGULARITIES IN IRREGULARITIES IN ENGLISH INFLECTION

Laurie Bauer: *School of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies, Victoria University of Wellington <laurie.bauer@vuw.ac.nz>*

Abstract

Irregular inflections in English are not firmly determined by the form of the base. The question is whether we can predict when a form which is most often inflected irregularly is likely to take regular inflection. Standard stories from the literature are tested against corpus data, and are found to be overly simplistic. There is more variation in inflection than is generally recognised.

1. Introduction[1]

Regular verbs in English are those that have four forms, the base form, the *-ing* form, the third-person singular *-(e)s* form which usually causes no phonological modification to that base, and a past tense form identical to the past participle form produced by adding *-ed* to the base form. All other verbs are irregular to some degree. Although forms like *does* and, for many speakers, *says* (/sez/ rather than /seɪz/) are irregular, in this paper the main focus will be on verbs that have past tenses and past participles produced by a process of ablaut.

Regular nouns in English are those that are made plural by adding *-(e)s* to the base form. There are various classes of irregular nouns, those of particular interest in this paper will be those with umlaut plurals (*foot, goose, louse, man, tooth, woman*) and those where the plural is formed by voicing the final fricative of the base before inflecting with *-(e)s* (words like *calf / calves*).[2]

There are some verbs and nouns which appear superficially to have both kinds of inflection. *Hang* is one such verb, which is subject to a great deal of normative comment, and *shear* and *spoil* are also variably regular and irregular, but without the same degree of normative comment. In the case of *hang* it might seem reasonable to postulate two different verb lexemes, HANG$_1$ and HANG$_2$, one of which is regular, the other of which is irregular (although in practice, the irregular form is often used for the verb denoting a manner of execution), but this solution seems less reasonable with the other verbs mentioned above, which might be seen as having a single lexeme with dialectally variable inflection. Where nouns are concerned, similar comments might apply: *indexes* and *indices* might be thought to be forms of separate lexemes, but *forums* and *fora* are too variable with a single meaning for that solution to be available

In this paper we will assume a single lexeme solution, and consider those instances where it might be possible, on the basis of the morpho-semantic context, to predict whether a regular or irregular form is required.

In the next section some general stories about the predictability of regular forms for otherwise irregular verbs will be presented. In subsequent sections, data concerning verbs and nouns will be considered separately, before an overall conclusion is reached.

2. The standard stories

There are standard stories told about the predictability of the inheritance of irregularity in the literature. In this section I will retell these standard stories without any evaluation. In subsequent sections, these stories will be evaluated. To make matters simpler, I distinguish here between what happens in verbs and what happens in nouns, though there is one interpretation where the overall story is the same for either.

2.1 Verbs

There are phonological, morphological and etymological constraints on what can be irregular verbs in English. A verb like *pontificate* must be regular for several reasons (it has a polysyllabic root, it is a verb with a regular derivational suffix making it a verb, it is Latin in origin, and so on). The main question here, though, is that once we have an irregular verb, can we predict when it will maintain its irregularity, and when it will become regular.

The fundamental observation is that verb retains its irregular conjugation under derivation or composition if and only if the verb remains the head of the construction. This means that typical prefixed versions of irregular verbs stay irregular: *come/came : become/became; hold/held : withhold/withheld; stand/stood : understand/understood; tell/told : foretell/foretold;* etc. Note that some of these prefixes are no longer productive, and the semantics of the derivation may no longer be clear, but the fundamental rule still applies.

Where a verb is created by back-formation (from a nominalisation, an agentive form or from a participle), the verb is still the head of the construction, and irregularity is maintained. Thus *baby-sit* from *baby-sitter* or *baby-sitting* still has the past tense *baby-sat* not **baby-sitted*.

In any other process in which the verb is derived from another part of speech, the verb is regular. So the verb-producing suffixes *-ate, -en, -ify, -ise* all produce regular verbs. Crucially, for the discussion here, so does the process of conversion. Thus *ring* as in *ring the bell* is irregular, but *ring* in *ring the city* is derived by conversion from the noun *ring*, and the past is regular: *ringed the city*.

Thus the following examples (all from the Corpus of Contemporary American English, COCA, see reference list) are typical of what is expected. *Fly* (in baseball) is derived from *a fly*, *to grandstand* is derived from *a grandstand*, while *overfly* retains *fly* as the head of the construction (Kiparsky 1982: 10)

(1) White Sox third Quentin **flied** out. Kotsay walked. Pierzynski singled, Kotsay to second. Kotsay was out

(2) President Obama **grandstanded** in announcing that he would shut down Guantanamo

(3) During one mission a Pioneer **overflew** a group of Iraqi soldiers

2.2 Nouns

The story for nouns is very similar, in that any irregular noun maintains its irregularity under derivation or composition if the noun remains the head of the construction. However, there are two conflicting stories told about when nouns lose their irregular morphology.

The first story is that, just as with verbs, nouns become regular if they are found in an exocentric construction. Thus, given *foot* with an irregular plural, we expect *web-feet*, with the same irregular plural, because *web-feet* are a type of *foot*, and we find (4) in the BNC, which supports this view.

(4) when you're in the water you want **web feet**

However, there are two stories about when the inheritance of irregularity fails. The first (Pinker 1999: 156) is that it fails in names. Thus we find in COCA the example in (5) where *Minnie Mouse* is a name, and so is regularly inflected.

(5) unfolded a daisy chain of **Mickey** and **Minnie Mouses**, and smoothed it out on her lap.

The other example used to support this view is the name of the Toronto ice-hockey team, the *Mapleleafs*. We would expect *leaf* to have the plural *leaves*, but *Mapleleafs* is a name, and so has regular inflection.

In this case (and perhaps in the *Minnie Mouse* case, too), there is an alternative view: *Mapleleafs* is an exocentric compound, and *leaf* is not the head, because the *Mapleleafs* are not a type of *leaf*. That being the case, headedness may be the relevant factor rather than the question of whether something is a name (Kiparsky 1982: 10). In the example in (6) below, either explanation might hold, but in the example in (7), only the exocentric solution can hold (both examples from COCA).

(6) A woman tells the Nativity tale to the **Blackfoots** holding her and her family hostage.

(7) to suit sweet **tooths** and savoury lovers alike

3. Data analysis

I shall analyse the data by looking at verbs first and then nouns, before looking for general conclusions. There are various types of data available for considering what is going on in this area of inflection, and the types do not necessarily agree. Examples are largely from COCA, but occasionally from the *OED*.

3.1 Verbs

The main type of evidence here is obtained from denominal verbs derived by conversion from compound nouns. The construction as a whole is rare with irregular verbs, so there is not a great deal to report on.

Table 1 shows the numbers of relevant forms found in COCA. For those where COCA gives no information, an asterisk indicates the form preferred in

the *OED*. The analysis of these as verbs derived through conversion is taken from the *OED*. It should be noted that in COCA as a whole *dove* is preferred to *dived* as the past tense of *dive*, with approximately twice as many instances of *dove* as of *dived*.

Table 1: Denominal converted compound verbs in COCA

REGULAR	N	IRREGULAR	N
Free-falled	0	Free-fell	2
Nose-dived	51	Nose-dove	0
Jump-cutted	0	Jump-cut	2
Butterflied†	3	Butterflew	0
Dog-fighted	0	Dogfought*	0
Crashdived*	0	Crashdove	0
Creeped out	89	Crept out	0

†: There are many more adjectival uses of this form.

Here, although individual items may prefer one pattern over another, there is no obvious pattern as to which way the individual items will behave.

Parenthetically, I note that although the verb *weed-eat* (created by backformation from *Weed-eater*[3]) might be expected to be regular by the rules given earlier, it shows variation: *weed-eated, weed-ate* and even *weed-eatered*.

There are also a few cases of irregular forms which are found on simple verbs which are derived from conversion, contradicting the basic predictions.

The oldest instance of this is the verb *string* (*string/strung/strung*) derived by conversion from the noun *string* (*OED*). The prediction would be that this is a regular verb, but according to the *OED* (sv. *String*)

> The 'strong' conjugation in imitation of *sing* (compare *ring*) has prevailed from 1590 onwards, though a few examples of the weak form *stringed* occur in the 16–19th cent.

The other example attested here is from a modern New Zealand source, a 2013 interview on New Zealand's National Radio.

(8) They're skun [sc. Deer carcasses] (Radio New Zealand National, This Way Up, 6 July 2013.)

In the face of lack of comprehension from the interviewer, the interviewee amended *skun* to *skinned*, but later in the interview reverted to *skun*, which was clearly the natural form as far as he was concerned. To *skin* ('remove the skin from') is clear related by conversion to the noun *skin*, just as *dust* 'remove the dust from') is related to the noun *dust*.

Such examples suggest that the proposed generalisations are simply illusory. Relevant examples are rare, but they do not always follow the predicted patterns.

3.2 Nouns

The first type of evidence with nouns comes from a category which has not yet been mentioned, the case of nouns used figuratively (but see Pinker 1999: 177). Here we find quite a number of examples with regular plurals, as illustrated in the examples below.

(9) Sperano says Bluetooth can eventually be used to disconnect keyboards, **mouses** and printers, among other things.

(10) Our **gooses** were constantly getting bumped.

(11) a long series of interrelated tales about assorted losers, lovers and **louses**.

(12) The bottoms or **foots** of oil. (*OED*)

Unfortunately, while such instances are not uncommon, irregular plurals are also commonly found, as in the next examples.

(13) the anti-tobacco politicos had cooked their **geese**.

(14) pointing with fingers rather than **mice**

(15) HP Wi-Fi Mobile Mouse connects quickly to a laptop's Wi-Fi receiver- and unlike Bluetooth **mice**, it doesn't require you to constantly pair it again with your notebook.

(16) Sure they're vice **lice**, but where's the fraction in evolution in action?

(17) A normal hemistich contains two metrical **feet**.

(18) he led his men into the **teeth** of the best entrenched, most fiercely defended segment of the Confederate line.

These examples again suggest a lack of pattern, with both regular and irregular plurals attested.

Perhaps oddly, we also find occasional regularisation of perfectly literal examples, as shown below. The first of these is from a woman describing her own pregnancy, and it might be an instance of baby-talk, but the second is not open to such an interpretation. It could be, of course, that both are simply performance errors, but it would be risky simply to assume that.

(19) All these **foots** and hands and hiccups and lovely.

(20) Newt Gingrich couldn't have said that about gays or **womans** or Latinos and, and had any political future in this country.

With exocentrics, there are two patterns: those with an ablaut noun and those with a noun in which a voiceless fricative in the singular form is changed into a voiced fricative in the plural forms. Of this latter group, the only ones that can be searched for in written corpora are those where /f/ > /v/, as in *leaf / leaves*. *Paths* is written the same way whether pronounced with /θs/ or with /ðz/. We certainly find some of the expected regulars, as in (5)–(7).

Where fricative voicing is involved, if we look in reference works we find the results given in Table 2 (taken from Bauer et al. 2013: 131). Similar results obtain with ablaut plurals.

Table 2: Plurals of exocentrics with potential fricative voicing

LEXEME	REGULAR PLURAL?	IRREGULAR PLURAL?
Broadleaf (plant)		
Cloverleaf (junction)	✔	✔
Cottonmouth (snake)		✔
Frogmouth (owl)	✔	✔
Loudmouth (person)	✔	✔
Lowlife (person)	✔	✔
Waterleaf (plant)	✔	
Wrymouth (fish)		

Such data does not say anything at all about relative frequency. If we go to Google to find some way of counting that, we get the results in Table 3. Note

that Google data are always suspect, since the same site can result in multiple hits and there can be errors of all kinds in the totals (for instance, the form *cloverleafs* includes not only road junctions, but also the names of sports teams). Nevertheless, where there is an overwhelming answer, the results may be interpreted as indicative. Those indicative answers are shown by bold-font totals in Table 3.

Table 3: Google frequencies for some forms with potential -ves plurals

LEXEME	REGULAR PLURAL?	IRREGULAR PLURAL?
Broadleaf (plant)	20,600	**138,000**
Cloverleaf (junction)	**67,000**	43,000
Lowlife (person)	**618,000**	266,000
Waterleaf (plant)	**14,000**	11,600

Examples (5) and (6) are not only exocentric, but names. When we look specifically at names, we find examples such as the *Timberwolfs* (a US veteran's association) with the predicted regular form, but also the *Timberwolves* (an nba team) with an unexpected irregular plural. What is interesting is what happens when we have names which are endocentric, as with *Batman*, who is a man.

(21) These are my superheroes. These are my **Batmans**, my Robins.

(22) you don't have **Supermans** or Batmans but you keep the same course

Batmen and *Supermen* never refer to the comic book heroes in COCA, and we seem to find the same pattern we find with the pluralisation of standard surnames, as in the example below.

(23) the **Steadmans** had made the adjustments that allowed more light into the heart of the house.

Thus there is a distinction to be made between *freemen* ('released slaves') and *Freemans* ('people with the name Freeman').

4. Conclusions

When we look more closely at data from corpora or from reference works, it becomes clear that the generalisations made at the beginning of this paper are too simple. They all assume that there is a single determinate outcome in every case, while the examples from corpora show that there is variation in the outputs. This type of variation awaits analysis in terms of the paradigms of variationist sociolinguistics, so we cannot yet say whether the variation is stratified in any way at all.

Where verbs are concerned, there is plenty of evidence of variation, but little evidence that it correlates particularly well with exocentricity. Where nouns are concerned, we found an extra category of variation in non-literal use of irregular nouns. Of the two solutions for compounds, it seems that the category of names is a better predictor of regularity than the category of exocentrics, but neither category shows the predicted pattern with any degree of certainty. Overall, there is far more variation than is generally recognised.

We do not know where this will finish. In the longer term we may be seeing the very beginnings of a move of all nouns to the regular paradigm, but it too early to conclude that at the moment, and there is little sign that there is any rapid shift taking place at the moment. Alongside the regularisation we have seen here, we find Mr Jinks, the cartoon cat from Hannah & Barbara's 1950s Pixie and Dixie cartoons, introducing new irregularity when he says that he 'hate[s] those meeces to pieces'. Where there is greater variation between regular and irregular plurals, there may also be greater potential for the coining of new irregulars.

Notes

1 This paper was first presented at the New Zealand Linguistics Society Conference, 20–22 Nov 2013.

2 Although foreign plurals make for clear exemplification just below, they are ignored in the body of this paper because many of them seem to indicate code-shifting as much as morphology, so that variation in output is to be expected for reasons that have nothing to do with morphology. Plural marking with *-en*, which is relevant, is too rare to provide useful data.

3 Originally a trade name, and still used as such, but used as a generic word in New Zealand, rather than the term *strimmer* (< *grass trimmer*) used in some other parts of the world.

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ENGLISH-ORIGIN DISCOURSE MARKERS IN NEW ZEALAND SERBIAN[1]

Ksenija Mincic Obradovic: *Speech Science, University of Auckland*
<k.obradovic@auckland.ac.nz>

Abstract

Starting from the premise that discourse markers are particularly prone to borrowing in a bilingual setting, this study examines English-origin sequentiality and identity markers in New Zealand Serbian. Data was collected in the 2004–2011 period and comes from e-mails, mobile and Skype messages exchanged between 37 bilinguals, born in Serbia, who have lived in New Zealand for ten to twenty years. English sequentiality markers (e.g. *anyway*, *so*) are found rarely, and in place of their Serbian equivalents, indicating that Serbian is still the pragmatically dominant language, and that the sporadic choice of English over Serbian forms is not conscious. By contrast, English greetings and politeness markers (such as *love*, *kiss*, and *please*) are often used as identity markers, deliberately, and with the intention of adding a layer of social meaning. The difference between these two types of markers confirms that multiple motivations and constraints need to be considered when analysing contact-induced change.

1. Introduction

A number of studies on languages in contact claim that discourse markers are at the very top of the borrowability hierarchy (see for example Maschler, 2000b; Matras, 1998, 2000; Matras & Sakel, 2007; Salmons, 1990; Sankoff et al., 1997). Myers-Scotton (2006) argues that discourse markers are probably the most common core borrowings, which is, according to Matras (2009), particularly true in the immigrant setting.

This paper discusses the borrowing of English-origin discourse markers by first generation Serbians in New Zealand. The Serbian Community in New Zealand is relatively new and small. As expected in an early immigrant situation, the Matrix language is Serbian with embedded English islands (Myers-Scotton, 1993) which are predominantly single-lexeme inserts.

In the New Zealand Serbian noticeable is difference in how different English-origin markers are treated. While there are only five occurrences of English-origin discourse markers connecting units of discourse, several English greetings and politeness markers are used frequently and systematically as markers of social identity (Matras, 2009). This study examines these two types of English-origin markers — which lexical items are used and why there are treated so differently in New Zealand Serbian. The study indicates that multiple aspects of language contact need to be taken into consideration when analysing possible motivations and constraints on borrowing.

2. Definition of discourse markers

Linguists have used various terms for discourse markers in the literature. According to Fraser (1999) there are as many as fifteen of them including *discourse markers, pragmatic markers, discourse particles,* and *discourse connectives*. Terminological disagreements among researchers revolve around definitions of *discourse* vs. *pragmatic* as well as *marker* vs. *particle* vs. *connective.* The debates reflect different approaches towards the functions that discourse markers have, and word classes that can be used as discourse markers.

Maschler (2009), for example, stresses the metalinguistic function as the main and unique role of discourse markers and says that discourse markers may refer to the text (commenting on it, but not modifying *specific* constituents within the utterance), to interpersonal relationships between the interlocutors, or to cognitive processes involved in utterance interpretation.

Schiffrin (1987) defines discourse markers as sequentially dependent elements that bracket units of discourse. She suggests that they can be comprised of members of various word classes (including conjunctions and adverbs as well as lexicalised phrases). She proposes a model of different discourse planes and concludes that markers can function at different levels of discourse to connect utterances on either a single plane, or across different planes.

Fraser (1999) thinks of the discourse marker as a type of lexical expression

drawn primarily from the syntactic classes of conjunctions, adverbs and prepositional phrases, which signals relationships between the segments it introduces and prior segments. He regards discourse markers as a type of commentary pragmatic marker. He recognises three classes of pragmatic markers (1990) — *basic markers* (such as *please*) which indicate with what force the speaker intends the message to be taken, *commentary markers* (such as *frankly*) which comment on the basic message and *parallel markers* (such as *damn*) which signal a message in addition to the basic message. According to him, commentary markers are members of a separate syntactic category which carry pragmatic rather than content meaning, and discourse markers signal the relationship of the basic message to the foregoing discourse.

Since the terms *discourse* and *pragmatic marker* are largely interchangeable (Huang, 2012), I will use the term *discourse marker* as a convenient cover term, for the purposes of this article. This enables the inclusion, under a single conceptual umbrella (Jucker & Ziv, 1998), of a broad variety of discourse operators which, as Matras (1998, 2009) notes, have two common characteristics — they are responsible for monitoring and directing the processing of propositional content in conversation, and they are particularly prone to borrowing in a bilingual setting.

3. Discourse marker borrowing

The general opinion is that discourse markers are easily transferred from one language to another because they do not need to be integrated into the grammatical system of the borrowing language. As extra-clausal forms (Matras, 2000), their function is discourse-specific and subject to minimal syntactic restrictions.

Linguists studying discourse markers do not always agree on the motivations for discourse marker borrowings.

Maschler takes a functional interactional linguistics perspective (1994, 1997, 2000a, 2000b, 2009) and proposes that markers are switched, not despite, but because, they belong to a different language. Her analysis is based on the strategic exploitation of the contrast between the two systems and she points out that the motivation for switching between languages at discourse markers may be strategic.

Like Maschler, Schiffrin (2003) takes a more interactional perspective in analysing these examples of loans. She sees discourse markers not only as

units of language, but as arising from processes of social interactivity, and says that it is ultimately the properties of the discourse itself (such as the speaker's goal, the social situation, and so on) that provide the need for the marker to appear. This is in contrast to Matras (2000) who argues that the cognitive motivation to reduce mental effort is so strong that at times it overrides social and communicative constraints and leads to unintentional choices and slips.

Matras proposes a principle of pragmatic detachability (Matras, 1998) and argues that the pragmatic role of discourse markers as highly automatic conversational routines, makes it difficult for speakers to maintain control and monitor the boundaries between different linguistic repertoires and that this leads to selection errors (Matras, 2009). Following Matras (1998), Matras and Sakel (2007) argue that borrowing is motivated by cognitive pressure on the speaker to reduce the mental processing load because the act of borrowing allows the structural manifestation of certain mental processing operations in the two languages to merge.

4. Serbian people and their language in New Zealand

The majority of Serbians in New Zealand immigrated during and immediately after the Yugoslav wars of 1991 to 1995. Data in Table 1, which contains figures by birth and ethnicity from the 2006 Census (Statistics New Zealand, 2007), shows that there are just over 1,000 Serbians living in New Zealand.

Table 1: Number of Serbians living in New Zealand according to the 2006 New Zealand Population Census

2006 NEW ZEALAND POPULATION CENSUS	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
No. of people born in Serbia and Montenegro[2]	582	585	1,173
No. of people of Serbian ethnicity	489	540	1,029

Language attitudes and identity play an important role in the maintenance of minority languages. As Thomason notes,

> "the reason contact-induced change is unpredictable, is that speakers are unpredictable." (Thomason, 2001, p. 85)

There is good evidence that Serbians in New Zealand strive to maintain their native language. Gerzić (2001) surveyed 21 New Zealand permanent residents who came to New Zealand after 1991 and whose mother tongue was Serbo-Croatian, some coming from Serbia and some from Croatia, and found that these new immigrants placed much value on preserving their Serbian and Croatian culture and language. Similarly, Doucet (1991), who studied first generation Serbo-Croatian speakers in Queensland, Australia, notes that both Serbians and Croatians

> "regard language maintenance as vital to religious and ideological continuity, and strive to maintain their language" (Doucet, 1991, p. 283).

My own experience agrees with Gerzic's and Doucet's findings — new immigrants see the Serbian language as an important part of their culture and identity. Proof for this comes from informal interviews as well as from the fact that, soon after their arrival, Serbian immigrants started an informal Serbian language school and established a culture centre, a drama club, a choir, and a church.

Contacts with Serbia remain strong and so does exposure to the Serbian language. Modern modes of communication enable new immigrants to stay in close touch with family and friends back in Serbia. Serbian newspapers are readily available on the Internet, as well as free e-books, television programmes and movies. Auckland Libraries have a small collection of books in Serbian. There is also a Serbian satellite television channel. All of these factors create a positive predisposition towards Serbian language maintenance.

Uncertainty about the future has been a strong motivation for maintaining native language. Emigration to New Zealand was triggered by the war in former Yugoslavia, and although some Serbians wanted to stay, others planned to spend a few years in New Zealand and then move to another country (closer to ageing parents) or to return to Serbia when living conditions improved. Twenty years later, many have already left New Zealand.[3]

However, it remains an open question whether the above precludes any incursions from English into the Serbian of these speakers. Even in Europe, the Standard Serbian language is regarded as being very open to borrowings from other languages. Ivan Klajn observes that borrowings are common in Serbian and says that

> "Ever since the beginnings of its standardization in the nineteenth century, the language of Serbia has been extremely open to foreign influence. Purism has always been weak and inefficient" (Klajn, 2001, p. 90).

This larger sociolinguistic openness to incorporating elements from other languages means that, despite Serbian speakers in New Zealand being well disposed to maintain their language, it might be that the 'social baggage' associated with the language itself means they are unlikely to be strictly policing or stigmatising English borrowings.

5. NZSEMC corpus and participants

The NZSEMC (New Zealand Serbian Electronically-Mediated Communication) corpus is based on the language of 37 new Serbian immigrants (one of them being myself). Data was collected in the 2004–2011 period and comes from Electronically-Mediated Communication (Baron, 2008) — emails, SMS (Short Message Service) messages exchanged via mobile phones, and IM (Instant Messages) exchanged via Skype.

One contentious issue is whether the language of Electronically-Mediated Communication (EMC) should be considered to be written verbal communication or writing. EMC has many characteristics of spoken language, including that messages are more loosely structured, and are composed using simpler syntax. Baron (1998) uses the term 'speech by other means'. Crystal (2001) introduced term "Netspeak", but points out that 'speak' covers both writing and talking. Herring (2003), on the other hand, argues that EMC language is different from either speaking or writing. Different modes of EMC (e-mails, SMS and IM messages) show differences in their relationship to spoken and written language. SMS mimics the spoken mode more than e-mails (Tagg, 2011), and because IM messages are transmitted in real time, they are even more speech-like than e-mails and text messages. However, as Baron (2008) points out, although they are very speech-like, they are not as close to speech as we tend to assume.

The NZSEMC data consists of 721 email messages, 326 SMS messages and 112 Skype conversations. The majority of the messages come from my own correspondence with participants, while a small number of e-mails were exchanged between my friends and given to me for the purposes of this study.[4]

Based on their relationship to me, the participants are grouped into:

- **Friends** — Seven female and seven male participants I know well, including their backgrounds, and their attitudes towards the Serbian language. Some, but not all, of the people in this group know each

other, and are friends among themselves. I maintain regular contact with them.

- **Acquaintances** — Seven female and five male participants I do not know as well as the people from the previous category, but sociolinguistic data about them is available to me. I maintain sporadic contact with them.
- **Strangers** — Four female and six male participants I barely know, and do not maintain contact with.

Topics and frequency of conversation vary from group to group. With "**Friends"** I corresponded often during the period covered by this study, and on a variety of topics, such as family, holiday plans, work and property purchasing. My correspondence with "**Acquaintances"** was less frequent than with "**Friends"**, but includes the same topics. "**Strangers"** contacted me only once or twice (rarely more than this), mostly in order to arrange translations, and my correspondence with them is mainly about this one topic.

All participants were born in Serbia, and came to New Zealand as adults. They have lived in New Zealand for only a relatively short period of time. At the time this eight-year study started, the longest period any of participants had lived in New Zealand was ten years. Most of participants work as professionals or are self-employed.

The majority of participants hold university degrees from Serbia, which means that they should be proficient in using Standard Serbian. Several authors suggest that the type of code-switching utilised seems to be directly proportional to the educational level of bilingual speakers, as well as to age and language proficiency (see for example Bentahila & Davies, 1992; Savić, 1994).

For all participants English is the language used in the broader social and interactional context — at work, in everyday interaction with other New Zealanders, sometimes even with their children. They are all fairly proficient users of English as they have white collar jobs so language skills and the use of English are very much part of their linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991).

6. Markers of sequentiality borrowed from English

Based on a fairly extensive cross-varietal study, Matras (2009) argues that the first discourse markers to be borrowed are connectors, and at the top of the

subset hierarchy of connectors are expressions of contrast (but > or > and) and expressions of sequentiality, followed by expressions of justification, reason and consequence.

In the NZSEMC data there are only five examples of English-origin markers that connect units of discourse, or as Schegloff says, "do a piece of sequential work" (Schegloff, 1987, p. 72). These are *anyway*, *by the way* and *so*.

The function of these borrowed discourse markers is the same as in English discourse. In all cases, there are Serbian equivalents and so they cannot be considered to be filling lexical gaps.

Anyway and *by the way,* which Fraser calls topic reorientation markers (Fraser, 2009), are used to signal digression to a new topic, or to emphasise the current topic.

Anyway appears once:

(1) ***Anyway**, jako mi je drago da […]*
'**Anyway**, I am really glad that […]'

This sentence was taken from an e-mail in which an acquaintance talks about using e-books in academia, and more particularly, problems relating to e-textbooks. Then, he changes the focus of the topic and says that he is glad a book about e-books is getting published, and continues to talk about this future book. This change is marked with *anyway.* He could have used the Serbian expression *u svakom slučaju* ('in any case'), which would be a direct but much longer analogue. He could also have chosen the much shorter Serbian *no* ('however'), which although semantically not equivalent, would have had the same function.

The discourse marker *by the way* is used twice. In example (2) it is at the end of a new unit of discourse while in example (3), it is at the beginning. In both cases it guides attention to a new sub-topic, however, in (2) it adds a bit of information to the present topic (Fraser, 2009) while in (3) it requests additional information about the present topic.

Example (2) comes from a longer e-mail correspondence which starts with a friend inviting me to a party. After I ask if I should contribute with some food, she goes into detailed description of her plans, and finishes off with:

(2) *Biće dosta sveta, **by the way.***
'There will be a lot of people, **by the way**.'

Example (3) is from a longer correspondence in which a friend, who also

works at the University of Auckland, enquires about borrowing material from one of the University of Auckland branch libraries. After I explain the terms of borrowing, he asks:

(3) ***BTW***,[5] *jel' im znaš možda extenziju?*
'**BTW**, do you maybe know their extension number?'

In situations (2) and (3), the appropriate Serbian phrase would be *usput budi rečeno* (the literal translation being 'to be said by the way') or *kad smo kod toga* ('as we are on this [topic]').

The discourse marker *so*, a marker of cause and result (Schiffrin, 1987), occurs only once in the Serbian corpus. Example (4) is an excerpt from SMS correspondence in which my friend (F) and I negotiate the return of borrowed tools:

(4a) me: *Treba da vam vratimo alat.*
'We need to give you back the tools.'

(4b) F: ***So**, ko dolazi, mi ili vi?*
'**So**, who is coming, us or you?'

After I mention that my husband and I need to return the tools we borrowed, my friend (line 4b) concludes that we will have to meet to return the tools, and initiates a move to a slightly different topic, which is to ask where the meeting will happen, at our house, or theirs. Instead of *so*, the Serbian marker *dakle*, which is a direct equivalent, could have been used.

The marker *so* also occurs once within a section of English discourse, where it introduces a conclusion that follows from the previous part of the e-mail message:

(5) *[Moje naselje][6] sve bolje izgleda. Stalno nešto menjaju. Na početku [mog naselja] rade novi* ***medical centre, so that is good as well***.
'[My suburb] is looking better and better. They are making changes all the time. At the beginning of [my suburb], there will be a new **medical centre, so that is good as well**.'

Here, a friend tells me that her suburb keeps changing for the better. She adds that a medical centre has also been built, and then concludes that this (the new medical centre) will add to the quality of life in the area. She uses the English term *medical centre* after which she continues the sentence in English. Here a

switch from one language to the other accompanies the use of the transferred discourse marker (Clyne, 1972).

Examples (2) and (5) are from the same person, in whose e-mails there are many instances of switching between Serbian and English. Examples (1–3) and (5) are from e-mail correspondence and (4) is from a mobile text message. There are, however, not enough examples to relate discourse marker usage to participants' groups, nor to different EMC modes (emails, SMS messages or IM messages). As can be seen from Table 2, all examples are from the second half of the period examined: (5) is from 2008, (3) is from 2009, and the others are from 2011.This indicates that in future years even more discourse markers should be expected to be found in New Zealand Serbian.

Table 2: Distribution of sequential markers over years

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Anyway	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
By the way	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
So	—	—	—	—	1[7]	—	—	1

The question that arises is whether the written mode of discourse could be the reason for such a small number of English-origin sequentiality markers in the NZSEMC corpus. There are, however, some counter-arguments. First, discourse markers are linguistic items that function in both spoken and written discourse. Halliday and Hasan's (1976) analysis of cohesion is based primarily on written discourse, while Fraser (1990) notes that certain discourse markers occur more frequently in written discourse while others are found more frequently in conversation. Second, EMC has many characteristics of spoken language. Although we might expect fewer discourse markers in this written corpus than in, for example, Matras' verbal corpora, we might expect to find more discourse markers in e-mails, IM and SMS messages (in that order) than in formal writing. Third, all the discourse markers used to organise units of discourse in the NZSEMC, except the five examples mentioned above, are of Serbian origin, as in (6). In this excerpt from a Skype chat, a friend (F) and I are discussing our holiday plans. She tries to convince me not to go camping in Coromandel. Instead she would like me to go with her to Tolaga Bay:

(6a) F: ***A** na Koromandelu ćete biti sami u šumi.*
'**And** you will be alone in the forest in Coromandel.'

(6b) me: ***A** u šumi ima vuk.*
'**And** there is a wolf in the forest.'

(6c) F: ***I** samoća je depresivna.*
'**And** loneliness is depressive.'

(6d) ***I** nema vina iz Tolage.*
'**And** there is no Tolaga wine.'

(6e) me: *Nema vina.*
'No wine.'

(6f) F: ***E pa** to je presudno.*
'**Well,** that's crucial.'

(6g) me: *Donećete vi kad dolazite.*
'You will bring [some] when you come [to see us].'

(6h) F: ***A** nema ni kajsijevače.*
'**And** there is no apricot brandy.'

(6i) ***Ni** kozica.*
'**Nor** goat meat.'

In the above conversation, the function of the Serbian discourse markers is similar to the function of their English equivalents in English discourse (Schiffrin, 2003). Serbian discourse markers *a* ('and') and *i* ('and')[8] occur frequently at the beginning of messages (6a–6d). In (6a), (6b), (6c), and (6h) they are signalling turn-taking. In (6d) and (6i), *i* ('and) and *ni* ('nor') are markers of conceptual organisation (Schiffrin, 2003) and are used here to add additional arguments. The discourse marker *e pa* ('well'), which precedes (6f), marks a conclusion.

Matras, who suggests the concept of a "pragmatically dominant language", i.e. "the language towards which bilinguals directs maximum mental effort at a given instance of linguistic interaction" (Matras, 2000, p. 521), argues that this language is the system which is the target of fusion around discourse markers.

Based on the lack of English, and the presence of Serbian markers, and following Matras, I propose that Serbian is still the pragmatically dominant language among first generation Serbians living in New Zealand and that the selection of an English over a Serbian marker in the above five examples is not intentional, but an "error" in the selection of language. According to Matras, in an unconscious attempt to reduce the mental effort and to simplify monitoring-and-directing operations in a conversation, bilinguals eliminate the language-specific options and automaticise the choice of expressions. This temporary fusion (or non-separation) makes it difficult for bilinguals to maintain control, and monitor the boundaries between different linguistic repertoires which leads to unintentional slippages.

A number of factors contribute to Serbian continuing to be the language in which the first generation of bilinguals are more confident or proficient. Strong contacts with Serbia enable Serbians to refresh their knowledge of their native language, thereby maintaining its dominance within their bilingual repertoire. Also, there is no peer pressure to speak English within the immigrant community, which has often been recognised as a contributing factor to contact-induced change. New Zealand Serbians are largely middle-class people, and valorisation of bilingualism is very much a middle class trait. Probably the most important factor is that most Serbians have been living in New Zealand for a relatively short period of time, only fifteen to twenty years. English-origin sequential markers all appear in second part of the period examined, and three of them in the last year. This confirms that length of contact is an important factor in contact induced change (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988), and suggest a possible change in the pragmatically dominant language at some point in the future.

7. Markers of social identity

Greetings are another discourse-level phenomenon which show considerable volatility in bilingual contexts (Matras, 2009). Looking at *thank you, sorry* and *please* in Cypriot Greek, Terkourafi argues that once these terms are borrowed, they are bleached of their speech-act signalling potential and increasingly come to function as discourse markers. She points out that these developments are known in other bilingual contexts as well, that different communities of practice express locally significant dimensions of variation, and that "borrowed terms serve as in-group identity markers for the members of each community" (Terkourafi, 2011, p. 219).

In NZSEMC, several English greetings and politeness markers are borrowed frequently and systematically. They all have equivalents in Serbian language therefore a lexical gap is not a motivating factor for borrowing. I propose that these borrowings add "a layer of social meaning" (Eckert, 2012) and thus have function of markers of social identity (Matras, 2009). New Zealand Serbians use English greetings and politeness markers when exchanging messages with other members of Serbian community in New Zealand. It appears they send each other message, we are Serbians, but different from other Serbians who are still living in Serbia; we are also New Zealanders, but different from other New Zealanders with whom we do not share the same experiences. As immigrants, we face the same problems, and this has made us a unique group of people, 'special kind of friends'.

There are 87 examples of greetings and markers of politeness borrowed from English, and they comprise 15% of all examples of English-origin borrowings in the NZSEMC corpus. Unlike sequential markers, they are evenly distributed over the whole period covered by the study. Table 3 shows that the use of identity markers correlates strongly with gender, and to which of three groups participants belong.

Table 3: Usage of identity markers by gender and level of acquaintance

	FRIENDS	ACQUAINTANCES	STRANGERS
FEMALE	Love	Hi	Hi
	Kiss	Sorry	
	H&K	Please	
	Thanks		
	Sorry		
	Please		
	Thanks		
MALE	Hi	Hi	Hi
	Sorry	Sorry	
	Please		
	Thanks		

The greetings *Love, Kiss, H&K* at the end of messages appear in informal

settings and among female friends. In many cases, these greetings are the only English forms in the entire message. Here are a few examples.

(7) ***Kiss*** *od tvoje drugarice*
'A **Kiss** from your friend'

(8) *Pozdrav i* ***kiss*** *od mene*
'Regards and a **kiss** from me'

In an equivalent Serbian closing, a noun ***poljubac*** ('a kiss') would be used, in a singular form, and the above examples would be ***Poljubac*** *od tvoje drugarice*, and *Pozdrav i* ***poljubac*** *od mene*. In English is, however, common to use plural *Kisses* rather than singular, as in NZSEMC.

(9) ***H&K****, Vesna*

This acronym is used only by one participant. Interestingly, instead of typical *XOXO*, my friend shortens *Hugs and Kisses* to *H&K*. Corresponding Serbian greeting would be ***Grli*** *te i* ***ljubi*** *Vesna* ('Vesna **hugs** and **kisses** you') which does not have nouns but verbs.

(10) ***Love****, Mira*

Corresponding Serbian greeting for (10) would also have a verb rather than noun, and would be *Voli te Mira* ('Mira **loves** you').

Male friends use greeting *Hi*, such as in the following example:

(11) ***Hi*** *Ksenija*

Hi is present in messages I received from my male friends, as well as in messages my male friends exchanged between themselves. Serbian equivalents are *zdravo* ('Hi'), used in both formal and informal settings, and ćao (‹Hi›), which is a long time borrowing from Italian.

When I have discussed usage of English greetings with friends who have contributed to my corpus, they have told me that they frequently use them in messages to close friends and relations who live in New Zealand. Sometimes, they use English greetings in the messages they send to friends and relations who live in other English speaking countries or in Serbia, but only to ones that used to live in New Zealand.[9]

People who do not know me well, or not at all, also sometimes use greeting *Hi*. In all examples, without exception, if *Hi* is at the head of message, the sender will need me to do them a favour (such as an urgent translation).

The expressions *please* and *sorry,* too, do not appear to serve only as politeness markers. The senders of messages (12), (13) and (14) seem to be indicating that what they are asking the addressee to do is really important to them. By using the English words, they draw upon that 'special kind of friendship' and try to ensure that the other person will understand the importance of the matter.

(12) *Javi joj* ***please****.*

'Let her know **please**.'

This example is from an e-mail by a friend (F1) who tried to contact me but failed, and now is asking a mutual friend (F2) to pass on his message to me. F1 starts the message with the Serbian equivalent *molim te* ('please'), explains why the matter is of importance and finishes the email by repeating the plea, this time in English. *Please,* which is the only English lexeme in the message, seems to emphasise that the matter is urgent and important.

Like (12), example (13) is from a message in which one friend asks another to do something for him.

(13) ***Plizzzz*** *vidi*

'**Please** see [about it]'

Example (13) uses a Serbian spelling[10] of the borrowed form but with the letter *z* multiplied to further stress that it is important that the friend does what he wants. The lengthening of the fricative draws on a conventional means of signalling 'begging' (especially from lower status to higher status participants, e.g. child to adult) in English-only discourse, which suggests that New Zealand Serbians have mastered the pragmatic norms for English in respect of this word, and are borrowing it with its usage conventions.

Example (14) comes from an e-mail from a close female friend. She starts the e-mail by asking me to send her a few words because she is feeling sad and says that she would like to get an e-mail from me, as that would make her feel better. At the end of e-mail she repeats that she would like to get an e-mail from me:

(14) Ćao*, javi se,* ***please***

'Bye, send me a message, **please**'

It looks like my friend fears that I will understand Serbian *molim te* ('please') only as a politeness marker, so she says *please* as to emphasise the importance

of her plea. Interestingly, this time she does not finish the e-mail with *Love*, or *Kiss*, as she usually does. She ends the message with a common Serbian greeting *ćao,* which is a long time borrowing from Italian, used as both opening and closing salutation.

Sorry is used in a similar manner as *please*.

(15) ***Sorry** za to*

'**Sorry** about that'

The example (15) comes from a text message where a close friend is apologising for not being able to meet me as earlier arranged. She could have used the Serbian equivalent *izvini* ('sorry') but she opts for the English form as it amplifies the feeling of regret.

The example in (16) is similar:

(16) *O **sorry,** ja sam zaboravila na [...]*

'Oh **sorry**, I have forgotten about [...]'

The above example is from an e-mail sent to me by a friend who apologises for forgetting about something we mentioned a few days earlier.[11]

Example (17) is part of an e-mail exchange with an acquaintance.

(17) ***Sorry, sorry, sorry.***

The conversation which (17) comes from was quite formal and all in Serbian, without any borrowings from English. At one point the person did not understand me properly, and after further explanation he answered with the English word *sorry*, repeated three times as he wanted to further stress his apologies.

Thanks also emphasises gratitude, but appears in only a few examples. The reason might be that it has some negative connotations, and could move the conversation to a more formal level:

(18) *Radujem se unapred za knjigu* [...] *Nadam se da si ti onu pročitala i da možeš da mi je vratiš jer nije moja. **Thanks***

'I am looking forward to the book [...] I hope you have read the other one, and that you can give it back to me as it is not mine. **Thanks**'

Here, a friend and I are discussing lending Serbian language books to each other. She reminds me that the book she gave me was not hers. A few minutes

later, she sends another message explaining that she is not unhappy I have not returned it already, and that she did not intent to be rude. When I asked what was impolite in her message, she pointed to usage of English *thanks* instead of Serbian *hvala*.

In the NZSEMC corpus, politeness markers borrowed from English are used only among friends and acquaintances, but never among people who do not know each other. In these cases only Serbian forms are used.

The analysis of greetings and politeness markers in New Zealand Serbian indicates that members of Serbian community use them deliberately with the intention of signalling that sender and receiver of message belong to the same social group. They appear to convey a message: "I am a Serbian English bilingual and so are you, the addressee." The identity markers occur in informal settings. They are rarely present in formal setting which confirms that they are not a mistake in selecting language codes, but a conscious choice, and an active stylistic tool.

8. Conclusion

Starting from the premise that discourse markers are particularly prone to borrowing in a bilingual setting, this paper concerns two types of English-origin markers in New Zealand Serbian — markers of sequentiality and identity markers. There is a huge difference in how these two types of markers are used in this relatively new and small immigrant community.

There are only a few occurrences in the NZSEMC of English-origin discourse markers that connect units of discourse. There is one example of *anyway*, two examples of *by the way* and one example of *so* inserted in otherwise Serbian discourse, and one example of *so* in the middle of longer English sentence. All examples are found in the second half of the examined period. On the other hand, the English greetings *love*, *kiss, hugs and kisses* and *hi,* and the politeness markers *please* and *sorry* are used to mark personal and social identities during the whole eight years covered by this study. There are 87 examples of English-origin identity markers, which is 15% of the whole NZSEMC corpus.

None of the borrowed lexemes are gap fillers, as they have equivalents in standard Serbian language. However, while *anyway*, *by the way* and *so* only replace their Serbian equivalents, English greetings and politeness markers are carrying additional implications to their original English meanings.

The fact that the function of sequential markers is the same as in English suggests that the choice of English instead of Serbian lexeme is not intentional and that it can be, as Matras (2000) says, a slippage in the selection of language code. Following Matras' opinion that bilinguals, when choosing between two languages give preference to the "pragmatically dominant and so cognitively advantageous language" (Matras, 2000: 521), I conclude that Serbian is still the dominant language among Serbians who have lived in a bilingual context in New Zealand for the last fifteen to twenty years, and that drives, unconscious, selection of a Serbian over an English marker. However, the fact that these few examples of English-origin sequential markers are found close to the end of the period examined indicates a possible change in the pragmatically dominant language at some point in the future.

English greetings and politeness markers are systematically borrowed but they do not appear to serve as greetings and politeness markers . They seem to have an additional function, they indicate a "special friendship" or to draw upon it, which proves that social motivations have an important role in the borrowing of identity markers. Conscious exploitation of the two language systems to signal group membership and use of English-origin lexemes as a stylistic tool, suggests that when we look at discourse marker borrowing, we need to account for social motivations, and confirms that discourse/pragmatic markers only get their full meaning in a social and cultural context (cf. Archer, Aijmer, & Wichmann, 2012; Schiffrin, 2003).

The NZSEMC data confirms Chamoreau and Léglise's (2012) view that contact-induced changes are a dynamic domain of complex, complementary, and correlated processes and that not everything can be covered by the same explanation. Differences in the frequency and functions of these two types of English-origin discourse markers suggest that language change in this bilingual community can be best understood if multiple aspects of language contact are taken into consideration.

The study raises a number of further questions. Are there any other deliberately transferred English words and phrases in New Zealand Serbian, and if so, what is their function? If Serbian is the dominant language now, will it still be dominant in ten or twenty years' time? Also, if Serbian is the pragmatically dominant language, are any Serbian discourse markers transferred from Serbian into English language discourse? Further research is needed to shed light on these questions.

Notes

1. Paper presented at the 13th Biennial Language and Society Conference, Auckland, New Zealand, 28–29 November 2012.
2. From 1992 till 2006 Serbia was part of Serbia and Montenegro. However, Montenegro is a country with significantly smaller number of inhabitants, so we can presume that most of these people came from Serbia.
3. There is no official data that shows how many Serbians have left New Zealand. My own estimate is more than half.
4. Messages were written without any of the participants knowing that I was interested in borrowings. That interest only coalesced over time. However, all material in the corpus has been contributed with participants' consent.
5. Throughout this article, names of people and places are removed or replaced with pseudonyms and initials to prevent the participant being identified.
6. Acronyms as BTW are typical of EMC.
7. This example is from a sentence in which not only the discourse marker, but the whole sentence is in English.
8. Both *a* and *i* are coordinating conjunctions. While *i* ('and') denotes the addition to the meaning, *a* denotes contrast which can vary from slight to strong, but can never be as strong as *ali* ('but') which indicates total opposition (Hammond, 2005). *A* is usually translated as English 'and' (Benson & Šljivić-Šimšić, 1990).
9. The shared repertoire noticeable here is one of three criterions that define the community (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992; Meyerhoff & Strycharz, 2013). However, the other two criterions (mutual engagement and jointly negotiated enterprise) are satisfied only weakly in this dense network of friends.
10. The use of Serbian orthography with lexical borrowings is not restricted to discourse markers. Orthography related to borrowings in New Zealand Serbian is the subject of an independent analysis, which is part my PhD dissertation on Serbian and English contact phenomena in New Zealand.
11. Here, *sorry* follows the discourse marker *o* ('oh') which signals change in state of knowledge, information, orientation or awareness (Heritage, 1984). While 'oh' is similar phonetically in Serbian and English, the spelling here suggests that the writer is thinking of it as a Serbian lexeme.

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DEFICIENCY IN MĀORI PHRASES[1]

Elizabeth Pearce: *School of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies, Victoria University of Wellington <elizabeth.pearce@vuw.ac.nz>*

Abstract

In Biggs (1961, 1969) the phrase units of Māori are conceived of as being made up of two kinds of elements: major versus minor morphemes (Biggs 1961); or bases versus particles (Biggs 1969). The nucleus of the phrase is made up of major morpheme lexical bases which may be preceded and followed by minor morpheme particles. The present paper undertakes an investigation of the syntactic constituency of items within the phrase. Drawing on the notion of syntactic deficiency as advanced in Cardinaletti and Starke (1999), it argues for a syntactically based tripartite division in the types of elements occurring in the Māori phrase. Under this analysis, the nucleus of the phrase is a strong XP, the postperipheral items are deficient XPs and the preperipheral particles are heads.

1. Introduction

1.1. Goals

Biggs (1961, 1969) identifies the components of a phrase, a 'contour word' in Biggs (1961), as a systematic unit in the grammar of the Māori sentence. As Harlow (2007: 135) remarks, Biggs' phrase/contour word is 'universally recognized as a fundamental unit in Māori grammar in both phonology and syntax'. My goal here is to investigate the extent to which there can be said to be a correspondence between the components of the phrase that Biggs identifies and their constituency in the syntactic representation.

1.2. The Māori phrase

In the terms of Biggs (1969:18) a Māori phrase 'consists of two parts: a nucleus and a periphery'. The pre- and postperipheral elements are said to be particles and the nuclei are made up of lexical bases. The examples in (1) illustrate the phrasal unit schema for some simple cases:

1. Phrasal unit schema[2]

	Preposed periphery	*Nucleus*	*Postposed periphery*	
a.	Ka T/A	pai good		'It is good'
b.	te the	whare house	nei PROX1	'this house'
c.		Haere go	mai! hither	'Come here!'
d.		Haere! go		'Go!
	Particles	*Lexical bases*	*Particles*	

[(1a,b,c): Biggs 1969: 18, (1d): Biggs 1961: 15]

In each of (1a,b,c) the phrase has a nucleus consisting of a content word, a lexical base, which is preceded and/or followed by a particle with a grammatical function. Given (1d), it is not a requirement for a phrase to have a periphery. There are also some cases in which a phrase may be made up simply of one or more of the elements classed as peripheral. The discussion of cases of this type is undertaken in sections 2.3 and 2.4.

In the examples in (1) the nucleus consists of a single mono-morphemic lexical item, but a nucleus of a phrase may also combine together two or more content words where a nuclear head is followed by a modifier or a complement, as in the following examples:

2. a. te **wahine** **ātaahua**
   the woman beautiful
   'the beautiful woman' [Biggs 1969: 88]

b. ngā **marae** **hui-nga** **tāngata**
the.PL marae meet-NMZ man.PL
'the meeting grounds' [Biggs 1969: 88]

c. ki te **tuku** **rōku** mai
T/A send log hither
'to send logs here' [Biggs 1961: 48]

In (2c), *rōku* 'log' is understood as the complement of the verb nucleus *tuku* 'send'. The examples (2a) and (2b) both have noun nuclei. In (2a) the noun *wahine* 'woman' is modified by *ātaahua* 'beautiful'. In (2b) the noun *marae* 'marae' is modified by *hui-nga tāngata*, consisting of the nominalized verb *huinga* 'meeting' with the accompanying modifier, another noun, *tāngata* 'men/people'.

In non-rapid speech the phrase is bounded by pause junctures and, as indicated by Biggs' term 'contour word', the phrase then has its own intonation contour (Biggs 1961: 15, Bauer 1993: 559–562, de Lacy 2003). Each phrase is also associated with a unique phrase stress (Biggs 1969: 133, Bauer 1993: 556). A further aspect of the composition of the phrases seen in (1) is that they are made up of a minimum of three moras. Following Bauer (1981), a lexical unit of the nucleus has a minimum of two moras, whereas a particle may consist of a single mora. In the case of the imperative form in (1d), the base in the nucleus conforms to the three-mora schema for the phrase as it has the mora divisions: *ha.e.re*. Where the base in an imperative consists of only two moras, it is obligatorily preceded by a particle, so making up the three-mora count:

3. a. E noho!
T/A sit
'Sit!'

b. *Noho!

Other constructions (not restricted to imperatives) in which the three-mora count is preserved in the absence of an initial particle before the verb are found when the postperiphery has *ana* 'PROG' or *ai* 'anaphoric' following the verb (Biggs (1969: 72).[3]

The syntactic integrity of the phrase is suggested in an observation made in Harlow (2007):

> 'In syntax, not only are phrases coterminous with predicates, arguments and adjuncts, they are also the units in terms of which variation of order within clauses are [sic] to be stated.' [Harlow 2007: 135]

Examples illustrating such ordering variation (with permuted phrases bracketed as '[…]') are shown in the Passive construction in (4) and in the Actor-Emphatic construction in (5).[4]

4. a. I whaka-reri-tia [e Hōne] [ngā kai].
   T/A CAUSE-ready-PASS P Hōne the.PL food
   'The food was prepared by Hōne.'

   b. I whaka-reri-tia [ngā kai] [e Hōne]. [Harlow 2007: 171]

5. a. Nā Rewi [te kūao kau] i whāngai.
   P Rewi the young cow T/A feed
   'It was Rewi that fed the calf.'

   b. Nā Rewi i whāngai [te kūao kau]. [Harlow 2007: 176]

There are thus a number of levels on which the Māori phrase presents as a coherent unit:

6. Māori phrase characteristics:
   a. The units making up the phrase are of two types (particles and lexical bases) and the positional placement of these two types of units conforms to a fixed schema.
   b. The phrase is an intonational unit.
   c. The phrase contains a minimum of three moras (pace the cases pointed to in fn. 2 to be discussed in sections 2.3 and 2.4).
   d. Only phrases can be subject to variable positioning in sentences.

Faced with the coherency of the make-up of the Māori phrase as presented in (6), one is driven to ask to what extent the phrase units so characterized may correspond to a coherent schema in terms of their syntactic structure. A full investigation of this question will require a detailed understanding of the nature of processes involved in the derivation of the surface forms of sentences. My aim in this paper is to bring a contribution to that fuller understanding with an analysis that will focus on the nature of the elements in the postposed periphery.[5] From my analysis of the behaviour of elements in the postperiphery of the phrase, it falls out that there is a need for a tripartite

division in the kinds of items that make up the Māori phrase. The syntactic elaboration that I propose to account for this tripartite division draws on the structural deficiency metric of Cardinaletti and Starke (1999). In terms of the deficiency metric, items in the Māori phrase are heads, full XPs and deficient XPs.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 introduces issues that are relevant to the constituency of the Māori phrase with respect to the mapping between the syntax and phonology interfaces. Section 3 develops an account showing how problems in the syntax-phonology mapping algorithm can be handled with reference to the deficiency metric as applied to the composition of the units making up the phrase. Section 4 concludes the paper with an overview of some implications for further investigation of aspects of the syntax of Māori.

2. Phrases in the phonology and the syntax

2.1. The syntax-phonology mapping

For an initial picture, let us begin with a view of the syntactic make-up of the phrase by considering the syntactic position of the initial particle with respect to the nucleus.

In the Minimalist conception advanced in Chomsky (1995 and subsequently), the phonological component of the grammar is fed by structural representations formed by sequences of mergings of units interspaced with copyings of units already merged.[6] Using the inventory of processes that are available to it, the phonological component then has the task of translating the structural representations that it receives into phonological representations. In the case of Māori, the mapping between the syntactic representation and the phonological representation must be able to locate phrase units and assign the appropriate contour characteristics to these units.

In Biggs' approach, a sentence is seen as an assemblage of phrase units. Thus he states:

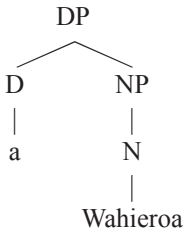
> 'Phrases may fulfil any of four functions in a sentence: subject, predicate, comment or interjection. A phrase (or combination of phrases) which fulfils one of these functions is said to be a constituent of the sentence.' [Biggs 1969: 100]

In these terms, a simple transitive sentence such as in (7), thus has the phrase

components:

7. [Ka moe] [a Wahieroa] [i a Kura].
   T/A marry PERS Wahieroa ACC PERS Kura
   PREDICATE SUBJECT COMMENT
   'Wahieroa married Kura.' [Biggs 1969: 102]

In a first consideration of the mapping between the syntax and the phonology that will apply in (7), it would appear that the process is quite straightforward in the case of the subject phrase. Assuming that the personal article *a* is a functional head, which we might view here as the D of the DP, we have a unit:

8.


Supposing that the phonological component can distinguish between a lexical base and a particle,[7] it will pick out the components of the DP as making up a phonological phrase (the N is the lexical base and the D a preceding functional particle) and assign it a phrase contour.

The process will be a little more complicated in the case of the comment phrase, the direct object phrase, in (7). This phrase includes two particles, each heading their own projection:

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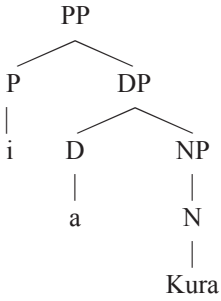
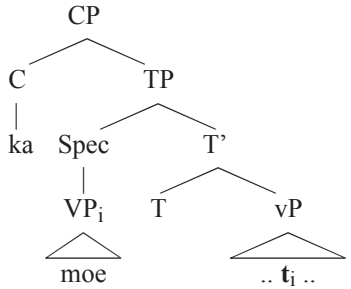


If the phonological mapping process works from bottom-up (top-down is conceivably an alternative; see the discussion in Biggs 1961: 17), we could assume that, after finding the first particle *a*, the translation mechanism will

then check to see if the structure includes a higher left branch bearing a particle, as it does in (9). Such a higher particle will be incorporated in the phonological phrase unit.

We can see that the structural representations in (8) and (9) are coherent as units in that both have one or more higher particle heads and that the material of the nucleus is embedded as a complement to the (lower) head. However, as we approach the mapping that will be required for the predicate phrase of (7), we find that the systematic structural pattern observed in (8) and (9) no longer obtains. Rather than occurring as the complement of the T/A head of the sentence, the verb of the predicate phrase is raised to a left-branch position below the particle head. Whilst there are two possible options in a VSO language as to whether the verb raises by head-movement or by phrasal movement,[8] in either case, in the output structure, the verb does not appear as the lexical head of an XP complement of the particle head. The structure in (10) illustrates this effect with the phrasal movement interpretation (abstracting away from the assumption that the object raises out the VP in which it is initially merged):

10.



In the structure in (10) the raised VP is on the left branch of the complement of the head of its phrase. Under the head-raising approach, the raised V head would also occur on a left branch, but, since it is a head, it will end up under the T in (10). The Māori phrase, therefore, cannot be understood as being structurally manifested uniquely in a head-complement schema as with the structures as shown in (8) and (9).

2.2. Phonological phrases and syntax: de Lacy (2003)

De Lacy (2003) discusses the mapping between the syntax and the phonology in Māori, with a focus on the intonation contours as they are assigned to phonological phrases. In essence, and in agreement with Bauer (1993), each

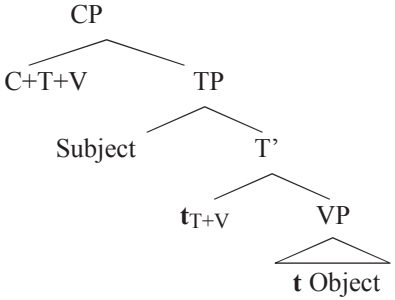
phonological phrase begins with a High pitch which descends gradually to Low at its right edge. In the terms of de Lacy's analysis, the left periphery of the phrase as defined in Biggs (1961, 1969) is not part of the pitch contour that is assigned to the phonological phrases of (7) as shown in de Lacey's interpretation in (11) below. I will henceforth use the acronym 'PPh' to designate de Lacy's concept of the the phonological phrase. Example (11) uses the bracketing '{…}' to illustrate in de Lacey's terms the occurrences of PPhs in (7).

11. Ka {moe} a {Wahieroa} i a {Kura}.

In de Lacey's analysis all open class lexical items are prosodic words and every prosodic word must be assigned to a PPh (de Lacey 2003: 67). Since *moe* in (11) is a verb, it must be in a PPh, as is the case also for the proper name nouns in (11).

The central argument of de Lacy's analysis is that the boundaries of PPhs coincide with both left and right edges of XP constituents, the candidate XPs being restricted to 'lexically headed syntactic phrases (XPs)' (de Lacey 2003: 61). However, in de Lacy's portrayal of the syntactic structure of the VSO clause, it is not however the case that both right and left edges of PPhs must correspond to right and left boundaries of XP constituents. For instance, in the structural representation of the clause, following Sproat (1985), Waite (1989), Collberg (1994), Pearce (1997a,b), Pearce and Waite (1997), de Lacy assumes head-raising of the verb to derive the VSO structure as:

12. de Lacy (2003: 62)



In the terms of de Lacey's treatment of a comparable sentence, the relevant PPh and XP bracketing for (7) is instantiated as:

13. ka {moe} a [$_{NP}$ {Wahieroa}] i a [$_{NP}$ {Kura}]

In (13), both of the PPhs consisting of the proper names conform to the requirement that they have XP (NP) boundaries at both their left and right edges. However, in the case illustrated in (13) the raised verb *moe* has no left or right XP boundaries since it is raised as a head, a V, rather than as a VP.[9] Nevertheless, the raised verb *moe* must be included in a PPh to conform to the further requirement that all Prosodic Words (items which are roots: see below in this section and in section 2.4 on the 'root' designation) must also be contained within a PPh (de Lacy 2003: 67).

In summary, the two conditions applying to the assignment of PPh boundaries are:

14. (i) Both left and right edges of lexical XPs must coincide with PPh boundaries.
    (ii) All prosodic words must be contained within a PPh.

The application of these conditions, can then be understood as applying in two steps. First, left and right XP boundaries are assigned to left and right PPh edges. Second, any remaining prosodic words which are not contained within a PPh must themselves also be parsed into a PPh. In the case illustrated in (13), *moe* can't be included in the PPh to its right because that PPh is closed at its left edge. The verb *moe* will therefore constitute its own PPh.

A problem that arises under de Lacey's analysis concerns the treatment of constructions such as that shown in (15):

15. E {haere ana} a {Hone}.
    T/A go PROG PERS Hone
    'Hone is leaving.' [de Lacy 2003: 69]

In (15), both *haere* and *ana* are prosodic words and must be included in a PPh. These two prosodic words end up in the same PPh because there is an (overarching) constraint on the assignment of PPhs that seeks to minimize PPhs (de Lacey's 2003: 69). This gives the correct result for the intonation contour of a PPh. A problem, however, with cases like (15) is that *ana* has to be counted as a root word in order to count as a prosodic word so that it can be included in a PPh. Whilst de Lacey acknowledges that post-lexical elements like *ana* in (15), *nei* in (1b) and *mai* in (1c) have a somewhat different categorial status from other kinds of roots (they are 'items that are roots but do not head lexical XPs', de Lacey 2003: 69), the designation of these items

as roots seems somewhat forced. As indicated by its gloss, *ana* 'PROG' is an aspectual marker. The other postverbal elements that are parsed into a PPh along with the verb are closed class items which Bauer (1997: 317) classifies into four sets labelled as 'manner', 'directional', 'deictic' and 'emphatic'. Except for *ana*, these particles can occur after lexical heads in general, not just after verbs. Given their roles and the fact they are closed class items, the designation of these items as roots is at odds with a view of the term 'root' as applying to lexical open class items. The root assignment for these items is also at odds with Biggs' labelling of these items as postperiphery particles, as in (1) (see Table 1 below for relevant comparisons).

However, for the parsing mechanism to produce the correct result, it has to be the case that a postperipheral item like *ana* has to have a different status from that of the following particle *a* in (15) — otherwise it would not be assigned into the PPh with *haere*. The question, therefore, is that of whether we can find a principled means of distinguishing between the behaviour of Biggs' preperipheral and the postperipheral elements. In working towards a solution to this question, we will consider some other special effects that arise in the prosodic effects in surface forms.

2.3. Pronouns in PPhs

There are two kinds of adjustments that apply in PPh assignments in constructions involving pronouns. As de Lacy observes, in the example in (16), the left-peripheral personal article *a* coalesces with the pronoun *au* of the nucleus, giving rise to the pronunciation: [ki ˈaːu]:

16. Ka {hoki mai} a {Hone i te {kurī} ki {a au}.
T/A return hither PERS Hone ACC the dog P PERS 1SG
'Hone returned the dog to me (here).' [de Lacy 2003: 63, 66]

In this respect, the behaviour of the personal article + pronoun sequence is different from that of the behaviour of personal article + proper name sequence. De Lacy (2000: 8, fn. 5) shows effects comparable to those with *au* for sequences in which the personal article is followed by the personal pronouns *koe* '2SG' or *ia* '3SG' (see also Biggs 1969: 38, 94; Bauer 1993: 577). De Lacey (2000: 8, fn. 5) suggests that the personal article is behaving as a prefix (incorporated under head-adjunction of the pronoun to the article) in these cases.

In another construction involving singular pronouns, the pronoun can incorporate to the PPh to its left. Bauer (1993) and Harlow (2001, 2007) discuss cases in which singular nominative pronouns occur at the right edge in phrases with a verb nucleus. In the examples following in (16)–(18), the '{…}' brackets identify phonological phrase units à la Biggs (1961, 1969).

17. {I haere ia} {ki Kaitāia}.
T/A go 3SG P Kaitāia
'She went to Kaitāia.' [Bauer 1993: 562]

18. {E haere ana au}.[10] *ana au* = [ɐˈnɑːʉ]
T/A go PROG 1SG
'I am going.' [Harlow 2007: 93, fn.27]

19. a. {Kua tae mai} {ia}. 2 phrase stresses: *mai* and *ia*
T/A arrive hither 3SG
'He has arrived.'

b. {Kua tae mai ia}. 1 phrase stress: *mai*
[Harlow 2001: 16]

Harlow (2001: 16) states that the (19b) form in which the pronoun is incorporated into the preceding predicate is more usual than (19a) where the pronoun occurs as an independent phrase. What we see in these examples is that a singular nominative pronoun can occur as a postperiphery item, as in (17), (18) and (19b), or it can act as the nucleus of a phrase, as in (16) and (19a). In effect, the incorporation of the pronouns into the preceding phrase serves to maintain the 'more than two moras' phrase schema. The independent pronoun phrases in (16) and (19a) are, however, in violation of this schema.[11]

2.4. Minor morpheme nuclei: Biggs (1961)

In Biggs (1961) the base versus particle division that is represented in (1) from Biggs (1969) corresponds to a major versus minor morpheme division. In discussing the roles of minor morphemes, Biggs (1961: 19) states that the nucleus slot may be filled by 'a combination of minor morphemes as a base surrogate'. In the terms of Biggs' analysis, nuclei of this type include combinations with a determiner and a postperipheral particle, as with *tēnei* in (20) and the personal pronouns, shown in the paradigms in (21).[12]

20. Ko tēnei.
P the.PROX1
'It is this (one).' [Biggs 1961: 19]

21. Personal pronouns

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1 Inclusive		tāua	tātou
1 Exclusive	au ~ ahau	māua	mātou
2	koe	kōrua	koutou
3	ia	rāua	rātou

In (20) *tēnei* 'this (one)' is bimorphemic, being made up of the determiner *te* combined with the demonstrative *nei* 'PROX1'.[13] In other kinds of uses *nei* is a postperipheral particle, as in *te pukupuka nei* 'this book', but in (20) we see *nei* as a base surrogate nucleus.

For Biggs (1961: 21) the number and person morphemes of the dual and plural pronouns are non-base minor morphemes. Nevertheless, these bi-morphemic pronouns behave as bases in the class of Personals which are preceded by the personal article *a* following the preposition *ki* (for example *ki a rātou* 'to PERS 3PL'). Although they consist of minor morphemes, bound morphemes in this case, the dual and plural pronouns thus occur as base surrrogates. For Biggs (1961: 51) the singular pronouns also count as minor morphemes and thus must be considered to be base surrogates in uses such as seen in (16) and (19a).[14]

Thus it is that, even for Biggs, the simple two-way division suggested in (1) between lexical bases (which can be the nucleus of a PPh) and particles (which cannot be the nucleus of a PPh) does not suffice. In section 3, I will propose an analysis which treats these distinctions in terms of the deficiency metric that is put forward in Cardinaletti and Starke (1999).

2.5. Summary: Issues for the syntax-phonology interface

The discussion in section 2.3 has shown how the double left-right bracketing proposal in de Lacy (2003) needs to be supplemented by the condition (14ii) in order to account for the full range of cases of PPhs whether in derivations with head-movement or with phrasal movement. From the discussion in sections 2.3 and 2.4 we have seen that there are items which do not fit neatly into the

major/minor or the base/particle classifications of Biggs (1961/1969).[15] The kinds of items which do not fall neatly into a two-way classification in the examples that we have seen are represented in the shaded area in Table 1 in terms of the designations in de Lacy (2003) and Biggs (1961).

Table 1: Item classifications in de Lacy (2003) and Biggs (1961)

	DE LACY (2003)		BIGGS (1961)
	TYPE	PROSODIC WORD	MAJOR/MINOR
haere 'go'	lexical V root	YES	Major
whare 'house'	lexical N root	YES	Major
ia '3SG'	lexical N root	YES	Minor
mai 'hither'	non-lexical root	YES	Minor
nei 'PROX1'	non-lexical root	YES	Minor
ka 'T/A'	non-root	NO	Minor

For the items that do not behave clearly either as bases or as particles (using the terminology of Biggs 1969), the solution has been to introduce subdivisions applying to these items as shown in the shaded area in Table 1. For Biggs (1961) the minor morphemes falling into the shaded area in Table 1 can be used a base surrogates. For de Lacey (2003) we have a difference between lexical roots and non-lexical roots. Table 1 also shows a non-uniformity in the approaches of Biggs and of de Lacey to the treatment of the singular pronouns, represented here by *ia*. We would like to be able to find a solution which would allow for a more principled means of capturing the apparent three-way distinction in the behaviour of the different kinds of items in their patterning in the composition of PPhs. The section to follow explores how the distinctions might be captured in a formal treatment exploiting the notion of structural deficiency as put forward in Cardinaletti and Starke (1999).

3. The deficiency metric

3.1. Pronouns

We have seen that we have evidence in Māori for a contrast in the behaviour of pronouns in terms of their location in PPhs. Whilst the individual pronouns

in Māori have a unique form,[16] it is not unusual for languages to have compositionally distinct pronoun forms with syntactically distinct behaviours. We can consider the implications of such distinctions in the terms of the syntactic make-up of the constituents in which different pronoun forms are housed. We are thus further led to consider whether what we see in Māori as pronouns with segmentally unique forms should be taken as realizing different options in their syntactic constituency.

In a tripartite division of the syntactic make-up of pronouns: strong, weak and clitic, that is proposed in Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) unstressed pronouns are deficient, either weak or clitic. In Italian, for example, the strong/weak/clitic division is manifested (among other differences) in the positions which the different pronouns may occupy, as in the following examples from Cardinaletti (2011):

22. a. Maria ha dato un libro **a** **loro**. Strong
Maria has given a book to 3PL

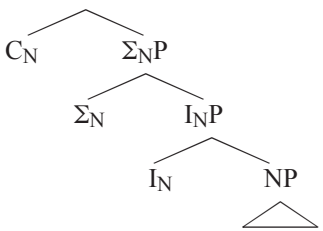
b. Maria ha dato **loro** un libro. Weak
Maria has given 3PL a book

c. Maria **gli** ha dato un libro. Clitic
Maria 3SG.DAT has given a book

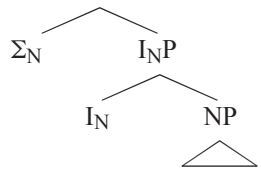
'Maria has given them/him a book.' [Cardinaletti 2011: 502]

In the Italian case, we see that the pronoun is manifested in a distinct form in accordance with its syntactic position. Cardinaletti and Starke propose that the 'strength' differences correspond to differences in the complexity of constituency of the pronoun XPs:

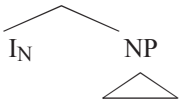
23. Strong, weak and clitic pronoun structures
(based on Cardinaletti and Starke 1999: 214)
a. C_NP Strong pronoun



b. $\Sigma_N P$ Weak pronoun



c. $I_N P$ Clitic pronoun



In the structures in (23), the ΣP (lacking in the (23c) clitic structure) is the locus for prosodic information. The CP and IP layers are respectively peripheral and inflectional layers. Relative strength thus corresponds to relative complexity in structure, with complexity manifested as presence/absence of the different functional layers for the different XP types.

For the data (from European languages) that they examine, Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) provide several tests in support of the three-way distinction: strong, weak and clitic. Among these, one important characteristic that distinguishes clitic pronouns from other kinds of pronouns is that they tend to raise to a high position in the functional structure of the clause (cf. (22c)). Whilst the Māori data does not show in the data covered here the kind of linear placement differences that apply in Italian, what it does show is that there are distinctions in the prosodic outcomes with pronouns. Drawing on the evidence of syntactic distinctions in other languages, it is reasonable to infer that the behavioural distinctions in the Māori pronouns could be aligned in terms of the deficiency metric that has been put forward by Cardinaletti and Starke. Thus, the third person singular form *ia* in Māori would then be understood as entering into at least two possible phrase structures. Indeed, for Cardinaletti and Starke (1999: 180): '[t]he vast majority of known <weak ; strong> pairs are homophonous'.

Whilst it is beyond the scope of the present paper to carry out a detailed investigation of the behaviour of the Māori pronouns in the syntax of the clause, in the absence of any evidence for special positioning for the pronouns in (17)–(19), we take the differing PPh assignments as indicative of the structural distinction as manifested in (23a) versus (23b).[17]

As for the 'substitute bases' of the *tēnei* type, since both the *te* 'the' and *nei*

'PROX1' components count as minor morphemes, at first blush, these cannot be conceived of as having a C_LP layer. However, we could suppose that that there is another layer in the structure for *tēnei* if we allow for the inclusion within it of a null NP. Given that modification does not apply to items of the (23b) ΣP type, and given that the *nei* of *tēnei* has a modifying function, it must be that *tēnei* has the more articulated structure of a C_LP.

The extension of this analysis to the bimorphemic non-singular pronouns also provides us with the means for accounting for why these pronouns do not appear incorporated to the predicate phrase in examples that are presented in the literature.[18] Non-singular pronouns would thus always be C_LPs.

3.2. Deficient adverbs

In an interesting development of the strong/weak/clitic elaboration as advanced in Cardinaletti and Starke (1999), Cardinaletti (2011) evinces evidence in data from German and Italian for the existence in these languages of deficient adverbs contrasting with strong adverbs. On the analogy with Cardinaletti's findings for these European languages, it is potentially the case that postperipheral adverbial particles, counting as non-base words in Biggs (1961, 1969), should be analyzed as elements in the deficient end of the spectrum. As Cardinaletti (2011: 495, fn.2) notes, for the modal adverbials that she discusses,[19] it is very difficult to find appropriate glosses which would accurately reflect the meaning of these items. The same is true for the Māori post-verbal adverbials, which generally can also occur as modifiers in other kinds of phrases as well (Harlow 2007: 147).[20] In particular, with respect to the manner particles, Biggs (1969) states (see also Mutu 1982, Bauer 1997: 317):

> 'The manner particles are a set of postposed particles, each of which qualifies the meaning of the phrase nucleus with some such meaning as is expressed in English by words like 'very, quite, still, perhaps, on the other hand, indeed'. In no case, however, is there an exact overlap between the meaning of an English word and the meaning of any one of the manner particles, a fact which makes their correct use difficult for English speakers.' [Biggs 1969: 69]

In the proposal that adverbials may be categorially distinct in terms of the strength metric, Cardinaletti's treatment thus goes beyond the two-way distinction for such adverbials, X versus XP, such as assumed in the proposals of Cinque (1999). For Cinque (1999), the spine of the clause is made up

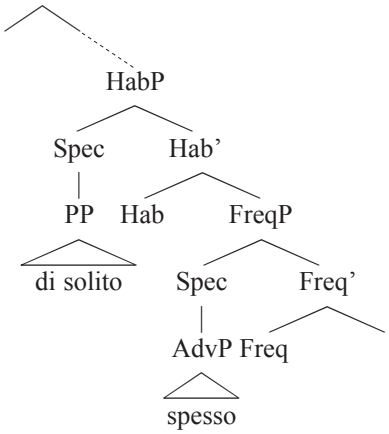
of layers of ordered projections including items having adverbial functions which may occur as heads or as XPs in languages specific cases. For instance, taking the Habitual and Frequentative projections as examples, whereas Italian encodes these functions as XPs, the Papuan language Yareba encodes these functions in affixes:

24. Italian (Cinque 1999: 91)
    Mario è **di solito spesso** costretto a rimanere a casa.
    Mario is P usual often constrained P remain P home
    'Mario is usually often obliged to stay at home.'

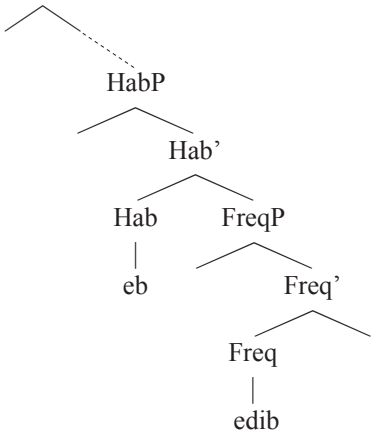
25. Yareba (Cinque 1999: 91, citing Weimer 1972: 61)
    yau-r-**edib-eb**-a-su
    sit-CM-FREQ-HAB-PRES-3SGM
    'He (habitually and repeatedly) sits down.'

The evident XP versus affixal contrast in the forms in these two languages is manifested as distinct merge positions for XPs versus heads in the clause structure as:

26. Italian



27. IP Yareba



In Italian the adverbials are merged as XPs in specifier positions, but in Yareba the adverbials are heads in the spine of the clause structure. The relative hierarchical placement of the adverbials is the same for both languages. In the absence of any displacements in Italian, the surface order shown in (24) directly corresponds to the left-to-right ordering in (26) (as it does also in English). In Yareba, the mirror-image ordering in the surface form in (25) relative to the left-to-right ordering of (27) is derived as the output of successive left-adjunction head raising in the derivation of the surface form.

With Cardinaletti’s approach to the treatment of adverbial deficiency in Italian and German, the two-way strong versus weak distinction applies to constituents that are merged into the structure as XPs. The strength difference corresponds to differences in the complexity of the XPs, as shown for pronouns in (23a,b) but, in this case, with Adv labels substituting for the N labels in (23).

According to this scenario, in the consideration of apparently non-lexical base items in the postperiphery of the Māori phrase, it remains to be determined whether such items are best analyzed as heads (of the Yareba type) or as weak adverbials (as with the Italian and German modals).

3.3. Postperipheral deficiency

To the extent that particles in the preposed periphery of the Māori phrase cannot be independent PPhs, they are clearly in contrast with the particles of the postperiphery which are prosodic words occurring within PPhs.

The particles of the preposed periphery have the kinds of functions which are standardly represented as functional heads within their CP/IP and DP structures. The particles of the postposed periphery, however, also have the appearance of at least quasi non-lexical categories. But, given the contrasting behaviour of these two kinds of particles, the 'strength' parameter as represented in the structural distinctions proposed in Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) and Cardinaletti (2011) provides us with a formal means of capturing the behavioural differences.

Recall that in de Lacy's classification all prosodic words contrast with non-prosodic words in that the former are roots and the latter are not. De Lacy (2003: 60) claims that PPhs are headed by major lexical categories. The essential difference between the de Lacy/Biggs approaches as shown in Table 1 is that de Lacy's root/non-root classification cuts across Biggs' (1961) major/minor division. De Lacy differentiates the post-head items which are roots from the pre-head items which are non-roots, whereas for Biggs both of these kinds of items are minor morphemes (particles in Biggs 1969).

If we now allow that postperipheral items in the phrase are conceived of as deficient XPs, we have the means of distinguishing between Major/Lexical Root XPs and the kinds of items that fall into the shaded area in Table 1. All Major/Lexical Root XPs are strong and have the C_LP structure ('L' standing for 'Lexical': N, V, Adv, …) of (23a), but other prosodic words lack the C_LP layer. Under this interpretation, in effect, de Lacey's lexical XPs correspond to C_LPs and prosodic words consisting of non-lexical roots correspond to Σ_LPs — along with the assumption of the bipartite classification of the singular pronouns as either C_LPs or as Σ_LPs.

3.4. Deficiency in derivations

What we have achieved with this analysis is that we have obtained a cross-categorial means of distinguishing between the constituency of lexical versus non-lexical prosodic words. What remains open, however, is the question of the possible subversion of the contrasting constituencies in syntactic processes involving displacements. Thus, whilst we expect that a lexical verb will be merged into a C_VP structure, it is another question as to whether it is the whole of that constituent or part of that constituent that is carried along when the verb is preposed from its base position. In this regard, the linear sequences produced are then subject to two possible bracketing analyses in forms such as (15):

28. a. {[$_{\Sigma P}$ haere] [$_{\Sigma P}$ ana]}
    b. {[$_{CVP}$ haere] [$_{\Sigma P}$ ana]}

In (28b), the left bracket of the PPh is a C_LP, but the right bracket is a ΣP, but in (28a) both left and right edges of the PPh are ΣPs. Under de Lacey's approach to the formation of PPhs, if a C_LP equates to a lexical XP, then the bracketing in (28b) gives the wrong output since the right bracket of the C_VP maps to the right edge of the PPh and the ΣP containing *ana* would map to an independent PPh. The structure that is indicated in (28a) would correspond most closely to de Lacey's treatment in which the verb is raised by head movement and the PPh is formed by the condition (14ii) requiring both prosodic words to be mapped into a PPh.

To bring another kind of case into the mix, the examples in (2a-c) showed sequences in which combinations including more than one lexical base make up a single PPh. If each lexical base is a C_LP, then the PPh mapping for (2c), for instance, should give the output shown in (29b):

29. a. ki te {tuku rōku mai}
       T/A send log hither
    b. *ki te {[$_{CVP}$ tuku]} {[$_{CNP}$ rōku] [$_{\Sigma P}$ mai]}

According to Biggs (1961: 48), (29a) has a two-base nucleus and constitutes, along with the minor morpheme *mai*, a single phrase unit. However, if both the noun and the verb in (29) count as C_LPs, we would expect the PPh mapping process to produce at least two PPhs with the right and left C_LP bracketings marking the boundary between the two PPhs, as in (29b). Whereas the correct mapping for (28b) might allow for the incorporation of the ΣP with the preceding C_LP, the role of the C_LP/ΣP contrast starts to be undermined if we allow for the ignoring of boundaries between two C_LPs.

As I have indicated already in earlier discussion, the actual syntactic constituency at the high end of the Māori clause remains to be fully determined.[21] But suppose that we take the C_LP/ΣP as the criterial factor, there are four possible pairings of these kinds of constituents. Adding in cases in which a limited number of closed class modifiers may precede a lexical head (see Harlow 2001: 47–50 for an overview), as in (30), the possible pairings are listed in (31) (where C_LPs are shown as [S]trong and ΣPs are shown as [W]eak):

30. Ko tērā te {tino pukapuka} i whiwhi ahau.
ko DET.DIST the very book T/A get 1SG
'That's the very book I received.' [Bauer 1997: 302]

31.

a.	S	S	tuku rōku	(29)
b.	S	W	haere ana	(28)
c.	W	S	tino pukapuka	(30)
d.	W	W	?	

According to the analysis that I have sketched out in Section 3.1, forms like *tēnei* 'DET.PROX' (and *tērā* 'DET.DIST' in (30)) are C_LPs in that, although in the surface they are made up of a particle followed by a ΣP modifier, they actually include the structure of a non-overt N head.[22] If this analysis is correct and if there are truly no sequences of the (31d) type (i.e., if (28a) is not a correct analysis), then all PPhs must include at least one C_LP.

But we are still left with the separation question: especially, how do we know when not to put PPh boundaries in between two C_LPs, as in the (31a) case?

Can we take another tack on the problem and look at the particles that are not included in PPhs as a means of defining the boundaries of PPhs? Biggs (1961), in fact, suggests such an approach, at least as a heuristic, in identifying the edges of phrase units:

> '. . . in any utterance the occurrence of a preposed minor morpheme following a morpheme not classed as preposed marks the boundary of a contour word.'
> [Biggs 1969: 17]

This strategy will produce the correct boundary assignments in most cases, but not for all cases. Thus, in both (32a) and (32b) the subject of the sentence makes up a separate PPh, but only in (32a) is there a initial particle in the subject constituent which can be picked up as marking off the edge of the PPh that precedes it:

32. a. E {kai ana} a {Mere}.
T/A eat PROG PERS Mere
'Mere is eating.'

b. E {kai ana} {rātou}.
T/A eat PROG 3PL
'They are eating.' [Biggs 1961: 17]

In (32a) the personal article preceding the proper name *Mere* provides the particle to induce the closing off of the PPh preceding it. However in (32b) there is no overt particle to justify the closing off of the right boundary of the first PPh. It seems that over and above the Particle/Prosodic word distinction, we still need to to give a role to the syntactic bracketing in the make-up of the clause in order to produce the correct PPh bracketings.

The same consideration applies to the syntactic constituency within nominal expressions, as witnessed in the contrast:

33. a. {tēnei whare}
DET.PROX house
'this house'

b. tō te {māhita} {whare}
DET.POSS DET teacher house
'the teacher's house' [de Lacey 2003: 68]

In (33b) there are two C_LPs and these make up independent PPhs. Whilst we have proposed earlier that a demonstrative like *tēnei* in its use in cases like in (20) should be analyzed as a having the structure of a C_LP, in (33a) *tēnei* does not behave like the lexical pre-N possessor agument in (33b). The contrasting PPh assignments in (33a) and (33b) would need to be distinguished in terms of the DP-internal syntax. However, in this case at least we can note that *tēnei* in (33a) cannot itself be assumed to contain the C_LP structure in the presence of the N *whare*, since it will here be *whare* which is the overt head of the C_LP. (For some discussion of the DP-internal syntax and related issues, see Waite 1994; Pearce 2003.) In summary, there are cases in which a single PPh may contain more than one prosodic word and the mechanisms for delimiting the boundaries of the PPhs in such cases will have to invoke distinctions in the syntactic constituency articulated at some higher level in the architecture of the clause.

This means that we no longer have clarity as to what is proposed as a symmetry in the the undifferentiated right-left bracketing of the PPh boundaries in de Lacy (2003). Furthermore, we have been led to maintain that a PPh has to include a C_LP and that the PPh may include one or more C_LPs/ ΣP s within it. The requirements that we have come up with for PPhs are thus as follows:

34. a. ΣPs are contained within a PPh.
b. A PPh includes a C_LP (as per the schema in (31).

On the analysis presented here, therefore, we have espoused the view that the PPh must include a C_LP, but that it may have a ΣP at its left and/or right edges.

4. Some implications

In this study of the syntactic composition of items in Māori phrases we have reached the conclusion that there is at least a tripartite division in the syntactic composition of the kinds of items that can be included in phrases. These are as follows:

35. a. Particles are heads.
    b. Nuclear bases are C_LPs.
    c. Postperipheral items (and a more limited range of preperipheral items) are ΣPs.

The requirement that a PPh has to include a C_LP suggests that any movement operations to which such C_LP items are subject must occur as some form of XP/phrasal-movement, rather than as head-movement. The present analysis thus lends support to a phrasal-movement account of verb raising. By the some token, on the assumption that postperipheral items are ΣPs, these must also be involved in phrasal-movement. (As discussed in Pearce (2002), it then seems likely that the mirror-image surface ordering of predicate adverbials indicates that these items participate in iterative roll-up, which we should now view as phrasal rather than as head roll up.)

The central focus of this paper has been on how we might understand the syntactic composition of the kinds of patterns that occur in Māori sentences and that were originally pointed to in Biggs (1961). The investigation of these patterns led us into a consideration of de Lacy's (2003) proposals as to the syntax-phonology mapping algorithm. Our investigation of the status of items in the postperiphery of the phrase (and of some preperipheral items) showed that these kinds of items have an intermediate status in the treatments of both Biggs (1961/1969) and of de Lacy (2003). The proposal that I advance here is that the existence of 'intermediate' categories is catered for in an application of the deficiency metric of syntactic constituency as put forward in Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) and in Cardinaletti (2011). A particular advantage of this proposal is that it provides a means of characterizing the alternating behaviour of the singular pronouns in conformity with findings for other (well studied)

languages. A particular challenge, for this approach, however, is that of determining the extent to which the structural assignments that are applied to individual lexical items are preserved in cases where displacement processes are involved in the derivations. This broad brush solution to the make-up of the phrase in Māori is yet to be applied in a thorough working out of the syntactic derivations. However, I believe that it provides a good starting point both for further understanding of what is involved in the syntactic derivations and for the details of the syntactic composition of individual items.

Notes

1 I would like to thank two anonymous reviewers for *Te Reo* for suggesting a number of improvements that I have tried to implement in this paper. I would also like to thank Ray Harlow for coming up with an answer to a question that I had and the audience at the New Zealand Linguistic Society conference (VUW, November 2011) where I first tried out some of the ideas that have been developed in what follows in the paper. All errors of interpretation are of course my own.

2 Non-standard abbeviations in the glossing of the Māori forms are: NMZ = Nominalization; PERS = Personal article; PROX1 = Proximate near First Person; T/A = Tense/Aspect.

3 Yet another case of the presence/absence of an initial particle is encountered with initial *ko*-Topics. In the *ko*-Topic construction a fronted nominative noun phrase is preceded by *ko*, as in:

i.	Ko	te	waka	nā	Koro	i	tārai.
	ko	the	canoe	*nā*	Koro	T/A	fashion

'Koro fashioned the canoe.' [Bauer 1997: 503]

However, given that Harlow (2001: 194, fn. 6) states that *ko* can be omitted before a determiner in spoken Māori, the presence of the determiner will preserve the three-mora count in a phrase unit: [Ø — Determiner — X] in which X has only two moras. One further case of phrases consisting of only a two-mora item is discussed in sections 2.3 and 2.4.

4 The bracketing of the two phrases in (4) is also a means of abstracting away from the issue as to which of these two constituents is being displaced in (4a)/(4b). In the case of the Actor-Emphatic construction represented in (5), there are a number of different views as to the nature of the syntax of this construction (for a useful discussion, see Harlow 2007: 175–177). Discussion of the nature of the constructions represented both in (4) and (5) would go beyond the scope of the present paper.

5 In further research on this general topic, I plan to extend the analysis to the consideration of the syntax of items in the preposed periphery.

6 In the Phase theory of Chomsky (2001, 2008), certain of the structural entities so formed are fed in stages to the phonological component. For Chomsky (2008: 143) the phases so defined are said to be CP, vP and possibly DP units. A further extension of what is to be covered in this paper will be to assess the implications for the mapping between the syntax and the phonology in so far as these units are concerned.

7 Abstracting away from the details as to whether this is with reference to features on nodes or as a structural algorithm, or a combination of both.

8 For a recent discussion, see Roberts (2010) and, for a discussion weighing up the relative merits of the V-raising versus phrasal movement for Māori, see Pearce (2002).

9 Alternatively, if the raising of the verb to a higher position in the clause is through phrasal movement (as suggested in Pearce 2002 and, for Niuean, in Massam 2001), rather than through head-movement, then, as represented in (10), we find that the PPh and XP boundaries for *moe* would coincide at both its left and right edges. On this basis, it would seem that PPh/XP correspondence derived as a result of phrasal movement could serve as an argument in support of verb raising by phrasal movement rather than by head-movement. However, it remains to be determined if all such cases that de Lacey discusses would be amenable to a comparable treatment.

10 Harlow does not discuss the phrase phonology that applies in (18). My treatment of (18) as consisting of a single phonological phrase corresponds to that assigned by Harlow to (19b).

As another instance of the (19a) type in which a singular pronoun, receiving major stress, is the nucleus of a phrase is the following example from Hohepa (1967):

i. {Kei te whare} {au}.
at the house 1SG
'I am at the house.' [Hohepa 1967: 11]

11 It may be that the initial stressed vowel of the pronoun PPhs in (19a) and (i) in note 10 is lengthened, but I have not found input on this speculation in my sources.

12 As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, the singular pronouns also have affixal allomorphs: *-ku* '1SG', *-u* '2SG', *-na* '3SG'. These combine with possessive prepositions and determiners giving rise to forms such as *nōku* 'belong to me', *māku u* 'for me', *tāku* 'my/mine'. Interestingly, as the same reviewer points out: (i) the existence of these forms provides support for the three locations on the 'strength scale' that Cardinaletti and Starke propose, but (ii), for Cardinaletti and Starke, the modification possibility is not supposed to be available for deficient items. However, in these kinds of cases, assuming that these obligatorily affixed forms are heads, the compounded forms would be derived through head raising.

13 As well as the demonstrative set, represented by *tēnei* in (20), other such

combinations with determiners include: *tētahi* 'some', *tēhea* 'which' and singular pronoun forms, such as *tāku* 'my/mine' (as cited in note 12).

14 In Biggs (1969: 53) the personal pronouns are described as 'a special subclass of personals which differ slightly from other personals in the way they are used'.

15 See also the observation of Harlow (2007: 100): 'there is a certain arbitrariness about the base/particle divide'.

16 Pace a dialect distinction for 1SG *au* ~ *ahau*.

17 Cardinaletti and Starke (1999: 160) show a comparable distinction in the behaviour of preverbal strong XP subjects versus preverbal deficient pronouns in French. In the contrasting cases in (i), the strong subjects in (ia) are prosodically independent units, whereas the deficient pronoun subject in (ib) is part of a prosodic unit with the following verb:

i. a. Al/lui mange beaucoup.
Al/he eats a lot

b. Il mange beaucoup.
he eats a lot

In this particular case also there is no (linear) positional contrast in placement of the 3SG pronouns.

18 I leave open here the case of dialectal *ahau* versus *au* '1SG'. The form *ahau* is etymologically *a* 'PERS' + *au* '1SG'.

19 These are forms such as German *doch* 'then', *schon* 'already', *ja* 'affirmative' and Italian *ben* 'indeed', *pur* 'only', *poi* 'then'. Such items as these cannot be modified or conjoined and they are subject to particular constraints on their syntactic positioning. In these respects, their behaviour is distinct from that of open class adverbs.

20 For example, Harlow (2001) cites the examples in (i) in which *tonu* 'still' modifies the verb in (ia) and the noun in (iib):

i. a. E waiata-tia **tonu**-tia ana tēnā waiata i ngā momo
T/A sing-PASS still-PASS PROG that song P the.PL kind
hui katoa.
hui all
'That kind of song is still sung at all kinds of hui.' [Harlow 2001: 93]

b. Ko ētahi o ā rātau waiata nā rātau **tonu** i tito.
ko some P DET.POSS 3PL song *nā* 3PL still T/A compose
'Some of their songs they composed themselves.'
[Harlow 2001: 94; citing Kāretu 1974]

21 Lest it be thought that I am failing in not coming up here with a water-tight proposal as to the full syntactic structure of the Māori clause, I note the reservations made by Cardinaletti (1999) with regard to the same problem with respect to pronouns in the better studied Romance and Germanic languages, to quote:

'What is the derived position in which weak pronouns occur, and how

does language variation in this area arise? Ultimately, this amounts to asking what the nature of clause structure of Germanic and Romance languages is. It is evident that the task is huge. Although many proposals have been made, no comprehensive answer has yet been given.' [Cardinaletti 1999: 68]

22 As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, two of the post-verb directional modifiers, *mai* 'hither' and *atu* 'away' can be used independently as phrase surrogates. Harlow (2007) gives an example of this type, explicitly indicating the absence of expected elements normally making up phrase constituency as follows:

i. [Ø Ø atu] [i a ia]
DIR P PERS 3SG
'apart from him/her' [Harlow 2007: 100]

On the assumption that the bracketing in (i) indicates the presence of two PPhs, it is conceivable that the covert structure analysis applied to nominal expressions (lacking an overt N), may similarly be applied to expressions of this type, which Harlow (2007: 100) terms 'idiomatic'. There is clearly more work to be done in this area.

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THE ENGLISH SPOKEN BY MĀORI: CHANGES IN RHYTHM OVER TIME[1]

Bianca Vowell: *University of Canterbury <beavowell@hotmail.com>*

Margaret Maclagan: *Department of Communication Disorders, University of Canterbury <margaret.maclagan@canterbury.ac.nz>*

Jeanette King: *Aotahi: School of Māori and Indigenous Studies, Te Whare Wānanga o Waitaha, University of Canterbury <j.king@canterbury.ac.nz>*

Abstract

This study investigates the rhythm of English spoken by Māori. Recordings are analysed from speakers who have varying degrees of fluency and socialisation in Māori. The rhythm of their English language recordings is measured and analysed in order to address the question, 'has the distinctively less stress-timed rhythm of modern Māori English developed from the rhythm of the Māori language?' The rhythm of these speakers is then compared with age-matched Pākehā English speakers. The results show that the distinctively less stress-timed rhythm has indeed developed from the rhythm of the Māori language and the use of this rhythm is related to the prestige of Māori in the speakers' socialisation and the degree of Māori identity felt by the speaker.

1. Introduction

Throughout the first century or so of Māori and English language contact, Māori was the first language for most Māori people and was used for all functions outside of schooling. This was especially the case in rural, predominantly ethnically Māori areas, where interactions with Pākehā[2] were

few and the need for English was small. Māori children typically learned English as a second language in schools. Over time there was increasing contact between Māori and Pākehā and gradually, English became the language of interaction in more situations, both between Māori and Pākehā and within Māori communities (Benton 1991).

As the use of English grew, so the percentage of first language Māori speakers began to decline (Benton 1978) and the number of situations in which Māori was the primary language of communication also declined. While recent statistics indicate an increase in the percentage of Māori able to speak the Māori language and an increase in proficiency across all speakers (Te Puni Kōkiri 2008), these findings have been challenged by Bauer (2008), who argues that the health of the Māori language continues to deteriorate. An entire generation of Māori were actively discouraged from speaking Māori, by both Pākehā and Māori, who believed that providing a monolingual English environment would be in the best interests of the Māori children (Selby 1999: 16). As a result, although the next generation of children have had access to Māori as a medium of instruction in *kōhanga reo* ('language nests') and *kura kaupapa Māori* (Māori medium schools), many do not have Māori as a language in the home and do not have access to the same socialisation in Māori, which the earlier generations had (Benton 2001). Today, children learning Māori, even as a first language, 'are being raised in an environment largely populated by adult second language speakers of Māori' (King et al. 2010: 192).

It is now widely accepted that there are distinctive characteristics of the way most Māori speak English and this variety is referred to by linguists as Māori English (ME). In the early 1970s, Bender (1971: 47) identified a 'Māorified Colloquial English' variety, while Richards (1970: 124) distinguished Māori English 1 (ME1) and Māori English 2 (ME2). Of these two Māori English varieties, ME1 referred to the English spoken by high-status Māori, often used on formal occasions. ME2 was the label used for the more colloquial variety of Māori English.

Today, the term ME describes the vernacular variety, similar to Māorified Colloquial English, or ME2. It is important to distinguish this from English spoken by Māori[3] (EM), which is not an interchangeable term. EM describes the multiple varieties of English spoken by Māori people. This broad term encompasses ME, but also covers the speech of Māori who do not speak ME. This includes contemporary Māori who have little or no integration in the Māori community or Māori who eschew the ME vernacular. It also includes

older speakers who spoke Māori as a first language and learned English later as a second language (i.e. speakers of ME1). The English they spoke shared some of the features of ME, but was not the same variety as is spoken today. These older speakers of ME1 had features that appeared to be transferred directly from the Māori language, such as third person singular pronoun confusion (Māori has only one pronoun, *ia*, where English has both *he* and *she*), different preposition usage (*he came on his car*) and plural markers used on mass nouns (*breads, hays*) (Mitcalfe 1967). Such usages do not feature in ME today. By contrast, current ME speakers use terms of address like *bro* or *coz* (King 1999) that speakers of ME1 did not use.

King (1993) noted that not all ethnically Māori people speak ME and suggested that not all ME speakers are ethnically Māori. Some Pākehā who identify with Māori society speak ME, as confirmed by Szakay (2006), who found a significant correlation between speakers' Māori integration and their use of the distinctively less stress-timed rhythm of ME. It should also be noted that ME is not used consistently across all settings. Some ME speakers, particularly younger speakers, appear to use ME exclusively, however for many speakers ME is one register they can select depending on factors such as their addressee, the location and the occasion (King 1999).

Most ME speakers are monolingual English-speakers (Benton 1991) and although some speak Māori, very few claim to have 'native' fluency (King et al. 2011). Because they are not able to use the Māori language competently to show their identity, they use other linguistic features to mark their identity in the way they speak English. Holmes (1997) observed that,

> … even young Māori people who do not speak Māori generally have some contact with the language — often through older family members, but also through hearing it used on the marae, and perhaps in the media. This exposure to Māori rhythms in contexts where Māori is an admired and prestigious code is a potential influence on their use of English, especially in social contexts where Māori people predominate. (p. 89)

This explanation is consistent with the results of the study by Nazzi, Jusczyk and Johnson (2000), who found that infants are able to discriminate the rhythm of their native dialect from other dialects, even within the same rhythm class. Accordingly, we would expect that Māori children who are regularly exposed to the Māori language will recognise the rhythm as being associated with those Māori environments and will be able to distinguish the rhythm of

the Māori and English languages. They would presumably also be able to distinguish the characteristic rhythm of Māori English. It is not, however, an adequate explanation of why urban Māori children, who grow up with less exposure to the Māori language and more exposure to Pākehā English (PE), use the distinctively less stress-timed rhythm of ME. Although it is assumed that the rhythm of ME originated in the rhythm of the Māori language, this assumption has not actually been examined prior to this study.

The origins of the less stress-timed rhythm of ME is especially relevant since rhythm was shown to be not only one of the major contrastive features of ME and PE, but also the most salient for listeners in recognising ME (Szakay 2008). For these reasons, the aim of the present study is to investigate the origins of the distinctive rhythm of ME, using recordings of speakers born in the late 1880s through to the early 1980s.

One of the first researchers to comment on the rhythm of the English spoken by Māori was Benton (1965: 71), who observed that Māori children used an 'un-English' stress pattern. He noted that these speakers used full vowels in place of neutral vowels and he perceived this as a 'tendency to give undue emphasis to vowels, and to place primary stress on secondarily stressed syllables'.

Since then, researchers have examined the rhythm of ME more closely and found a greater use of full vowels (Ainsworth 1993, Holmes 1997) and a significantly less stress-timed rhythm in comparison with PE (Warren 1998; Szakay 2008). Similarly, the Māori language is considered to be less stress-timed than English (see King et al. 2009)[4] and was described as mora-timed by Bauer (1981). The similarities between the Māori language and ME, in contrast to PE, were summarised by Holmes (2005: 96):

> [The] tendency to pronounce small grammatical words in unstressed positions with full vowels more often than is customary in stress-timed English may well account for the impression that ME is more syllable-timed than PE. Again this feature may reflect the influence of the Māori language. Māori is mora-timed — a rhythmic pattern which is more similar to syllable-timing than to stress-timing — and so this is another example where te reo Māori [the Māori language] may have contributed to the development of a distinguishing feature of ME.

It seems logical, therefore, that the less stress-timed rhythm of ME has its origins in the mora-timed rhythm of Māori. Ainsworth found that a Māori

newsreader, presenting in English on a Māori radio station, used more full vowels than the newsreaders on Pākehā English stations (Holmes and Ainsworth 1996). Holmes and Ainsworth attributed this to the Māori newsreader's increased association with Māori language speakers, 'some of whom would have been regularly reading the news in Māori' (1996:81). They suggested that this 'direct and indirect contact with the Māori language experienced by Māori people' (1996:81) accounted for the timing of ME.

This assumption that the less stress-timed rhythm of ME is derived from familiarity with the Māori language does not appear to be supported by the fact that the majority of today's ME speakers are not fluent Māori speakers. As noted above, very few of those who do speak Māori, have native fluency, because most have learnt it later in life or after they learnt English and many have learnt it from adults who, themselves, learnt Māori as a second language. Conversely, King (1993) reported that first language Māori speakers born in the late 1800s and early to mid 1900s, who had considerably more contact with the Māori language, did not sound like ME speakers.

The data used for the older speakers in the present study came from recordings made in the 1940s of speakers born in the late 1800s and the social context of these recordings should be taken into account. They were made for radio broadcast, to be heard by predominantly Pākehā listeners and it is likely that the speakers would have adopted a relatively formal variety of speech, similar to the ME1 variety described by Richards (1970). This variety would have been more similar to the PE spoken at that time, which was more stress-timed, even in comparison with PE today (Nokes & Hay 2012). ME2, which is more similar to the ME of today, was typically used in more casual settings, with a predominantly Māori audience.

The intended audience of the broadcasts does not entirely account for the differences in rhythm between the recordings of the older Māori speakers and today's ME speakers. Many modern day young ME speakers sound equally ME in face-to-face situations and on the radio or television, whoever the expected audience (King 1999).

Therefore, a discrepancy remains. The less stress-timed rhythm of ME resembles the mora-timing of the Māori language and is the most salient feature of ME, which would suggest that the rhythm of ME is derived from the Māori language. However, ME has only become a distinctive register since the 1960s or 1970s, which corresponds to the time of greatest decline in the use of the Māori language. This would suggest that the use of a less stress-timed rhythm is not directly related to fluency in Māori. Consequently the current

study addresses the question: Has the distinctively less stress-timed rhythm of modern ME developed from the rhythm of the Māori language?

2. Measuring rhythm[5]

The traditional definition of a 'stress-timed' language, such as English, is one in which there are relatively equal intervals between stressed syllables, whereas a 'syllable-timed' language, such as French, is one in which each syllable is of relatively equal length (Pike 1945; Abercrombie 1967). Grabe and Low (2002) observed that languages described as 'stress-timed' achieved the regular intervals between stressed syllables through means such as combining full vowels with spectrally reduced and shortened vowels. Languages described as 'syllable-timed' on the other hand tended not to have vowel reduction, so that each syllable had a relatively equal length.

Based on this observation, Grabe and Low focused on the variability in vowel length in order to measure the timing of different languages. They used the vocalic Pairwise Variability Index, which compared the duration of adjacent vowel pairs and then measured the variability in these values over a whole section of speech. This raw Pairwise Variability Index (rPVI) was normalised by dividing the difference between the items by the mean duration of the two items, averaging these differences and multiplying by 100. The resulting measurement is known as the normalised Pairwise Variability Index (nPVI) as shown in the formula

$$\text{nPVI}=100 \times \left[\sum_{k=1}^{m-1} \left| \frac{d_k - d_{k+1}}{(d_k + d_{k+1})/2} \right| / (m-1) \right]$$

where m is the number of vowels in an utterance and d is the duration of the kth vowel. From their results, Grabe and Low found that languages varied from each other in degree and that 'stress-timed' and 'syllable-timed' languages fell at different ends of a continuum, rather than into dichotomous categories.

Other researchers have used different measures to attempt to characterise rhythm in language. Ramus, Nespor and Mehler (1999) used ΔC, the standard deviation of the consonant intervals in an utterance and %V, the percentage of the utterance duration taken up by vowels. Dellwo (2006) proposed normalising the standard deviation measures by dividing them by the means. He used VarcoC for consonants and VarcoV for vowels.

More recently, Arvaniti (2009, 2012) has criticised the categorisation of languages into 'stress-timed' or 'syllable-timed' or even the placement of them onto a continuum. She found that the metrics used to classify languages into rhythmic groups, such as nPVI, %V-ΔC or Varcos, were unreliable. She argued that these metrics could "at best provide crude measures of speech timing and variability; but they cannot reflect the origins of the variation they measure and thus they cannot convey an overall rhythmic impression" (2009: 55).

Despite these shortcomings for comparing the rhythm of different languages, nPVI has proven useful within the English language when comparing the rhythm of the speech used by ME and PE speakers. For example, Szakay (2008) found that rhythm, as quantified by nPVI scores, was the main distinguishing characteristic between varieties of English identified perceptually as ME or PE. This result was statistically significant despite a general trend towards less stress-timed speech in PE, especially among younger speakers, which would make PE perceptually more similar to ME (Nokes & Hay 2012). nPVI is, therefore, an appropriate method for measuring the relative differences between the English speech of different generations of Māori speakers.

3. Methodology

3.1 Speakers and recordings (ONZE and MAONZE projects)

The Origins of New Zealand English project (ONZE: Gordon et al. 2007) gathered a corpus of New Zealand English speakers, from those born in 1851 to modern day speakers. There are three sub-corpora: the Mobile Unit archive (birth dates 1851 to 1910),[6] the Intermediate Archive (birth dates 1890 to 1930) and the Canterbury Corpus (birth dates 1930 to 1984). Although the interviews in the Mobile Unit are somewhat more formal and those in the Intermediate Archive and the Canterbury Corpus are somewhat less formal, the interviews chosen were as similar as possible in style. This was important because rhythm metrics have been shown to be sensitive to differences in style (Arvaniti 2009).

The Māori and New Zealand English project (MAONZE: King et al. 2011) was developed as a sister project to ONZE with a primary aim of investigating the change in pronunciation of the Māori language over time. The MAONZE database consists of recordings in both Māori and English of historical speakers, elders (kaumātua) and young first and second language speakers, for both men and women. There are approximately fifty years, or two generations,

between the birth years of each group of speakers, resulting in a total span in birth years of approximately one hundred years.

Another section of the MAONZE corpus contains the Tūhoe kaumātua, with recordings in both Māori and English of men and women from Ruātoki in the Tūhoe tribal area. These speakers, who were recorded in their homes, were chosen because they lived in one of the only two places where children were still being raised as speakers of Māori into the late 1970s, the Ruātoki Valley (Benton 1991).[7]

For this study, groups of Māori (EM) and Pākehā (PE) were selected in order to make comparisons of the rhythm of their speech in English. Males were chosen because they typically show greater use of vernacular varieties (Labov 2001). The interviews in the MAONZE corpus were also similar in style to those of the ONZE corpus.

In Section 4.1 the rhythm of English spoken by Māori will be tracked over a span of approximately 100 birth years in order to investigate the relationship between early EM speakers and modern day ME speakers. In Section 4.2 the speech of each group of Māori will be compared with the speech of age-matched Pākehā. Class is a difficult concept to define in the New Zealand context and is especially so in the Māori context due to inconsistencies between the Māori concept of mana ('status' or 'prestige') and international categories of socioeconomic class (Holmes 1997: 76; King et al. 2011). In this study, the groups recorded since the 1990s have been matched according the broad categories of 'professional' or 'non-professional'.

The EM speakers were chosen from the Mobile Unit (MU), Kaumātua (K), Tūhoe Kaumātua (TK), Young First Language Māori (L1Y) and Young Second Language Māori (L2Y) groups of the MAONZE database. These speakers provide not only a comparison of speech rhythm across time but also across experiences with Māori language (King et al. 2011). Speakers from the MU group had the most exposure to Māori, having grown up surrounded by the language and having used it for all purposes of socialisation and interaction. Speakers from the other groups were asked about their language backgrounds during the recordings and their responses reveal differences in their language experiences. The K speakers had a comparable background to the MU speakers in their youth, having grown up in rural, Māori-speaking areas. However, for the K speaker group in the MAONZE corpus, their adult experience of Māori use differed considerably, as they moved into cities where English was their primary language and where their interactions with other Māori speakers were more limited.

The TK speakers, while of a similar age to the K group, had a different experience. For these speakers, most of whom spent the majority of their lives in the predominantly Māori-speaking Ruātoki Valley community, Māori was the language of socialisation and family-life, not only as children but also into their adulthood. As this group of speakers would potentially have had less exposure to PE than either the K or L2Y speakers, their recordings should show the most direct effect of the Māori language on English.

The L1Y speakers grew up in the homes of their Māori-speaking grandparents and learned Māori as a first language. These young speakers differ from the older L1 Māori speakers as they have needed fluency in English throughout their lives in order to participate within the wider community beyond their family and school and have consequently learned English alongside Māori. The L2Y group, in contrast, learned English first and Māori as a second language after starting school. While some of the speakers in this group spent time in Māori speaking environments, the degree of their socialisation in Māori is far less than that of the older speakers and probably less than that of the L1Y speakers (King et al. 2010).

The linguistic backgrounds of the L1Y and L2Y speakers (collectively known as Y speakers) is representative of the backgrounds of many EM and ME speakers today. The topics of all the interviews were relatively similar (discussions of the Māori language, and topics of interest to the individual speakers) so it is unlikely that the results presented here will have been affected by the topics discussed.[8]

Twelve speakers were selected from the MAONZE corpus. All four TK speakers with clear recordings were included as well as two speakers each from the MU group, the K group, the L1Y group and the L2Y group. The two speakers in the MU group were selected on the basis of the clarity of the recordings and the amount of usable English speech. The two K speakers were chosen as they were relatively conservative speakers. The selected L1Y and L2Y speakers were chosen as they are representative of the varied linguistic and Māori integration backgrounds of EM speakers today. The details of these speakers are listed in Table 1.

The focus of the current study is EM, rather than Māori language, therefore only the English recordings were used. It has been shown that reading affects rhythm (Szakay 2006), therefore only spontaneous, predominantly English speech was included in this study. Sections of the recordings consisting primarily of Māori language or read material were omitted, leaving approximately 10 to 15 minutes of speech for each of the MU speakers and

Table 1: Biographical details of the EM speakers

SPEAKER	YEAR OF BIRTH	YEAR OF RECORDING	AGE AT RECORDING
MU01E	1885	1947	62
MU05E	1880	1947	67
K001E	1934	2001	67
K002E	1936	2001	64
TK01E	1949	2009	60
TK02E	1943	2009	66
TK03E	1940	2009	69
TK04E	1927	2009	82
L1Y01E	1980	2004	24
L1Y03E	1970	2004	35
L2Y01E	1972	2001	29
L2Y02E	1979	2004	25

L1Y01E, 25 to 30 minutes of speech for each of the K speakers and the other Y speakers and 40 to 50 minutes of speech for the TK speakers.

In order to draw conclusions about the use of a less stress-timed rhythm as a distinctive feature of EM, comparisons were necessary with age-matched PE speakers. Multiple speakers were available for selection as a result of the work of Nokes and Hay (2012) as part of the ONZE project, and this greater number of speakers was used to enable a comparison with speakers with a greater spread of birthdates. These speakers were only recorded speaking English and only the sections of spontaneous speech were analysed in their study. These speakers were selected from the Mobile Unit (MU) archive, Intermediate Archive (IA) and Canterbury Corpus (CC) groups from the ONZE database (Gordon et al. 2007). Within the CC group, the male/older/non-professional (mon) and male/younger/professional (myp) speakers were selected as being most comparable to their age-matched equivalent EM speakers. Because consistent numbers of speakers are not available for all birth years in the ONZE database, the numbers of PE speakers available for comparison with individual EM speakers varies.

The details of the PE speakers are provided in Table 2 (pages 74 –75). The specific year of recording was not available for the MU speakers, so these are not included in the table. These speakers were recorded between 1946 and 1948 and therefore, their ages ranged from 58 to 72 years.

3.2 Transcriptions

The MU recordings were made on fourteen-inch acetate disks, while the more recently added recordings were recorded digitally by the MAONZE team. LaBB-CAT (Fromont and Hay 2008, http://onzeminer.sourceforge.net/) provides on-line access and search functions for the ONZE recordings; an equivalent database, MAONZE Miner, provides access for the MAONZE recordings (King et al. 2011).

The first step in the transcription process was time-aligning the recordings using the Transcriber software (http://trans.sourceforge.net/en/presentation.php). The transcriptions were language-tagged to indicate any Māori words in the English recordings. This facilitated accurate interpretation of the written Māori words at the later forced-alignment stage. For example, in English speech, the pronoun 'he' would be interpreted as consisting of the phonemes /h/ and /i/. However, in a section with a Māori language tag, the phonemes for the Māori particle or determiner 'he' would be /h/ and /e/.

The transcripts were loaded onto MAONZE Miner, which converted them into textgrids using Praat version 4.125 or higher (Boersma & Weenink 2009). The conventional spellings in these textgrids were interpreted using LaBB-CAT's on-line dictionary (developed from the CELEX database: Baayen et al.1995) and a full phonemic transcript was generated for each textgrid. The Hidden Markov Model Toolkit (HTK) was then used to make a best-guess phonemic alignment of the sound file to the phonemic transcript (http://www.htk.eng.cam.ac.uk/). This alignment of the sound file and phonemic transcript generated a 'segment' tier when the transcripts were converted again into textgrids. These steps were carried out automatically by LaBB-CAT.

This forced-alignment is currently possible using LaBB-CAT for English speech. New Zealand specific vocabulary has been manually added to the dictionary over time. A separate Māori dictionary has not yet been fully developed (see King et al. 2011). However automatic phoneme alignment in Māori language recordings is possible using spelling to phoneme rules developed by the MAONZE team and implemented by Robert Fromont, software programmer for LaBB-CAT, at the New Zealand Institute of Language, Brain and Behaviour. In the current study, any Māori words or sentences were aligned according to these rules (See Vowell 2012 for more detailed methodology).

While the forced-alignment was accurate for the vast majority of phonemes, some manual correcting of the textgrids was required and this was completed in Praat. Manual correcting involved checking the accuracy of the

Table 2: Biographical and recording details of the PE speakers

SPEAKER	YEAR OF BIRTH	SPEAKER	YEAR OF BIRTH	YEAR OF RECORDING	AGE AT RECORDING	SPEAKER	YEAR OF BIRTH	YEAR OF RECORDING	AGE AT RECORDING
MU*		**IA**				**CC**			
TC	1876	BG	1924	1995	71	mon03-5c	1947	2003	56
TM	1876	GG	1924	1993	69	mon95-4b	1947	1995	48
JS	1876	LA	1926	1993	67	mon99-3	1947	1999	52
HS	1877	SF	1928	1994	66	mon97-18a	1948	1997	49
CK	1877	JW	1929	1993	64	mon00-16	1949	2000	51
JD	1880	**CC**				mon95-15	1949	1995	46
GW	1884	mon95-1a	1932	1995	63	mon99-14	1949	1999	50
VY	1885	mon94-23b	1934	1994	60	myp01-7a	1980	2001	21
RT	1887	mon94-35a	1935	1994	59	myp02-7	1980	2002	22
AW	1888	mon99-22b	1937	1999	62	myp05-4	1980	2005	25
		mon95-7b	1939	1995	56	myp99-16b	1979	1999	20
		mon94-33a	1940	1994	54	myp00-1b	1978	2000	22

* The MU speakers were all recorded between 1946 and 1948. Their ages at recording ranged from 58 to 72 years.

SPEAKER	YEAR OF BIRTH	SPEAKER	YEAR OF BIRTH	YEAR OF RECORDING	AGE AT RECORDING	SPEAKER	YEAR OF BIRTH	YEAR OF RECORDING	AGE AT RECORDING
MU*			**CC**				**CC**		
		mon97-7a	1940	1997	57	myp02-6b	1978	2002	24
		mon99-1b	1940	1999	59	myp99-25	1978	1999	21
		mon94-12b	1942	1994	52	myp00-18a	1973	2000	27
		mon98-14b	1942	1998	56	myp03-7c	1973	2003	30
		mon01-2b	1943	2001	58	myp95-20a	1973	1995	22
		mon01-14	1944	2001	57	myp99-27	1973	1999	26
		mon94-28b	1944	1994	50	myp95-17	1972	1995	23
		mon02-15	1945	2002	57	myp96-4	1972	1996	24
		mon95-18b	1945	1995	50	myp96-7b	1972	1996	24
		mon95-24a	1946	1995	49	myp01-16a	1971	2001	30
		mon98-15b	1946	1998	52	myp98-9b	1971	1998	27

* The MU speakers were all recorded between 1946 and 1948. Their ages at recording ranged from 58 to 72 years.

phonemic boundaries and removing the coding for any unwanted noise at the segment level, so it would not be analysed. Hesitations, including part words and repetitions, were also removed, because their rhythm is unlikely to be typical. The corrected textgrids were reloaded into the MAONZE database for the final part of the analysis. Figure 1 shows an example of a completely analysed text grid. Even though the automatic analysis required hand checking and correction, it was a great deal faster than a totally manual analysis, and allowed more material to be analysed than could otherwise have been done in a reasonable time.

A Praat script was used to measure nPVI. It differs from the traditional method documented by Grabe and Low (2002), which measured the variability between adjacent vowel intervals. In the traditional method immediately adjacent vowels, for example in the word 'doing', were grouped together in one vowel interval, transcribed manually as 'CVC' (Consonant-Vowel-Consonant, Tier 6 in Figure 1). Some speakers in the present study tended not to use linking /r/ and consequently there were adjacent vowels in the words, 'we're actually', which were combined into one vowel segment. This corresponds to the 'intervallic nPVI' measurements in Nokes and Hay's (2012) study.

With the development of forced-alignment, it was possible to generate a segment tier in Praat with individual phonemes listed. In response to this new technology, Nokes and Hay developed the segmental nPVI method,

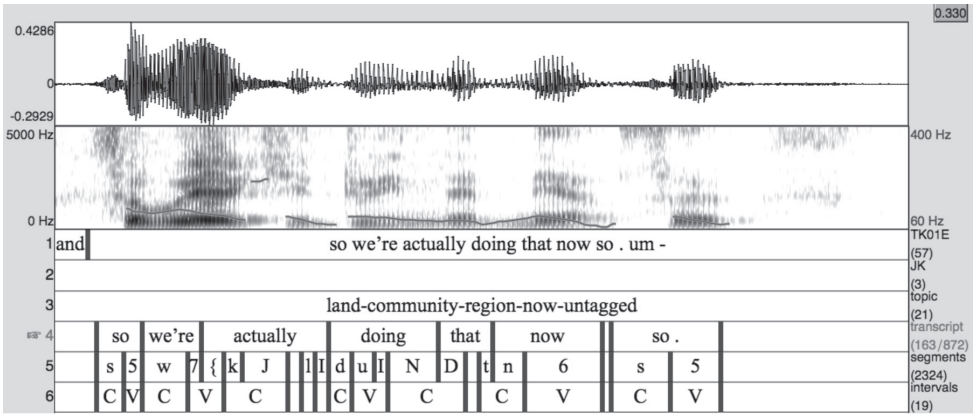

Figure 1: Textgrid with DISC phonemes marked on the segments tier and traditional CVCV intervals marked on the intervals tier

which measured the variability between adjacent separate vowels. Using the examples above, and based on DISC phonemes which are used in LaB-CATT, Tier 5 in Figure 1 shows that 'doing' was transcribed as 'duIN' (/duɪŋ/), and 'we're actually' was transcribed as 'w7{kJ@lI' (/wɪəæktʃəlɪ/).

This study uses segmental nPVI calculated from tier 5 of the textgrids as the most efficient means of comparing the rhythm of multiple recordings from several speakers. The values in Grabe and Low's charts of other languages and dialects are calculated using intervallic nPVI and therefore cannot be directly compared against the values generated using the segmental nPVI calculations. The results from the study by Nokes and Hay indicate that the methods are comparable with regard to their ability to measure variations in rhythm.

4. Results

Two aspects of EM rhythm were investigated in the present study. Section 4.1 compares the rhythm of EM speakers over time and between linguistic backgrounds. Section 4.2 compares the rhythm of EM speakers to age-matched PE speakers.

4.1 EM speakers

Table 3 and Figure 2 show the mean nPVI of the EM speakers arranged in chronological order, by year of birth. With some notable exceptions, they show a general trend of lower nPVI values over time, indicating a less stress-timed rhythm. This trend is statistically significant (see Table 6 and section 4.2 for details). Perceptually, it was noted that the speech of L2Y01E sounded the least like ME and the most PE-like of the speakers in the two Young groups. This was reflected in the results which showed that his speech was more stress-timed than that of the other Young EM speakers.

The speakers were then grouped in order to make comparisons between their different linguistic backgrounds (Table 4). From the Mobile Unit group to the Young First Language Māori speakers of today, the same downward trend in nPVI values is evident for all speakers except the K speakers who have the highest average nPVI. Neither the K ($t = 1.08$, $df = 2$, $p = .20$) nor the TK speakers ($t = 1.54$, $df = 4$, $p = .40$) are significantly different from the MU speakers. What is most notable is the comparison between these two groups, the Kaumātua and Tūhoe Kaumātua, who were born at similar times. The Kaumātua group's significantly higher nPVI ($t = 5.38$, $df = 4$, $p < .01$)

Table 3: Mean nPVI and standard deviations for EM speakers

SPEAKER	YEAR OF BIRTH	MEAN nPVI	SD
MU05E	1880	61.73	3.93
MU01E	1885	66.34	2.09
TK04E	1927	61.94	1.93
K001E	1934	68.29	1.91
K005E	1936	65.55	2.08
TK03E	1940	62.31	3.00
TK02E	1943	61.86	1.61
TK01E	1949	60.83	2.45
L1Y03E	1970	58.01	3.28
L2Y01E	1972	63.46	1.68
L2Y02E	1979	58.14	0.51
L1Y01E	1980	57.61	2.29

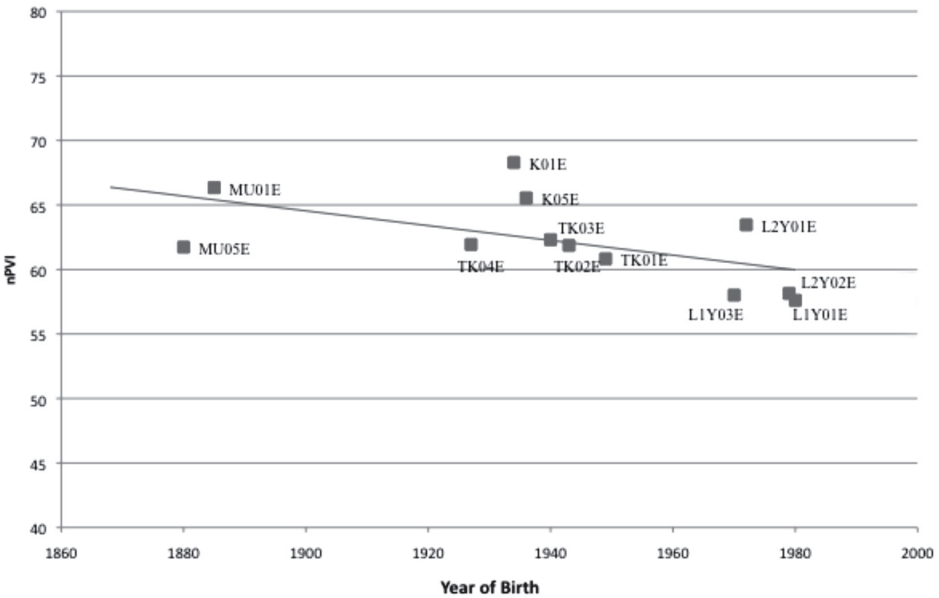

Figure 2: Scatterplot showing nPVI of EM speakers over time with trend line

correlates with their experience of living their adult lives in predominantly Pākehā environments at a time when the rhythm of PE was somewhat more stress-timed than it is today and in a Pākehā world in which the Māori language was somewhat less valued than it is today. There is, however, no significant difference between the rhythm of the Tūhoe Kaumātua speakers and the group of young EM speakers as a whole ($t = 1.70$, $df = 6$, $p = .07$).

Table 4: Average nPVI of groups of EM speakers

GROUP	MEAN nPVI	SD
MU	64.03	3.70
K	66.92	2.37
TK	61.71	2.30
L2Y	61.10	3.06
L1Y	57.81	2.68

A comparison of the Young speakers indicates that the L1Y speakers have a lower nPVI than the L2Y speakers. However, the markedly higher nPVI of L2Y01E (see Table 3) has affected the results of the L2Y speakers. A comparison of L2Y02E with the L1Y speakers shows almost no difference. When only the young first language Māori speakers are compared with the TK speakers, a significant difference in nPVI values is evident ($t = 8.00$, $df = 4$, $p < .05$). The result is similarly significant if L2Y02E is added to the Y group. ($t = 9.58$, $df = 5$, $p < .05$. (The Bonferroni correction for sampling the data pool more than once has been included in these calculations.)

The speakers with the least on-going interaction with Māori-speaking peers, the K speakers and one L2Y speaker, do not form part of the significant decline in nPVI from the MU to the TK to the L1Y speakers. The Y speakers who have the greatest on-going interaction with Māori-speaking peers have the lowest nPVI.

4.2 EM and PE speakers

This section compares the nPVI values of the EM speakers with those of PE speakers matched for age and social class. This comparison investigates whether a lesser degree of stress-timing has always been a feature of EM, as distinct from PE. Table 5 provides the data to address this question.

The PE results confirm previous findings that there has been a trend

over time in PE towards less stress-timed speech (Nokes and Hay 2012). Furthermore, these results show that EM has always been less stress-timed than PE, which suggests that a distinctive rhythm may have always been a feature of the way Māori speak English, even before Māori English was identified as a separate variety (see Figure 3). The three speakers with the highest nPVI values were MU01E, K01E and K05E. The social histories of these speakers indicate that they had a great deal more interaction with PE speakers than their age-matched Māori peers.

Table 6 presents the results of a regression analysis which showed that the rhythm of the Pākehā speakers was significantly more stress-timed than that of the EM speakers ($p < .01$) and that the rhythm of the older speakers, both PE and EM, was significantly more stress-timed than that of younger speakers ($p > .001$). This can be seen in Figure 3. The trend as shown in Figure 3 is clear: as PE has become less stress-timed, EM has become even less stress-timed

Table 5: Average nPVI of EM and PE speakers over time

EM SPEAKERS			**PE SPEAKERS**			
SPEAKER	YEAR OF BIRTH	AVERAGE nPVI	SPEAKER GROUP	YEAR(S) OF BIRTH	AVERAGE nPVI	SD
MU05E	1880	61.73	MU	1876–1880	69.54	3.90
MU01E	1885	66.34	MU	1884–1888	68.97	3.24
TK04E	1927	61.94	MU/IA	1924–1928	66.73	3.09
K001E	1934	68.29	mon	1932–1934	69.12	3.14
K005E	1936	65.55	mon	1937–1939	71.56	2.66
TK03E	1940	62.31	mon	1940	66.85	2.55
TK02E	1943	61.86	mon	1942–1945	64.05	2.34
TK01E	1949	60.83	mon	1946–1949	65.73	5.07
L1Y03E	1970	58.01	myp	1971–1973	62.10	3.02
L2Y01E	1972	63.46				
L2Y02E	1979	58.14	myp	1978–1980	60.98	4.13
L1Y01E	1980	57.61				

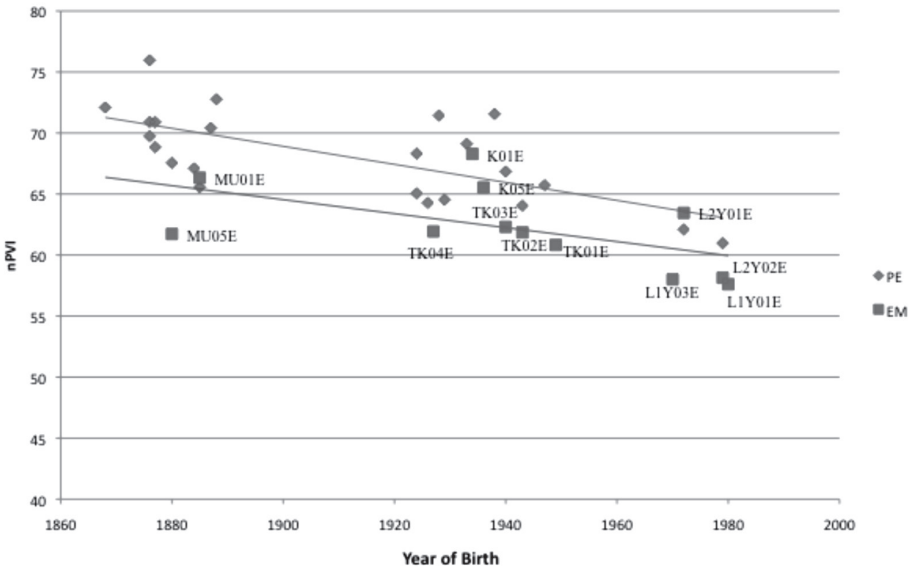

Figure 3: Scatterplot showing the mean nPVI of speakers over time with trend lines. The higher line represents the trend for PE speakers, the lower line the trend for EM speakers

Table 6: Regression analysis

	ESTIMATE	STD ERROR	T VALUE	PR (>ITI)
(Intercept)	195.39196	28.27764	6.910	> 0.001 ***
Class PE	3.84699	1.09131	3.525	> 0.01 **
Year of Birth	-0.06863	0.01456	-4.713	> 0.001 ***

in order to maintain a distinction. The trend in these results suggests that this distinction is decreasing, though the lack of interactions in the regression analysis shows that this is not yet statistically significant.

5. Discussion

The results of this study show four notable relationships: the rhythm of both ME and PE has become less stress-timed over time; the rhythm of the TK

speakers falls between that of the MU speakers and the Y speakers and differs significantly from the rhythm of the K speakers; the rhythm of the K speakers and L2Y01E is closer to that of age-matched PE speakers than EM speakers; there has always been a clear and significant difference between the rhythm of the EM speakers and the PE speakers. This difference has diminished slightly and non significantly over the time period analysed here (see Figure 3).

The trend towards a less stress-timed rhythm for both EM and PE speakers is consistent with the results of previous studies of NZE (Szakay 2006; Nokes & Hay 2012). Given that many of the data in those studies were the same as those used in the present study, it is unremarkable that this trend was confirmed. However less-stress timed varieties of English have also been found in a study of multicultural London English (Torgersen & Szakay 2011). Torgersen and Szakay found that younger speakers in an inner London suburb where there was considerable ethnic mixing had less stress-timed speech than older speakers in the same area and than younger speakers in a less ethnically mixed outer London suburb. They concluded that 'a more syllable-timed speech rhythm appears to be a feature of contact varieties of English' (2011: 172). While we have argued that the rhythm of current ME cannot be attributed to contact with the Māori language, language contact could certainly explain the rhythm of the Tūhoe Kaumātua.

Prior to this study, there was a gap in available English-language recordings between those of the older Māori, who used a speech rhythm perceptually comparable to today's PE speakers, and those of the younger speakers who used a perceptibly less stress-timed rhythm. The present study shows that the Tūhoe Kaumātua speakers fall between these groups in terms of age, language background and speech rhythm in English. The older speakers used Māori for most purposes and learnt English as a second language. The young speakers used English for most purposes and learnt Māori in an environment populated by many second language Māori speakers. The Tūhoe Kaumātua spoke Māori as a first language and continued to use it throughout their lives in their home community, but did spend some time working in English-speaking environments. Prior to this study, the only recordings of speakers of this generation were from the Kaumātua speakers, who spoke Māori as children, but interacted predominantly with English-speaking Pākehā in their adult lives. Therefore their social background differed considerably from that of the Tūhoe Kaumātua.

When the K speakers moved to the cities, there was little prestige associated with being Māori in the community at large (Ministry for Culture and Heritage

2013). By contrast, the other three groups of speakers were socialized in environments in which there was a greater prestige associated with being Māori. Māori was spoken widely during the MU speakers' lifetimes, the TK speakers spent most of their lives in Māori-speaking communities and the Y speakers grew up during the language revitalization efforts of the early 1980s. It is suggested that the K speakers' use of a less Māori-sounding rhythm in English reflects the influence of the attitudes they encountered related to the prestige of Māori.

The location of the TK and K recordings is likely to be an additional factor in the differences in the rhythm of their speech. By recording the TK speakers in their local environment, it was possible to measure the rhythm of EM in speakers of their generation further away from the influence of PE in the cities. It is likely that other kaumātua of their age, who have remained in their traditional communities, would show a comparable rhythm to the TK speakers.

By contrast, the K and L2Y speakers were recorded during interviews with a Pākehā academic in the cities and the nPVI values for K01E, K05E and L2Y01E fit more closely in the PE range than the EM range (see Figure 3). It is suspected that these speakers may have been trying to accommodate towards Pākehā as much as possible. It is entirely possible, and indeed probable, that the informal English speech of these speakers would be less stress-timed in other, more Māori settings.

The socialisation of the two L2Y speakers is likely to have been similar, yet the rhythm of their speech differed considerably. This is consistent with King's suggestion that some young speakers use ME all the time, while others have the option of using other registers. This ability to select different registers in different environments appears to account for the rhythm of L2Y01E's speech. It was observed that L2Y01E's speech was notably less stress-timed when speaking over the phone to another Māori male during the recording, than when speaking with the female Pākehā interviewer. This addressee effect has been widely reported in the literature (e.g. Rickford & McNair-Knox 1994; Hay, Jannedy & Mendoza-Denton 1999). It is noteworthy that the addressee effect was greater for this speaker than the other L2Y speaker. King (1993: 35) identified that 'speakers use ME to a varying amount. Some will use ME all the time and others will use it only in certain situations.' It is likely that L2Y01E would fall into the latter category, and chose to use a more PE-sounding register in the context of speaking to a Pākehā in the presence of a voice recorder.

The results have shown that the TK speakers, who speak fluent Māori, use a rhythm in English similar to the rhythm of modern ME. Prior to this study, it was assumed that the rhythm of ME had developed from the rhythm of Māori, however there was an unexplained gap between the older speakers, who had greater fluency in Māori but used a more stress-timed rhythm and the younger speakers, who had the reverse pattern. These TK speakers can be considered the 'missing link' as they show a direct correlation between their Māori rhythm and their English rhythm. This shows that it is extremely likely that the less stress-timed rhythm of ME has indeed developed from the rhythm of the Māori language.

It is suggested here that young ethnically Māori New Zealanders, who do not have the same degree of fluency in Māori as they do in English, may use a less stress-timed rhythm in English in order to demonstrate their specifically Māori identity by highlighting their differences from Pākehā. These cultural differences are an important part of Māori identity and the distinctions between Māori and Pākehā feature often in Māori humour as an in-group solidarity marker (Holmes & Hay 1997). In order for EM speakers to maintain their distinctive variety and to maintain the status of rhythm as an ethnic marker, EM has become progressively less stress-timed over the generations. For younger EM speakers today, who do not have the same level of fluency in Māori as the older speakers, using the distinctively less stress-timed rhythm of ME mimics the rhythm of the Māori language and signifies their identity with the language and with Māori society. This is similar to the finding of Sharma and Sankaran (2011) that as the prestige of Punjabi identity has grown in the Southall suburb of London, so the local dialect has incorporated Punjabi linguistic features.

Identity may also account for the 'cat-and-mouse' pattern in the shift towards less stress-timed speech across the two NZE varieties. Pākehā New Zealanders seem to be incorporating the influence of Māori culture into their own identities. Support for this can be observed in official social domains, such as the prominent Māori influence in the language, stories, music and designs during the 2011 Rugby World Cup opening ceremony and game in Auckland, New Zealand. This phenomenon was described in a 2012 poll published in the NZ Herald (Harper 2012), which reported an increase in the number of people who considered Māori culture to be an 'essential component' of New Zealand society. In unofficial social domains, particularly New Zealanders' identity signals overseas, Māori logos and quintessential Māori English expressions (e.g. 'bro') feature ubiquitously on clothing. This increase in identification

with Māori culture among Pākehā is likely to be a factor in PE speakers adopting more features of ME, including a less stress-timed rhythm. However, the importance of ME as a solidarity marker has led to EM speakers becoming even less stress-timed to maintain the distinction.

6. Conclusion

This study addressed the question, 'has the distinctively less stress-timed rhythm of modern ME developed from the rhythm of the Māori language?' The results indicate that the distinctive rhythm of ME has indeed developed from the rhythm of the Māori language. This is not a direct effect, however, as older EM speakers in the general NZ community with a greater proficiency in Māori than today's ME speakers used a more stress-timed rhythm than younger speakers. The results from the Tūhoe Kaumātua speakers provide the missing link between these groups. The Tūhoe speakers, who continued their interactions with Māori-speaking peers throughout their lives, used a rhythm in English which matched the rhythm of their Māori speech and fell between that of the two groups who interact more often in English.

Rhythm is a linguistic feature that even infants can use to distinguish their native dialect from non-native dialects (Nazzi et al 2000) and therefore it is not surprising that the use of less stress-timed speech in English is now an ethnic marker (Szakay 2006). This is the case not only among first language Māori speakers, but also for those first language English speakers who either do not speak Māori, or have learnt it as a second language. Perhaps it is precisely *because* many of these young, English-speaking Māori are unable to signal their Māori identity through the use of Māori language that they have adopted this rhythm to emulate the timing of the Māori language.

Identity also plays a role in the rhythm of ME speakers who are not ethnically Māori. They do not use this variety as a marker of their own individual ethnicity, but are more likely to be marking their identity with a Māori group. Similarly, the shift towards a less stress-timed rhythm in the speech of young PE speakers seems to reflect a growing sense of identity with Māori culture as part of their New Zealand identity. The 2006 Census results indicate increases in the proportion of non-Māori who agree that 'Māori culture is part of everybody's heritage' and in the proportion of those who would like to be involved in activities related to Māori culture (Te Puni Kōkiri 2008).

The results of the present study confirm the findings of previous studies (such as Szakay 2006 and Nokes and Hay 2012) and provide additional information about the roles of prestige and identity in linguistic variation. EM speakers who have spent most of their lives in environments in which prestige is associated with Māori tended to have a more Māori-sounding rhythm. Identity is credited with both the shift in PE rhythm towards the less stress-timed rhythm of ME, and the shift in ME towards an even less stress-timed rhythm in order to maintain a distinction.

Notes

1 The authors would like to acknowledge the ONZE and MAONZE projects for the use of the transcripts and recordings; Jennifer Hay and Jacqueline Nokes for the use of their results; Jacqueline Nokes additionally for her development of the Praat scripts; Robert Fromont for technical assistance with MAONZE Miner; Patrick LaShell for his assistance with statistics and the two anonymous reviewers for their helpful feedback.

2 Pākehā is the term commonly used to refer to New Zealanders of European descent.

3 'Māori' is defined as those people who self-identify as being Māori, either through ethnicity (cultural affiliation) or through descent (ancestry), as per the NZ Census definition (Statistics New Zealand 2006)

4 It is difficult to assess the rhythm of the Māori language by the Pairwise Variability Index (nPVI) described below and used to compare the English recordings in this study. Simple nPVI analysis contradicted intuitions of native speakers (Arvaniti 2009) and indicated that Māori was relatively stress-timed (Maclagan et al. 2009). Maclagan et al. showed that this was largely because of the numerous clusters of vowels in the Māori language. Long vowels and diphthongs are traditionally regarded as two morae in Māori (Bauer 1993). When passages were chosen with minimal long vowels and diphthongs so that successive syllables contained single morae, the rhythm of Māori was found to be considerably less stress-timed than the rhythm of NZE.

5 We acknowledge that the metric described here measures *timing* in language, which is only one component of rhythm, albeit an important one (see Arvaniti 2009). For convenience we nevertheless continue to use *rhythm* in this paper.

6 Copyright for the Mobile Unit recordings is held by Radio New Zealand Sound Archives Ngā Taonga Kōrero. See http://www.soundarchives.co.nz/home for more details.

7 There is a real time difference between the historical speakers and the kaumātua and Tūhoe kaumātua speakers because they were recorded fifty years apart. However, there is an apparent time difference between the kaumātua and Tūhoe kaumātua speakers and the young speakers because they were recorded at

the same time. Any differences found between the historical speakers and the kaumātua and Tūhoe kaumātua speakers will indicate genuine changes over time but any differences found between the kaumātua and Tūhoe kaumātua speakers and the young speakers may actually underestimate the differences that will exist when the young speakers are the same age as the kaumātua and Tūhoe kaumātua speakers.

8 Topic was found to have minimal impact on nPVI results (Vowell 2012). The only topic-dependent variation in speech rhythm was related to the affinity assumed to be felt by the speaker towards the person or people being referred to. This was a subtle tendency and was not statistically significant.

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NARRATIVE:

STATE OF THE ART IN AOTEAROA

NARRATIVE PERSPECTIVES AND PERSPECTIVES ON NARRATIVE

Farzana Gounder: *Department of Linguistics and Applied Linguistics, University of Waikato <fgounder@waikato.ac.nz>*

1. Introduction

In April 2014, during my postdoctoral fellowship at the University of Waikato, The Waikato Narrative Group organized a symposium on narrative perceptions and practices in Aotearoa. The purpose of our symposium was to acknowledge and celebrate the multifaceted and widespread research involving narrative across New Zealand disciplines. Academics from philosophy, literature, linguistics, anthropology, media studies, education, Pacific studies and business came together to share their thoughts, experiences and practices, from their disciplinary perspectives, on the interpretations of 'narrative', the use of narrative as methodology, and narrative as an oral and visual performative embodiment of individuals and communities' life experiences. The outcome of the symposium was this special section of *Te Reo*, which brings a multi-disciplinary perspective on how questions of narrative identity are addressed across New Zealand disciplines.

This opening article has two purposes: firstly, it identifies the three narrative research umbrellas of the collection: narrative as methodology, an emphasis on the told narrative's form, and the narrative as a performative action. Secondly, to demonstrate the importance of analysing the place of narrative in shaping individual and societal identity, this article analyses the evolution of societal illness narratives in the Western world. I discuss how the

evolving narratives determine our (re)actions and worldviews towards disease, illness and sickness. Through the above discussions, I demonstrate the two central themes of this special section of the journal: narratives and identities are not immutable, and our identities and the narratives that we tell and hear have a mutual effect on each other.

2. Perspectives on narrative

The traditional use of the term 'narrative' lies in the field of narratology, which arose out of literary theory in the 1960s and 1970s. In these early studies, the focus was restricted to textual analysis of written fictional literature (Brockmeier and Carbaugh 2001). The definition that is predominantly used today, and in this collection, extends narrative out of the world of literature and makes it central to our everyday lives:

> Narrative is a culture-specific and contextualized mode of interaction, which, through its construction, has the function of creating realities and negotiating the identities of all involved in the interaction. (Gounder 2015: 1)

In this collection, there are three major strands of narrative research. The first two are based on Polkinghorne's (1995) divisions. Narratives can either be produced as data (*analysis of narratives*) or they can be reconstructed as a means of making sense of different data (*narrative analysis*). A third area is the situated context of the interaction in which the narrative is performed (*narrative performance*). I will look at each of these research areas in turn.

Analysis of narrative involves analysing data acquired in the form of narrative. Here, research is interested in the narrative's internal structure and content. The aim is to find underlying themes to understand how the narrative is part of a teller's agency and identity. In most research, the narrative's structural components are based on Labov and Waletzky's (1967) seminal work as well as Labov's later works on the structure of narratives of personal experience (1972, 1997, 2003, 2011, 2013). The delineation of the story world is through the structural elements of orientation, complicating action, resolution and coda. The orientation provides information on the characters, and where the action takes place, both temporally and spatially. The complicating action, or the main action of the narrative, may be followed by the optional elements of resolution, which contains the narrative's dénouement, and the coda, which provides the cultural moral of the narrative. The narrative also

contains evaluative elements, which encode the discursive performance of the narration. Labov's deconstruction of a well-formed narrative of personal experience into its relative components has been adopted and adapted to suit different narrative genres (for instance, see Bury 1982; Frank 1995; Robinson 1990 for the illness narrative genre).

Nash (this volume) applies Labov's narrative structure to the mythical narrative and relates narrative to collective identity construction. The paper explores the collective memory of a people through the commemorative practice of codifying a significant myth within their topological landscape, which allows the community to 'remember'. Nash investigates these relationships by analyzing how the myth of the Mutiny on the Bounty has been codified into placenames on Norfolk Island.

A second area of study, *narrative analysis*, is the researcher's construction of narrative out of data, which do not necessarily take the form of narratives (participant observations, diary entries, notes, reports, interviews, field notes), but when brought together, can be used to produce a coherent narrative, as seen in Kearney's research (this volume) into the reconstruction of Scottish and Irish identities within a New Zealand context. Kearney's study brings an interesting dimension to the multi-layered ways in which we answer 'who am I?' and 'who do I want to be?'. In Barkhuizen, Hiratsuka, Khan and Mendieta's study (this volume), the analysis of data as narrative is done from the perspective of applied linguistics. Drawing on their respective research situated in Japan, Pakistan and Columbia, the authors exemplify how Barkhuizen's (2013) framework provides a method of reconstructing data as narrative within the multidimensional web of influences beginning from the interaction between the teller(s) and listener(s) to the wider societal aspects that play a role in determining the content and function of a story. The framework plays a crucial role for the researcher and the ongoing research process. By analyzing the dimensions along which the research is located, the framework serves a reflective purpose to determine one's process and influences in the reconstruction process.

A third area of analysis is narrative performance, where the research emphasizes the situated context of narrative production. The research takes a closer look at narrative as a performed interaction. Research under narrative performance seeks to answer the question 'Why is this narrative told and why is it told in this way?' Research may involve analysing one narrative telling. Hydén (2010), for instance, focuses on the performance of telling illness narratives by persons with dementia. Through an analysis of the evaluation

component of narrative, Hayden discusses the strategies narrators use to claim identities through the illness narrative.

Research may also involve analysing how the same events can be narrated by the same narrator in contexts altered through one or more of the following factors: time, place and different interlocutors, resulting in a changed narrative. In an oft-cited study, Riessman (2003) analyses the performance of two thrice-told personal narratives about multiple sclerosis, told by two men, who use the narratives to reconstruct their versions of masculinity. Riessman demonstrates the importance of taking into consideration social structures (in this case, gender and class), as well as the narrator's and audience's historical contexts. The intersection of the social structures and contexts shape the narrative's topic choice; what is made explicit, which is determined by the shared knowledge between narrator and audience; the audience's knowledge and understanding about multiple sclerosis and what the illness's effects entail for the teller in the social world.

Narrative co-construction is another important area for interactional narrative analysis. In their study, Lee, Hunter and Franken (this volume) analyse the interplay between participants' and researchers' roles in story sharing. In another study, Sakellariou, Boniface and Brown (2013) analyse the co-construction of narrative coherence and meaning between individuals with motor neuron disease and their carers in an interview situation. The findings of both studies demonstrate that while there are multiple perspectives from which a narrative can be told, what determines the perspective is the contextual and cultural knowledge that the tellers bring to the narrative. In addition, the narrative's structure and content is shaped through the language choices of the narrators, and through the use of contextualization cues, such as gestures (see Aaltonen 2010 and Phoenix 2013 for similar findings).

In this volume, Vaioleti discusses the importance of co-construction between researcher and participants within the Pacific setting. In presenting the talanoa framework, he argues the need for narrative methodologies that are heuristic, grounded within the context and culture of the participants and which are mutually beneficial for the researcher and participants. The study is the only one in our collection that focuses on the interrelationship between narrative and culture within the indigenous South Pacific context. The importance of this article lies in its demonstration of the contribution that Pacific-centred research can make to narrative analysis.

A final area of performative analysis is the study of the embodied narrative, where the researcher places emphasis on the body as narrator. Hydén's (2013)

focus is on the bodily movements, such as gestures, voice, silence, gaze and the positioning of the body in both narrative telling and listening. Langellier (2001), in her study on breast cancer, tattoo and narrative performance, analyses the narrated body as a performance of resistance. Langellier demonstrates how the narrative is situated within an interactive setting, largely populated with medical professionals. The narrative progresses from the unagentive position of the narrator getting tattooed through radiation therapy to agentively getting a tattoo. The narrative focuses on others' reactions towards her tattoo. These reactions are situated within their perceptions of what 'tattoo' symbolizes. Through her narrative, the narrator demonstrates her tattooed body as a site of contest and resistance, where she gives new meaning to 'tattoo', and in the process, reclaims power and agency over her body.

A dominant theme in all three strands of narrative research, as seen in the articles in this collection, is the interrelationship between narrative telling and identity construction. As Lumsden (this volume) emphasizes, the narrative approach provides an integral means of analysing the interdependence of identity *at* a time and identity *through* time. The identity construction may be of the tellers and also of the researchers, who bring their own narratives to their research and are also influenced by the narratives of their participants. The rest of this article demonstrates the interrelationship between narrative and identity through the analysis of the evolution of the illness narratives and how these narratives govern our perspective on how we see the world, our attitudes and behaviours, and are therefore, central to our identity construction.

3. Narrative perspectives

In relation to narrative's correlation with identity at the individual and wider societal levels, narratives change with our changing attitudes about how the world should be. Our narratives can either conform to societal norms and expectations or they can question what we consider to be normative and may lead to a change in the way we frame our narratives.

The manner in which we 'story' the world is directly linked to our perceptions and behaviours and are quite often informed by the societal "master" narratives (also termed grand narratives, cultural narratives, big narratives (cf. Bamberg 2005)), which are themselves not immutable. We can illustrate the evolution of societal master narratives by looking at the illness narrative genre, an area that has recently become important in the field

of narrative inquiry (cf. Gygax and Locher 2015). Illness narratives can be organized under three types: biomedical, structural and health behavioural. I look at the three narratives in turn to discuss how they play an important role in shaping societal behaviours.

3.1 The biomedical narrative

Historically, biomedical narratives were the dominant and authoritative narratives. Medical notions of diagnosis, treatment and intervention pervaded our discourse on health and wellbeing.

Research has detailed a wide and varying range of activities that have become increasingly medicalized over the years. These include childbirth (Oaklye 1984), breastfeeding (Auerbach 1995), menopause and the use of Hormone Replacement Therapy (HRT) (Froehle 2013), the increasing medicalization of behaviour classified as madness (Foucault 1965), hyperactivity in children, mental illness, alcoholism, opiate addiction (Conrad and Schneider, 2010), pornography (Clarkson and Kopaczewski 2013), and other somatic problems (Fainzang 2013). The dominance of the biomedical narrative is not solely due to the medical profession wielding greater control over a passive lay population. Research has demonstrated that the public can also actively promote the extension/utilization of the biomedical narrative, through seeking specific treatments for ailments (Williams Martin and Gabe 2011), seeking medical interventions (Riessman 1983), as well as lobbying for their experiences to be classified as a medical conditions, such as chronic fatigue (Dickson, Knussen and Flowers 2007) and repetitive strain injury (Newton, Southall, Raphael, Ashford and LeMarchand 2013) in order to legitimize their experiences.

On the other hand, research also demonstrates areas that are moving outside the jurisdiction of the biomedical narrative. These include the declassification of homosexuality as an illness by the Amercan Psychiatric Association, which has led homosexuality 'to be seen in many affluent countries as neither disease nor deviance, but as a lifestyle choice' (Ballard and Elston 2005: 235), the changing viewpoints of obesity through the 20th and 21st centuries from a marker of an inability to exercise restraint, to a sickness and finally, to today's politically correct acceptance of larger bodies (Lupton 2012), the demand for childbirth to be seen as a natural process without the need for medical monitoring (Ten Hoope-Bender 1997).

The dominance of the biomedical narrative has not remained constant over the years. As we have seen above, the influences of the biomedical

narrative depends on 'macrohistorical process, sociostructural systems and the pheonomenological experiences of individuals' (Clarke 1992: 288), with shifts in viewpoints leading to the increase or decrease of the popularity of the biomedical master narrative in any given area of human activity. At the same time, concern has been expressed over the influence of the biomedical narrative on society and its encroachment on the social functions of traditional institutions, such as religion and law (Illich 1977).

Parallel to the growing dissatisfaction with the widespread dominance of the medical discourse (cf. Illich 1976, 1977; Zola 1972, 1983) is the division of ill-health into the three categories of disease, illness and sickness. Disease is the presence of pathogens or abnormalities, which deviate the body from a biological norm and which can be medically diagnosed. On the other hand, illness and sickness are sociocultural constructs, with illness being an individual's feeling of unwellness, which may or may not be accompanied by disease and sickness being a society's acceptance of the person's status as being unwell, generally when they are medically diagnosed with a disease (Kleinman 1978).

Once the distinctions were made between disease, illness and sickness, the medical narrative's dominance was challenged. Moreover, health and wellbeing were no longer seen as being the sole responsibility of an individual; rather, the wider societal response to health became important. Hence, as society made distinctions between disease, illness and sickness, narratives in the structural and health behaviour frames also became critical in discussions of illness management.

3.2 The structural narrative

The structural narrative of health is a broad category that encompasses the relationship of social structures, such as class, caste, gender and ethnicity with macrolevel social, economic and political developments that govern people's health and wellbeing status and determine their access to biomedical and ethnomedical healthcare. The perspective is a reaction to the biomedical narrative's lack of consideration of these sociostructural contexts of illness and healing.

The structural narrative draws on three major fields of investigation. The first explores the relationship of class structure and capitalism in relation to medical access, and takes into account the historical developments that have brought about the changes. Such research analyses the intersection of social structures of class, race, gender and sexual orientation and how this determines

access to medical health care (Carlson 1996; Li, Holroyd, Li and Lau 2014; Singer 1994), and the impact of society's moral panic on those infected and affected by HIV (Lieber, Li, Wu, Rotheram-Borus and Guan 2006; Parker and Aggleton 2003; Wagner, Hart, Mohammed, Ivanova, Wong and Loutfy 2010; Kheswa 2014). Secondly, studies demonstrate how medicine can become an instrument of social control leading to and even promoting socioeconomic inequality. An example is Kayal's (1993) study on the impact of stigmatization and scapegoating of homosexuals on their access to medical care. Thirdly, studies analyse the causal relationship between how biomedical advancements in the Developed worlds lead to underdevelopment in third world countries (Altman 1999; Lee and Zwi 1996; Shadlen 2007). As seen from the examples cited here, studies on structural narratives can be locally situated and focus on the dynamics within a country's geopolitical structure and how they impact the local people or they may be macro-analytical and examine the impacts of global interactions on a country's access to healthcare.

3.3 The health behaviour narrative

The health behaviour narrative focuses on individuals' likelihood of undertaking adaptive health practices around a particular illness. The health behaviour narrative derives from the interconnections between individuals' beliefs about the perceived likelihood of suffering from an illness, the perceived severity of the illness, the desire to avoid or overcome the illness, the confidence that undertaking a recommended course of action will reduce their likelihood of suffering from the illness and the self-belief in one's ability to carry out the recommended course of action. A large number of studies have analysed the intersection of HIV and health behaviour.

Studies into health behaviour narratives of illness response can be at the macrolevel or at the individual level of personal experience. An example of macrolevel narrative focus is the impact of media narratives on society's knowledge, beliefs and practices around illness. Studies have looked into the impact of media on HIV beliefs and knowledge about HIV transmission (Hertog and Fan, 1995; Romer et. al 2009). Other studies have demonstrated the positive correlation between media access and exposure with increased HIV awareness and knowledge about protective sexual practices and treatment (Agarwal and de Araujo 2014; Hirose, Nakaune and Ishizuka 1998; Muli and Lawoko 2014; Oyekale and Oyekale 2010; Shukla and Pradhan 2013).

On the other hand, health behaviour narrative research may focus on individuals' personal experience in illness coping or prevention. Studies

include HIV disclosure narratives (Moskowitz and Roloff 2008), local conceptualizations of HIV through the lens of personal narratives, anchored within the local moral and social order and encoded within customary practices (Thomas 2008), Haitian American adolescents' conceptions and misconceptions about transmission and prevention of HIV (Mercelin, McCoy and DiClemente 2006), traditional healers' false knowledge about HIV prevention, diagnosis and treatment and gender difference in the lay population about HIV knowledge (Chomat, Wilson, Wanke, Selvakumar and Isaac 2009), direct correlation of patients' ART response on both their attitudes towards their illness and environment and their health-seeking behaviours (Siril, Fawzi, Toddy, Wyatt, Kilewo, Ware and Kaaya 2014), short and long-term attitudinal and behavioural trauma responses of women diagnosed HIV positive (Stevens and Hildebrandt 2006), high religiosity correlated with lower risk behaviour (Shaw and El-Bassel 2014; Kudel, Cotton, Szaflarski, Holmes and Tsevat 2011) and the use of religious belief as a coping mechanism for individuals with HIV (Bernstein, D'Angelo, and Lyon 2013).

The health behaviour narrative's emphasis is on prevention of illness. Being ill or well is the responsibility of the individual, with illness being the consequence of poor lifestyle choices. The individual is, therefore, seen as being able to make changes to her habits and to have control over her ability to prevent illness, or a reoccurrence of the illness. The inability to make beneficial/constructive behavioural and attitudinal changes to enhance their health is seen as a flaw in the individual's character (Clarke 1992).

4. Narrative perspectives and identity construction

Through this overview of the three dominant illness narratives, we can see how these societal narratives alter our conceptualizations of health and wellbeing. Under the medical narrative, illness is positioned as an individualized concern, where the emphasis is on diagnosis and medical treatment. The health behaviour narrative also sees illness as an individual's concern but emphasizes prevention. The structural narrative moves to position illness as a societal issue. The three competing narratives differ in emphasis on causes, treatments and prevention of diseases. Therefore, the dominance of any one of these narratives on how we think about illness and healing has far-reaching consequences on how an individual and a society responds to their own and others health and wellbeing; what they consider to be areas

of concern regarding health matters; the criteria for measuring oneself as healthy or unhealthy, well or unwell; the policies that are put into place to govern health related behaviours, the allocation of funding for "research, treatment, prevention and health promotion" (Clarke 1992: 291); and the (de) establishment and enforcement of laws around what is considered normal and deviant behaviours (Conrad 2008; 2013; Conrad and Schneider 1980a, 1980b, 1992; Foucault 1965; Lowenberg and Davis 1994).

One of the most salient domains for the occurrence of master narratives is as media narratives. Research on health-related narratives has shown journalists' awareness of these three dominant narratives and the influence of the narratives in governing which issues are considered suitable health topics and the related information given to the general public via the mass media (Hodgetts, Chamberlain, Scammell, Karapu and Nikora 2008). Furthermore, the dominance of the medical, structural and health behaviour narratives of illness has been found to be different in different societies. For instance, in the presentation of HIV in media narratives, the structural narrative, which makes HIV a societal concern, is found to be predominant in the Pacific region (Gounder Unpublished manuscript), while in the USA, the medical and health behaviour narratives, which individualize the illness' response, are more predominant (Clarke 1992). The findings underscore the cultural-specificity of narrative construction and provide an area for further research.

The impact of media narratives on audience has been well documented. Kahneman and Tversky (1984, cited in Entman 1993: 53–54) demonstrate the power of news stories, through the narrative's selective presentation of a topic, in directing audience's attention towards, and therefore, away from other aspects of reality around an issue. Research has also demonstrated the impact news story perspectives have on audience' interpretations (de Vreese 2004), recollections (Valkenburg, Semetko and de Vreese 1999), attitudes (Shen 2004), evaluations and decision-making (de Vreese and Boomgaarden 2003) on national issues and policies. Given that our attitudes, perceptions and behaviour are major components of our identity (Lumsden, this volume), the narratives that we tell and hear have a significant impact on who we are both individually and as a community.

5. Conclusion

In this opening article, I have provided an overview of the three major strands of narrative research, as exemplified by the research within this volume. I have also used the illness narrative genre to examine the evolution of the societal master narratives of illness to demonstrate how our societal narratives structure our ideologies, behaviours and attitudes in our everyday lives. The remainder of this collection continues exploring the relationship of narrative and identity constructions. Just as narratives can be told from different perspectives, they can also be read through different perspectives; hence, each article within this section can be viewed through different lenses. The aim of the section is to generate and facilitate the multi-facetted and interdisciplinary discussions on narrative and identity through our collection.

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LOCATING RESEARCH METHODS WITHIN AN APPLIED LINGUISTICS NARRATIVE FRAMEWORK

Gary Barkhuizen: *School of Cultures, Languages and Linguistics, University of Auckland <g.barkhuizen@auckland.ac.nz>*

Takaaki Hiratsuka: *Department of Languages and Cultures, University of the Ryukyus <takaakihiratsuka@gmail.com>*

Aziz Khan: *School of Cultures, Languages and Linguistics, University of Auckland <akha125@aucklanduni.ac.nz>*

Jenny Mendieta: *Student Learning Services, University of Auckland <j.mendieta@auckland.ac.nz>*

Abstract

In this article we report on the narrative research methods used in three different research projects. A particular method has been highlighted in each case and it is described in relation to the larger project of which it is a part. The methods are located within a proposed narrative research framework consisting of a series of interrelated dimensions. They are thus compared and the process of doing so is recommended for exploring alternatives in narrative research practices.

1. Introduction

Definitions of narrative and narrative research differ according to the disciplines in which they are embedded. So what counts as narrative in the study of literature, for instance, is quite different from conceptions of narrative in fields such as education, sociology, and applied linguistics. Within the latter

field, Barkhuizen (2013) has proposed a 'definition' in the form of a series of *more-or-less* interconnected dimensions (see Figure 1). This broad definition, or framework, which pays more attention to narrative research or narrative analysis than narrative per se, attempts to capture the various methodological approaches used by applied linguists in their research, particularly those working in language teaching and learning. In this article we first present the framework, and then three of the authors report on *one* methodological aspect of their current PhD research. The final section locates these methods within the framework and suggests how the framework may be useful for other narrative researchers in their own work.

2. Narrative research dimensions

Figure 1 consists of eight interrelated dimensions, each in the form of a more-or-less continuum. It may be tempting to search for dichotomous relationships among the continua; for example, form and content could possibly be two ends of the same continuum. However, each dimension has been assigned its own continuum since the interrelationships among the eight dimensions are multiple and too complex to make decisions about appropriate pairing. Even choosing only these dimensions and merging them into a diagrammatic definition is hugely oversimplifying the theoretical stances and empirical practices of narrative analysis.

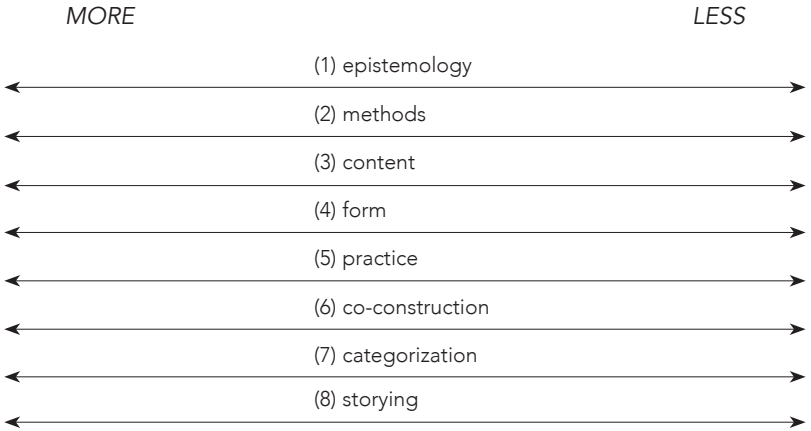

Figure 1: Dimensions of narrative analysis (from Barkhuizen 2013)

The first dimension refers to narrative as epistemology. As De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012: 19) say:

> … narrative becomes much more than a set of techniques and tools for collecting and analyzing data. It becomes a particular way of constructing knowledge requiring a particular commitment and even a bias from the researcher in addition to a political stance.

For those involved in narrative research, it is typical to believe in narrative as a way of knowing about the world. Narrative guides their philosophical approach to research, its theoretical underpinnings and its methodological procedures. Research, however, more or less displays this epistemological position. Some studies, for example, make use of narrative-like data-collection and/or analytical methods without showing serious commitment to a narrative epistemology. In addition, methods (Dimension 2) typically associated with a narrative methodological approach may be employed more or less in a particular study, which itself will more or less embody a narrative epistemology. Methods such as life-history interviews, language learner diaries, and teacher reflective journals are often associated with narrative research. In constructing the data, narrators articulate, reflect on, and evaluate their past and imagined future experiences.

Dimensions 3 and 4 are often considered together in discussions of narrative analysis. Essentially, *content* refers to *what* narratives are about, what was told, and why, when, where and by whom, and *form*, depending on what type of narrative research is being done, may refer to the organization of ideas (or sequences of action in the story), discourse structure and even choice of vocabulary. Research with aims of learning about the content of the experiences of the participants and their reflections of these is typically referred to as *narrative inquiry* (see Bell 2002). Narrative inquirers want to know about past events and lived experiences. Connelly and Clandinin (2006: 477), for example, refer to narrative inquiry as 'the study of experience as story'. They encourage inquirers to explore content and context in terms of three dimensions or commonplaces, relating to temporality (the times — past, present and future — in which experiences unfold), place (the place or sequence of places in which experiences are lived), and sociality (personal emotions and desires, and interactions between people). Riessman (2008) suggests that combining both content and structural analyses (e.g. sequence of events, choice of words, textual coherence) enhances the quality of the analysis, generating insights beyond what a content analysis alone would

achieve. Of course, any attempt at analysing the content of narratives must inevitably encounter and make sense of some narrative form along the way. However, the extent to which this happens can differ substantially from one study to the next.

Dimension 5 refers to work which emphasizes the embedding of storytelling in social practices; i.e. the role of narratives in the doing of social lives, both locally within the context of individual exchanges and in the wider context of community collective meaning making activity. Here approaches to analysis are typically social-interactionist in that they pay close attention to the ways narrators and audiences participate in storytelling and make sense of the narratives at the moment of telling. Narratives as research data can be placed along a tellership (Ochs and Capps 2001) continuum, with the extent and kind of involvement of those participating in their construction determining where on the continuum they lie. Towards one end of the continuum are those narratives which involve a high level of discursive collaboration (the *More* end of Dimension 6). Here stories are told *with* another (Ochs and Capps 2001). These narratives are typically conversations or unstructured life history interviews. Towards the other end of the tellership continuum (and the *Less* end of Dimension 6) are narratives told *to* others. The telling of stories becomes more of an individual activity with little or even no participation on the part of the audience.

Polkinghorne's (1995) distinction between *analysis of narratives* and *narrative analysis* is useful for conceptualizing different approaches to both analysing and reporting narrative data. These two approaches correspond to the two ways of knowing (i.e. two kinds of cognition or ways of organizing experience) described by Bruner (2006). One of these Bruner called paradigmatic cognition, which entails 'classifying a particular instance as belonging to a category or concept' (Polkinghorne 1995: 9). Thematic analyses (Polkinghorne's *analysis of narratives*) follow the paradigmatic procedures of coding for themes, categorizing these and looking for patterns of association among them (Dimension 7). Bruner's second way of knowing, narrative cognition, organizes experience temporally, seeking explications 'that are context sensitive and particular' (Bruner 2006: 116). What Polkinghorne's *narrative analysis* does, then, is bring the various bits of data content together into a coherent whole with the outcome being a story (see Dimension 8).

The next sections report on three studies which each demonstrate a different method (and more broadly, a methodological approach), which can be variously located along the eight dimensions presented above.

3. Storying as a research method (Aziz Khan)

This section reports on part of a larger study which employed narrative ethnography to explore primary school teachers' language perceptions, preferences, and practices in a multilingual context. To use the metaphor of an onion for language policy, the study had three main aims: to unpeel the onion in order to explore the innermost layer (that contains teachers) to discover how language-in-education policy comes to life in the classroom and to examine its effects on the outermost layer (the macro-level policy) (Ricento and Hornberger 1996); to slice that innermost layer ethnographically to explore how teachers negotiate language policies at the classroom and school level (Hornberger and Johnson 2007); and to observe how teachers stir the onion using their agency and evolve policies based on 'on the ground' situations (Garcia and Menken 2010). The study was conducted in three rural primary schools located in a poorly-resourced rural area in the Northwest of Pakistan, each school following a different language (English, Urdu, and Pashto) as medium of instruction. Two teachers were selected from each of the three primary schools and data were collected over a four month period through in-depth interviews, observations, journal entries of my own and of the participants, field notes, and documents. In this report, however, I focus mainly on one aspect of data analysis.

Relevant to my study is the distinction, introduced above, that Polkinghorne (1995) makes between *analysis of narratives* and *narrative analysis*. *Analysis of narratives* refers to the data analysis approach of coding and categorising themes and finding associations among them, which Riessman (2008) refers to as thematic analysis (see Dimension 7 in Figure 1). *Narrative analysis* refers to an attempt on the part of a researcher 'to configure the data elements into a story that unites and gives meaning to the data as contributors to a goal or purpose' (Polkinghorne 1995: 15) (see Dimension 8 in Figure 1). This implies that the outcome of a narrative analysis is a story as opposed to a set of interrelated themes which are discovered by an analysis of narratives approach. While analysis of narratives is a widely accepted (Barkhuizen 2011; Riessman 2008) and academically legitimate (Bell 2011) research methodology in applied linguistics, narrative analysis is being increasingly employed as a research method for reporting findings (Benson 2013). My larger study is a hybrid of the two approaches; in this section, however, I discuss narrative analysis as an approach to reporting the findings of my study.

As mentioned earlier, my primary study deals with teachers' language

perceptions and practices. However, prior to reporting those, I needed to report in detail on 'the local context of the narrative telling' (Barkhuizen 2013: 7), and to bring the teachers alive through a thick description of both how I saw them and how they portrayed themselves as individuals and teachers. In order to do so, I needed to take stock of what Clandinin and Connelly (2000) call a three-dimensional narrative space in which their stories were situated; i.e. the characters involved in the story, the time at which the story took place (as indeed its association with the past and future), and the place where the story was located. At the same time, I aimed to represent all the three levels of the story identified by Barkhuizen (2008): the *story* (in small letters) that took shape in the teachers' immediate context and represented their inner emotions, ideas and theories; the *Story* (with a capital S) that was influenced by the wider work environment and the attitudes and expectations of people of relevance to the storytellers; and the (capital lettered) *STORY* that represented the macro sociopolitical scenario which influenced teaching and learning and on which the teachers had limited influence. The stories of the participants that I attempted to tell needed to encompass the three angles of storytelling as presented by Polkinghorne (2007): what actually happened to the teachers in their real life (their life events), the meanings they made of these events (experienced meaning), and the narratives they constructed about their meaning-making of their life events (storied descriptions).

I was not merely concerned with the meaning making process of the teachers; meaning making was a vital component for me as a researcher as well before I could retell the stories of the teachers. The meaning making process for me as a researcher started during review of narrative literature and continued during the collection of my narrative data, analysis of these narratives, and the reporting through retelling the teachers' stories in the form of a coherent narrative, a process which Barkhuizen (2011) refers to as *narrative knowledging*. I wanted to know how the teachers lived and worked, where they lived and worked, and how they made sense of their lives in that world, so that I could give meaning to their perceptions, as indeed to learn about their meaning making. Narrative for me therefore was not limited to collecting data in narrative form; it represented a particular way of constructing knowledge (Barkhuizen 2011) about the context that I wanted to bring out. After having elicited and interpreted the teachers' stories about their personal experiences and the context where they were located, I wanted to retell them in a way that could facilitate meaning making both for the reader and for me as a researcher.

I therefore decided that instead of breaking up the participants' and my experiences into pieces (themes and categories), I needed to synthesise them and present them in the shape of 'a unified narrative whole' (Barkhuizen 2013: 12) (see Dimension 8 in Figure 1). I took various bits of data from the observations I had made during the time I spent in the field. I selected information from the journal entries of the participants and from my own. The major portion of the data was taken from interviews with the teachers. My narrative thinking then came into play to 'configure the various bits of data content into a coherent whole' in a way that 'the outcome is a story' (Barkhuizen 2013: 12), glimpses of which are evident in the following excerpt. The re-storying of the content of narratives and observations afforded me an opportunity to set the scene for my study through providing a vivid and thick description of the context and participants.

> While Shamroz wields immense power inside the school, he believes that teachers are 'the least powerful government servants' when it comes to their status in society. He thinks that 'a police constable with a far lower pay-scale is considered more powerful' than him because a teacher has to survive on his salary whereas the former 'earns black money and can both help and harm' people. Talking of the connection between power and respect, he said: 'Nowadays nobody accepts a primary school teacher even as a witness. I may be a very good person but since I am considered powerless, so nobody respects me. Respect today is synonymous with power'. This state of affairs has, however, not discouraged Shamroz from 'properly doing' his duty. He claims that he 'love[s] teaching profession and teach[es] with utmost honesty'. As for powerlessness, he believes that 'teaching is a prophetic profession' so 'God will reward' him with power in the hereafter.

4. Using narrative frames for data collection (Takaaki Hiratsuka)

In this section, I focus on a data-collection procedure known as narrative frames, which uses prompts to stimulate written expression of ideas (Barkhuizen 2014). More specifically, a narrative frame is a template consisting of a series of incomplete sentences and blank spaces of varying lengths. Structured as a story in skeletal form, the aim is for writers to produce a coherent story by filling in the spaces according to their experiences and reflections on these (Barkhuizen 2014). As part of my study which explored

team-taught EFL classrooms in Japan, I collected data through narrative frames on three different occasions from 76 second-year high school students, in both English and Japanese. The larger study, informed by a sociocultural perspective on second language teacher education, aimed to investigate how a teacher research experience in the form of collaborative Exploratory Practice (Allwright and Hanks 2009) affected teachers' perceptions and practices in their team-teaching contexts. In the larger study numerous methods were used, including classroom observation and interviews with students and teachers. In this section, I deal with data collected from 40 students at High School A (see Hiratsuka 2014 for the study involving 36 students at High School B). Findings suggest that the narrative frames prompted the students to be responsible for their learning by providing alternative teaching ideas to their teachers. However, it was also revealed that the frames did not always enable the students to write stories in their target language.

Several researchers have employed narrative frames to inquire into language teachers' and learners' experiences. Barkhuizen and Wette (2008: 376), for example, elicited English language teachers' experiences in China through frames which provided 'guidance and support in terms of both the structure and content of what is to be written'. The teacher participants wrote about their experiences in story form prompted by a number of sentence starters such as: 'I remember once in my classroom I had a very difficult time trying to …' (p. 377). Barkhuizen and Wette argue that narrative frames allow participants to write responses more easily and researchers to analyse data more efficiently than more open-ended story writing methods. At the same time, they contend that the frames could limit participants' responses (see Dimension 4 in Figure 1). More recently, in the context of Japan, Swenson and Visgatis (2011) examined overseas study experiences of four university students by employing narrative frames. They maintain that the data generated from the frames revealed the successes and challenges of their study abroad experiences in a more detailed manner than those from survey methods.

I conducted my study in a class at a public vocational high school in Japan. The class was team taught about once a week during the data-collection period by a local Japanese teacher of English (JTE), Ono (pseudonym, female), and a foreign assistant language teacher (ALT), Phil (pseudonym, male). I distributed narrative frames to 40 second-year high school students on three different occasions; i.e. Cycle 1, Cycle 2, and Cycle 3 (see Appendix for an illustration of the frame used in Cycle 1). At the beginning of Cycle 1, I observed and videotaped the class by Ono and Phil. In the next team-taught

class period, I returned to the class and explained to the students the use of narrative frames and the purpose of my study. We then watched a five-minute video clip from the previous videotaped class, which the team teachers chose based on their interest. After watching it, I asked the students to complete both Japanese and English narrative frames (which differed only by language). I made summaries of the collected narrative frames at the end of each cycle, and the team teachers read the summaries. After Cycle 1 was completed, however, I made changes to the frames because of the difficulty many students had experienced in following their initial format (e.g. being unfamiliar with the instructions and the genre), and the fact that the teachers wished to know their students' opinions specifically about teacher instructions for student activities in class. The narrative frames for the subsequent cycles were therefore shorter and simpler, and they also contained a prompt that dealt with teacher instructions.

One prominent finding that emerged from a thematic analysis of the completed frames (see Dimension 7 in Figure 1) is that the students provided numerous alternative teaching practices for their teachers. With the prompt in the (Japanese) narrative frames: 'I would like in the future for (the JTE/ the ALT/both teachers) to ... more ... and less ... so that ....' 14 students made suggestions to the JTE, 7 to the ALT, and 15 to both teachers during Cycle 1 (36 in total). In Cycle 2, suggestions were made to the JTE by 20 students, to the ALT by 2, to both teachers by 13 (35 in total). During Cycle 3, 18 students made suggestions to the JTE, 1 student to the ALT, and 18 students to both teachers (37 in total). These are presented in Table 1 (overleaf) along with the most common suggestion within each category. This study suggests that students can become responsible for their lessons and are willing to provide alternative teaching practices for their teachers if they are given the opportunity to do so.

5. A narrative inquiry of curriculum change: An EFL blended learning experience (Jenny Mendieta)

My study intended, from a narrative perspective, to gain an understanding of curricular innovation by examining how a blended learning program (integrated face-to-face and online teaching and learning) was put into action by a group of English teachers in a Colombian tertiary institution. The study aimed to identify and make sense of the stories teachers lived by as they,

Table 1: Alternative teaching practices suggested by the students in the Japanese narrative frames

IN THE FUTURE, I WOULD LIKE ( )	TO … MORE…	AND LESS…	SO THAT
CYCLE 1			
the JTE (14)	conduct more creative lessons	less boring lessons	we can have good atmosphere in the classroom.
the ALT (7)	speak more slowly	less English	we can understand the lesson.
both teachers (15)	provide more Japanese translation	less English	we can understand the lesson.
CYCLE 2			
the JTE (20)	translate English into Japanese more	less English	we can understand the lesson better.
the ALT (2)	become more creative	less unnecessary explanation	we can understand the lesson more easily.
both teachers (13)	use different teaching materials	less English	we can understand English more.
CYCLE 3			
the JTE (18)	explain more in Japanese	less English	we can work on class activities more easily.
the ALT (1)	speak English more clearly	less unclear English	we can understand native-like pronunciation.
both teachers (18)	use more group activities	lecture-style lessons	we can work on activities with others

together with their students and other community members, came to terms with the changes resulting from the implementation of the blended program. It also sought to establish how these personal and collective experiences respond to and are a part of broader contexts of reform. The research questions I posed were the following: (1) What stories of change do teachers live by when participating in the implementation of an EFL blended learning program? (2) In what ways are these experiences of change shaped by available institutional and organizational stories on language teaching/learning and ICT (information and communications technology) use?

What motivated this study, in addition to the need to construct alternative understandings of reform, innovation and educational change, had to do with the fact that I worked as an ELT teacher and curriculum design team member at the institution where this study was conducted. The research setting was thus not foreign to me; it was not only my home country but my former workplace. By being a part of this community, I was able to get access to those secret stories of practice that had not been made known before, and that, as Craig (2009) states, would not have otherwise been narrated. At the same time, I was able to partake in an active process of collaboration and negotiation.

Given the nature of the research questions, this is a qualitative descriptive interpretative study in that it not only examines things in their natural settings (Denzin and Lincoln 2005), but is also concerned about the interpretation of human action (Pinnegar and Daynes 2006). As a result, the local meanings of actions — as defined from the actors' (participants and researcher) viewpoints — are at the heart of the inquiry and are understood in relation to aspects of time, place and interaction (Connelly and Clandinin 2000).

In narrative (educational) research a number of data-collection methods can be used as the researcher and the participants work together in a collaborative relationship. In this study, data were gathered mainly through narrative interviews, classroom observation, questionnaires, and official documentation. Information was collected for a period of 16 weeks through regular contact with teachers, management and students. Due to the nature of the study, I became interested in 'learning about the content of the experiences of the participants and their reflections of these' (Barkhuizen 2013: 8). This research, therefore, focused more on the *content* of narratives and the broader sociocultural contexts affecting and shaping teachers' narrative constructions and less on their structure and form (see Dimensions 3 and 4 in Figure 1). Data underwent a narrative thematic analysis (see Dimension 7) in which stories of practice were identified and examined with the intent to capture *what*

blended learning was all about and *how* it had been experienced by teachers individually and collectively. Nonetheless, understanding what underlay teachers' narratives in terms of personal knowledge, past experience, theories of best practice, and readiness to adopt change could not possibly have been attained unless an exploration of context had taken place. For the purpose of this study, I did not define or address context as that which was created in interaction, but as that which mediated the telling of the story and linked participants' narrative constructions with social practice. Therefore, issues of time and place, as well as the social and cultural elements shaping participants knowledge and narrative constructions were taken into consideration so as to make sense of the data. Form (or the context of talk) was analyzed in relation to the language choices made by the narrators in specific moments to attain specific purposes, rather than in terms of the here-and-now interactional patterns occurring in conversation.

On the whole, the analysis to which this study was subjected followed a narrative inquiry tradition by attempting to uncover the stories teachers lived by, along with their students and other colleagues, as they implemented innovation, specifically as they made the transition from a face-to-face to a blended language learning environment. These stories to live by were composed of personal, organizational and institutional stories that were written by teachers and for teachers in terms of language teaching and ICT use, and which came to shape the language learning opportunities they created for their students.

Due to my dual role of researcher and former community member, however, 'making the research process and decision making visible' (Lutrell 2010: 4) to the readers is necessary. Therefore, in the process of reporting the findings, reflexivity was used to illustrate the collaborative sense-making process in which the participants and I engaged (see Dimension 6 in Figure 1), and most importantly, to indicate how my prior knowledge, experiences, and emotions came to shape the structure of the interactions that took place over the course of data collection, as illustrated in this excerpt from my research report (unpublished):

> When asked about the expectations she had not only for herself but for the whole strategy, she responded: "I wish it were not imposed as such, but rather a decision of the student or that the student were very informed" (Int. 1, l: 105). **Having performed as a curriculum leader myself**, and being convinced that all information was made available to students through official documents

> (course program) and the activities conducted during the induction week, **I felt surprised by her answer and further asked:** "Don´t you think they know already?" To which she replied: "No, they do not know … So you are expecting a face-to-face course and something else takes place, and I do not think that´s honest with the student." (Int. 1, l: 110–111). "I think", she continued, "a good idea would be to spread more the word that this is a blended course … and the benefits it has". Hence, after learning about all the benefits, "people will welcome the program, but it will be a more informed decision" (Int. 1, l: 117–118).

As stressed by Lutrell (2010), the reflexive practitioner ought to make his or her decision-making process visible at personal, methodological, theoretical, epistemological, ethical and political levels.

My study includes elements of both *analysis of narratives* (categorization) (see Polkinghorne 1995) and *narrative analysis* (storying) (see Dimensions 7 and 8 in Figure 1). While thematic analysis led to the identification of salient themes and patterns, an interest in preserving and illustrating the participant's unique experiences and in combining excerpts from different data sources into a unified narrative whole, led to a process of restorying. While some sections of my research report are organized around themes, others are dedicated to participants' individual stories of practice. My interest in examining blended learning from the perspective of the teachers meant, however, that I placed greater emphasis on storying than on categorization.

6. Conclusion

In this final section we locate the narrative methods exemplified in the three studies within the narrative framework, or more specifically, along the eight narrative dimensions (see Figure 2). We do so by placing the last-name initial (H, M and K) of the researcher along each dimension to show the relative place of that particular highlighted method along the more-or-less dimension. These positions are, of course, only indicative, and the specifics of their locality may well lead to rather interesting discussions (a useful purpose, we argue, of the framework).

All three studies and the methods selected for illustration in this article clearly exhibit narrative epistemologies, hence their location towards the *More* end of Dimensions 1 and 2. Khan, for example, through observation

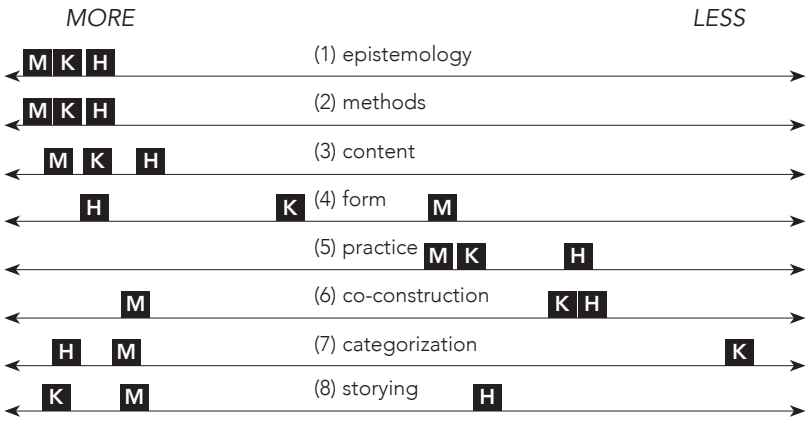

Figure 2: Location of methods within the narrative framework. K = Khan; M = Mendieta; H = Hiratsuka.

and interviews, learned about the experiences of his participants and restoried these in his research report. Hiratsuka designed and used narrative frames to gather coherent stories of English learners' classroom experiences. And Mendieta conducted interviews and content analyses of these to explore the storied lives of her teacher participants. Since she focused in her analysis on the content of her data her work appears on the *More* side of Dimension 3 (and thus on the *Less* side of Dimension 4). Hiratsuka's qualitative and quantitative analysis of the content of the narrative frames also means he is on the *More* side of Dimension 3, but he is also on the *More* side of the Form dimension. This is because the frame itself requires a consideration of narrative form in its design, completion and analysis.

None of the studies specifically focusses in their analysis on storytelling embedded in social practices, hence their location towards the *Less* end of Dimension 5. The co-construction of narrative data (Dimension 6) is normally the concern of those interested in the discursive construction of conversation or interview data (i.e. analysts working from a sociolinguistic or discourse analytical tradition). Mendieta's location on the *More* side of this dimension is a result of her focus on interviews in the section presented in this article and the reflexive approach taken to the reporting of her findings.

The outlier on Dimension 7 is Khan, who is located very much at the *Less* end. This is because, as we also see on Dimension 8, his approach to analysis did not involve reducing his data to themes and categories. Instead

he configured the data he gathered from observations and interviews into coherent storied descriptions of the contexts in which his teacher participants practised their teaching lives. Storying was also evident in Mendieta's methodology (perhaps less so in the methods focused on in this article), though she combined this with a certain amount of thematic content analysis which included the categorization of her data. Hiratsuka's analysis most evidently displayed categorization of content, to the extent that he quantified the categories, and he thus appears at the *More* end of Dimension 7.

Our final comment is a suggestion regarding the uses to which Barkhuizen's (2013) narrative framework presented in this article could be put. Mainly, it allows narrative researchers to locate their work within the framework and therefore to understand the nature of the work they do; to what extent it is narrative, how it is narrative, how it could be more or less narrative. Perhaps more importantly, it provides researchers, once they have done this, to consider new possibilities for future narrative research. What alternative approaches could they try? How could they extend current practices? To do this, they would consider the consequences of moving current locations on the dimensions one way or the other along the dimensions. In this sense, the framework has the potential to function as a heuristic device to explore and understand one's current and future narrative research practices.

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Appendix: Narrative frame used in Cycle 1

I have just observed a video clip taped from the last team-teaching class. I felt
while watching the clip because I
The difference between previous team-teaching classes and this videotaped class was
I (liked/disliked) this class because
and In addition, the class was
particularly because
Furthermore, what I noticed was (the JTE/ the ALT/ both teachers/ students)
probably because

Another point I noticed was that	
(the JTE/ the ALT/ both teachers/ students)	
Based on this, I would like in the future for	
(the JTE/ the ALT/ both teachers) to do more	
and less	
so that	
At the same time, I would like	
(the JTE/ the ALT/ both teachers) to	
in order for us to	
Overall, I think team-teaching classes are	
	
This is the end of my story.	

SOUTHERN CELTS: NARRATIVE AS METHOD AND TEXT

Celine Kearney: *Centre for Languages, Wintec, Institution of Technology*
<celine.kearney@wintec.ac.nz>

Abstract

This article explores the use of narrative as method and text in a practice-led narrative inquiry which explores how people with Irish and Scottish cultural backgrounds live out their connections to the northern hemisphere homelands of Scotland and Ireland, in Aotearoa New Zealand. It analyses eight excerpts from interview narratives using Clandinin and Connelly's (2000) three frames of narrative inquiry: time (past, present and future), place, and the intersection of the personal and the social, to illustrate the discursive construction of cultural identities (Fong & Chuang 2004, Weedon 2004). It discusses the use of autoethnography (Muncey 2010, Ellis & Bochner 2000, Reed-Danahay 1997) and the value of arts-based practices (Butler-Kisber 2010, Leavy 2009) including song and poetry in the representation of interview narratives. Finally, it argues that offering longer narratives, free of the intrusive voice of the analytical researcher, readers may be encouraged to bring their own experiences to their engagement with the text and to think *with* rather than *about* the narratives (Bochner & Riggs 2014). Through this process they might gain deeper insights into the individual, social and political factors that have shaped the lives of individuals and communities in Aotearoa New Zealand.

1. Introduction

This paper explores the use of narrative as method and text, in a practice-led narrative inquiry (Clandinin 2007, Clandinin & Connelly 2000) into how people with Irish and Scottish backgrounds live out cultural connections to the northern hemisphere homelands of Ireland and Scotland, in Aotearoa New Zealand. Entitled *Southern Celts*, the inquiry involves creating an artefact, which is a book of interview narratives, and an accompanying exegesis. The title refers to the Irish and the Scots who are Gaels, but who also belong under the wider Celtic umbrella of cultural origins (Oppenheimer 2006, Pryor 1993) and the 'southern' part of the title references New Zealand's geographic position in the southern hemisphere, in the south west Pacific.

The inquiry explores a series of questions about what there is of Scottish and Irish traditions in this country through a total of 40 interviews, collected from around the country, which were then edited to create coherent interview narrative texts. Questions included how narrators have lived their cultural connections over time, what they think there is in this country of Scots and Irish traditions and finally reflections on relationships between Scottish and Irish and Māori.

This article presents excerpts from those interview narratives and analyses them using Clandinin and Connelly's (2000) three frames of narrative inquiry: time (past, present and future), place, and the intersection of the personal and the social. In their work on narrative inquiry, Clandinin and Connelly draw on Dewey's 'pragmatic ontology of experience,' and introduce a three dimensional inquiry space, in which narratives are understood as both 'lived and told stories' (Clandinin & Connelly 2000: 62, Pinnegar & Danes, 2007: 5) The researcher/writer is also positioned in that inquiry space, 'visible in our own lived and told stories' (Clandinin & Connelly 2000: 62). Thus in the inquiry space I, as researcher, interviewer, writer and the granddaughter of Irish immigrants, am implicit in all decisions made about the inquiry, and my narrative is explicitly a part of this article as a narrator, in one of the excerpts. Clandinin and Connelly (2000: 59) explore what it means to be a narrative inquirer 'on the professional knowledge landscape' in the field of Education, as do other educationalists (Bathmaker & Harnett 2010, Trahar 2009) or with ethnographic method and insights (Lillis 2008). However this article applies the narrative inquiry lenses to analysing the discursive construction of culture/s and identity/ies, illustrated through the 'lived and told stories' of the narrative excerpts.

I will argue that the use of narrative as method and text, drawing on ethnographic insights and autoethnographic methods, produces interview narrative texts which function as 'micro-ethnographies' (Fraser 1997: 163) that provide insights into both the lives of individuals and their often multigenerational families, as well as the communities that have shaped them. Narratives such as these are valuable, as O'Shea Miles (2004: 149) writes, because oral history-type interviews record individuals' reflections on their life 'before the generation disappears forever.' Though Seidman (2006: 129) does caution that narratives are necessarily limited since narrators' lives continue but these narrative representations are 'framed and reified.'

Underpinning this article are literatures about narrative and narrative inquiry, the discursive construction of culture/s and identities, insights produced through using autoethnography as method and text, and the use of arts based methods in representing narratives.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Narrative

De Fina & Georgakopoulou explain that while Narratology is the study of narrative as a genre, which approaches narrative as text type, there is also a tradition of narrative as mode in which theorists view narrative as fundamental to human cognition and understanding of the world. The use of narrative methods and analyses gained momentum in the 1980's, informing a 'narrative turn' in the social sciences which emphasises human experience and a narrative epistemology that encourages researchers to maintain a high degree of reflexivity (De Fina & Georgakopoulou 2012: 18).

Narrative philosopher Ricoeur (1980) posits that narratives are constructed within *time* and *memory*. Following Ricoeur, narrative theorist Mishler called the combination of chronological and non-chronological dimensions of time, 'the double arrow' of time which contributes to 'how conscious and reflective persons re-present and re-story their memories of event and experiences' (2006: 36). There has been scepticism about the naïve acceptance of an individual's reflections as 'truth,' but this has been addressed in several ways. Muncey acknowledges that memories do not necessarily contain verifiable truth, and reminds us of Spence's distinction between 'narrative truth and historical truth' (1982: 97, cited in Muncey 2010: 102), while Bochner (2012: 161) describes the kinds of truth that narratives such as those in this article

record, as 'embodied, dialogic and collaborative.' Reissman offers an analysis of a story, or a narrative, as co-produced 'in spaces between teller and listener, speaker and setting, text and reader, history and culture' (2008: 105), clearly illustrating the embodied and dialogic nature of narrative, on micro level of teller and listener, text and reader and macro influences of history and culture. The interview narratives sit squarely within the 'narrative turn' in qualitative research, requiring, as De Fina and Gerogakopulou (2012) explain, a high degree of reflexivity on the part of the researcher, and which Clandinin and Connelly describe as requiring constant 'wakefulness' about decision making (2000: 185).

2.2 The discursive construction of cultures and identities

Postmodern and poststructural understandings of the discursive construction of culture and identity underpin the thinking of the scholars who have influenced this inquiry. For Chuang cultural identity is related to 'nationality, race, ethnicity, gender, lifestyle choices, organisations, age, class, group membership, regional identity and spiritual identity,' and it is 'dynamic, fluid, dialectical, relational, contextual and multifaceted' (Fong & Chuang 2004: 65). Weedon, too, reflects that same understanding of complexity when she writes that cultural identity is 'neither one thing nor static…it is constantly produced and reproduced in practices of everyday life, education, the media, the museum and heritage sectors, the arts, history and literature' (2004: 155). Weedon describes narratives, such as the interview narratives collected for this inquiry, as 'cultural narratives' and as 'sites from which we learn about others' (2004: 115). This article argues that the opportunity for learning from these texts is enhanced through the use of the three lenses of narrative inquiry.

2.3 Ethnography and Autoethnography

Reed-Danahay (1997: 8) views ethnography and autoethnography both as method and text, shaped through different degrees of emphasis on ethnographic representations of others and self- representation (1997: 8). Tedlock (2000: 455) explains that ethnography which produces 'historically politically and personally situated accounts of human lives' has, as method and theoretical orientation, long used within anthropology, now moved into wider use in qualitative research. Autoethnography is a form of autobiographical ethnography (Holman Jones, Stacey, Tony Adams and Carolyn Ellis 2013, Muncey 2010, Ellis and Bochner 2000) which Reed-Danahay describes as a postmodern form questioning the self-society split, validating the authority

of the researcher-writer to speak as a member of their group, 'a self-narrative that places the self within a social context' (1997: 9). Arnold (2011: 54) too acknowledges the situated self as data and calls such texts 'subjective academic narrative.' Autoethnographer Chang (2008: 49) argues that making explicit connections to broader social issues is integral to using one's own life as data for academic research, applying 'critical, analytical and interpretive eyes' as I attempt to do. Following Chang, I place my own story alongside the interview narratives in this article, aware as Clandinin and Connelly advice that I have 'narrative blinkers' like any other narrator (2000: 61) thus I need to cultivate wakefulness (2000: 185) about decision making.

2.4 Arts based methods

Drawing on creative analytical practices (Richardson & Pierre 2005, Richardson 2000) and arts-based practices (Butler-Kisber 2010, Leavy 2009) in the presentation of interview narratives, I integrated song and poetry, two of which are represented in excerpts in this paper. Sullivan (2009: 111), a poet and a qualitative inquirer, writes that a poem brings an image to life and provides the reader with a sensory embodied experience (cited in Butler-Kisber, 2010: 97). Leavy (2009: 2) suggests that drawing on arts-based forms of narrative research contributes to the researcher accessing … 'real, textured, complex, sensory, contextual meanings.'

3. Methodology

3.1 Data collection

I collected 40 interviews from around New Zealand, roughly equal numbers of women and men from both the North and South Islands: five were born in Scotland or Ireland and the rest in Aotearoa New Zealand, several with families who have lived here for a number of generations. Ages ranged from approximately thirty to eighty years old. This process took me to places historically connected to the Irish and Scots around New Zealand and other areas of the country from Otago to Northland, doing interviews which are narratives that are co-constructed through the question response process (Reissman 2002, Gubrium and Holstein 2002).

3.2 Data analysis

Aware of the need to proceed ethically, I ensured that each person had an

opportunity to give permission for their interview to be used by signing a consent form, while others gave verbal permission (Muncey 2010, Tolich 2010). Interview texts ranging from 3,000 to 7,000 words after transcription were returned to narrators, with questions for clarification and further details in order to accurately represent their experience, as Chase (2011: 424) and Reissman (2008: 198) recommend. I analysed the transcripts using a technique Ryan and Bernard (2003: 88) call 'theoretical sensitivity,' a flexible variation on grounded methodological approaches used with texts where the speaker's trajectory, a sense of the whole story and the whole person, is crucial. Theoretical sensitivity involves identifying common understandings and viewpoints, but recognises the limitations inherent in the fact that data is reflective and self-reported.

From the forty interviews I chose twenty five, thirteen woman and twelve men, some have multiple cultural connections, Irish and Scottish, or English; four also had Māori family backgrounds. The narratives were grouped in the book under sections which include: business, Gaelic languages, music, writing, visual arts of carving, sculpture and film making, religion and spirituality, and sport, with my own autoethnographic analysis used as an introduction.

3.3 Data organisation

This article draws on my autoethnographic reflections, then seven excerpts from those twenty five interview narratives. In this section the seven excerpts are organised according to Clandinin and Connelly's (2000) lens of place: the first three narrators were born in the homelands and the other five born in New Zealand. I use the three frames of narrative inquiry: time (past, present and future), place, and the intersection of the personal and the social to open up the texts, focusing on individuals' use of language and their responses. This analysis is extended in the 'Discussion' in relation to pertinent aspects of the underpinning literatures.

4. Autoethnographic reflection

In this excerpt I introduce myself, a New Zealand-born female, a teacher of English as an Additional Language, as having done oral history interviews with both my parents,

> Now I come to write about family I question the wisdom of not keeping my

> own first hand written accounts of living nearly a year in Ireland. But I had decided that what I remembered over time would be enough, and in a family who care about family connections and relationships I have photographs, stories, written material, and travelers enough to keep the family connections alive. I have done oral history interviews with both my father and mother recording their experiences as the children of Irish immigrants, though my mother's sister …. added her own corrections to my mother's interview.

Applying the third lens of narrative inquiry, the intersection of the personal and the social, to this text, I place myself as part of a family who keep relationships alive, through sharing stories and through travelers, who move both ways across the world (lines 4–6). Acknowledging that my aunt added another perspective to her sister's experiences (lines 9 &10) clearly shows that I am not naïve enough to take my parents narratives as 'truth', but rather that they reflect their own personal perspectives. Place is viewed as Ireland, and New Zealand, which family journey between, keeping the relationships alive (lines 6 & 7), while time is bridged through my personal memory, which I acknowledge needs family back up (line 4).

5. Narrators born in Scotland

The first excerpt is from a man born in the Scottish highlands and a businessman now in New Zealand, who explains how he came to live in New Zealand and comments on connections here to Scotland.

> I did a lot of travelling and something about New Zealand gelled. I liked it, I felt at home. It wasn't a hard decision. I went back to Scotland after that and worked for a few years, but I *could nae* get New Zealand out of my mind. ….. I was born in … in the Northern eastern highlands of Scotland, came 25 years ago to New Zealand to have a look, liked it, and stayed. ……We are in a fortunate position that we get to go to Scotland a lot. Having said that, it's part of life, not all of life. Of course people in Scotland are not running round the hills in kilts every moment of the day flinging haggis over their shoulder. But, *yeah no*, it's funny how it's continued on. It's particularly easy in Canterbury as there are a lot of connections for it.

Viewed through the three frames of time, place and the intersection of the personal and the social, this excerpt illustrates a significant aspect of his

cultural identity, linguistic identity. The narrator's use of 'could nae' (line 3) is a marker of his Scottish linguistic background. Later (line 10) he slips into 'yeah no' a colloquial phrase in New Zealand English, which suggests that over time, in his 25 years in New Zealand, he has adopted the local idiom. The use of the direct first person voice in the narrative, allows the distinctive voice of the narrator to be retained, keeping the narrative lively and fresh, which could not be achieved if the language of the narrative had been homogenized into a third person report. In terms of place this excerpt reveals that he feels it's easy to stay in touch with aspects of Scottish cultural traditions in Canterbury (Line 11) in the South Island of New Zealand.

The second excerpt is from a Scottish-born woman, a journalist in New Zealand, who offers a poem written by her father, in Scotland, for the birth of his grandson, in New Zealand. A verse follows:

Your name is redolent of
That ocean-warmed western isle;
Of heather, myrtle and whisky;
Of people gone before;
Of worlds old and new

The poet focuses on the boy's name, 'your name' (line 1), which there is no need to specify, as it is a family name, and all those for whom the poem is written will already know it. For the grandfather the name evokes place, in the 'ocean-warmed western isle' (line 2) and associated 'heather, myrtle and whisky' (line 3). The final two lines, 'of people gone before/ Of worlds old and new' appear to encapsulate in poetic image Clandinin and Connelly's (2000) three dimensional narrative inquiry space: place, time (past, present and imagined future) and the intersection between the personal and the social. The new grandson too is placed in that three dimensional space.

6. Narrators born in New Zealand

The third excerpt is from a New Zealand-born woman of Scottish Orcadian–Orkney Island–Kai Tahu, and English backgrounds. A writer, she describes her understanding of her grandmother's and great aunt's experience of marrying Māori brothers, and comments on a wedding photograph of her mother's parents.

> They were 'Free Kirkers' — a splintered sect of Presbyterians who didn't like being ruled by a convention. Quite a few of them migrated to New Zealand. They were very strong minded, proud but very obstinate….
>
> One of the fascinating things about this photo (of her mother's parents) is, because this is a wedding portrait, which would have been sent back to family in Scotland, his face has been ever so slightly bleached. Take a look at his hand. He has gloves in one hand, but the other hand, you can actually see his colour. He was not a white man. My nana was very happy and so was her sister who married his brother. I do know that the racism of magazines and particularly newspapers was stunning. But they were obstinate, wilful, stubborn people who follow their hearts and do what the spirit led them to do.

Time places the events of this narrative excerpt in the late nineteenth century, in the colonial settlement period of our history. The narrator uses the artefact, the photo which has been bleached to disguise the colour of her grandfather's skin, to illustrate the overt racism of the time. Using the frame of the intersection of the personal and social, we see that the narrator suggests that despite the wider social attitudes, her grandmother who came from 'wilful, stubborn people, who follow their hearts' (Lines 12 & 13) made a personal decision which she was happy with, as was her sister, the narrator's great aunt. Viewed through the lense of place it seems from the narrator's comment that the wedding portrait (Lines 6 & 7), which would have been sent back to family in Scotland, was changed to accommodate attitudes to skin colour that would have been prevalent in the northern hemisphere as well as in New Zealand at the time.

The fourth longer excerpt from a New Zealand-born man, a sculptor, describes the profound influence that his Irish-born father had on his own life as an artist, and the way his daughter's life was influenced in turn by his.

> … I spent a lot of time in Central Otago, something was absolutely a dam overflowing, because I recognized the landscape in Central Otago as the internal landscape that my father was speaking from. He came from a part of Ireland that was quite barren, and this land clearly represented it in my mind. So this unleashed a body of work over three decades: just that realization, that I finally understood my father was actually talking from his native landscape not the New Zealand landscape.

He explained how his daughter grew up around his sculpture studio and later worked in London, then did her doctorate in Ireland, doing excavations at ancient sites in Scotland and Ireland.

> … Crawling around, she was fascinated with dust which I've created quite a lot of. She became one of the world authorities on dust as an archeological material. So there was just a brilliant conversation going on with her research and her learning about where it might have located itself in her childhood. She said her childhood inspired some of her breakthroughs in thinking and research over there.
>
> …I just think it is so rare for three generations of a family to be so intimately connected in all the disciplines, socially, intellectually and creatively. I'm lucky. I see myself as being in the middle, uncharacteristically of a generation that has departed, namely my daughter and my father, so they have both left a legacy, as a centre of that trinity that informs my work so potently.
>
> ... My daughter completed a circularity of life. She is a unique example of how the 'New World' informs the 'Old World' in ways people could never have dreamed…

This excerpt adds levels of complexity to Clandinin and Connelly's (2000) three lenses of inquiry. Time bridges three lives from different generations: the narrator, his father, and his daughter, restoried in the narrative. Place, in this narrative is viewed as both external and internal. The external New Zealand landscape of Central Otago (line 2) which affected the narrator's ability to create, because he understood in a moment of epiphany that barren southern hemisphere landscape represented the northern hemisphere Irish landscape that his father grew up in, and which he believes continued to affect his father as an equally powerful internal landscape (lines 7 & 8). Place is also the narrator's art studio in New Zealand, where his daughter spent time as a child and which (line 13 &14) influenced her research in the northern hemisphere. The narrator charts movement between another two places, the 'New World' of New Zealand where his daughter was born and grew up and did her early training, and the 'Old World' of the northern hemisphere countries (line 22) and Ireland where her grandfather came from, and also where she went to live, taking with her new skills and understanding from the south.

The lense of the intersection of the personal and social highlights the narrator who describes himself as being in the middle of three generations (lines 17, 18 &19) who have both 'potently' affected his creative abilities, and continue to do so (line 19 & 20).

The next excerpt of a New Zealand-born man, a master carver, with Scottish and Irish cultural backgrounds, clearly illustrate his sense of identity as a southern Celt.

> I basically see myself as a Southern Celt: a South Pacific Celt. The way I look at it, as the Celts came across Europe they could've picked up influences of different cultures. In a sense if I didn't reflect a certain Polynesian influence in my work it would mean I was insensitive. Māori people will come in and see my work and say its very Māori and people who come straight from England look at it and say its pure Celtic. I like to see it as a mixture of both.
>
> …. One of my carvings has Mananan, the Celtic sea god on one side, and Tangaroa, the Polynesian sea god on the other: one eye is Baltic amber, the other is 45 million-year-old Kauri gum out of the Kamo coal mine.

Place is described by the narrator in relation to his own cultural origins in the northern hemisphere, 'as the Celts came across Europe' (line 2). Also in the carving he created which drew on mythologies of place, 'Mananan, the Celtic sea god on one side, and Tangaroa, the Polynesian sea god on the other' (line 8 & 9) and used resources of different hemispheres, 'Baltic amber' from Europe and 'Kauri gum' from Northland, New Zealand. Time is both the present of the narrator's life as a carver in New Zealand, and the millennia represented in the amber and the Kauri gum. The intersection of the personal and the social brings all these influences and resources together here in New Zealand, where the narrator describes himself with reference to the south Pacific as 'a southern Celt' (line 1) and where his carvings hold stylistic influences that are familiar to local Māori whose carved patterns have grown out of influences in this land, and wider the Pacific, as well as people from England familiar with traditional northern hemisphere Celtic art.

The sixth excerpt is from a New Zealand-born woman of Irish background, a film maker, who recounts her orientation towards life,

> First of all, and more than any else, I grew up in the tradition of Irish poetry. When I was a child, we used to have regular family parties, so in that context I was standing and reciting poems and singing from very young. I decided when I was in my early twenties that I would be a poet. It made perfect sense inside the New Zealand Irish culture I grew up in. But in society it's not a real job. So how are you going to do that? For me there was really no question that was the most important thing to do, and for me that is still the most important thing to do, describing our circumstances here and as people on the earth. I've written poetry and plays, for stage and for radio, written books, and made films and its all poetry.

Viewing this excerpt through the lens of the intersection of the personal and

the social, the narrator places herself firstly 'in the tradition of Irish poetry' (lines 1 & 2) and then 'inside the New Zealand Irish culture I grew up in' (lines 5 & 6). She describes her multimedia skills as poetry (lines 9, 10 & 11). Time is past, 'When I was a child' (line 2), and moves to the present when creating poetry 'is still the most important thing to do' (line 8). Place is New Zealand and a society which views her life's choice of being a poet, as 'not a real job' (line 6) and a global view, expressed in 'describing our circumstances here and as people on the earth' (line 9).

Finally a New Zealand-born man of Irish and Te Arawa backgrounds, a poet and publisher, offered a song he'd written about a soldier in the colonial army who deserted his post. Another narrator told a very similar story of a soldier of the 65th Infantry regiment, who deserted his post, unable to fight Māori any longer because he found them so similar to his own people. The following excerpt contains three verses and a chorus of the song which seems to be based on a similar incident.

Potatoes, Fish and Children
To escape from the famine, starvation and pain
And seeing his dear ones dying
Patrick Fitzgerald left old Erin's Isle
And headed for the South Seas sailing

He landed here without a pig or a bob
And decided to join the army
Because it was the only job
To take the land from the Māori

CHORUS . . .
He thinks to himself by the fire at night
I don't know why we kill them
O, sure they're the same as the people at home
Potatoes, fish and children

The tribe that found him took his body back
From *te wahi moemoea* and restored him to life
For they saw in his eyes when they opened
Potatoes, fish and children

The story is placed in 'the South Seas' (line 4) a northern perception of the southern hemisphere. The use of Māori '*te wahi moemoea'* (the place of dreams) and the story of the tribe who rescued the fictional narrator, Fitzgerald (verse 3, line 2) clearly places this text in Aotearoa New Zealand. The reference to the famine in Ireland, 'old Erin's Isle' (line 3) is poetic license, as most Irish migrants to New Zealand came later than the famine decades. The third inquiry frame of the intersection of the personal and the social is embodied in the man, 'Patrick Fitzgerald' whose job 'to take the land from the Māori' (verse 2, line 4), places him in the New Zealand land wars. He recognises his shared humanity with the people he is fighting, which the song writer expresses through the images of food and children (verse 2, lines 2 & 3). Fitzgerald deserts his post and is rescued by Māori who accord him the same humanity because they see his similarity to themselves (verse 3, line 3 & 4). The use of rhythm, rhyme and image to tell the story add depth and variety to the text which gives a more nuanced insight into one man's experience of being a colonial soldier, and responses to him from local Māori.

7. Discussion

Analysis of excerpts has highlighted both language and content. The excerpt which focuses on the narrator's use of language illustrates that the use of the first person, rather than a third person report, allows the voice of the narrator to be heard, and adds a linguistic element to the narrative of cultural identity, which is also more engaging for the reader or the listener than an homogenised third person report. Different text types, such as poem and song can add an element of imagery, along with textured, complex, sensory, contextual meanings as Leavy (2009) describes which further captures and illustrates Fong and Chuang's (2004) and Weedon's (2004) analysis of identity as complex and relational

These are narratives we can learn from, as Weedon (2004) writes, illuminated through the three lenses of narrative inquiry. Viewed through the lens of time narrators have told of generations before and after them, and how these have shaped and been shaped by aspects relevant to Scottish or Irish identities in family contexts. In the case of the master carver his sense of time encompasses millennia. Narrative philosopher Ricoeur's (1980) and theorist Mishler's (2006) concepts of time and memory, and how these influence how people restory their memories and experiences, provide some explanation for

how such relatively short texts can contain such a depth of information, as narrators move back and forward in time, creating layered texts.

Place is viewed in variety of ways, the 'Old World', Scotland and Ireland, Celtic Europe, and the New World, Polynesia, the South Pacific and Aotearoa New Zealand referenced differently by different narrators. It is also perceived as both external and internal landscapes, which is captured vividly in the narrative of the man who recalls the moment in the Central Otago landscape when the barrenness of the landscape triggered an association between the landscape his father grew up in Ireland and the internal landscape he seemed to react out of, which for the narrator was not that of New Zealand. This experience he recalls powerfully influenced his creative abilities over the coming decades. Applying the lense of place to these excerpts reveals further insights into how thee narratives illustrate Fong and Chang (2004) and Weedon's (2004) view of the relational and complex nature of culture and identity.

The third lens of the intersection of the individual and society particularly illustrates the discursive construction of cultural identity, as dynamic and contextual. Each excerpt reveals the individual's reflections on his or her own experiences, in the context of the social and cultural communities that have shaped them, illustrated through the use of Māori language in the final excerpt. Two narrators use an artefact to tell help tell their story: firstly a photograph which embodies the widespread attitudes to race and skin colour at the time the narrator's Scottish grandmother and great aunt were married and secondly the carving which draws on Celtic and Polynesian myths and uses European amber and New Zealand coal.

8. Limitations

As outlined before, these narratives are self-reports. Thus there may be more to be told than narrators have remembered or included as they reflect on questions and shared experiences. This an inevitable outcome of this style of research and has already been acknowledged in discussion of the nature of 'narrative truth' and 'historical truth.' Despite this they are valid for the richness of experience they reveal from the individuals' point of view about the influences of Scottish and Irish backgrounds on their lives.

9. Conclusion

Southern Celts narratives are intended to inform and engage both scholars and general readers. Much already published work which explores the lives of the Scottish and Irish in Aotearoa New Zealand does so through the more traditional methods of historiography using the major lens of ethnicity, and a range of sources that offer ' insider' and 'outsider' perspectives (Paterson, Brooking & McAloon 2013, Bueltmann 2011, McCarthy 2011, 2007; Brooking & Coleman 2003, Akenson 2000, 1990; Fraser 2000). In contrast, the narratives exemplified in excerpts in this article, offer only 'insider' perspectives, and use the frame of the discursive construction of culture, rather than ethnicity. Without the intrusion of the voice of an analytical researcher it is my hope that readers will read *with* rather than *about* the narrative (Bochner & Riggs, 2014), able to bring their own experience to their engagement with the texts (Benson 2013, Reissman 2008, Clandinin & Connelly, 2000) and so gain deeper insights into individual lives, and the social and political factors which have shaped and continue to shape people and communities in Aotearoa New Zealand with Irish and Scottish cultural backgrounds. These insights may offer possibilities for living into a future in which the varying cultural groups who now live in this society are able to lives as individuals and groups in which their mana is acknowledged and respected.

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STORY SHARING IN NARRATIVE RESEARCH

Jinah Lee: *Te Hononga School of Curriculum and Pedagogy, Faculty of Education, University of Waikato <jl431@students.waikato.ac.nz>*

Judy Hunter: *Te Hononga School of Curriculum and Pedagogy, Faculty of Education, University of Waikato <jmhunter@waikato.ac.nz>*

Margaret Franken: *Te Hononga School of Curriculum and Pedagogy, Faculty of Education, University of Waikato <franken@waikato.ac.nz>*

Abstract

Researchers using a narrative approach largely acknowledge their role in the process of the unfolding or telling of their participants' narratives, and the fact that their positioning as researchers results in a degree of knowledge co-construction (Barkhuizen 2011). There is however a lack of explicit empirical research in the way in which such knowledge is mutually constituted and the outcomes of such co-construction. This paper aims to address this shortcoming by describing the on-going story sharing between the researcher and participants. As discursive practice, the story sharing was both an outcome of reduced power distance between participants and the researcher, and a factor in it. In relational terms, the story sharing helped to develop caring relationships which provided a safe space for mutual disclosure. These outcomes suggest that there are significant benefits for researchers, and narrative research, if narrative research allows for and affords story sharing.

1. Introduction

Narrative research typically focusses on the voices of participants, wherein researchers seek to understand participants' experiences in a holistic and socio-culturally situated way. This, however, has left an under-explored side of narrative—the influential presence of the researcher. In response, the notion of researcher reflexivity (i.e. a researcher's self-examination of positioning and influence in the research) in qualitative research generally has attempted to address this issue. However, it can often be treated in a somewhat superficial way (Hunter 2015). A common approach is identified by Guo (2013), for example, who draws attention to the *reflexive* introduction in which the researcher articulates her position in relation to methodology and methods and to her relationship with participants.

This paper investigates this under-explored aspect of narrative research. To do so, a brief outline of what can be considered a narrative approach will be presented, along with a discussion of how researcher presence in narrative inquiry has been treated. The design of a research study, planned by the authors, is discussed in relation to how it sought to more deeply account for researcher presence. Finally, outcomes of this research study using what is deemed to be *story sharing*, will be explored and evaluated.

2. What is a narrative approach?

Narrative has been adopted to understand people holistically and at the same time to capture the complexity of the social/human phenomenon (Webster & Mertova 2007). According to Moen (2006: 2), a narrative is 'a study of how human beings experience the world'. Thus, researchers turn to narrative 'because the stories reveal truths about human experience' (Riessman 2008: 10). Through individual narratives a phenomenon can be understood. So while their purpose is to understand a human and shared phenomenon, they are also highly individual. Phinney (2000: 28) proposes that 'individual narratives can provide insight into processes that are difficult to capture at the group level'.

Narratives to understand human experiences entail social settings. The social setting is complex, dynamic and individual, and so is the process of human experiences in narrative research (Webster & Mertova 2007). McAdams (1988) argues that a narrative approach 'is being recognised as a means of examining the ways in which individuals make sense of their lives

within a changing sociohistorical context' (as cited in Phinney 2000: 28).

Narratives are largely thought of as recounts; that is to say that narrative is 'a particular way of reporting past events' (Labov 2006: 37). When people recount their past it is also about the present and the future (Bell 2002; Connelly & Clandinin 1990; Labov 1997 2006; Moen 2006; Sandelowski 1991). As Schank and Abelson (1995: 1) claim, 'all human knowledge is based on stories constructed around past experiences' and 'new experiences are interpreted in terms of old stories'. Narratives then are not only about past experiences.

At the same time, the fact that a narrative is spoken or written to someone leads us to assume that a narrative is about something meaningful to the narrator. Labov (1997) refers to this meaningfulness as *reportability*. By telling significant and meaningful stories to an audience, the narrators are constructing themselves in a way in which they want to be viewed (Barkhuizen 2013; Mishler 2009; Riessman 2008). In this sense, narratives are a type of *performance*. Anderson (1997) refers to the narrator as *the narrating self*.

The discussion above begins to place another—the audience, in the context of the story telling, and indeed, the process of narrative research is not just unidirectional. Riessman (2008) states that story telling engages an audience in the experiences of the narrator: 'Individuals use the narrative form to remember, argue, justify, persuade, engage, entertain, and even mislead an audience' (Riessman 2008: 8). László (2008: 8) suggests that a narrator has a responsibility of sorts to an audience when he states, 'People can tell only stories that are in some relationship with relatable experiences of other people'. A person will choose what stories to tell depending on the audience in context. For example, a bed-time story chosen by a mother is more likely not to be shared with her colleagues during a coffee break at work.

Narrative is a conversation between the narrator and the audience, a 'dialogical conversation' (Anderson 1997: 109). Anderson (1997) argues that in this process of telling stories to an audience, new stories are created and what is narrated becomes a mutually recognisable story between the narrator and audience. This dialogical conversation results in emerging new meanings (Barkhuizen 2011).

Given this dialogical aspect of participants telling their stories, narrative research is not just about gathering and reporting those stories, but about the researcher and the participants engaging in a meaning-making process (Sandelowski 1991). Mishler (2009: 18) similarly describes this meaning making process as an 'achievement' of joint production or collaboration.

Gergen (2001; 2009) points out that the research process is a 'collaborative inquiry' between the researcher and participants. Connelly and Clandinin (1990: 4) also argue that 'narrative inquiry is a process of collaboration involving mutual storytelling and restorying'. In sum, narratives are constructed and/or re-constructed personal stories told through and in the conversations between participants and researchers.

3. The researcher's voice

As stated above, narrative research has focussed mainly on participants' voices in order to understand a social phenomenon, while at the same time narrative research has been acknowledged as a co-construction of stories. Concern has been expressed at the general absence of researchers' voices (e.g. Canagarajah 1996; Holloway & Biley 2011; Oakley 1981; Reger 2001) in narrative research reports. Some recognition of the researcher's voice in the dialogic process of research has been represented through the examination of researcher identities. Fox and Allan (2013), for example, discuss the PhD student journey as involving dialogic interaction between a supervisor and the PhD student, and in journey there being *becoming* and *unbecoming*.

Norton and Early (2011) investigated researcher identity from another angle. In response to the absence of researcher voice in narrative, they re-visited an earlier study on digital literacy. They analysed small stories in relation to the identities they adopted and concluded that they, the researchers, were in an on-going process of identity negotiation to reduce power differentials between themselves and participants. Similarly, Bamberg (2012) examined interactional narrative practice between interviewer and interviewee and concluded that interviewers used various techniques to reduce power and align with the interviewee.

Power relations between the researchers/interviewers and participants/interviewees exist in all research and all researchers should be mindful of how their impact on the dialogue should be accounted for (Boman & Jevne 2000; Karnieli-Miller, Strier, & Pessach 2008). Among scholars who advocate collaborative research, Karnieli-Miller et al. (2008) argue that the power relations in research should be seen as continuum and the level of collaboration depends on the degree of partnership between the researcher and participants/interviewees. They define full partnership as such:

> It is the researcher's ethical responsibility to find ways to involve participants in data analysis and to develop creative methods that enable them to participate not only in data collection but also in the creation and verification of the final product. Moreover, participants are encouraged to express their views about the truthfulness of the conclusions and the relevance of research recommendations (p. 285).

Further, they suggest that the researcher should show awareness of the power relations, provide open communication, and conduct verification interviews at various stages to confirm the researcher's understanding of the information collected during the research.

Successful dialogues, however, do not just come from participants' full partnership. Gergen (2009: 122) argues that 'if dialogue is to proceed successfully it is critical that the other understands who we are and what we stand for'. It indicates that both parties need to understand each other, which can be realised through disclosure from both. This arguably means the researcher's sharing of experiences, opinions, feelings and thoughts (Reinharz & Chase 2003). In terms of power relations, Kvale (1996) points out that the researcher's self-disclosure can be a tool to manage the power distance between the researcher and participants. Abell, Locke, Condor, Gibson, and Stevenson (2006) study this self-disclosure and argue that the success of the strategy depends on how 'doing similarity' is viewed by participants. They further caution that the researcher's self-disclosure may lead to amplify the difference between the researcher and participants, resulting in limited story sharing on the part of participants.

Connelly and Clandinin (1990) provide a useful insight to deal with such potential limitations. They state that:

> It is important that the researcher listen first to the practitioner's [participant's] story, and that it is the practitioner who first tells his or her story. This does not mean that the researcher is silenced in the process of narrative inquiry. It does mean that the practitioner, who has long been silenced in the research relationship, is given the time and space to tell her or his story so that it too gains the authority and validity that the research story has long had. (p.4)

Witz (2006) also argues that interviewers can become actively involved in the dialogue only after the participant fully narrated her/his stories. This will help to develop greater alliance with participants.

4. The present study

4.1 The study design

To examine researcher's voice through interactive narrative practice, the research fieldwork was designed in such a way to enable on-going conversation, a dialogical conversation (Anderson 1997) between participants and the researcher (the first author). For twelve months, the researcher conducted iterative individual interviews, regularly responding to each participant with her own stories. There was on-going mutual story sharing between the participants and the researcher. Figure 1 below presents an overview of the story sharing design.

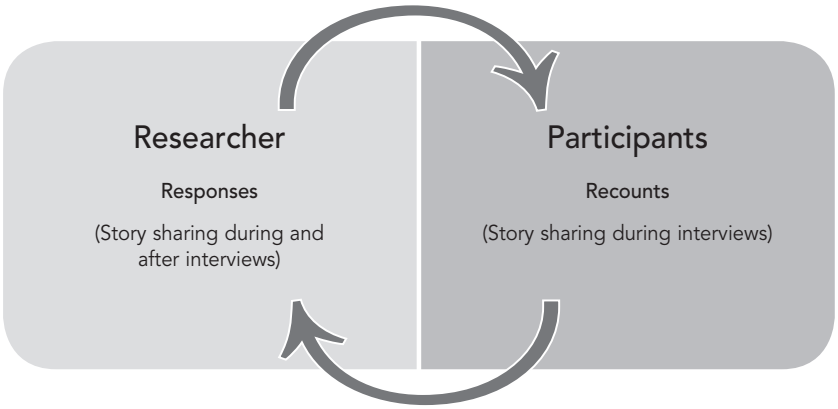

Figure 1: Research design

Keeping in mind the importance of full partnerships and the potential shortcomings of early self-disclosure, the researcher's written response after reflecting on the previous interview was incorporated as a tool in the research design. Barkhuizen (2011) similarly used this tool as a means to establish a narrative dialogue between himself as a lecturer and his student teachers. In this study, it was designed so that the researcher became actively involved in the dialogue after each interview session through written response. The response consisted of the researcher's feelings, thoughts, and her own stories after reflecting on the participants' stories. Each participant received seven written responses.

4.2 The story tellers

Six participants were invited to participate in the research. They were all Asian migrant mothers using English as an additional language. Two participants were from South Korea, two from China, one from India and one from Japan. Like the participants, the researcher is an Asian migrant mother. She is also an English language learner in the sense that she uses it as an additional language. The participants and the researcher thus had several identities in common.

This leads us to examine the outcomes of interactive narrative practice. We now discuss how participants responded to the researcher's story sharing and how the researcher's voice influenced the research process.

5. The dynamics of mutual storying

Participants were involved in eight in-depth interviews approximately over twelve months from February 2013 to March 2014. The interviews included one initial interview, seven post-recount interviews, and one reflective interview. Initial interviews focussed on individuals' migrant lives. Their stories included the past in their home country, the current situation, and their future hopes. The six post-recount interviews, conducted monthly, focussed on significant events the participant experienced. After each interview, the researcher transcribed the recorded data and sent it back to the participant to be confirmed. At the same time, the researcher sent her own responses to the participants' stories. These included thoughts and feelings about the shared stories along with the researcher's related personal stories. The final individual reflective interviews were conducted approximately five months after the sixth post-recount interview. This interview aimed to summarize participants' individual journeys. It was also an opportunity for the participant actively to confirm and/or add to the researcher's understanding of the participant's narrative. During this interview session, the researcher asked how they felt about researcher's story sharing and they might have been affected. Based on participants' comments about the researcher's story sharing, the following insights emerged.

5.1 Narrowing power distance

Story sharing resulted in narrowing the power distance between participants and the researcher. In this study, the participants' and researcher's relationship

began with distance, despite the researcher's friendly approach. As Kvale (1996) notes, even a friendly relationship between the researcher and participants may conceal significant power differences. Although participants may agree to be interviewed for the purposes of research, it is the researcher who benefits most directly from the research, and participants are not unaware of this imbalance.

The researcher is thus often expected to be the one with knowledge, which was evident in the first few interviews of this study. Participants often expected to be asked the *right* questions because the researcher *knows* exactly what to ask. Mia's comments in the second interview illustrate this aspect well:

> You can ask questions in relation to the way you want to conclude your writing . . . I am wondering [if] my interview is going to the way that is very different from what you have in your mind . . . if there is a possibility I would like to answer the way you want.

Participants often asked whether they were telling the stories the way the researcher wanted and expected. The initial relationship between the researcher and participants was that of knower and not-knower.

However, comments from the last interview indicate signs of narrowed distance. Participants shared their opinions on the researcher's story sharing. They felt they were understood and heard, not just answering questions to satisfy the research questions. Excerpts below illustrate how participants were empowered by the researcher's stories:

> I am not the only one going through that kind of experiences. Somebody understands what I have been through . . . Yes I can do it. (Jessica)

> Your stories consoled me. Very similar experience but different situation and you shared them with me and it also confirmed my judgement and feeling. (Mia)

> Reading your story was a lot better than 'I am just answering the questions'. (Jessica)

Both Jessica and Mia recognised the researcher as someone with similar experiences. They were not only the researched. They had become empathetic respondents to the researcher's stories. Thus there was the exchange of feeling with the stories. As Witz (2006) argues, interviewing for feeling as well as information helps researchers develop a closer alliance with participants,

narrowing power distance and increasing holistic understanding. Sharing stories narrowed the perceived and anticipated power gap between the researcher and the participants.

5.2 Caring community

Story sharing helped to develop a caring community. On-going conversation between the participants and researcher for twelve months allowed both participants and the researcher time to develop rapport. Each interview began with inquiries of each other's overall well-being. At the beginning, the participants expressed interest in and concerns about the researcher's personal wellbeing, asking, 'How are your children?' and 'How was your holiday?'

As the interviews progressed, participants became increasingly interested in the progress of the research itself. There were more specific concerns about their part in the study, such as, 'I should not talk too much; I read your transcription. You must have had really hard time transcribing all that, too much work for you'. They were concerned about whether their stories would contribute to the research, for example, 'I heard that the more I talk, the better data you might get'. As the interviews progressed further, participants' comments and questions began to reflect their growing agency as active contributors to the research. They made requests, such as, 'Please put this one in your research. I think they should know this', and comments: 'I will be glad if they get something out of my story'.

During the final interview, the researcher asked each participant about the effect of story sharing. They commented regarding the relationship:

> After reading, I didn't write back. I just read . . . when you finish writing the stories, can I read it? (Emily)

> I just see you as our sisters. Just plan to talk about things, not like interviews. (Holly)

> It helps me as well because we are both immigrants . . . I have so many other stories if you want. (Mia)

Emily apologised to the researcher that she did not read all responses. Holly referred to the researcher as one of her sisters, indicating the closeness she felt towards the researcher. Mia commented that she was willing to help the researcher whenever necessary.

Thus, a caring interpersonal relationship and a growing shared interest

in the research goals contributed to the research. What's more, these developments illustrate how on-going interaction and sharing experiences helped create a caring community (Connelly & Clandinin 1990).

5.3 Mutual disclosure

Story sharing led to mutual self-disclosure. The self-disclosure arose from the narrowed power distance and a caring relationship developed between the participants and the researcher. The similar social identities of the researcher and participants were valuable to *do similarity* (Abell et al. 2006). The researcher's experiences as an Asian migrant mother using English as an additional language were understood by participants, and the researcher could understand the participants' experiences. The stories were heard by both parties.

In this study, researcher self-disclosure was done though informal conversation during the interview and post-interview written responses. The following excerpt from the last interview indicates that participants appreciated the researcher's disclosure and felt secure to tell their stories:

> I think you were really open. You did share whatever you thought about your family and problems. I appreciated that. Because you didn't have to do that. I think you were pretty open and straightforward about things. You explained me exactly what was required of me. So I was comfortable talking to you. You know. I have this confidence in you that this information I shared with you will be only with you, nobody else. So that the confidentiality was there. I have enjoyed working, being a part of it. (Simi)

At the same time, security and confidentiality were enhanced by the distance between the researcher and participants, as the researcher was an outsider to participants' communities. As Holly mentioned below, the researcher was not part of Holly's close social circle, which reduced her vulnerability to possible gossip about her shared stories. As she put it,

> Sometimes it is really hard to talk to people, close to the group, background. You wouldn't feel secure but we don't have much benefit between us. So we feel more open to talk about things. (Holly)

The researcher's self-disclosure, in a socially safe context, may have thus contributed to more open story sharing.

5.4 Narrative knowledging

The timing of the final reflective interview allowed time and space to reflect on the story sharing between the researcher and participants. There was conversation about what their story sharing meant to each other. Cortazzi, Jin, Wall, and Cavendish (2001: 257), in a study of shared communication through narratives, claim that 'the retelling of significant experiences of learning to others is itself a reflective way for both teller and audience to learn more about that experience by interactively weaving together theory and practice with humane threads'. Re-teller and audiences are aware of their respective influences on the research. A re-teller's reflexivity is thus relational, strengthened in relation to others (D'Cruz et al. 2007).

Some scholars (e.g. Donati 2011; Gilbert & Sliep 2009; Hosking & Pluut 2010) propose the notion of relational reflexivity to account for mutual and reciprocal social learning. Among them, Gilbert and Sliep (2009: 477) argue that reflexivity is a relational and dynamic process in context. They suggest that 'reflexivity should move beyond a reflexivity of self as an internal process to reflexivity within the relationships between people in a performative space'. Looking back to the journey of story sharing together became an instance of relational reflexivity.

The outcome of on-going story sharing resulted in learning through relational reflexivity. Barkhuizen (2011: 395) sees this as part of *narrative knowledging*, which he defines as 'the meaning making, learning, and knowledge construction that takes place at all stages of a narrative research project'. For Holly, it could be translated into *wisdom* as seen below. This narrative knowledging may have helped her to confirm her identity as someone resourceful for her community—Holly had been a translator and interpreter for Chinese communities. She said that she could help, encourage and inspire people by referring the researcher's stories:

> Even you talk about your problems will help me. . . . When you share your story, I learn from you and can help people. . . . Also, I learn things. Means my life is more . . . into future. If you understand life you get yourself improved or you go upstairs. . . .you are growing up, get mature. . . . You learn lesson. . . . You gain more wisdom from other people's lessons. (Holly)

Narrative knowledging was not only limited to participants. The researcher also recognised it. The brief conversation below indicates the researcher's acknowledgement of learning from the on-going conversation with Simi.

During the last interview, the researcher and Simi reviewed the interview journey and the researcher commented that Simi's experiences gave her insights on how to live successfully as a migrant.

Researcher: I think especially with you, I learnt how to live. You know what I mean.

Simi: The positive.

Researcher: Yes.

The excerpt above shows the researcher and the participant together made meaning from their shared stories. The last conversation with Jessica (below) also indicates that both parties acknowledged learning from story sharing. The researcher commented that she gained 'strength' to move forwards and Jessica replied by saying that 'it is okay. I can do it'.

Jessica: When I read your story, I felt like almost everyone has similar experiences as a mum, as a student, . . . And actually I feel comfort from your stories. I am not the only one going through that kind of experience. Somebody understands what I have been through, something like that.

Researcher: Yes. I was the same. Listening to your story and reading the transcripts after the interview, something was really similar. Yes, I did have similar experiences. I think I gained strength.

Jessica: It is okay. I can do it.

By reflecting on the journey of story sharing, participants and the researcher recognised how much they had learnt from each other's stories and developed a new narrative, in which both acknowledged was that they could be successful even though both were mothers and language learners. This outcome illustrates Kyratzis and Green's claim that 'narratives are collaborative and are products of the communicative context in which they are constructed' and that 'narrative has a role in constituting social life' (1997: 34). Striano (2012) points out that narrative is a way of constructing new social discourses through negotiation and participation. Eder's (1988) discourse analysis study similarly shows that co-narrating a story results in the development of shared perception and stronger social bonds. In this way, story sharing played an important role in narrative knowledging, co-constructing knowledge in social contexts.

6. Conclusion: Story sharing as a narrative knowledging tool

Narrative researchers accept that there is still a pressing need for tools to ease the on-going issues in narrative research such as power relations and knowledge construction. A story sharing tool to respond to the lack of the researcher's voice and to promote the co-constructed nature of narrative has showed that participants and the researcher acknowledged the tool helped narrow power distance, and develop close relationships and reciprocal learning. Narrative knowledging (Barkhuizen 2011) was evident in this interactive narrative practice through story sharing. The tool was helpful to ease some well-known issues in narrative research, and thus it can inform future studies.

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NARRATIVE CONSTRUCTION OF THE SELF[1]

David Lumsden: *Philosophy Programme, University of Waikato*
<d.lumsden@waikato.ac.nz>

Abstract

An approach to the identity of persons or selves based on the creation of a self-narrative may capture a holism among experiences, as a narrative could provide a linking thread, as well as demonstrating the relationship between an experience and its owner. On this approach, the self is identified with the narrative object so, for a person to persist is for the self-narrative to persist. The notion of personal identity through time cannot be divorced from personal identity at a time. Once we fully appreciate that, we need not follow Schechtman in presenting her narrative approach to personal identity in terms of the characterisation question as opposed to the reidentification question.

1. Theories of persons and selves

Philosophers typically use the phrase 'personal identity' to talk about what it is to be one and the same person over time. The term 'numerical identity' is used to capture that notion of being one and the same thing while, in contrast, 'qualitative identity' means having many of the same significant or obvious qualities. Thus, the standard philosophical topic of personal identity is the *numerical* identity of persons, with a focus on identity through time. We can also consider issues of numerical identity at a time. For an object such as tree,

numerical identity at a time amounts to its spatial extent at a time. Are this root and that branch both parts of the same tree? For persons, identity at a time is less straightforward.

'Person' is an unusual category of thing, and this is reflected in issues concerning identity. Many philosophers, following John Locke (1690/2001: 266–280), distinguish between the identity of persons and the identity of human beings, where the latter concerns the identity of a live human body. Being the same *person* is thought by many to be something determined by a person's psychological characteristics. Locke is particularly influential here, saying that 'person' stands for 'a thinking intelligent being, that has reason and reflection, and can consider itself as itself, the same thinking thing, in different times and places; which it does only by that consciousness which is inseparable from thinking …' (268). Most of the debate following Locke has centered around issues of personal identity through time, but this focus on self-reflective consciousness also speaks to the issue of identity at time, for what is contained within that self-reflective consciousness would constitute the psychological extent of the person at a time. This focus on what experiences a person can be aware of as their own, typically employs use of the reflexive suffix 'self' in 'himself', 'herself' or 'myself'. This, no doubt, is what has led to the use of 'self' as a noun, by authors both in Locke's day and more recent ones, such as Williams (1974), to refer in effect to a person, but with an emphasis on a person's ability to self-reflect.

Locke's account has frequently been explicated in terms of memory. It is apparent, however, that it is too strong a requirement to say that I need to remember some earlier time for those experiences to be mine (Reid 1941). We often simply forget what we did or experienced. Even where two moments in the life of a continuing person are not directly linked by memory, there still can be continuity of memory provided the two moments are indirectly linked by a series of steps, each of which is a direct memory connection.

Psychological continuity need not be wholly based on memory, though, as continuity of character traits may also be important. This comes to the fore where a person no longer retains memories to an adequate extent, but yet their character still shines through. Oliver Sacks' (1985, Chapter 2) description of a person with severe retrograde amnesia may provide an example. Sacks refers to Luria (1976: 250–2) who says, "But a man does not consist of memory alone. He has feeling, will, sensibilities, moral being — matters of which neuropsychology does not speak." On the other hand, where some physical or psychological trauma affects a person such as to bring about a major change

of character, we are tempted to allow the continuity of memory to trump the change in character and affirm continuing personal identity. Psychological continuity also includes the forming of intentions that may later be carried out.

2. Psychological Continuity and Parfit

An influential modern version of the psychological continuity view is that of Derek Parfit (1971; 1984). He focusses initially on direct psychological connections, including memories of past experiences, intentions that lead to actions, and persisting beliefs and wants. Consider my mental state at about 9 am this morning and compare it with my mental state at about 9 am yesterday. If I am reasonably alert, then this morning I remembered various things I did yesterday morning, and perhaps various feelings I had then, and maybe this morning I carried out some things on the basis of intentions I formed yesterday. Parfit says that we have 'strong connectedness' between such moments when we have enough direct connections between them. But it is unlikely that I have strong connectness between 9 am this morning and 9 am 27 years ago (unless that were a particularly significant day). Even so, we still want to be able to say that I am the same person I was 27 years ago. Parfit explains that personal identity depends on overlapping chains of strong connectedness; there are many steps of direct connectedness that link up the whole life. Parfit's (1984: 205–6) chains of connections are similar to the series of moments connected by memory that I mentioned above.

Bishop Butler (1736) raises a charge of circularity against the kind of psychological criterion typified by a memory criterion. The charge is that it is veridical rather than delusive memories that are required for the criterion but, in order to know whether we have a veridical memory, we need to already know whether we have the same person. In response, Parfit (1984: 220) defines a kind of memory-like experience, which is causally related in some appropriate way to the earlier experience, without the identity of the rememberer and the original experiencer being simply presupposed. He calls this 'q-memory' or 'quasi-memory' (Parfit 1971; 1984). How to restrict the kind of causal relationship is a matter for debate. Analogous to quasi-memories, there are quasi-intentions and so forth. These quasi states may be used to define personal identity without circularity.

Parfit's psychological continuity account is a form of reductionism for personal identity, as will be discussed further in section 4. It goes with that

territory that there can be circumstances where there is no clear answer to a personal identity question (Parfit 1984: 213). This does not disturb him as he thinks that what matters, including what one is attached to in planning one's future, can be detached from strict identity (Parfit 1984: Chapters 12 & 13). This outcome reflects the awareness that Parfit and others have of the potential of the psychological continuity account to allow that a person could divide into two branches. His view allows that we could be concerned for the future of each branch.

While the psychological continuity tradition is strong amongst philosophers of personal identity, it has its rivals. The view known as 'animalism' claims that for the familiar case in which persons have the form of human beings, a kind of animal, the criteria that determine what it is to be the same human being also serve to determine what it is to be the same person, providing the human is still a person and not in a persistent vegetative state (Olson 1997; Olson 2007). At the other extreme is 'the simple view', the view that personal identity is a unique and strict form of identity not admitting of degrees, which can take the form that personal identity simply depends on the identity of a soul (Shoemaker and Swinburne 1984: 20). It is directly opposed to any form of reductionism.

3. Introducing the notion of a narrative and how it may relate to the self

A narrative approach to the self is often presented as a rival to the psychological continuity theory, although we could regard it as a close cousin (Gillett 2013: 43). I shall specifically consider the idea that we create ourselves by constructing a narrative.

The notion of a narrative is applied in a wide variety of contexts and, unsurprisingly, narrative theory is a broad church. The notion of a narrative is often traced back to Aristotle, although his primary target was what made for a good dramatic tragedy (Hyvärinen et al. 2010: 2). The notion, central in literary theory, is applied in a wide range of disciplines. For example, it provides a school of thought in historiography, with Louis Mink (1974) being influential in relating historical narratives to literary narratives. Within cognitive psychology, Jerome Bruner (1986, 1990) played a crucial role in bringing the notion of a narrative to the fore, and Oliver Sacks (1985: 105) is also influential in that area, saying;

> If we wish to know about a man, we ask 'what is his story, his real, inmost story?' — for each of us *is* a biography, a story. Each of us *is* a singular narrative, which is constructed, continually, unconsciously, by, through, and in us — through our perceptions, our feelings, our thoughts, our actions; and not least, our discourse, our spoken narrations.

Sacks' work shows how the narrative approach can be useful in describing clinical cases that can be described as 'disorders of the self'; see also the more recent work of Lloyd Wells (2003) and Maria Medved and Jens Brockmeier (2010).

The focus on the self created by a narrative is further developed in philosophical work. Alasdair McIntyre (1984) played a seminal role in the narrative approach to the investigation of the self within philosophy. That use of the notion of a narrative is to be found in both the continental philosophical tradition, notably Paul Ricoeur (1992), and the analytic, for example Daniel Dennett (1992) and Marya Schechtman (1996), who will provide a particular focus here. My account will relate the narrative approach to the self to the topic of personal identity as described in sections 2 and 3 above, but we should note that the narrative approach was not developed in that particular framework. Schechtman brings the narrative approach into contact with that framework but not without disrupting key assumptions, as we shall see.

Given the breadth of work in narrative theory it should be no surprise that a clear, agreed definition of 'narrative' will be elusive. Nevertheless, inspired by examples from the 'home turf' narratives (novels, biographies and soap operas), I suggest some key features of a narrative, on the basis of which we can address the notion of a self-narrative:

- ☐ It involves a sequence in time.
- ☐ It is created by an author or authors.
- ☐ It is available to consciousness.
- ☐ It is incomplete in the sense that a narrative does not include all details in the person's life.
- ☐ It expresses a theme or plot, which provides an emphasis and interpretative lens for events.

Clearly, within that last point especially, there are a number of ideas that cry out for elaboration and there are other points that are open to challenge, as

we shall see, but let us proceed to apply these ideas to self-narratives. I am suggesting that narratives are incomplete and not just in the sense of being unfinished. While a person's life is typically awash with trivial details, what is needed for the construction of the self is the construction of a theme or structure of themes. Narrative theory need not be applied to persons in this way, though. For example, MacIntyre (1984) and Phillips (2003) speak of *a life itself* having a narrative form. That is different from the claim being considered here and involves a conception of narrative in which narratives *can be* complete. In this view, narratives can be said to be 'continuous with life' (Carr 1986: 16).

How should we start to articulate the notion that a self is created by the construction of a narrative? What is the alternative? Naïvely, we might want to say selfhood is handed to us on a plate as part of our human biological heritage. While our biological heritage is surely crucial, it may be so in a way that leaves room for such a narrative construction process. Brian Boyd (2009) provides a comprehensive biocultural account of storytelling. He argues that story telling is adaptive as "it has sharpened social cognition and extended our capacity to think beyond the here and now" (p. 206). While he himself is not convinced by the view that the self is essentially narrative, which he says is widely treated as 'almost a truism', he does explain and defend the view that humans are natural story-tellers (pp. 159–60). As an echo of Chomsky's (1965: Chapter 1, section 8) notion of a language acquisition device, we might be tempted to say that humans have a 'narrative construction device'. That would suggest a highly specialised innate cognitive process, but all that is really needed to support the Narrativist approach to the self is that humans have good story telling abilities from an early age, abilities that can be applied to the task of creating one's own self-narrative.

Michael Gazzaniga (1998) regards 'the self as the product of stories we tell about ourselves' and does appear to posit a biologically real 'device' when he speaks of an interpreter in the left hemisphere that constructs 'intelligible and coherent narratives' about what goes on in our mental lives. There are two questions here and each warrant further enquiry: first, are humans natural story tellers? Boyd offers an evolutionary explanation in favour. Second, does such a story telling capacity get employed in the creation of a self-narrative that defines the self?

The narrative construction of the self view certainly has its critics. For example, Peter Lamarque (2004) thinks that, while there is interest in specific forms of narrative, there is little interest in narratives in general, and the

tendency to understand all narratives on the model of literary narratives leads to narratives in general being overvalued. With respect to narratives and the self, he considers that narratives are stories that exist only when told and when we focus on the narratives one tells about oneself there is nothing to support grand claims about self-identity. Lamarque certainly provides a corrective to an uncritical enthusiasm for the notion of a narrative. His focus on narratives that are told, though, may make him miss insights about an implicit self-constructed narrative that never gets fully told.

Galen Strawson (2004) offers a more radical criticism of narrative theories of the self. While allowing that some people may have narrative structure to their lives, he is adamant that not all do, including himself. In the context of that discussion, he distinguishes between people who are Episodic and those who are Diachronic. He says (p. 430) one is an Episodic if "one does not figure oneself, considered as a self, as something that was there in the (further) past and will be there in the (further) future." The Diachronic is one who *does* naturally consider oneself like that. He says 'Episodics have no particular tendency to see their life in Narrative terms'. This represents a sceptical view about selves as continuing entities. That is a legitimate position in logical space, but one we need to leave to one side if our interest is whether the notion of a narrative is useful in understanding the persistence of selves. Strawson does allow that there are persistence conditions for human beings, given the distinction between human beings and selves.

4. The appeal of the narrative view

What motivations are there to explore a narrative approach to the self? In particular, does this approach have advantages over a psychological continuity approach? The narrative approach, it is argued, avoids the unrealistic reductionism of the psychological continuity approach (Schechtman 1990: 73). We can understand reductionism in this context as the view that experiences (or, as we shall see later, person stages) function as discrete entities like Lego™ blocks that can be used to build up a self. But experiences typically are not discrete, and narrative theory contains some prospects for explaining their interconnection. It may also tell us what it is for an experience to be mine.

First, let us consider why experiences in general are not discrete. My total experience of going to the cinema on a particular occasion cannot be completely separated from the visit being with certain particular friends or

family members in a certain familiar place. Schechtman (1990: 79–84) cites Edward Casey (1987: 25–6) who describes the experience of seeing a certain French film with English sub-titles; see also Lumsden (2013: 5). Schechtman is discussing a possibility that arises in connection with Parfit's notion of a quasi-memory, sketched above in section 2. Parfit (1984: 220) suggests the situation of one person's memory being surgically implanted in another's head could provide an instance of the second person having a quasi-memory.

Schechtman points out, though, that the transportation of a bare replica of the experience, would jar hugely with the mental life of the recipient. The recipient may be unlike the original subject in French language ability and may have no knowledge of those friends or family. Where there *are* people known in common, the emotional connections to them are likely to be different. That lack of coherence would surely make it feel less like a memory and more like a disturbing alien input. If, on the other hand, surrounding features of the original subject are imported along with the memory, such as associated memories of those family members, then we are on the road to changing the recipient into something more like the original subject, which jeopardises the goal of detaching the notion of quasi-memory from assumptions about personal identity. The interconnectedness among memories that this example illustrates is not rare, but commonplace. Thus a Lego block model, which the transplantation scenario presupposes, is misleading. A narrative theory holds prospects for explaining the nature of the interconnectedness of experiences, by providing a linking thread.

This leads into the question of what makes an experience *mine*. Paul Ricoeur (1992: 133) opposes the way that Parfit reduces personal identity to particular mental states connected in a certain way, saying, 'But can what is one's own be a particular case of the impersonal?' He thinks that it is an essential feature of an experience that it is *someone's* experience, and he endorses a narrative view of the nature of such a subject of experience. For him, the reality of the self is fundamental, in a way suggestive of the simple view, mentioned above. But the interconnectedness of experiences can alternatively be viewed as positively *creating* the subject of an experience. As one experience blends into another, the experiences 'hold hands' in such a way that a larger entity takes shape. Similarly, where an experience is linked into a whole narrative structure, we can see that the structure is a self, the owner of the experience. Whether there needs to be a self-narrative that covers the whole of a person's life may be contested (Lumsden 2013).

The motivations for a narrative understanding of the self that I have

outlined here are of a broad theoretical nature and do not emphasise a rival specification of persistence conditions for selves, which could seek confirmation from our intuitions about particular cases. Even so, we can regard the persistence conditions for selves on this view as follows. Rather than attending to the *content* of the self-narrative, we need to attend to the constructed narrative as an object, one that is constantly changing as the story gets added to, as well as being revised or even degraded with the passage of time. The general idea is that this object is the self, so to follow that object is to follow the self. To speak of an 'object' here is not to speak of a typical physical object, but a virtual object that might be transmittable from one human body to another.

Thus, just as a psychological continuity theory of personal identity could allow for body swaps, in the kind of way that Locke describes between a prince and a cobbler, so similarly could a narrative account of personal identity, understood this way. Two people could swap bodies on this account if the narrative object of each is transmitted into the other body so that it becomes sensitive to that new body's experiences and leads to its behaviour. What form of transmission is required is a matter open to debate, in much the same way as the kinds of causal processes required to preserve memories or quasi-memories are open to debate within the psychological continuity theory.

5. The circularity problem for narrative creation

Earlier I suggested that narratives are created by an author (or authors) and this should apply to a narrative that creates a self. Here we have a new circularity issue, for we appear to need the self to be already present in order to serve as author of the narrative. We should acknowledge the possibility of co-authorship for, if I am feeding off the reactions and conceptions of others in constructing my narrative, then I am not authoring alone. But this does not solve the problem, since I must be at least a leading author of my self-narrative.

In one place, Daniel Dennett (1993: 418) takes a very short line indeed with this problem, saying, 'Our tales are spun, but for the most part we don't spin them; they spin us. Our human consciousness and our narrative selfhood, is their product, not their source.' This involves denying that narratives need to be created by an author. There are materials in Dennett's work that suggest a more nuanced approach, though. Dennett's (1987) anti-realist (or mild realist)

approach to mental contents, such as beliefs and desires, takes them to be as real as the equator or the centre of gravity of an object. Postulating them is not an arbitrary move, for they are useful in practical ways, even though they are not straightforwardly real. Moving along a spectrum from simpler creatures and systems to highly complex ones, Dennett (1987: 32) says there is no 'magic moment' at which they have (genuine) beliefs and desires. There are simply different degrees to which postulating them is well motivated.

In a similar way, he opposes full realism with respect to selves, preferring to describe them as 'centres of narrative gravity', linking the theme of narrative creation with the 'centres of gravity' phrase that suggests (partial) anti-realism. The picture can be filled out with Dennett's (1993: Chapter 5) picture of the mind involving competing themes and processes, without a centre stage where the conscious self is located. This picture is consistent with the notion of a self as a work in progress, which gradually firms up its own metaphysical status, avoiding a vicious circularity.

6. Marya Schechtman's view

In addressing personal identity, Schechtman (1996: 2) distinguishes between the reidentification question and the characterisation question. The reidentification question concerns what it is to be the same person as one identified at a previous time, and thus is to be understood in a metaphysical way, in contrast to the epistemological question of how we come to *know* whether we have the same person as at some previous time (Noonan 1989: 2; Schechtman 1996: 7). The characterisation question concerns which 'psychological features make someone the person she is', the sense of 'personal identity' that applies to identity crises. The reidentification question must relate to numerical identity through time, while the characterisation question might appear to involve qualitative identity. Shechtman identifies four features as 'what matters' in personal identity: survival, moral responsibility, self-interested concern and compensation. She argues that, while the psychological continuity view was designed to accommodate such features, it fails, because it wrongly seeks to locate these features in an answer to the *reidentification* question.

One aspect of Schechtman's argument concerns the way that, in Parfit's position for example, psychological continuity involves a reduction of persons to person stages, where a person stage is a person at a moment of time, a time-slice of a person. Thus, a full person is a collection of person stages, which

provide it with an extent through the fourth dimension of time. An individual person stage that pulled the trigger is distinct from any later person stage that is arrested (Schechtman 1996: 56). She does not think that the relationship that the psychological continuity theorists consider holds between the stages adequately bears the burden of explaining our intuition that a person should be held responsible for her *own* actions. Her position is that, in order to accommodate what matters, we need to address the characterisation question and develops her narrative self-constitution view in that context. While the characterisation question might appear to concern the characteristics a person has at a time, not so for Schechtman, as she attempts to develop a view of personal identity that addresses the characterisation question and yet satisfies those four features, which precisely concern continuing through time. In her view, a self-narrative provides a *characterisation* of the person that incorporates her extent through time.

Schechtman's framing of the issues around the characterisation question and the reidentification question forces the discussion into an awkward form. The notion of reidentification, for her, takes us straight to the kind of reductionism that she objects to. But reidentification in ordinary usage is not so metaphysically loaded. The traditional discussion of the criteria of personal identity through time gets its life in large part from the everyday practice of taking a person one is dealing with now to be the same person one encountered at some previous time, in short, reidentification. This is something we need to accommodate. But there is a way that we can straightforwardly acknowledge that we are dealing with reidentification and still accommodate Schechtman's main insights.

'What matters' inevitably relates to numerical identity through time, but specifying the extent of something through time cannot be divorced from a consideration of its extent at a time. If I wish to specify what it is to be the same tree through time I need to understand what its physical extent is at its various stages, for it may not be obvious whether I have a single tree in front of me or a clump of them. In dealing with a person, the matter is understandably more complex. I suggested that Locke's understanding of a person in terms of self-awareness provides us with a view of personal identity at a time. But that conception has been challenged by the acceptance of the notion of the unconscious. If we wish to know whether we have the same person we need to know whether the unconscious is part of what we are tracking. Schechtman (1996: 114–9) brings the unconscious into the narrative approach when she discusses 'implicit narratives'. Issues of the extent of a person at a time

become very real in the case of certain disorders. Sacks (1985: Chapter 10) describes a patient with Tourette's Syndrome, which produces a variety of symptoms from purely physical tics to various kinds of higher level behaviour such as humour and was associated, in this particular patient, with highly imaginative and unpredictable drumming. The issue arises as to whether the condition is part of the person or not and, in the view of this patient, it definitely is. He said (p. 93), "Suppose you *could* take away the tics … What would be left? I consist of tics — there'd be nothing left." This consideration about identity at a time clearly has significance for identity through time, as for him, a 'cure' would be death.

There are also reasons to think that identity at a time issues need to take on board identity through time issues. Recall Schechtman's discussion of the reduction of persons to person stages. A momentary person stage does not, in a straightforward way, have the normal characteristics of persons, such as deciding to do something for reasons, remembering what they did or wanting to feel better, for those things have an intrinsic reach through time. The episode of going to a French movie, discussed above, can illustrate the point. The experience of seeing the movie with one's family cannot be detached from the history of experience with that family. Any attempt to specify that particular moment of oneself inevitably takes one to previous moments, so identity at a time leads us inevitably to identity through time. What we should conclude is that, while we can engage in the distinction between identity at a time and through time as a convenient abstraction, we should not be led to the metaphysical category of person stages and reduction of a person to them.

The moral is that dealing with a person requires us to deal with the whole scope of a person, integrating the 'at a time' and 'through time' dimensions. The features that matter, such as survival, need to be considered in relation to that whole scope of a person, and it is natural to think that this is relevant to reidentification, which need not be understood as implying reductionism. We can follow Schechtman's lead in using a narrative construction view to specify that whole scope of a person. It makes sense to use the concept of characterisation when describing that whole scope of a person, but Schechtman distorts the situation by claiming that survival concerns the characterisation question, *in contrast to* the reidentification question. Where there is a narrative that provides the answer to the characterisation question, then there is, in principle, an answer to the reidentification question, not by inspecting the *content* of the characterisation but, rather, by following the narrative object that contains the characterisation.

It is tempting, but wrong, to think we need to consider qualitative identity in this discussion. That is a notion that concerns comparing two numerically different things, two ball-bearings for example, which may share many of their qualities. Schechtman's notion of characterisation does not require that comparative aspect, but merely concerns how the whole scope of a person may be characterised. We need to consider a person holistically, and narrative theory provides an approach to doing that. My claim about the interdependence of identity through time and identity at a time articulates that holism in one particular way. I have shown that our ordinary notion of reidentification fits comfortably into that picture.

7. Conclusion

The hypothesis that the self is composed of a self-narrative provides a productive framework for thinking about selves or persons. It can be seen as overcoming a line of objection to standard forms of the psychological continuity theory by doing justice to the holism that a realistic appreciation of a person requires. I wish to suggest that, on this view, we have the same person where we have the same virtual narrative object, something that is constantly developing. Schechtman's development of the narrative view of personal identity is presented as an answer to the characterisation question rather than the reidentification question. In contrast, I emphasise an ordinary understanding of reidentification questions which I claim cannot be separated from what matters in personal identity. We need to provide an account of the full extent of a person, where we see the interdependence of identity at a time and identity through time, and a narrative approach arguably provides that account.

Note

1 I wish to acknowledge the contributions to this paper from an anonymous referee for this journal, participants in the symposium 'Narrative: State of the Art in Aotearoa'at the University of Waikato, 17 April, 2014, organized by Farzana Gounder; those attending my seminar in the University of Waikato philosophy seminar series on July 24, 2014; and students in my graduate Philosophy of Mind course in the first semester of 2015: Kerry Lockhart, Brendon Paterson, and Daniel Schmidt.

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NORFOLK PITCAIRN *BOUNTY*: MYTH NARRATIVE PLACE[1]

Joshua Nash: *Discipline of Linguistics, University of New England*
<joshua.nash@une.edu.au>

Abstract

The myth of Pitcairn Island and Norfolk Island is significant for Pacific contact linguistics, anthropology, and narrative studies. Norfolk toponymy (placenaming) is used to explore aspects of cultural acclimatisation, narrative, and identity construction. The treatment of physical placename signs as observable narrative form and the idea of narrative construction through naming comprise the theoretical scope. *Bounty* as a heuristic observed in placenames is explored through contemporary small story narratives which operate within the broader big story constructions in the social and linguistic landscape of Pitcairn and Norfolk. Several narratives are put forward which examine how key road names on contemporary Norfolk Island make sense of a Pitcairn and *Bounty*-inspired past. Placenames as linguistic artefacts and cultural capital demonstrate how settlement, cultural and linguistic adaptation, and the eventual crystallisation of a quintessential way of viewing the Norfolk landscape through Pitcairn and *Bounty*-originated toponyms has become realised.

1. Stories and the use of heuristic narratives

Pitcairn, an island of five square kilometres, was uninhabited when the *Bounty* mutineers and their Polynesian consorts arrived. When Norfolk, an island

of 35 square kilometres, was discovered, it was also uninhabited. Research in Pitcairn archaeology evidences European arrivals were not the first to set foot on this South Pacific island outcrop (e.g. Erskine 2004). Archaeological evidence suggests Norfolk had been inhabited for brief periods by Polynesians; they were most likely travelling from eastern Polynesia southward to New Zealand (Anderson & White 2001). Both islands appear to have served as a base for movements in and around the area, although landings on the islands were most likely not for long periods. As there are no known historical records concerning the linguistic history of Pitcairn and Norfolk by the sea faring Polynesians, scholars consider these islands historically uninhabited prior to European colonisation of the South Pacific. It is here Pitcairn and Norfolk written history and documentable narratives and stories begin. My take identifies and idealises how myth becomes solidified in narratives. These narratives exist in the distinct yet intimately and intricately related societies and languages of Pitcairn and Norfolk, cultures separated by more than 6000 kilometres of ocean.

Pitcairn's history is a quintessential example of the search for a safe and peaceful haven in the wide expanse of a then being-explored South Pacific. The history and geography of Pitcairn and Norfolk are important in illustrating discrepancies involving actual geographical and perceived space, time, and distance. On Norfolk Pitcairn is perceived as being close in time-space, with the transpiring of events such as the Mutiny on the *Bounty* in Tahiti in 1789 and the shift to Norfolk in 1856 intuited as recent happenings. The legend of Pitcairn and Norfolk and its significance for Pacific contact linguistics and anthropology has existed for more than 150 years. The way of seeing the world is associated intrinsically with their common past and a strong awareness of boundaries of their home, and the importance of the myth of discovery and life on two separate and idyllic South Seas paradises. Here I am concerned with whether the social and linguistic stories and narratives, which exist in the cultures of these islands, can be used heuristically to explain how two similar examples of settlement, cultural, and linguistic adaptation, and the eventual crystallisation of a quintessential way of viewing the Norfolk landscape through Pitcairn and *Bounty*-inspired toponyms.

I adhere in part to Labov's (2011) definition emphasising the importance of a linear temporal ordering of events, people, and things. Under such a rubric, narrative is one way of recounting past events in which the order of narrative clauses matches the order in which events occurred. I interpret myth as linked intricately to narrative; a myth is a traditional story, especially one concerning

the early history of a people or explaining a natural or social phenomenon. Where descriptions of myths typically involve supernatural beings or events (e.g. Berndt & Berndt 1989, Rumsey & Weiner 2001), my posing of the *Bounty* myth is not based in fictitious history or events, but in how such events and narratives are managed, give rise to, and shape the members of the communities who know and use them. *Bounty* is a larger master cultural narrative or *big story* (cf. Bamberg 2006; Freeman 2006), which I conceive of containing several *small stories* (e.g. Georgakopoulou 2007), of which toponymy is but one. While the Pitcairn-Norfolk myth is problematic when treated from a temporary linear approach to narrative, because of the complexity of parallel events such as the back migration to Pitcairn of certain families from Norfolk in 1861, and other events which have occurred in different time-space, 'The Norfolk, Bounty, Pitcairn saga' (Clark 1986) is well established within Pacific history and social science.

One of the key metaphors which propels Pitcairn and *Bounty* narratives on Norfolk is how a paradise might become hell and how hell turns to paradise. I appraise this aspect of knowledge creation and claim that knowledge and how these ways of knowing are produced and represented in the Norfolk landscape. In addition, my study is concerned with insider-outsider dichotomies of language use, particularly lesser known, esoteric toponyms in Norf'k, the Norfolk Island language. I present a selection of road name toponyms collected on Norfolk to illustrate how the *Bounty* and Pitcairn myth can be used to explore the narratives which appear in the Norfolk toponymic landscape. I am concerned with how linguistic relationships, namely the relationship between myths, stories, and narratives from Pitcairn, are depicted on road and business signs associated with the *Bounty* on Norfolk.[2] I investigate these relationships by observing the representation of the *Bounty* myth in the linguistic landscape of the island by considering how Norfolk Island placenames embody linguistic adaptation which remember, commemorate, and often confuse the myth of the Mutiny on the *Bounty* and the legend of the settlement of Pitcairn Island which occurred in 1790.[3]

The rationale for studying Pitcairn and Norfolk narratives is coupled with how language and place-knowledge can be analysed and realised through toponyms. Small islands are manageable case studies of language and cultural change where parameters of measurement are appreciable and minimised. Islands can starkly depict people and how people strive and learn to adapt to new and trying situations and environments after large spatial and geographical movement. The metaphors of 'islands as utopias' (King &

Connell 1999, Laycock 1987) and 'islands as laboratories' (Spriggs 2008) are applicable in the case of Pitcairn and Norfolk; that these paradises became living hells and paradise again (Clarke 1986) and that they are experiments in human and environment interaction (Nobbs 1991, Mühlhäusler 2003) is integral to the history of these two minute snapshots of humanity.

The story of Pitcairn and Norfolk represents a prototypical example of how two small populations have lived distanced yet connected by the influence of outsiders, while incorporating these outsider ideas, myths, and beliefs into their own relationships to their own island worlds. The perception that the Pitcairn Islanders and the Norfolk Islanders, the Pitcairn descendants living in this external territory of Australia, are somehow special and different is deeply related to the exile of the Pitcairners to Norfolk Island in 1856 and is inextricably linked to the myth of the *Bounty*. The story of language genesis, linguistic adaptation, and environmental change makes the resultant amalgam of linguistic and cultural mixing all the more complex.

Pitkern, spoken by the people of Pitcairn Island, developed into a separate variety on Norfolk Island after the entire population of Pitcairn was relocated in 1856 to Norfolk Island. What was termed *the experiment* by the British Crown (see Bladen 1906; Nobbs 2006: 51), i.e. placing a small group of people from a distant island on a new and unknown environment and observing the results, on Norfolk has evolved into an amalgamation of the major influences on this small group of people with English and Polynesian lineages.

What transpired on Norfolk after the relocation is a study of exile and the naming of an uninhabited island. This linguistic exile (Stroińska & Cecchetto 2003) is manifested in a type of lexical and metaphorical longing for the place from where they had come (see Mühlhäusler 2009) which became solidified particularly in the Norf'k placename and biotic name lexicon. Many entries which remember Pitcairn, e.g. 'hoem' (Pitcairn), 'hoem nanwi' (the Norfolk dream fish [nanwi], which reminded the Norfolk fishers of the Pitcairn nanwi).

2. Islands and indigeneity: processes and principles

> Membership of the Society of Pitcairn Descendants is reserved for those with Pitcairn ancestry — anyone who can trace their blood back to the settlers of 1856. The society aims 'to promote knowledge of the Pitcairn race' and claims Pitcairners are indigenous to Norfolk Island. 'It's not a claim,' says Ric [Robertson] in response to the use of the 'c' [claim] word. 'It's a fact. We

> were the first people as a whole to settle on Norfolk Island as a permanent homeland — now if you want a definition of indigenous that's it, isn't it?' (Latham 2005: 97)

The term *indigenous* is awkward when applied to the people of Pitcairn Island and Norfolk Island. In Australia it is usually reserved to describing Australian indigenous Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, cultures, and languages. In the Pacific, indigenous is typically applied to the people and cultures of Polynesia, Melanesia, and Micronesia. The position of Norfolk Island and the Norfolk Islanders is contentious. In some ways, their indigenousness or indigeneity is linked by blood, language, and ways of seeing the world to Polynesia and Tahiti rather than to Australia. Low's (2012) reflection on how the Australian constitutional position poses Norfolk as an "integral part of Australia" (Commonwealth of Australia 2003) is at odds with the Pitcairn descendants' perceived 'distinctiveness', 'separateness', and connections to place. That much Australian Government reporting describes "Norfolk Island as lacking any pronounced cultural differences to the mainland", which sees "the Island's population as 'ethnically akin' to the rest of Australia" (Low 2012: 20), and that any claim to indigeneity by the Norfolk Islanders is not borne out of historical evidence exists in conflict with claims by some in the Norfolk community "that Norfolk Island is ethnically and culturally distinct from Australia, and that Norfolk Islanders of Pitcairn descent are indigenous and Norfolk Island is their 'homeland'…" (Commonwealth of Australia 2003: 9).

While the complexity of these intricacies fall beyond the scope of my argument, several points are worth noting; with the establishment of the *Norf'k Language Act* (2004) (Administration of Norfolk Island 2004), the only piece of language legislation in Australia and its territories, Norf'k, along with the variety of English spoken on Norfolk, a language with around 400 speakers, became the only official languages recognised with legislation in Australia and its territories. The legacy of the Norfolk Islanders to Pitcairn, a British overseas territory, helps Norfolk and the Norfolk Islanders little in their claim to any arguable degree of Indigenous status within the political confines of Australia. The assumptions which drive my analysis of the *Bounty* narrative on Norfolk are that Norfolk is politically and geographically a part of Australia, that Norf'k is an official language of Australia and its territories, and that the Norfolk Islanders have strong cultural links to Pitcairn Island and hence to Tahiti and the legend of the *Bounty*.

The main theoretical approach I take in my analysis is that of ecolinguistics and linguistic ecology. This perspective holds that language is a management tool which enables its users to manage, orientate, and sustain functional links between themselves and their environment. Mühlhäusler (2011) provides some methodological and theoretical suggestions as to what these may be; for example, analysis of a language's referential and denotational lexicon is key to assessing its ability to describe adequately a particular environment; lexical adaptation to new natural environments is a prolonged gradual process; ecolinguistics judges the adequacy of the lexicon in terms of its ability to adapt, expand, and adjust to change. Remote environments provide congenial research situations for observing the relationship between parameters of language, here the placename lexicon, and means by which speculations as to the evolution of these parameters have changed and evolved over time.

The second theoretical strand is an evolving perspective within applied linguistics and semiotics termed linguistic landscape (LL). The seminal work of Landry and Bourhis (1997) in their analysis of bilingual signage and language and power structures in multilingual environments has evolved into a new subfield of scholarship. My work is relevant to LL because I analyse the narrative import of physical signs, while also proposing 'unsigned' placenames, which may or may not appear on maps, as being essential constituents of the LL. I argue the English road name lexicon is an integral part of the LL lexicon as a marker of linguistic narrative and identity at the same time as little known Norf'k names comprise a more esoteric aspect of the Norfolk LL.

3. A toponymic landscape made real through myth and narrative

Norfolk placenames and business names show a search for linguistic adaptation which remember, commemorate, and even confuse the myth of the *Bounty* and the legend of the settlement of Pitcairn. Myths and narratives do not have any truth-value; their utility is assessed by the work they do. The *Bounty* myth and the use of Pitcairn anthroponymous and eponymous road names are effective in signalling a significant past for the Norfolk Islanders, which is brought into the congruent present in a search for identity through toponymy. Pitcairn personal names as placenames seen through the narrative medium of the *Bounty* seem to be an agreeable method for the Norfolk Islanders to explore

and relate to their new 'hoem' (home) in terms of their previous one.

The Pitcairn-inspired eponymous road names in alphabetical order are: Captain Quintal Drive, Edward Young Road, Fletcher Christian Road, George Hunn Nobbs Place, John Adams Road (Figure 1) and Pitcairn Place.[4] Of note is that none of these names are named after women; it was only in 2008 during a community consultation process where 53 previously unofficial and unnamed streets, roads, and easements were made official and named that the first Pitcairn-inspired road name named after a woman was established with the naming of Tevarua Lane.[5]

These signs and names as texts and the meanings, portrayals, and micro-mythology which surround them punctuate the landscape of Norfolk. The presence of these signs is physically and materially driven as much as their existence relies on the abstract; the names are known within the sphere connecting Pitcairn and Norfolk through the medium of the *Bounty*. The road names Fletcher Christian Road and Edward Young Road are not arbitrary but are loaded with assumed cultural and linguistic meaning; they conjure up memories of the past crossing the boundedness of time-space which the *Bounty* emblem realises. The names form a type of post-mutiny paradise within the safe milieu of a far-flung and potentially indeterminate Norfolk Island.

The appearance and recognition of these names heralded the beginning of the celebration and honouring of the Norfolk Islanders' connection to Pitcairn and possibly Polynesia. Until the 1960s, there was a great deal of shame associated with the events that took place in Tahiti and on Pitcairn Island. There was also a large degree of Eurocentric and

Figure 1: John Adams Road, Norfolk Island (the author 2007)

normative male superiority that had an effect on naming things (Mühlhäusler 2003), with similar naming habits initially employed by the Pitcairn Islanders on Norfolk (Nash 2013). The recognition of this connection to Pitcairn through road names is only one example of a renaissance of Pitcairn cultural symbolism on Norfolk Island. The six Pitcairn-inspired road names epitomise how a presumed Pitcairn (linguistic) renaissance on Norfolk is manifested in a variety of different yet similar condensed forms. These forms represent a reification and a spatialisation of Pitcairn ancestry through a process of localisation of naming. The names symbolise processes of linking of Norfolk's ancestral connection to Pitcairn and Tahiti and the depersonalisation of the names through being made spatial and linguistic facts.

The road name signs are a symbolic re-enactment and re-evaluation which re-visits the previous deficit of foregrounding of Pitcairn elements of the ancestry of the Norfolk Islanders. The past suppression of the Pitcairn, and to some extent the Polynesian aspect of Norfolk Islanders, is becoming adjusted in the linguistic landscape. *Bounty* and Pitcairner names, as well as a reinterpretation of the semiotic landscape of Norfolk Island through the medium of physical *Bounty* memorabilia such as the *Bounty* statue erected

Figure 2: *Bounty* statue erected in 1988 near the Norfolk Island Post Office

(the author 2007)

in 1988 near the Norfolk Island Post Office for the Australian Bicentennial (Figure 2), appear as tangible resolutions of the past in terms of the present through effective and pertinent narrative and myths.

4. Names as narrative residue

There is another subset of Norfolk names bound to Pitcairn which persist as a curious linguistic and narrative residue. Ama Ula Lane (ama'ula < Tahitian 'clumsy, careless, slovenly') is one of only a few road names which uses Norf'k words. Like Tevarua Lane, the officialising of this road name illustrates an acceptance within the community of the Norfolk Islanders' Tahitian heritage; Bounty Tours, Bounty Divers, Bounty Folk Museum, and The Mutiny on the Bounty Show, a dramatised re-enactment of the mutiny, *Bounty*-fy Norfolk; Fletcher Christian Apartments, and especially the emblematic sign on a fence on one of Norfolk's main thoroughfares (Figure 3), maintain attachment to the sordid yet reinvented events of the *Bounty* through a specific personalisation and name form; Yorlor Lane (yorlor or yollo 'a slab of pumice stone brought from Tahiti and Pitcairn used to grate vegetables for baking') is a recent inclusion into Norfolk toponymy and embodies the contemporary renaissance of Pitcairn-inspired material culture and language on Norfolk through what appears as physical narratives.

Ghost Corner, Ghostie Ghostie, Side Suff Fly Pass (literally 'Place Swell Flies Past'), and Suicide Rock suggest Norfolk's landscape is perilous and unsafe. It is possible Norfolk's perceived hazardousness witnessed through toponyms as narratives represent a residue of how the original Pitcairners perceived this landscape: it was unknown, unnamed, and perilous. Ecolinguistics claims that one way to manage such unfamiliarity is through naming; these new names signifying danger, peril, and inhospitableness, and exist as cultural markers and micro-texts about how the new arrivals narrate details of their new 'hoem'.

In addition to these threatening names, several dangerous names that existed prior to 1856 were changed into more innocuous ones. I interpret this name changing and linguistic sanitisation as a form of 'toponymic denial'; the purging of the past through the creation of an ideal linguistic paradise leads to a more acceptable and less controversial linguistic environment within which to inhabit. Some of these changes were Bloody Bridge to Dar Naughty Bridge ('dar' is the Norf'k definite article), Murderers Glen to Music Valley,

Figure 3: Fletcher Christian Apartments, Norfolk Island (the author 2007)

Murderers Mound to Dar Cemetery. The presence of taboo and off-limits toponyms like Parloo Park (parloo <Tahitian 'to masturbate'), and Gudda Bridge (gudda < Tahitian 'to fuck'), and Horsepiss Bend (horsepiss < Norf'k 'name of a weed so named because the flowers smell of horse urine when squashed') reveal not only dangerous narratives within Norfolk Island toponymy but also potentially rude linguistic entities. The fact that these delicate cultural names-as-narratives have been traditionally passed down orally is likely testament to their sensitive nature.

5. Revealing and revelling in narratives

Returning to the philosophical focus of this paper, my analysis into the creation, perpetuation, and obfuscation of Pitcairn and *Bounty* myths, places, people, and placenames through narratives of exile and reconciliation is productive on Norfolk Island. In other words, the narrative of the Mutiny on the *Bounty* does a lot of work for the Norfolk Islanders. Road and business names and signs show a striving for linguistic adaptation through knowing of the past, remembering and commemorating people in places and signs, and living the present in terms of hazy ancestry and history. A study of toponyms as narrative texts offers a key insight to linguistic change and linguistic adaptation demonstrate the ability of this element of the lexicon to be flexible in adapting to and revealing new necessities within altered cultural schemas. While toponyms can withstand change and exist as solidified local memory represented as material linguistic data in the world, they are at the same time malleable to suit the storied needs of a people.

The data has demonstrated that when–where there is a mismatch between myths and narratives which work and those which do not, a changing toponymic landscape may result. The modern day presence of Pitcairn, *Bounty*, and Norf'k names on Norfolk is not at all as taboo as it was some decades ago. On the contrary, such embracing of the new celebrated importance of the Pitcairner heritage is encouraged societally through the implementation of toponymy using Norf'k and Pitcairn-inspired names, with business and house names depicting explicitly allegiances to Pitcairn ancestry or 'comefrom'.

Norfolk toponymy, and especially the apparently marginal elements such as road names and the residual names addressed here, illustrates how language use unites Norfolk Islanders. It is Norf'k, with its cumulative grammar rather than a common denominator lect or levelled way of speaking (Mühlhäusler 2013: 234) and intricate language and place-knowledge (Nash & Low 2014), which combines various eccentrically present and historically determined features of Norfolk Island. Where some stories and narratives are based on 'comefrom' and family connections to inhabitation and landed tenure, placenaming crosscuts other distinctions Norfolk Islanders make between themselves and others. For example, although some views on 'islanderness' and 'islander blood' are driven by 'comefrom' and the authenticity of a person's familial connection to the island, islander place-knowledge surfaces as being less essential. That a person who has lived on Norfolk their entire life, but has no 'comefrom', may have a more developed place-knowledge queries the elements of Norfolk Islander identity, and indeed connection to Pitcairn and the *Bounty*. Where place and blood and knowledge has been contiguous for so long in the island's history (see Low 2012), migration to Norfolk by people from Australia and New Zealand, and migration away from Norfolk by those with 'comefrom', has removed Norfolk Islanders' explicit monopoly on local place-knowledge.

With the changes at hand on contemporary Norfolk Island, it remains to be seen whether the emblematic Norf'k expression *lubbe ucklan* meaning 'leave us [the Norfolk Islanders] alone', a request for the Australian Government to remove its control from Norfolk's political and social affairs, leads to a developed and more localised cultural understanding of the nature of the narratives which guide several outlooks on Norfolk's linguistic and social life. The continuation of Norfolk's connection to a *Bounty* inspired past, like the narratives used in other isolated and insular communities elsewhere, appears in a social environment influenced primarily by economic concerns which override the prominence of culture.

Notes

1 This paper is a significant revision of a paper presented at the *Peuples Premiers et Mythes D'aujourd'hui* conference in Noumea, New Caledonia on 1 September 2009. I thank the organisers of this conference. Much of the paper's content was developed between 2007-2011 during my doctoral research under the supervision of Peter Mühlhäusler. Sections of this work are rewritten extracts from an earlier draft of a now published paper (Nash & Low 2014) which I workshopped for several years with Mitchell Low. Low's (2012) doctoral thesis stimulated my thoughts relating to group identity and indigeneity on Norfolk. Many of the ideas have benefitted from engaging dialogue with Petter Næssan, Rachel Hendery, Paul Monaghan, and Catherine Amis. Thanks to Farzana Gounder, editor of this section of *Te Reo*, and to *Te Reo* editor Kevin Watson.

2 I use 'road name' generically to refer to any road, street, place, lane, or easement.

3 Not all Pitcairn family names are strictly '*Bounty* names'. Of the eight Pitcairn family names on Norfolk, only Adams, Christian, McCoy, Quintal, and Young were *Bounty* mutineers. Buffett, Evans, and Nobbs were later arrivals. This social delineation based on *Bounty* families and non-*Bounty* families is still marked within Norfolk society. Mitchell Low (2012) deals with many of these intricacies in his anthropological work on belonging and the politics of settlement on Norfolk Island. For ease of description, I use the label 'Pitcairn names' and '*Bounty* names' to refer to all eight family names brought from Pitcairn to Norfolk.

4 Pitcairn Place is anthroponymous and eponymous because it remembers the name of Pitcairn Island, which is itself an eponym, although it does not refer to a mutineer.

5 Tevarua, a Tahitian woman who arrived on Pitcairn with the *Bounty* mutineers, died in approximately 1799. She was the consort of Matthew Quintal. Her name is entered as 'Te Walua' in the Pitcairn Register which also lists 'Sarah' and 'Big Sullee' as her other names (Ross & Moverley 1964: 52). The officialising of Tevarua Lane as an emblematic road name symbolises an acceptance within the community of the Norfolk Islanders' Tahitian heritage which began in the 1960s.

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TALANOA: DIFFERENTIATING THE TALANOA RESEARCH METHODOLOGY FROM PHENOMENOLOGY, NARRATIVE, KAUPAPA MĀORI AND FEMINIST METHODOLOGIES

Timote Vaioleti: *Te Hononga School of Curriculum and Pedagogy, Faculty of Education, University of Waikato <vaioleti@waikato.ac.nz>*

Abstract

The Talanoa Research Methodology (TRM) is now arguably the most prominent research methodology applied across the Pacific. This article seeks to build on the TRM first described in 2002, examining some of the fundamental dimensions of TRM, highlighting its fluidity and broad utility in different research situations. It will also compare and contrast TRM to Phenomenology, Narrative, Kaupapa Māori and the Feminist philosophies to clarify and differentiate its characteristics and allow more researchers to consider it for use as a research methodology.

1. Introduction

This paper re-visits some of the fundamental philosophies underlying the TRM first explored in my earlier work (Vaioleti. 2003b, 2006, 2011). Deepening this conversation, this paper describes different types of talanoa (methods), some of the diverse research settings in which they can be applied, highlighting its fluid quality, and suggested protocols guiding its appropriate application. Finally, this paper seeks to provide further practical insight,

comparing and contrasting TRM with other research philosophies and their respective methodologies, including Phenomenology, Narrative, Kaupapa Māori and the Feminist philosophies to provide a better basis to understand and effectively apply TRM.

2. Talanoa, context history and its place in Pacific worlds

> Why hound me with a question when you don't care for an answer, why play for a pair when there is only one dancer …..
>
> Lora Marie Muna Vaioleti

This extract reflects the conclusion I reached after discovering that my previous research approaches involving Pacific participants in the early 2000's did not align with their way of thinking, being, their language and culture. As a result, I endeavoured to develop a methodology that was better aligned to Pacific worldviews, a methodology that would better enable the researcher to authentically experience and capture the phenomenon being researched.

I draw my discussion, analysis and synthesis of talanoa from Tongan culture, the product of oral tradition that can be traced back to BC, and even before the age of the classical Greek Civilisation. Churchward (1959: 379) stated that 'tala' means to command, tell, relate, inform and announce while describing 'noa' as common, of no value, without thought or without exertion. Talanoa, through Churchward's definition, can be referred to as a conversation, a talk, an exchange of ideas, be it formal or informal. Talanoa as a process is used in multiple ways to obtain information, including interviewing, and for finding out how people are feeling about things (Otsuka, 2005; Tovale, 1991). It is an activity used for creating and transferring knowledge. As a notion, its use is guided by a set of beliefs and frameworks described later in this article. Tongans, Samoans, Fijians and other Pacific communities in the Pacific, New Zealand, Australia, the United States and wherever the Pacific diaspora is located use variations of the talanoa (Vaioleti, Morrison & Veramu, 2002; Vaioleti, Morrison & Vermeulen, 2002).

In Samoa, Matatumua, a senior matai title of the Lefanga village and director of the Samoan environmental NGO, Matuaileo'o Environmental Trust Initiative (METI), reported that taleanoa (similar to talanoa), is an ancient multi-level and multi-layered critical discussion, or free conversation (Vaioleti, Morrison and Vermeulen, 2002). Talanoa was also described as the

method by which business and agency leaders receive information from the community, that they use to make decisions about civil, church and national matters (Vaioleti, Morrison and Vermeulen, 2002). Similarly, when working in Fiji, we found that talanoa was used by communities in social and economic discussion and for disseminating information by government departments, NGOs, and village leaders (Vaioleti, Morrison and Veramu, 2002).

Talanoa itself is a Pacific phenomenon that incentivises many in Pacific nations to frequent clubs, activities and prolonged kava parties, as a good, engaging talanoa can lift peoples' spirit to an elevated level of happiness, connectedness and spirituality (Manu'atu, 2002). As well as the emotional and spiritual potentials of talanoa, it is also a mode of communication that is integral to the way in which many Pacific peoples learn, relate to each other, narrate and tell stories (Tavola, 1991; Vaioleti, Morrison and Veramu, 2002).

3. Talanoa and research

Otsuka (2005: 3) found that talanoa was 'commonly practiced by Pacific Islanders (sic), such as ethnic Fijians' and observed that talanoa 'stems from their culture in which oratory and verbal negotiation have deep traditional roots'. It was in the early 2000s that I proposed that talanoa is a culturally appropriate means through which Pacific peoples can describe their own experiences in research, and I provided philosophies to guide it. However for some researchers, it can become burdensome when it comes to talanoa being wholly accepted as a methodology in mainstream institutions, with challengers citing reasons of theoretical fuzziness, subjectivity and inefficiency (Farrelly and Nabobo-Baba, 2012; Sualii-Suani, 2012; Linita Manu'atu, talanoa[1], Sept. 2014).

Yet for TRM, it shares a phenomenological approach to research with Grounded Theory, Naturalist Theory and some ethnographical research approaches. Phenomenological approaches focus on what the meaning of the lived experience of the phenomenon has for the persons being studied (Patton, 1991). One advantage of a phenomenological approach is that peoples' common sense can be heard (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). For Pacific research, this is a compelling argument for using talanoa.

The alignment of both the researchers' and participants' emotional and spiritual state, and importantly, a levelling of power is achieved as the participant is enabled to share this 'common sense', and the researcher can

acknowledge this at the level (world/s) of the participant. I will return to this discussion later in this paper, under talanoa and phenomenology.

For Halapua (in Farrelly and Nabobo, 2012: 2) talanoa is also a philosophy involving 'an open dialogue where people can speak from their hearts and where there are no preconceptions'. Farrelly and Nabobo-Baba (2012) advocate empathy is central to the effectiveness and authenticity of talanoa as a research methodology. I agree with Halapua, Farelly and Nabobo that in TRM the kau ngā fa'u (co-constructer of knowledge, participants) will speak freely from their heart, and thus empathy must be integral to the application of talanoa. TRM also allows the kau ngā fa'u to contribute to the planning of talanoa and definition and redefinition of meanings (see *talanga* later in this paper). Commonly in the talanoa and TRM process, the kau ngā fa'u and researcher take leadership at different stages of the encounter to reach the collective goal/s. The researcher is expected to encourage and draw out contributions from the participant when necessary. It is important to appreciate that an outcome of talanoa based research must benefit Pacific peoples and their interests, with accountability back to the fonua and the ancestors, therefore the researcher still has a clear leadership role in carrying out TRM.

The encompassing concept of fonua will ensure that the application of TRM will be authentically aligned to — and respectful of — participant's cultures and processes. For Pacific peoples, Thaman (1995: 1) stated, 'Polynesians… generally have cultural identities and world-views which emphasize place and their links to the vanua/fonua (inadequately translated as 'land'), as well as networks of exchange and/or reciprocal relationships.' 'Epeli Hau'ofa (talanoa, May, 2004 in Vaioleti, 2011) extends the definition of physical characteristics to embrace people, their culture and ways as an extension of fonua itself.

Fonua, then, may include worldviews, ways of being, language and culture. Extending this into research methodology, and Tongan phenomena, fonua can be defined further to knowing and aligning the TRM with the anga fakafonua (culture or rites of Tongan people) which include knowledge ('ilo fakafonua (Tongan knowledge)), values (mahu'inga fakafonua (Tongan values)), language (lea fakafonua (Tongan language)) and ways (founga fakafonua (Tongan ways). If TRM is carried out with other Pacific or even non-Pacific peoples, what is appropriate to the fonua of those participants should be central to the architecture and operationalization of TRM. Farrelly and Nabobo-Baba (2012: 1) stated the following about talanoa and vanua (Fijian term for fonua):

> Talanoa is an embodied expression of the vanua concept. Highlighting the connection between talanoa and empathy is vital in ensuring… practitioners and other Pacific researchers are implicitly aware of the political dimensions, cultural appropriacy, and socio-ecological impact of their research methods.

Deep appreciation of the concept of fonua, and understanding its connection to TRM is a prerequisite to the appropriate use of TRM. If the researcher has based their research concepts and methods solely upon their own knowledge system, they will find use of the TRM challenging. The imperative exists for the researcher to perceive and understand the information (experience, phenomenon) received from the participants, from the participants' worldview, perspective and understanding.

I will now discuss TRM in relation to some established methodologies and philosophies in order to clarify the qualities and elements of TRM further.

3.1 Narrative methods and talanoa

Talanoa shares similarities with a narrative approach to research, especially with reference to the process used to obtain information. In talanoa however, culture is a central and significant factor. 'Narrative is a western methodology based on peoples' own stories. Narrative inquiry is stories lived and told' (Clandinin and Connelly, 2000: 20). Narrative research involves 'learning to live, tell, relive, and retell stories of relational knowing as narrative inquirers, that is stories in which our ideas are not owned but shared, reshaped, recomposed and renown through relationship and conversation' (Clandinin et. al., 2006: 24).

Telling one's own story implies that culture is embodied in the process by both contextualising the narrative and recognising significant cultural factors in the narrative dynamic. Culturally significant factors emerge as a result of the narrative. Talanoa, through its protocols, can provide the conditions and then provide the methods that allow what Clandinin and Huber (2002: 161) described as 'narrative understandings of knowledge and context … linked to identity and values, providing stories to lived by, lived and shaped in places and through relationships' in the context (culture) in which it is used.

In talanoa, culture is understood and taken into consideration before the research engagement and continues to be dominant throughout the process of talanoa. For example, if talanoa is used with Tongan participants, it requires protocols that acknowledge hierarchies such as age, gender, social rank, and genealogy because Tongan ways of being are still heavily influenced by old

religions. The consideration of old religion and Pacific spirituality is reflected in the concept of relational vā (space) that separates as well as connects those involved in research. In some cases, these vā may be tapu (spiritually restricted), for example between a male researcher and a female participant, or in talanoa with an older person. To make these cases noa (neutral) requires culturally appropriate intervention, by observing contextual matters and following protocols and behaviours described later in this paper.

Talanoa, as it is for narrative research varies according to a range of contextual factors. Both are well suited to study subjectivity and identity, largely because of the importance given to the use of imagination and the expectation of researchers involvement in co-constructing participants' stories (Mitchell and Egudo, 2003). For me, TRM diverges from narrative research in the centrality of indigenous spirituality and fonua. Acknowledging, or empathising with the participant's fonua (Thaman, 1995; Farrelly and Nabobo-Baba, 2012) is an unlikely consideration in the interpretive thrust of Narrative Enquiry. TRM stands in contrast to ethnography and textual analysis for the same reason.

Talanoa is more than both Narrative Enquiry and analysis. To emphasise this point, Nabobo-Baba states that '… talanoa is not all about 'what you say' or even just about 'how one says it'. She went on to say that '…others remind us that in Fiji, even silence is far from empty: it is a way of knowing: there is eloquence in silence… a pedagogy of deep engagement between participants' (Nabobo-Baba, 2006: 94). The success of talanoa, and thus TRM, is dependent on how accurately a researcher can recognise participant actions and non-actions, what is said and unsaid in combination with how they are or are not said, and then affirming and interpreting those through the cultural ways, fonua, of the participant.

Knowledge of interconnectedness and the enhancement of fonua for Pacific peoples, is an inherent part of culture. For Tongan people as it will be for other Pacific peoples, ancient knowledge has been passed down through successive generations by oratory and visual means; through performances, stories and symbols. As stated earlier, talanoa usually only occurs with those with whom one is connected in age, social level, and in gender in a created cultural space (vā). In this space the participants interact with reference to their own realities, guided by their aspirations, rules and in their familiar cultural milieu.

3.2 Kaupapa Māori research and talanoa

Kaupapa Māori research (KMR) is a term given by Māori to research that is centred on Māori culture and paradigms, is used for the benefit of Māori, with emancipation of their knowledge as its aim. It provides strategies that empower Māori to have control over their knowledge creation, life and cultural wellbeing (tino rangatiratanga) and operationalizes self-determination (Bishop, 1991; Smith, 1992, 1997). Its philosophical base is collective and it acknowledges Māori aspirations for research. It advocates for control over the decision-making processes, governance over the ways in which the research is to be carried out, while developing and implementing a Māori theoretical and methodological base for research (Bishop, 1996; Bishop and Glynn, 1999). Bishop & Glynn (1999: 105) stated that, 'integral to this movement has been the realisation of the importance of meaning and interpretation of peoples' lives within their cultural context'.

KMR provides a strong reference for a new way to guide Pacific research. As Bishop (1994, 1996; Bishop and Glynn, 1999) argues with regard to power issues for Māori in research, a new Pacific research approach such as TRM should ensure control of Pacific knowledge creation by Pacific peoples or those whom they empower through endorsement. What Bishop (1996) suggests KMR offers for Māori, I suggest TRM also offers for Pacific peoples in acknowledging Pacific research aspirations. It is part of a larger project to develop and implement a Pacific theoretical philosophical base that is collective and is orientated towards privileging Pacific preferences for research.

3.3 Feminist perspectives and talanoa

In much the same way that KMR is acknowledged as an emergent critical theory in Aotearoa/New Zealand, feminist knowledge, theories and research methodologies need to be acknowledged as critical for pushing boundaries globally around the power relations that affect knowledge, our understandings and actions (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2002). Feminist philosophies suggest that the study of humans in any community that is not situated in their historical, cultural and political contexts will distort realities for those in power, those marginalised as well as men and women. In this sense it is likely that both feminist research and KMR can be said to belong in the phenomenological research family (Bishop and Glynn, 1999).

However, based on women's experience of marginalization in many societal structures, feminism has successfully challenged dominant patriarchal systems

and paved the way towards emancipation of a voice for women and inclusion of different worldviews and participatory approaches into research paradigms. ...' Despite its multi-dimensional and inclusive perspectives, the feminist theories even laid challenge to the phenomenological approach by taking the inquiry to another level. It asked how gender and the power relations surrounding gender, shape and affect women's knowledge, understandings and actions (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2002).

The challenge from feminist research to the overarching discursive approach of phenomenology, in order to assert its difference within research approaches on behalf of women, was a defining moment for me. Maguire (1987: 76) added to these dialogues by saying that 'Feminism allowed me to see the male bias common to both dominant and alternative (qualitative) paradigms'. Some criticised Freire's respected work on praxis, emancipation and critical literacy, mainly for its silence on gender analysis and constant use of the generic masculine pronoun (Boler, 1999: 49). It must be acknowledged that even within the feminist movements there are ongoing issues and debates about power. For example, defining feminist knowledge and a feminist approach, defining women's issues and who decides what feminism is has been critiqued and labelled as predominantly western middle class perspectives (Boler, 1999; hooks, 1982, 1989).

Nevertheless, the challenge in the 1960s and 1970s by critical theories (led by feminism) to modernism, and its belief in objective, empirically based, rationally-analysed truth that is knowable (Repko, 2008: 98), together with its associated positivist research models, occurred at a time when protests were felt throughout the western world on a number of issues. These included the Vietnam War, the civil rights movement, indigenous rights and the rights of women (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2002; Smith, 1999; Sprague, 2005). Such upheaval in global society also led to an upheaval in knowledge and knowledge creation in the context of culture in academia. This led to the very process of research being challenged.

The women's experience of marginalization in many societal structures has resulted in a successful challenge of dominant patriarchal systems, paving the way for the emancipation of the women's voice, and therefore the inclusion of different worldviews and participatory approaches into research paradigms. Feminist philosophies suggest that the study of humans in any community must be situated in their historical, cultural and political contexts. In this sense, feminist research, KMR and TRM can be said to share cultural and

contextual characteristics with phenomenological research. I credit some of the acceptance of TRM on the pioneering works of the international feminist movement, and later in New Zealand, to the challenge delivered by KMR to dominant powers in mainstream institutions.

There exist fundamental differences however between TRM and the feminist struggle for emancipation from a mainstream patriarchal system, and with KMR's political and cultural struggles. Feminist perspectives have been identified as being of predominantly the western middle class (Boler, 1999; hooks, 1982, 1989) and therefore are still heavily influenced by rationality and positivism. Talanoa on the other hand emerged from Pacific epistemology, therefore is influenced and shaped by values of 'ofa (compassion, deep love driven by connectedness), empathy, values of Pacific fonua which are different to those of KMR political aims.

However, the increasing consciousness about oppressed and marginalised groups, as well as the inadequacies of the power of the State and its institutions to identify their issues for these group, led to challenge for the inclusion of their way of thinking and seeing in research (Bishop and Glynn, 1999; Smith, 1999; Taufe'ulungaki, 2000). It is the theoretical framework of KMR and the groundswell support for a culturally appropriate research framework for New Zealand and the clarity and courage that drives feminism to question dominant patriarchal and established assumptions that fired my imagination and gave me the courage to imagine the possibility for a Pacific research method.

Within TRM, there are several methods. Skilful use of different methods individually or simultaneously should make rich authentic information available from the use of TRM.

4. Talanoa methods, different elements and dimensions

Talanoa is a concept that covers different dimensions that can be utilized singularly or simultaneously to ensure that the significant, seemingly insignificant, most subtle and discreet elements of culture and experience that make up the totality of a phenomenon, available for the research. Depending on the intention of the researcher and the direction of the talanoa, one dimension of the talanoa may be dominant although others will be employed fluidly, interchangeably to set and maintain a good atmosphere, pass or obtain information holistically, prod or triangulate while observing all technical and cultural protocols during the data collection or data co-construction. Based

on Tongan protocols, dimensions of the talanoa that are likely to be used in a TRM study are:

4.1 Talanoa vave

Vave translates to fast, brief or quick. This is a quick and perhaps surface verbal exchange between two or several people in order to confirm or reconfirm some understanding or some other common matters. It may be casual and last for only a few exchanges. Its purpose may be to inform, report, inquire about certain matters or clarify some details.

It is usually held with minimal formality because of the good relationship and understanding between those involved or because of time or other constrains. It may just be a more polite way of acknowledging or a way of securing commitments for a deeper and more formal talanoa at a later stage. For researchers, it is a way to remind, maintain connection or ensure shared understanding and lay the foundation for a more objectified talanoa such as faka'eke'eke and talanoa'i at a later stage.

4.2 Talanoa faikava

Faikava is the process in which kava is prepared to drink at a gathering. Such gatherings are usually for those who are part of a particular region, people of common interest or those who belong to a church. A faikava can consist of 4 or more people sitting around in a circle with the kava prepared at one point in the circle. This part of the circle is usually the closest to the entrance and directly opposite the most senior person of the group who would monitor the cultural activities of the occasion including the talanoa.

In talanoa faikava, it is common for one person to speak at a time, and while he speaks, everyone listens and reflects until it is the next person's time to contribute. One topic is interrogated at one time until what needs to be covered has been completed. Because of this shared interest amongst people in a faikava, talanoa will be more aligned to a focus group process.

4.3 Talanoa usu

'Ana Mo'ungatonga (talanoa, Dec, 2010) stated that talanoa usu is *'...me'a fa'u pe...'* (just a construction), a fabricated story. She further suggests that '*…'oku 'aonga ia ke fa'u ha founga ke fakatefito kiai hano fakamata'i ha 'uhinga 'oku faingata'a hono fakamatala'i…*' (it is used as a metaphor for scaffolding those involved in the talanoa to more important or key information that maybe difficult to explain without reference to its wider context). She

went on to say *'...koe hiva usu koe hiva ia 'oku fa'u hake pee, tae tu'ungafasi pea 'oku fai ia ke fakamatala ha fo'i ngaue ma'ongo'onga pe ha talanoa 'oha feitu'u pe kolo...'* Hiva usu or usu songs are ones that are constructed informally and contextually (ie. without formal arrangements, pre-determined scales), describe a phenomenon, to praise or explain an extraordinary deed or to describe the significance of an area or a town.

Experts in talanoa usu will capture appreciative participants as these experts are skilled in humour, in various contextual constructions to suit different topics appropriate to participants' background, age, gender and rank. In a contemporary Aotearoa/New Zealand situation, it is an engagement to share, to create a sense of mafana and malie (Manu'atu, 2002) that can lift participants to another level of spiritual fusion and enlightenment, for pleasure and perhaps just filling time before another engagement. For researchers, it is an ideal way to build trust for other more objectified talanoa such as faka'eke'eke, talanga and talanoa'i.

4.4 Talanoa tevolo

Talanoa tevolo engages the emotion, spirit and the mind in a way that most other talanoa cannot. It is a talanoa that is often about sharing of supernatural visitations, dreams or visions of people who have passed on (Ana Moungatonga, talanoa, Jan., 2011). A researcher is very likely to come across it if the kau nga fa'u is comfortable and authentic about the topic of the talanoa and those taking part in the talanoa. This talanoa is fundamental to understanding the Tongan personality, relationships, values and knowledge as it strikes at the heart of their epistemology.

As epistemology can include how knowledge is legitimated, most Tongan people may still consider dreams, visitations from ancestors and visions to be a source of legitimated knowledge or truth. This being the case, when researchers engage Tongan people, this cultural background must be included in their considerations; as Heidegger suggests, this is their world (Steiner, 1978).

4.5 Talanoa faka'eke'eke

Talanoa faka'eke'eke is the closest to an interview. 'Eke implies the act of asking direct questions. Faka means the 'way of' and 'eke'eke implies verbal searching or even relentless questioning. Such talanoa could manifest in the act of questioning and depending on the answer for that question, more probing questions are formed. The questions connect or build on the answers

given by a kau nga fa'u in order to identify or uncover certain knowledge, understanding or a point. In such an approach, the researcher is the one that determines the direction of the talanoa. In this case talanoa faka'eke'eke resembles much of qualitative research approach or it can be an instrument to further quantitative research.

Because this talanoa has a more objective aim, it is economical, efficient and likely to be dominated by the researcher with less opportunity to truly interact at a more personal level with the kau nga fa'u. The knowledge gained from this approach to talanoa is more likely to miss social context and other dimensions that may capture a full phenomenon. However, one can employ pō talanoa to gain more data on social issues if they were missed by talanoa faka'eke'eke. Faka'eke'eke is the term given to police detective's structured investigative procedure in Tonga.

4.6 Pō talanoa

Pō implies night or evening which points to this type of talanoa's origin. In village life in Tonga from the ancient times and before the time of televisions, after the evening meal friends, relative and neighbours would visit each others' house to chat, evaluate the day's activities, tell stories, discuss family matters as well as more secular matters such as sharing plans and hopes for the days ahead. Manu'atu (2002: 194) describe pō talanoa as:

> …Cultural and political practice of Tongan people where space in time is created to connect to the contexts of their experiences through discussions and talking with others. Through po talanoa, the people come to know questions, find out, hear about, and become aware of and extend their experiences and knowledge about their world and their relationships to it. In my view a key to the practice of po talanoa is the capacity of people to connect with each other within a context of whether it is kinship, a work experience, common knowledge or faith or whatever.

Pō talanoa is talking in an everyday occurrence. It may be about politics, church matters, children, television, school, political matters, the lack of things to do. At one level it may be what we might readily identify as 'conversation' and can be held anytime, both day and night. In TRM, pō talanoa is vital for establishing connections and putting the kau ngā fa'u or the researcher for that matter at ease so that deeper and searching talanoa such as talanoa'i and tālanga can be implemented effectively.

4.7 Talanoa'i

Talanoa'i is a verb; it is active; it is purposeful with a particular aim or focal point, which may be an outcome. It implies high-level analysis and synthesis. Such, it implies also that those involved in talanoa'i have complementary expertise in the area of focus or topic of a talanoa and have similar status and other backgrounds. Talanoa'i then is a more rigorous process guided by its purpose/s.

Talanoa'i can be used to problematize issues in order to examine them closely and from different angles. It may even take the form of a robust debate but with the normal respect for age, gender and others cultural conventions. Talanoa'i may develop along a pathway that reflects the objectives of Bloom's Taxonomy involving recall, application, deep analysis, co-construction to produce some judgement on a particular issue. Talanoa'i could use deductive reasoning and other processes that may resemble mathematical or scientific analysis. These are all possible in informal or highly competent focus group discussions in their endeavour to talanoa'i solution/s for a complex issue or truth.

In talanoa'i the researcher is not a distant observer but is active in the talanoa process and in defining and redefining meanings in order to achieve the aim of what is being talanoa'i. Talanoa'i is more suited for stripping layers of history and hurt that may have led to tension, damaged relationships or even conflict. Talanoa'i is expected to encourage contributions from participants just as participants may demand of the researcher or even the other way around. This is normal for talanoa where participants (or researchers) can take leadership at different stages of the encounter in the active pursuit of the best possible knowledge, solution or a final consensus. Both researcher and participant/s are integral to co-construction of the new solutions or knowledge.

4.8 Tālanga

Tālanga is a talanoa process that is dialogical and involves both the acts of speaking and listening. Tālanga can be used to challenge. The two approaches of tālanga are kau'italanoa and taungutu. Kau'i-talanoa can mean "joining a conversation which one is not expected to" (Vaka'uta, 2008). This may be a result of exclusion based on rank, gender, age or class. Kau'i-talanoa is used to disrupt, challenge the authenticity or fact of a talanoa. It is used by outsiders or less powerful individual or groups to invite themselves into a talanoa. At another level, tau-ngutu (literally 'fighting or warring mouth') is talking or arguing back, a more forceful way of stating opposing views (Vaka'uta,

2008). For this reason, tālanga is in the language of Hegel, antithesis to the established protocols of talanoa. It can be used to challenge a process or findings during and even after the talanoa process.

Kvale (1996) outlined cases where researchers have discussed how participants resist the interviewer's role by 'fighting back' and disagreeing with assumptions embedded in interview questions and other approaches, a contrasting perspective to 'warm, empathic, and caring interviews,' that, they argue, 'neglect real power relations' (2005: 170) in research dialogues. What tālanga does here is to show that within methods even in oral traditions, inbuilt sophistication extends the provision of checks and balances to arm participants with ways to challenge perceived abuse of power or injustice during a talanoa research process. Tālanga then can contribute greatly to the validity and reliability of TRM approaches.

5. Graphical representation of the fluid dimensions of talanoa and application

Talanoa as mentioned elsewhere in this article, is a collective term for many dimensions which when used skilfully, will initiate a sense of bonding, focus on a topic, while other elements contribute to maintaining the mālie (enjoyment, authenticity), triangulations of information, testing the other participant's mental agility and alertness, or to entertain. Opposite is figurative attempt to show the different elements or dimensions of talanoa and impress the complex fluidity of talanoa.

In the following figure, talanoa is the backdrop and within are the dimensions of talanoa vave, talanoa usu, talanoa faikava, po talanoa, talanoa faka'eke'eke, talanga and talanoa'i. Each dimension is a cluster with undefined boundaries that merge back into the talanoa collectve. This indicates oneness with the other dimensions. The researcher can use one or more dimensions simultaneously as is appropriate to encourage or assist a participant to re-construct or re-capture the full richness of the experience being studied. This means that the researcher may initiate a talanoa research project with a 'talanoa vave' to secure 'talanoa faka'eke'eke' (face-to-face interview) with a participant at a later stage. It is possible to use one or all of the dimensions of talanoa concurrently depending on how the research develops.

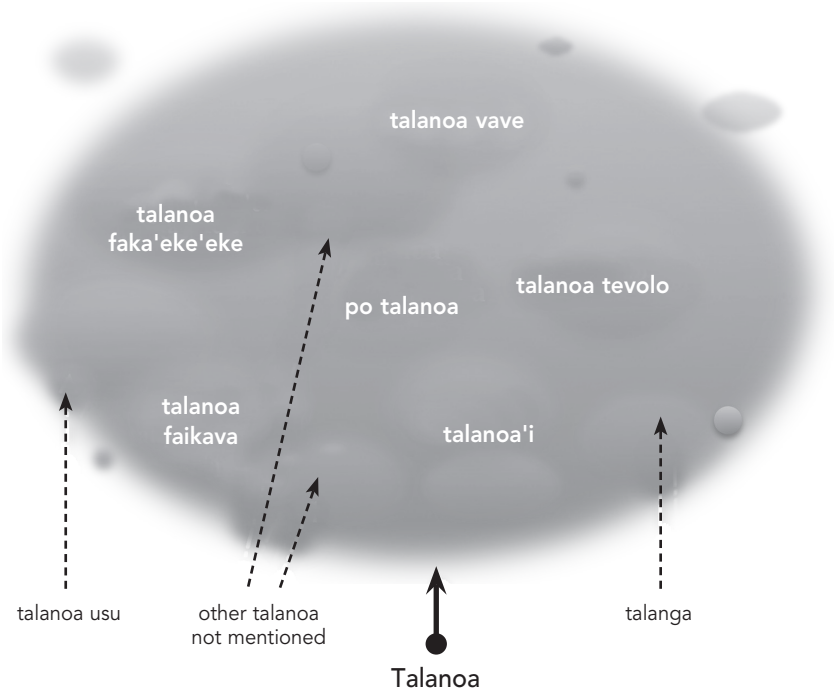

Figure 1: The dimension or elements of talanoa

6. Phenomenology and talanoa

When TRM is used to study a phenomenon, talanoa attempts to understand it through the eyes of the participants. One talanoa dimension or several simultaneously can be used as the researcher feels appropriate to encourage or assist a participant to re-capture the phenomenon being studied in its truest form. For that reason, the multiple approaches of talanoa, would be a culturally, spiritually, intellectually and sophisticated method for explicating the meaning, structure and essence of the experience (phenomenon) as the phenomenon appears to them. Talanoa faikava may be a good start for a talanoa and if there is some point that is not clear, either the researcher or the participant/s can use talanoa faka'eke'eke to clarify the point or alternate talanoa'i and talanoa usu in order to relax all involved in the talanoa while layering meaning in the reconstruction of the phenomenon being studied.

Moustakas (1994) one of the earlier writers on phenomenological research posited that research should focus on the wholeness of experience and a search for the essence of experiences. The French philosopher Merleau-Ponty, raised some concerns about how earlier thinkers had missed the fundamentals of bodily knowledge (Dreyfus, 1999) in their theorizing. For talanoa, cultural interplays during talanoa such as moods, emotions, silence, deep and reflective thoughts, eye and body movements are all parts of the talanoa. Behaviors are integrated and inseparable parts of the phenomenon the participants experience. It is in the application of talanoa in its many flexible and fluid multilevel manifestations that draw out and allow researchers and participants to construct and describe experiences and phenomena in their richest and most authentic forms.

With the many dimensions of talanoa, it can be complex, fluid, multi-layered and at the hands of skilled researcher and participants, it can range in a long continuum from free to critical and highly-structured discussion. Talanoa's application is reflected by the traditions of phenomenologists such as that of Heidegger (1996) who insisted that the observer of a phenomenology couldn't separate herself from the world being studied. I mentioned earlier that a talanoa properly administered will put both the researchers and participant/s in a state (of mind, heart, emotion) and power level that enables the participant to share authentically what is common sense to Pacific peoples and for the research to hear and understand those in the level (world/s) of the participant/s. For TRM researchers, 'being in the world' of the participant is vital for the authenticity of TRM outcomes as the participants are entrenched in their worlds and the researcher is the one that must travel there.

Heidegger articulated a type of contextual entrenchment that groups, and in this case Pacific peoples, are likely to experience with the composite, in-der-welt-sein or simply 'dasein' which is a 'being-in-the-world' or the meaning of 'being' (Steiner, 1978). For Pacific peoples in New Zealand, I align with the interpretation of dasein by Dreyfus (1991) in the application of TRM to Pacific research. Researchers must see and appreciate the subject of their research from the perspectives of Pacific peoples. Phenomenologically, for Pacific peoples in NZ the world is here, now and it is everywhere around them.

For a large number of these Pacific peoples in NZ, their dasein includes their fonua, a residual pride in the initial discovery of the Pacific, and still maintaining their own language and culture. In NZ they will experience: connectedness with Maori, will benefit from aspects of 'first world' modernity, perhaps have greater access to healthcare and means to carry out their

obligation to their children, families and church in the Pacific and NZ. In addition, Pacific peoples face negative aspects of being in NZ, including an awareness of belittling social attitudes. They are totally immersed within this world, and after all, how could they be anywhere 'else'? The complexities of these Pacific peoples' worlds that TRM researchers must empathize with and appreciate.

Talanoa creates level entry, and the chance to be a continuing part of Pacific participants' world/s. I therefore posit that the researcher is part of the participants' world, and therefore party to the description of any phenomenon under research. I also posit that once a researcher accepts this seemingly uncomfortable position, they can start the strategies such as bracketing without depriving themselves or participants from fully experiencing the phenomenon being studied to minimise negative impacts on the process and the outcome of the research.

This can be carried out while immersed in the world of the phenomenon researched (Incubation), creating spaces to be aware of what is around (Illumination), expanding their knowledge of the experiences (Explication), reflecting on their actions and learning, before constructing a finding that brings together the patterns and relationships to describe the phenomenon (Creative synthesis). The final stage of this research will be how the participants will talanoa'i (evaluate) the true alignment to their experience, its usefulness to them and how the institutions and community will judge its worth. The flexibility of talanoa and its coverage of a wide range of research areas as measured by Bloom's (1956) taxonomy, allowing it to capture a fuller richness of phenomena as set out below:

Bloom's taxonomy	Vaioleti's Talanoa dimensions	Adoption of Moustaka's (1994) phenomenological analysis
Evaluation	talanoa'i	Evaluation: by the participants, peers and community
Synthesis	talanga	Creative synthesis
Analysis	talanoa faka'eke'eke	Explication
Applied	talanoa tevolo	Illumination
Understanding	talanoa usu,	Incubation
Knowledge	talanoa vave, talanoa faikava	Immersion

It will pay to mention here that although there will be much data and information constructed from the above applications of talanoa, how those will be classified, analyzed, synthesized will be the focus of another paper and are not included in this article.

7. Protocol/Ethics

Axiology or Value Theory includes the disciplines of ethics, pragmatics and aesthetics. As discussed in other parts of this paper, integral to talanoa is cultural operationalization of appropriate ethics, spirituality, time and space (Vaioleti, 2006, 2011). Furthermore, and in line with KMR values, the rights and welfare of the participants are paramount (Bishop, 1997). However for talanoa, it will be presumptuous for researchers or institutions to assume that they have power over participants in a talanoa research relationship. As mentioned in Vaioleti (2006), and in this paper under 'talanga' talanoa is not just about 'warm, empathic, and caring interviews,' participants can taungutu (fight back), exercise power over research activities, even terminate the talanoa if they are culturally or spiritually offended. For this reason, application of axiology is expected from both researchers and participants.

Researchers must act in such ways that preserve the cultural, spiritual, physical dignity of all that is involved (Cohen, Lawrence & Morrison, 2001), both researcher/s and participant/s. Cavan (1977) cited in Cohen, Lawrence & Morrison (2001: 56) stated that, '...ethics is a matter of principles, (and) sensitivity to the right of others. Being ethical limits the choices researchers can make in the pursuit what they may see as the truth'. Researchers must be cautious, respectful — to observe and respect the fonua they are working in as discussed under talanoa and phenomenology. For example, for Tongans and to a certain extent Samoans and other Polynesians, there are different dialects and indirect metaphoric languages used for talanoa with chiefs, titled holders and high-ranking clergies. Women, older people, brothers and sisters, if present together, are paid special considerations to ensure the vā (relational space) between the researcher, participant and between participants are respectfully maintained. Seeking of good advice is recommended if a researcher needs to conduct research within such relational spaces.

For a researcher to learn and describe a Pacific phenomenon, it is imperative that ethics (protocols) to guide the research emerged from Pacific worldview/s to protect the integrity of participants and their phenomenon as

well as researchers. The essence of the Pacific participants' culture, language, spirit, the reputation of their ancestors, their village and even their island nation (fonua) can not be separated from their stories or what a researcher may base their findings. The engagement of TRM, the development of the findings and the end application of the research must respect and benefit Pacific peoples.

In these cases, the protocols discussed in Vaioleti (2006: 29-31) such as faka'apa'apa, anga lelei, mateuteu, poto he anga and 'ofa fe'unga, based in 'anga faka-Tonga (Tongan processes and ways) can be adapted to suit other Pacific groups. These protocols must guide TRM. Established guiding ethics for the use of talanoa emphasises that while truth is good, respect for human dignity is better. Talanoa should be pragmatic, and when it loses malie (aesthetics, authenticity, spirit) or no more new information is forthcoming, then it should cease.

8. Conclusion

This paper compared and contrasted TRM to Phenomenology, Narrative, Kaupapa Māori and the Feminist methodologies to clarify its characteristics and allow more researchers to consider using it as research methodology. It also revisited the fundamentals of talanoa when used in TRM, which can include speaking freely from the heart, casual conversation, interview, debate, focus groups, critical discussion, fluid and multi-layered exchanges, always grounded in empathy and contextual protocols. This paper also discussed how TRM should put both the researchers and the kau ngā fa'u in a state (of mind, heart, emotion) and power level that enables the kau ngā fa'u to share authentically what is common sense to them and for the researcher to understand those from the level (world/s) of the kau ngā fa'u.

Talanoa Research Methodology was developed using Tongan concepts and cultural values that are better aligned and more respectful of Tongan and other Pacific cultures and worldviews. It was developed as part of a larger project to implement a Pacific theoretical philosophical base that is collective, and spiritually-based on contextual ancestral and fonua considerations. This orientation towards privileging Pacific preferences for research yields more authentic, relevant and longer term research benefits. These cultural considerations, foundations and higher architectural vision may have led to the

growing utilization of TRM across the Pacific, suggesting that TRM is now the most prominent and relevant Pacific research methodology (Farrelly and Nabobo-Baba, 2012).

Note

1 Similar to personal communication carried out with the culturally appropriate respect and empathy referred to by Farrelly and Nabobo-Baba (2012).

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THE EDITOR'S NOTICEBOARD

Kevin Watson: *Department of Linguistics, University of Canterbury*
<kevin.watson@canterbury.ac.nz>

There have been two changes of editor and two changes of institution since the last volume of *Te Reo* appeared in print (volume 55, 2012). I am pleased to be able to bring you this double issue, which combines volumes 56 and 57. My apologies to everyone waiting for these volumes, especially the authors of the papers, some of whom have been waiting to see their paper in print for a long time. It has taken a considerable effort from a number of people to bring this double issue together. I thank all authors for their submissions, and for their patience, and all reviewers for their work in making this possible. I also thank Graeme Leather, the *Te Reo* typesetter, for his speedy turnaround of copy at the end.

The second half of this volume consists of papers from a symposium on narrative perceptions and practices in Aotearoa, organised by Farzana Gounder and the Waikato Narrative Group. I would like to thank Farzana for acting as guest editor of this section.

The next volume, *Te Reo* 58, will also appear in 2015, and by then we will be on time again. To keep us on track, please continue to consider *Te Reo* as a possible venue for publication of your work, and contact the editor if you have a proposal for a special issue or themed section.

