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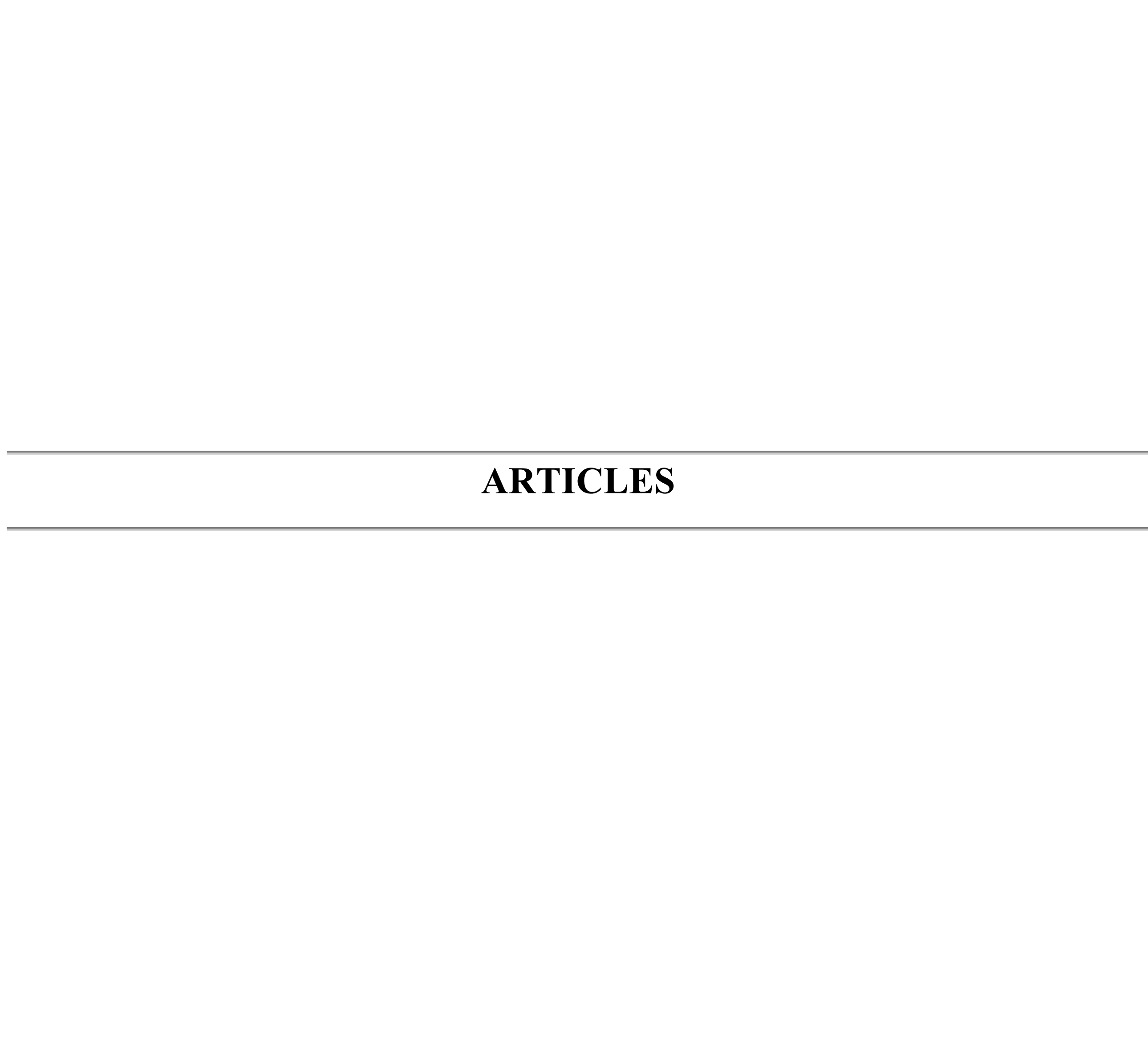

ARTICLES

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IT'S A COLONIAL THING: NEW ZEALAND CULTURAL IDENTITY AND THE USE OF 'COLONY' AS A SOCIAL CATEGORY IN INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

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Abstract

This paper discusses how "colony" is utilized as a social category to describe New Zealand in episodes of intercultural communication between interactants from New Zealand and the United Kingdom. Data is taken from the "The Comedian's Comedian Podcast" in which Ben Hurley, a New Zealand stand-up comedian is interviewed by Stuart Goldsmith, a British stand-up comedian and podcaster. Utilizing Membership Categorization Analysis (Sacks, 1992) to investigate how this category is developed and applied, in and through social interaction, it is argued that the use of "colony" as a category by Ben Hurley constructs a particular image of New Zealand cultural identity that allows Stuart Goldsmith and the listening audience to draw inferences about this identity, in particular how New Zealanders perceive of themselves and their place in the world in relation to a colonial heritage. The findings suggest that New Zealand's colonial heritage is utilized as a category in the intercultural communication in this setting to create a shared understanding of New Zealand cultural identity.

Key words: New Zealand cultural identity, membership categorization analysis, intercultural communication.

Introduction

Within episodes of social interaction, the utilization of categories allows interactants to understand the world in which they communicate and also to make sense of each other (Day, 1994). Social categories function as a means of describing and interpreting the behavior of others, based on a shared understanding of such categories. This process of description and interpretation is situated and explicated through turns-at-talk. Through a process of co-construction, interactants enact social categories (Bjorge, 2007). Associated with this notion of social categories is the construct of identity. Social categories are of use in understanding how identity is co-constructed in interaction (Jenks, 2013) and function as an innate part of social relations. Identity forms a fundamental element of how social relations unfold and develop (Fitzgerald, 2012). How and when identity becomes relevant during episodes of interaction is a dynamic process that is mediated through interaction. Based on the understanding participants in interaction have regarding groups, identities are

ascribed and contested as part of a dynamic and evolving process (Hansen, 2005; Mori, 2003; Mori, 2007). In other words, "taken for grantedness" (Stokoe & Attenborough, 2015) is a fundamental aspect of social categorization. However, social categories are not neutral (Hutchby & Woofitt, 2008). Categories possess an inferential aspect and are operationalized in talk as a naturally occurring part of social discourse (Sacks, 1992). Invoking social categories as part of social interaction is an application and display of beliefs people have about the groups they and others belong to. In short, the social world is jointly constructed by interactants in and through talk (Butler & Fitzgerald, 2010).

This paper examines how New Zealand cultural identity is enacted during a podcast episode about stand-up comedy, featuring a British host and New Zealand comedian. In particular, I investigate how the category "colony" is deployed in interaction as a frame of reference to establish a particular image of New Zealand cultural identity. Categories function as a source of information utilized in interaction by interlocutors in order to draw upon shared understandings of how members of such categories act. In turn, I examine what inferences about New Zealand cultural identity can be drawn by both the host and the audience listening to the podcast, with regard to that identity. This is the rationale for employing Membership Categorization Analysis (henceforth known as MCA) to analyze the data extracts that comprise the corpus presented here. MCA illustrates how this commonsense understanding about the categories people belong to and the activities associated with such categories is applied and displayed through social interaction. As stated by Lepper, MCA uncovers "the underlying rules of inference observed in naturally occurring interaction" (2000, p. 15). The argument proffered is that the assigning of labels (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998) such as "colony" as part of describing New Zealand cultural identity gives rise to particular inferences about New Zealand identity. Rather than seek to answer particular research questions, this paper is concerned with examining how a particular category (colony) is utilized, in situ, as part of intercultural communication. It should be noted that in discussing New Zealand identity I am focused on one particular aspect of this identity, that of the pākehā New Zealander; in this paper I do not seek to favour one interpretation of New Zealand's multicultural identity over another. The data extracts and analysis that follow examine this aspect of New Zealand cultural identity in relation to the category "colony", rather than a Māori or Pasifika perspective.

Membership Category Analysis

MCA is grounded in the principles that inform ethnomethodology and is generally regarded as a subset of Conversation Analysis (CA). In brief, CA examines the sequential organization of talk and how micro-details of interaction (for example, repair, overlaps, pauses) to explicate how interlocutors employ turns-at-talk to achieve goals within interaction. CA provides an emic or participant-relevant perspective on spoken discourse; rather than bringing to bear preconceived ideas regarding the data, the analyst is led by the data and seeks to uncover recurring patterns of interaction. One such example would be Transition Relevance Places

(Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974), the point where one speaker could legitimately claim the conversational floor, based on projecting the completion of another speaker's turn-at-talk, due to prosody, intonation or other factors. CA is an inductive process and theoretically agnostic (for more on CA see Ten Have, 2007).

Ethnomethodology's analytical concern is with how people employ conversation to construct a commonsense view of the world (Garfinkel, 2008). MCA arose from the work of Harvey Sacks (1992) in the field of sociology who posited that a common part of how social relations are established and maintained during episodes of interaction is the use of categories as a way of making sense of oneself and others. MCA focuses on how those engaged in interaction display and reveal an understanding of the social worlds they inhabit (Hester & Eglin, 1997). MCA's analytic focus is the activities undertaken by people when categorizing others and how sociocultural understandings are utilized in talk-in-interaction (Gardner, 2012). This is achieved through examining how Membership Category Devices (Sacks, 1992) are used to make sense of social groups and the activities members of such groups are involved in. Devices are predicated upon the knowledge people have about social groups and the conduct of members of those groups. Categories are linked to devices and certain activities are bound to particular categories, which are characteristic of the members of that category, for example, the social category 'parent' is linked to activities such as nurturing, feeding and playing. Turn-taking and turn-allocation reveal how categories are made relevant in interaction. Language, social action and sequential context are interrelated and constitute and inform episodes of interaction. It follows that if cultural identities are utilized as part of this process of identity work, an examination of the micro-details of interaction will reveal how participants construct and orient to cultural identity within interaction. Mori (2007) notes the activities participants are involved in will have a bearing on how identities are enacted and how cultural identities are ascribed and resisted. This is due to the fact that identity is situated and constructed in and through talk.

Data and Methodology

The extracts analyzed in this article are taken from the podcast "The Comedian's Comedian" hosted by the British stand-up comedian Stuart Goldsmith. (https://stuartgoldsmith.podbean.com/e/76-ben-hurley/). The podcast follows an interview-based format in which the host asks fellow stand-up comedians about their creative processes. The episode discussed here is an interview with the New Zealand stand-up comedian Ben Hurley during the New Zealand Comedy Festival in 2014.

I approached the data with no preconceived expectations of what phenomena could be observed, a process known as "unmotivated looking" (Ten Have, 2007). This meant that I downloaded and then listened to the podcast on several occasions before performing broad transcription; this entails transcribing the words as they were spoken without the detailed analysis that informs CA (see Appendix 1). I then

analyzed the broad transcript to identify recurrent phenomena during the interaction. Having identified characterization of New Zealand as a colony, and associated descriptions of cultural identity in light of this category as recurrent topics of discussion during the podcast episode, I then prepared transcripts of this data utilizing the analytic framework of CA (see above).

In this research, a “single case analysis” has been performed. By this I mean, the data extracts studied here are taken from a single interactional context, that of a podcast episode. The justification for doing so is that this context provides a clearly delineated locale for examining how the category colony is utilized to create a shared understanding of New Zealand cultural identity. Employing a single case approach allows for “a richer understanding of an existing phenomenon within its extended local context” (Maynard & Frankel, 2003).

This podcast employs an interview format, meaning it is a distinct interactional context that utilizes rules with regard to turn-taking; the interviewer asks a question and the interviewee responds. There is a normative expectation that turns-at-talk are allocated on this basis. It should also be noted that an interview is a process of co-construction; in other words, both participants describe and interpret social reality through social categories and the activities associated with those categories. Identity then becomes relevant based on the actions performed, in this case interacting within the participatory framework of an interview. However, there is also an imbalance of knowledge between the participants in an interview, as the interview subject has more insight into the topics under discussion and forms their responses to questions which are then interpreted by those listening (Housely & Rintel, 2013). Further, questions are not neutral in their purpose, as noted by Baker (2004). Questions affect how and as a member of which social category respondents reply.

Extract 1: Being a Kiwi in the UK (44:20-44:36)

SG denotes the podcast host Stuart Goldsmith. BH is the New Zealand stand-up comedian Ben Hurley. SG has been asking BH to describe the kind of venues he performed in when based in the UK. He then asks about BH’s legal status to work in the UK.

```
1.  SG:   what was the visa situation↓(.) did you just work there or were ↑ [you sponsored
2.  BH:                                                                    [yeah no I
3.        no we’re allowed um (.) because↓w:e (.) ar:e a ↑colony (0.2)
4.  SG:   ↓ hm hm=
5.  BH:   =New Zealand we’re allowed two↓years=
6.  SG:   =oh gotcha (.)↓ [okay
7.  BH:                   [yeah
```

In line 1 SG is eliciting information from BH about his working situation in the UK, attempting to learn if he was sponsored. BH overlaps with this turn in line 2 and in line 3. In line 3 there is some elongation of “we are” which indicates BH is

formulating a response to SG's query. Initially, he refers to himself ("I"), before utilizing "we're" and "we" to describe the group he belongs to that is "allowed" to work in the UK, a member of a colony. In line 4 SG employs an acknowledgment token ("hm hm") after a brief pause which is latched by BH, who uses the more explicit term "New Zealand" in line 5 to give a name to "we" from line 3, the group he identifies as being part of. Latching occurs in line 6 as SG claims understanding of BH's offering in line 5. His "okay" in line 6 is overlapped by BH in line 7 as he utilizes "yeah" as he interprets SG'S micro-pause in line 6 as the end of his turn, assuming the conversational floor at a Transition Relevance Place (see above).

That this is an episode of intercultural communication is made explicit in line 1 as SG positions BH as an outsider, in this case someone not from the United Kingdom. His first turn-at-talk consists of three questions, leading up to BH having to explain his employment status in the UK. The use of the word "sponsored" in line 1 labels BH as an outsider – someone who has needed permission to work and live in the UK. In line 3 BH acknowledges the status of being other; however, he also deploys the identifier "we" to define himself and claim membership of the category "colony". Of note is that at this stage he does not explicitly assign himself New Zealand identity, utilizing "we" and claiming membership of a particular group that is not named. By invoking "colony" to characterize the group he belongs to, BH utilizes a term that allows SG and the podcast audience to draw on the historical and cultural knowledge they have about colonies and infer particular things about the characteristics of the cultural group he identifies with. Colony is a pejorative term that implies a state of weakness and dependency (which resonates with the idea of being sponsored) on a larger nation; further it can be inferred that this group may be unsure of its own identity and status in the world. In other words, its cultural identity is defined in position to a larger, more powerful group. Given that BH also uses the present tense to invoke this colonial status, he may also be strengthening the belief of the audience that the cultural group he identifies with currently inhabits this subordinate position. In line 5 BH ascribes a label to the cultural group he identifies with – "New Zealand". In doing so he is clarifying for SG and the podcast audience his cultural identity and what he perceives is a shared facet of New Zealand identity, colonial status.

Extract 2: Number One in our Hearts (59.34-1.00.20)

SG has been asking BH if working in the UK had any bearing on how he was perceived as a professional comedian when he returned to New Zealand. BH states that when he returned to do the New Zealand comedy festival he felt that he had a new professional identity. In the interaction below, he then goes on to discuss how New Zealand performers who are successful overseas are regarded.

1. BH: u:m y- i- its another New Zealand thing (.) maybe it's a colonial thing (.) .hhh is
2. that we still <<look for:: >> overseas u:m legitimacy in our (0.2) art (.)
3. SG: yeah (.)
4. BH: so (0.1) for example (0.5) e- even to take it away from ↑comedy someone like
5. Lorde who is huge overseas (0.1) I'm not s:ure (0.6) ya know she'd broken- uh
6. she broke overseas before she did here (.)
7. SG: °hm°
8. BH: u:m as soon as she was (0.4) ya know a number one in the US and suddenly she
9. was ya know a national hero and =
10. SG: =number one in our hearts=
11. BH: =and number one in [our hearts.
12. SG: [the pop- the popstar of our he[arts, yeah.
13 BH: [yeah (.) and there are
14. exceptions to that, there are people who are just successful here musicwise or
15. comedywise .hhh um who aren't overseas (.) but definitely helps (.) it definitely
16. kind of fast tracks you (.) so when I came back for the comedy festival every year
17. uh it it definitely helped and I'd put on my posters ya know .hhh f-fresh back
18. from the UK.

The interaction begins with BH formulating a response to SG's earlier query regarding how he felt when he returned to perform comedy in New Zealand while being based in the UK. After some hesitation, BH makes New Zealand cultural identity relevant as he forms his answer. Initially, he states looking for affirmation of cultural products from overseas is a "New Zealand thing" before adjusting his response to apply the description "colonial" to describe this mode of behavior, tying New Zealand identity with the category "colony". In emphasizing the word "still" in line 2 BH relates both that New Zealand has been an independent country for some time and that seeking validation for the products of its culture from abroad is an ongoing process. In line 2 BH slows his speech ("look for") as he formulates that concluding part of his turn-at-talk, pausing 0.2 seconds before offering "art". In line 3 SG shows agreement with BH's prior turn. Lines 4 to 6 mark an expansion on the topic of New Zealand seeking legitimacy through others' opinion. BH begins line 4 with the discourse marker "so", as he seeks to give an example of how this seeking of legitimacy occurs. He explicitly states that he is going to offer an example in line 4, moving the discussion away from comedy to an area he may feel is more familiar to SG and the podcast audience. He mentions Lorde to illustrate his point, pausing 0.5 seconds, emphasizing that she is "huge" outside New Zealand in line 5. There is a pause of 0.6 seconds in line 5 as BH states that he is unsure if Lorde became known internationally before becoming famous in New Zealand. In line 6, "here" is emphasized to delineate a distinction between overseas and New Zealand. In line 7 SG employs a subvocalized acknowledgment token ("hm") of BH's utterance. BH orients back to his earlier turn (lines 4 to 6), mentioning in lines 8 and 9 that Lorde achieved number one in the United States which made her a national hero in New Zealand. SG follows with a latched turn, perceiving BH's use of the word "and" as a TRP in which the conversational floor is available, completing BH's turn by offering "and number one in our hearts". In line 11, BH repeats SG's offering in acknowledgment, which is overlapped by SG in line 12 as he offers the example of

Lorde as the "number one pop star of our hearts", utilizing "yeah" at the completion of his turn to signal that he has concluded his utterance. BH overlaps with SG near the end of his turn in line 13, with a lengthy turn in which he shifts the topic to state that there are exceptions – New Zealand performers who succeed locally. In line 15 BH orients back to SG's earlier question regarding how he felt when he returned to perform in New Zealand from the UK. He emphasizes that it "definitely" helped and provided momentum for a performing career though the status it conferred and that he would ensure "fresh back from the UK" was on his promotional material.

In the extract above BH states there is a particular mode of behavior that is a New Zealand "thing", observing that it may be a facet of colonial identity in general. This is the idea that part of New Zealand identity is insecurity regarding the legitimacy of local culture, which BH asserts in lines 1 and 2. The corollary to this is that legitimacy and validation can be sought outside New Zealand. BH's utterance in lines 1 and 2 apply the category "colony" to New Zealand (as was the case in Extract 1), and allows SG and the podcast listener to utilize their knowledge of what the colonial experience is and the things ancillary to that such as having your identity shaped by, and defined by, others. The use of this category infers that New Zealanders are in some ways insecure about identity and in defining themselves according to one's own standards. In lines 4 to 6 BH expands upon this point by offering an example of the singer Lorde as someone who has been successful overseas, which has allowed her to be defined as a legitimate success and a "hero" in New Zealand. Gaining international recognition confers status that being successful at home does not. This implies to SG and the listener that self-perception of New Zealand identity and values are to some degree shaped by the views of others. Placing New Zealand in the category of former colony indicates that activities associated with the category include seeking external validation and having a feeling of insecurity about one's identity and achievements.

As stated earlier, categories are inference-rich. The category of colony allows SG and the listener to make inferences about New Zealanders having less faith in the value of their culture and cultural artifacts unless they are validated by an outside source. Further, BH is aware of this aspect of New Zealand cultural identity; by putting "fresh back from the UK" on his posters, he implies that his having been based in the UK makes him appear to be a better comedian, which he assumes will increase his appeal to a New Zealand audience. This is an illustration of the application of a category (overseas-based comedian) and how this category allows an audience to infer that this is an indication of quality, when compared to the opposing category of local comedian. The earlier use of "colony" is bound up with this category work; by means of applying reasoning regarding a social category, the paying audience draws inferences about New Zealand culture in comparison to another through a social category, when deciding which stand-up show to attend.

Extract 3: New Zealand Comedy and the Cultural Cringe (1.03.45-1.05.02)

Prior to this extract BH has been asked to describe the comedy circuit in New Zealand. He does so by giving his view on how comedy is perceived in New Zealand.

1.	BH:	there was- it was always a bit of a cultural crin:ge about New Zealand comedy
2.		(.) and ↑ya know there still (.) is to a certain degree and I actually thought it
3.		was u:nique to New Zealand (.) but ya know I- I used to hear people say they
4.		didn't like British comedy (.) in in Britain occasionally and I used to think
5.		↑>>oh right okay<< cause theres ya know people n- uh would would still say
6.		New Zealand:ers aren't very good at ↓comedy [but um
7.	SG:	[° okay°
8.	BH:	that's- that's hhh a- ab:solutely minimal now compared to what it used to be (.)
9.		we used to (.) every yea:r there would be a- an article in our major paper (.) the
10.		New Zealand Herald saying why aren't New Zealanders funny (.) there would
11.		be like [a
12.	SG:	[real: ↑ly (.)
13	BH:	yeah (.) ev:ery year (.) and it just ↑stopped (1.6) and I think it was (0.2) the s-
14.		the overseas success of particularly the m- big big success of the Conchords
15.		and Rhys and .hhh the local success of u:m of- of 7 Days (0.1) that showed that
16.		yeah we did ha:ve comedians who were=
17.	SG:	=° yeah° =
18.	BH:	=who were funny and=
19.	SG:	=yeah=
20.	BH:	=yeah and good

The interaction begins with BH taking an extended turn-at-talk. Lines 1 to 6 involve him comparing how New Zealand comedy is perceived and contrasting this with the situation in Britain. He describes New Zealanders as having 'cultural cringe' to some extent about homegrown comedy, which he thought only occurred in New Zealand, as shown by his emphasis in line 2 of "unique". In line 7 SG quietly offers acknowledgment at a TRP as he interprets BH's turn as being complete, as he uses the discourse marker "but". Lines 8 to 10 involve BH orienting to his incomplete turn from line 6. He states that cultural cringe about New Zealand comedy is less prevalent but then goes on to observe that New Zealand's largest newspaper asked why New Zealanders were not funny. SG overlaps with BH in line 11, utilizing "really" in an upward tone to indicate surprise at BH's comment. In line 13 BH affirms that *The New Zealand Herald* published articles such as this. In line 13 there is a pause of 1.6 seconds as BH mentions that these articles stopped appearing. The use of "and I think" shows that he has been formulating a reason why these articles stopped appearing, going on to offer examples of New Zealand comedians successful overseas. He emphasizes his point, stressing "particularly" and "big" when describing which New Zealand comedians have been successful overseas. In line 15 he provides a point of contrast, giving an example of local comedy success (the panel show *7 Days*). The emphasis of the word "yeah" in line 15 also indicates that BH is replying to those who feel cultural cringe about New Zealand comedy and responding to criticism of comedy in New Zealand, stating that "we" have comedians who are

funny. In line 17 SG offers a latched turn in a quiet tone that shows he has been attending to SG's talk. Line 18 shows BH completing his turn from line 16, going on to say New Zealand comedians are funny. SG latches onto this turn in line 19, again using "yeah" to show "listenership" (McCarthy, 2003). The interaction ends at line 20 with BH orienting to SG's offering in line 19, offering affiliation through the use of "yeah" and repeating that New Zealand comedians are funny and also "good" at comedy.

Multiple categories are invoked in this extract – but the prevailing topic of the interaction is how New Zealanders seeks validation of cultural identity from an outside source. In stating that New Zealanders have cultural cringe about local comedy, BH asserts New Zealanders have historically felt a sense of embarrassment about local comedy that he attempts to contrast with how people in the UK feel about their own comedy. While the category "colony" is not explicitly mentioned, the activity of comparing the validity of local culture to that of another is performed. Two categories are invoked – New Zealand audiences who feel less sure about the quality of their comedy and British audiences who, to BH's surprise, may also feel a similar way. This sense of surprise is communicated through the use of "but" in line 3. He also indicates surprise at this situation with "oh OK", but argues that a section of New Zealand society would still feel local comedy lacks quality. What the audience can infer from BH's category work (similar to extract 2) is that New Zealanders may associate quality with overseas performers, rather than local comedians. The use of "we" is also of note in this extract. BH is using the category "we" and "our" to represent New Zealanders. In stating that "our major paper" published articles asking if New Zealanders were funny, it is also shown that debating (and possibly devaluing) New Zealand cultural identity is of national interest. SG is surprised by this in line 12. BH also does category work in placing New Zealand comedians into two groups: New Zealand-based comedians and New Zealand comedians successful overseas, in order to argue that New Zealand comedians, as a collective group, are funny. This orients to the start of the interaction where BH mentions cultural cringe. BH organizes his turns-at-talk to respond to criticism of New Zealand comedy. In doing so he invokes a category (those who feel cultural cringe) without explicitly naming this group. His category work here is utilized to get SG and the listener to infer such a group forms part of New Zealand's social fabric. Once this is done, BH focuses on responding to the criticism of this group. As stated above, the use of "yeah we did have" is directed as a response towards this group. Here "we" functions as a category of people who do not feel a sense of embarrassment about New Zealand comedy. Of note here is the use of "and good" in line 20, completing BH's turn from line 18 in which he states New Zealand comedians are funny. The set-up of "funny and good" places these concepts in counterpoint to each other. New Zealand comedians are funny but they are not just funny, they are also "good'. BH is focused on responding to those critics, arguing that New Zealand comedy is of sufficient quality in comparison to that from other countries.

Discussion and Conclusion

This paper has examined New Zealand cultural identity in relation to the category "colony" in episodes of intercultural communication between interactants from the United Kingdom and New Zealand, and what inferences can be drawn about New Zealand cultural identity when this category is utilized. What the data reveals is that "colony" is utilized as a means of developing and maintaining shared understanding of New Zealand cultural identity as interactants orient to this category in order to make sense of each other during interaction and understand the social environment in which interaction is taking place. It is a process of co-construction. This is in keeping with Jenks (2013), who found that social categories related to identity are oriented to by interactants for this purpose; Hansen (2005) had similar findings in relation to ethnicity.

The data demonstrates that the construction of identity is a discursive achievement, promulgated in and through talk (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998). BH and SG display their understanding of the category colony to maintain social relations in the context of an interview, which allows BH to construct and examine one aspect of New Zealand cultural identity. Within the interaction, BH defines himself as a New Zealander and explicates the factors that influence how he defines New Zealand cultural identity; examples include New Zealand's colonial heritage, self-perceptions of the value of New Zealand cultural capital and how New Zealanders who have returned from the UK are perceived back home. His use of colony as a social category also illustrates that cultural identity is a way of looking at the world and a way of being. The image of New Zealand brought into being here is a pākehā one related to of a country unsure of the validity of its cultural capital and seeking external affirmation of its place in the world. This is not to say these are the only examples of social categories that could be applied to examine New Zealand identity; the category selected here for analysis (colony) was selected based on its recurrence in the interaction and has informed the theoretical stance taken in this paper. Through utilizing MCA I have argued that a particular social category is conditionally relevant in interaction. This is due to its being oriented to by the interactants and made use of in co-constructing a particular notion of New Zealand cultural identity. Fitzgerald (2012) also notes that social categories achieve utility in social interaction through this process of being oriented to.

Given that different identities become relevant at different stages of interaction, identity is in a state of flux, as noted by Day (1994). However, the focus in this paper has been tracing how the category "colony" is utilized in the interaction investigated here. The activities people are engaged in are linked to the identity evoked at that time. CA is informed by the concept, "why that, in that way, at that time?" (Seedhouse, 2004). This has informed the methodological approach adopted here. New Zealand's cultural identity is partly inherited from the United Kingdom, as is shown in the interaction, and this has a bearing on how that identity can be conveyed

in and through interaction, especially when discussing the phenomenon of New Zealanders working in the UK. This in turn influences what can be inferred about New Zealand's identity and relationship with the UK. Cultural identity is a shared set of values and experiences. One aspect of this identity is the colonial experience. This perspective argues for the view that New Zealand is a young nation still unsure of its place in the world. This leads to seeking external affirmation of New Zealand cultural identity. It should be noted that the data examined here is taken from a discussion between two people. The views expressed by BH are not representative of the views held by all New Zealanders regarding cultural identity. However, New Zealand does possess a colonial heritage and what is shown here is that this facet of New Zealand's history resonates today when discussing cultural identity.

The term "colony" may possess negative associations, but this not to argue that BH is only presenting one aspect of New Zealand cultural identity in this interview. Data not shown here due to limitations of space also involves BH utilizing the idea of New Zealand as a self-reliant nation and deploying categorization devices such as number 8 wire, which portrays New Zealanders as a practical and resourceful group of people able to solve problems with whatever material is to hand (in this case Number 8 Gauge Wire often found on sheep farms). As noted by Belich and Wevers (2008), cultural identity is a somewhat problematic issue given its multi-faceted nature. It is expressed in a variety of ways and is contradictory in nature, for example, a colonial mindset versus the number eight wire self-reliance mentality. A variety of identities form cultural identity. The data here reveals that cultural identity is a discursive process which involves an orientation to categories as part and parcel of interaction, as also noted by Butler & Fitzgerald (2010). In the case of this paper, the focus has been on examining how the category "colony" is utilized and the inferences about New Zealand cultural identity that can be drawn when this category is utilized.

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Appendix

Transcription Conventions (adapted from Atkinson and Heritage, 1984)

[[ ]]	Simultaneous utterances- (beginning [[ ) and (end]])
[ ]	Overlapping utterances- (beginning [ ) and (end])
=	Contiguous utterances
(0.4)	Represents the tenths of a second between utterances
(.)	Represents a micro-pause (1 tenth of a second or less)
:	Sound extension of a word (more colons demonstrate longer stretches)
.	Fall in tone (not necessarily the end of a sentence)
,	Continuing intonation (not necessarily between clauses)
-	An abrupt stop in articulation

?	Rising inflection (not necessarily a question)
__	Underline words indicate emphasis
↑↓	Rising or falling intonation (after an utterance)
◦ ◦	Surrounds talk that is quieter
hhh	Audible aspirations
•hhh	Inhalations
.hh.	Laughter within a word
> >	Surrounds talk that is faster
< <	Surrounds talk that is slower
(( ))	Analyst's notes
$ $	Surrounds 'smile' voice

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TRANSLANGUAGING: AFFORDANCES FOR COLLABORATIVE LANGUAGE LEARNING

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Abstract

Globalisation, digital technologies and mobile learning have created unprecedented opportunities for language learning across space and time, while various 'turns' in applied linguistics are impacting on traditional conceptualisations of language and language learning. The emergence of bi/multilingual perspectives in particular has led to a re-evaluation of dynamic and hybrid language practices in educational settings, resulting in new explanatory concepts such as translanguaging and calling into question monolingual underpinnings of language scholarship and practice. In the light of shifting thinking about language learners as emergent bi/multilinguals, what are the affordances of translingual language practices? Drawing on affordance theory and Galley et al.'s (2014) community indicator framework, this article presents a small case study of bilingual learners (English/German) in an international online exchange. An examination of translanguaging patterns in the learners' online interactions demonstrates the affordance potential of expanded semiotic repertoires for the co-construction of meaning and building collaborative learner communities.

Keywords: translanguaging, affordances, learner community, collaborative agency

Introduction

The emergence of the multilingual internet (Danet & Herring, 2007) is a reflection of (and significant contributor to) fundamental changes in the way people connect and communicate in an increasingly superdiverse and connected world. For language learners these developments provide unprecedented opportunities for intercultural encounters and the ability to engage in new ways of communicating across space and time. The interactive potential of networked language learning has long been recognised (Chun & Plass, 2000; Kitade, 2000; Warschauer & Kern, 2000) and is of particular importance in distance learning contexts as a source for authentic target language use and as a catalyst for building learner communities. Such opportunities can be usefully explored from an affordance perspective. The notion of affordance has been given increasing attention in applied linguistics as a means to conceptualise how language learning is facilitated through "attuning one's attention system to perceive the communicative affordances provided by the linguistic environment" (Segalowitz, 2001, pp. 15-16). In rapidly changing social and educational settings

both online and offline learners need to navigate their way through ever more complex communicative environments mediated by an array of digital technologies, innovative pedagogies and, increasingly, through multilingual/semiotic means. From an ecological perspective, these complexities can also be seen as "resources for further action" (van Lier, 2004, p. 53) which open up possibilities for engagement and participation (ibid., p. 81). Affordances for language learning might thus emerge from the dynamic interplay between learners' perceptions of opportunities for action (and interaction) in their environment, and language as a meaning-making tool grounded in situated activity. Participation in the activity then may become an affordance in itself.

Given the important role of language as a mediating tool in interaction, what are the affordances of bi/multilingual practices for collaborative language learning? While much of second language learning research has focussed on affordances of technologies and tools, language learning strategies in online or distance spaces (Hauck & Hampel, 2008) or multimodal writing and literacy (Strobl, 2014; Li & Storch, 2017), linguistic diversity itself is becoming the object of language affordance scholarship (Aronin, 2014; Aronin & Singleton, 2012; Kordt, 2016; Singleton & Aronin, 2007). Bi/multilingual repertoires may offer greater affordances for meaning-making, identity construction and collaborative learner communities (Walker, 2017a; 2017b) through enhancing their abilities to "develop awareness of the social and cognitive possibilities which their situation affords them" (Singleton & Aronin, 2007, p. 83), provided they perceive affordances as such and act on them (Van Lier, 2004). While "deploying multiple linguistic resources gives rise to new forms of participation on the web" (Barton & Lee, 2013, p. 66), how these dynamics facilitate collaborative learning is yet to be fully understood.

The bi/multilingual turn over the recent decade has challenged the dominance of monolingual perspectives of language and language learning. Yet, as May (2014) observed, "such is the hegemony of monolingualism in these fields; try as we might, we have not wholly escaped from the established terminology associated with it – most notably, the still ubiquitous terms of 'native speaker' and, of course, 'language' itself" (p. 2). While bi/multilingual encounters and fluid language practices have become more commonplace in online spaces, a monolingual bias pervades second language acquisition research and practice which has tended to take language learning to mean acquisition of "a monolingual-like command of an additional language" (Ortega, 2009 p. 5). There is a need to reconceptualise language learning and use in virtual environments in order to understand new ways of meaning-making in a superdiverse and globalized world (Barton & Lee, 2013). Recent investigations of fluid and often hybrid language practices in urban, migration and educational settings have offered new concepts to account for translingual practices (Canagarajah, 2013), flexible bilingualism (Creese & Blackledge, 2011), codemeshing (Canagarajah, 2011) or translanguaging (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2009; García & Wei, 2014) to name but a few. What all of these terms have

in common is the rejection of a monolithic view of language and an emphasis on situated language use by bi/multilingual individuals or groups.

This article draws on the concept of translanguaging as a post-hoc lens to understand situated language arrangements in an educational setting. Built on the notions of multicompetence (Cook, 1996) and languaging (Swain, 2006), translanguaging refers to a form of language-in-use during which speakers draw on their entire linguistic repertoires to make meaning. The concept originated as a pedagogy in Welsh bilingual education (Baker, 2003) to describe “the planned and systematic use of two languages inside the same lesson” (Baker, 2011, p. 288). As a theoretical concept translanguaging is underpinned by a holistic notion of bilingualism rather than a fractional one, based on the assumption of an overall integrated linguistic repertoire “that is available for the speaker to be, know and do, and that is in turn produced in the complex interactions of bilingual speakers” (García & Wei, 2014, p. 80). One form of bilingual educational encounters is an online intercultural exchange (O’Dowd, 2007), also referred to as telecollaboration (Belz, 2003; Guth & Helm, 2010), which brings together distributed learners of different target languages to foster authentic and reciprocal learning (Meskill & Anthony, 2010) and "social co-creativity" (Lamy & Goodfellow, 2010, p. 109) through bilingual collaboration. These exchanges provide an interesting context for the investigation of translingual practices as potential affordances for collaborative language learning.

The research reported in this article draws on a bilingual telecollaborative exchange and is guided by an ecological perspective of affordances, where “all physical, social, and symbolic affordances that provide grounds for activity” (van Lier, 2004, p. 5) may come together in unique ways. Translanguaging was chosen as an overarching theoretical frame to emphasise a focus on negotiated and emergent practice (Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012), rather than a concern for the relationship between separate code(s). Translanguaging was operationalised as:

> going between different linguistic structures and systems and going beyond them. It includes the full range of linguistic performances of multilingual language users for purposes that transcend the combination of structures, the alternation between systems, the transmission of information and the representation of values, identities and relationships. (Wei, 2011, p. 1222)

An examination of the online interactions of one group of learners aims to address the following research questions:

RQ 1: What translingual practices are evident in the participants’ interactions?
RQ 2: What are the affordances of translingual practices for collaborative language learning?

The Project and Participants

The online collaboration was conducted in three rounds in 2007 and 2008[1] and involved advanced Academic English students at a German University and advanced distance learners of German at a New Zealand University. The project aimed to provide an intercultural experience and opportunities for language use in meaningful interaction through collaborative tasks. Of the 23 students involved in the third round, the selected interactions of one focal group of three students are the subject of this research. Two German students (CIA and ANI) and one New Zealand student (KAT) teamed up in what they called the environment group, reflecting their preferred topic focus. The students engaged with each other via the two universities' institutional learning platforms and a set of synchronous and asynchronous tools[2] (see Figure 1). At the start of the project, the students exchanged forum and email messages to make initial contact, followed by a series of synchronous voice-enabled meetings for negotiating topic ideas and planning a group-specific approach to the task. Although the synchronous meetings were somewhat constrained due to the 'one-speaker-at-a time' system available at the time, the students used both spoken and written chat modes extensively throughout the project. Their asynchronous communications via email, discussion board or wiki assisted them to follow up on agreed steps, share resources and draft written text in the wiki.

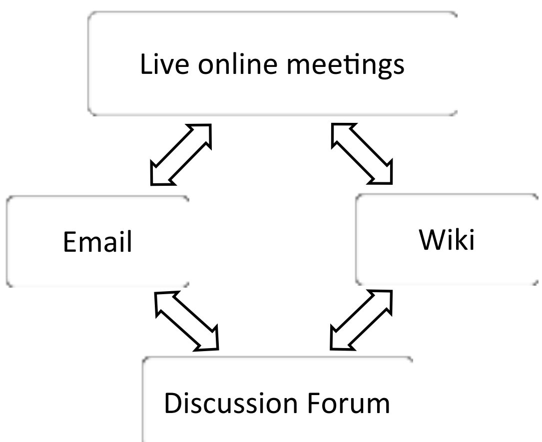

Figure 1 Integration of communication tools

The project's bilingual design was underpinned by two key principles: reciprocity and collaborative autonomy (Schwienhorst, 2003). The former ensured equal importance of both English and German and recognized the learners as emergent bilinguals (Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2005), who would manage their linguistic resources as part of their collaborative effort. To this end the students were provided with information about the project prior to its start, including the expectation for both languages to be used for mutual benefit. However, negotiation of language arrangements was left up to each group to negotiate, in line with the principle of collaborative autonomy. No hard and fast rules were set, but the teachers modelled translingual practices such as code switching or mixing woven into some of their

contributions. This approach provided the conditions for flexible language arrangements and encouraged student agency.

The project task was framed through an overarching theme: globalisation and localisation – opportunities and challenges. The learners were to identify a specific issue pertaining to the theme and work in small groups to explore it from a social, cultural, environmental or economic perspective. Taster readings featuring topical media stories about New Zealand and the German-speaking societies served as conversation starters and inquiry prompts, for example, about New Zealand's *Pure* campaign during the 2008 America's Cup, the appropriation of Māori cultural artefacts in fashion and design, or migration of a professional group to address a labour shortage in nursing. To ensure alignment to their respective curricular requirements outside of the project the students completed different assessment outcomes at the end of the collaboration (see Table 1). For the German students this meant writing a report (in English) about a small empirical data collection assisted by their New Zealand partners who, in turn, wrote reflections (in German) on their collaboration experience. In this way the learners' collaborative efforts were envisaged to scaffold individual production of artefacts as part of their regular coursework.

Table 1 Overview of project parameters

Duration	Thematic focus	Total Participants		Artefacts to be completed
6 weeks April/May 2008	Globalisation & Localisation: Opportunities and Challenges	New Zealand	6	Written reflection on collaboration experience (in German)
		Germany	17	Report based on empirical data collection; oral presentation (in English)

After an initial introductory meeting for all participants and with both teachers present the students self-selected into small topic-based groups. From this point they self-regulated by negotiating a group-specific topic angle and strategies to achieve their respective learning outcomes, including ways to accommodate the use of both target languages. The focal group examined in this study chose to compare New Zealand and German household energy consumption.

Methodology

The group engaged in altogether five synchronous meetings, four of which were attended by all three students and were examined for the purposes of this article. System-recorded audio-chats from the live meetings were entered into NVivo and analysed drawing on Herring's (2004) Computer-Mediated Discourse Analysis.

Coding was carried out by both the researcher and a trained assistant for improved consistency and reliability.

In a collaborative learning enterprise, the ability to form a productive learning community is paramount and evidence thereof can be taken to indicate learners acting on affordances available to them. Galley, Conole and Alevizou's (2014) Community Indicator Framework (CIF) was adapted in this research (Appendix 1) to investigate the group's interactions for participatory processes supported by sharing of resources, including language as a tool to mediate their activities. Originally devised for the Cloudworks social networking environment the CIF was adapted as a coding frame, with particular reference to two of the framework's original four dimensions of community experience: *participation/interaction* and *creative capability*[3]. These dimensions, shown in Table 2 along with their operationalising descriptors, provided a helpful lens to capture the dynamics of collaborative dialogue while drawing on multiple theoretical perspectives to examine and interpret the data. The CIF was previously used to study the role of translanguaging in different small groups in the same project, relating to the construction of identity positions (Walker, 2017a) and community building in a collaborative environment (Walker, 2017b). Both investigations demonstrated the importance of discursively mediated social relationships through rich cohesive ties, evident in phatic/vocative communication, displays of emotion, mutual support and co-constructed collaborative floor. In these studies, the cohesion dimensions were seen to underpin and partially overlap with *participation/interaction*, hence, for the purposes of this research, *cohesion* was subsumed under *participation/interaction*. Likewise, two original CIF *identity* indicators 'established purpose and expectations' and 'shared vocabulary' were renamed 'common purpose' and 'shared linguistic resources' respectively and were then included as descriptors in the *creative capability* dimension. Translanguaging was coded as 'shared linguistic resources' with reference to instances ranging from intrasentential blending of multiple semiotic signs to entire sections dedicated to one of the target languages.

Findings

In answer to research question 1, "what translingual practices are evident in the learners' interactions?" a prominent overall pattern emerged. The participants in this small group made deliberate choices about deploying their linguistic resources. These were often initiated by explicit suggestions to switch to one language or the other at specific points of a synchronous meeting. This distinct practice contrasts with that found for two other groups in this project (Walker, 2017a; 2017b) who employed a versatile array of translanguagings within and across turns throughout their interactions, including blending and code switching, a practice rarely found in the group under study here. Table 3 outlines the students' broad language choices and modes used in their five synchronous meetings. It is of note that only the first synchronous meeting showed an almost equal distribution of both languages, perhaps

reflecting a conscious attempt to work towards equal benefit through the use of both target languages. English predominated in the second meeting, whereas German accounted for 77% to 99% of the students' overall discourse in the third, fourth and fifth meeting.

Table 2 Code book dimensions

Dimensions	Descriptors
Interaction/ Participation	*Ways in which participants build and sustain interactive engagement, develop a social structure and take up social/facilitative roles, moving between social and productive activity.*
Task negotiation	Negotiation/identification of joint task; shared understanding of expectations, who does what; mechanics, including technical operationalisation (use of tools), scheduling meetings; sharing of resources (including language) within and beyond class. → *Language arrangement*: explicit attention to plan/manage use of shared linguistic resources.
Exploratory talk	Negotiating [content] meaning, exploring clarifying ideas, reference to or engagement with resources; engaging constructively with each other's ideas, offering suggestions for joint consideration; collective reasoning, e.g. challenges/counter-challenges, offering alternative hypotheses.
Work & play	On-task activity, interwoven with playful /social interactions or rapid and energised engagement.
Mutual support	Facilitative acts, scaffolding strategies (including hedging; phatic/vocative, display of/response to emotion), creating positive dynamics.
Creative Capability	*Ways in which participants engage in collaborative activity to co-create knowledge, drawing on their intellectual, relational, social and linguistic skills and motivated by a sense of common purpose.*
Collaborative Agency	awareness of own group's responsibility for action; seeing/using others as resources to support action, ability to self-regulate as group (e.g. assign relevance/ significance to matters); self-reflexive, relational → *Common purpose* and sense of group belonging.
Knowledge Creation	Linking experience, expanding on/challenging concepts in new ways; build knowledge and create artefacts (e.g. wiki) with others; patterns of creative /reflective practice; emerging criticality.

Table 3 Overview of synchronous meetings

Meeting	Turns	Key phases	Linguistic resources	Mode
1 1 May	231	Exploring response to project theme, modus operandi, preliminary topic decision.	English in the first half, followed by a conscious switch to German initiated by ANI.	Start of meeting written (first 60 turns) then spoken, with occasional chat.
2 6 May	58[1]	Narrowing down topic, process, negotiating division of labour, emerging team sense.	German among CIA /ANI who switch to English when KAT joins meeting late[2] and ANI starts with greeting in English.	Written only (CIA had no microphone)
3 9 May	138	Discussing workload and uncertainties: information overload, process for data collection, language(s) for outputs.	Almost entirely in German, as agreed in previous meeting.	First 26 turns/ 28 last turns written; the reminder predominantly spoken.
4 26 May	67	Attending to potential conflict (unequal workload), negotiating questionnaire distribution, expressing/ addressing resistance, finding solutions.	Except for two turns, entirely in German.	5 written turns at start, then all spoken, some long turns.
5 29 May[3]	35	Modifying questionnaire work to relieve KAT, request for final check of wiki, some benefits and insights gained.	Kat/CIA in German only while waiting for ANI; KAT leaves and CIA/ANI work offline.	Written only

As the students began to shape their ideas for a group topic they also discussed ways to achieve their respective course outcomes. In the live meetings they negotiated action points, some of which translated into joint wiki writing which would eventually become a basis for the German students' written report. While the wiki was not analysed in detail for this study, it is important to highlight its role in promoting reciprocity and enhanced engagement with sometimes complex information and ideas. All partners provided mutual language feedback or corrections in the 16 entries they jointly produced, extracts of which are shown in Figure 2. A salient feature of their collaborative writing is the fact that throughout the wiki the students drew on their bilingual repertoires, occasionally intermingling German and English in the wiki text (e.g. see 19 May entry KAT) or taking turns with English or German in the brief header comments.

Bold: Date created, author and 'header' comments
Boxed: Extracts from wiki text with changes/suggestions shown in bold (colour)
[*italics*]: Translations from the original German entry

09 May 2008 07:09 KAT

> **Hi ya, I hope you are not offended but I have taken the liberty of making suggestions and some corrections even though overall the text is very good:**
> Comparison of **the (delete)** energy consumption **of (replace: between)** New Zealand and Germany. **To provide (best not to start with to provide - you could always rephrase ...**

Non-personalised greeting; feedback focus on language mitigated by praise; formal tone.

12 May 2008 19:26 ANI I tried to implement KATs comments in the text. I hope everything is right, now.

> Comparison of energy consumption between New Zealand and Germany
> **We want to define some terms we can deal with** to provide a basis for our comparision of energy consumption between New Zealand and Germany. ...

Mutual support Phatic Recognition of KAT's contribution.

12 May 2008 23:42 KAT Also very good, I have just made a few amendments again. Sometimes things need to be slightly altered and / or rearranged depending on how it has been written. :)

> Comparison of energy consumption between New Zealand and Germany
> We want to define some terms **that** we can deal with to provide a basis for our comparison of energy consumption between New Zealand and Germany.

Mutual support Praise, hedging; emotion (non-linguistic).

-----

15 May 2008 10:13 CIA I think our work is very good so far! KAT, the facts you found out are really interesting. ...

15 May 2008 13:25 KAT Danke fuer die deutsche Version, CIA. Ich bin gerade sehr muede, und habe nicht all zu lang uber die englische Version gedacht... [*Thanks for the German version, Cia. I am quite tired and haven't thought too much about the English version*]

Mutual support Emotion Language arrangement; Switch to German.

19 May 2008 10:46 KAT Hey ihr beiden, hier was auf Deutsch - entschuldigt die vielen Fehlern ;). Leider ist nicht alles relevant zu unserem Thema, aber ich dachte es ist vielleicht doch interessant ... [*Hey you two, here's something in German – apologies for the many errors. Unfortunately not everything is relevant for our topic, but I thought it might be quite interesting*]

Mutual support Language arrangement Emotion

19 May 2008 17:49 CIA Der Text war wirklich sehr gut, KAT. Meine Korrektur sieht nur so furchtbar aus, weil ich so viele verschiedene Vorschläge gemacht habe;). Danke für deine Korrektur an den Fragen. Ich habe gerade alles eingebaut. Bis morgen beim Meeting! [*the text was really very good, Kat. My corrections only look so horrible, because I've made so many different suggestions. Thank you for the correction of the questions. I have just integrated everything. Till tomorrow at the meeting!*]

Mutual support Praise, face saving; reciprocity; sense of positivity.

> ... Im Ganzen **(you could better say „insgesamt";) senden („entsorgen"; the verb senden is used in other cases for example: „eine Nachricht senden")** neuseeländische Haushalte **(„Haushalte")** über 80,000 **(„80.000")** Tonnen Plastik pro Jahr .....mehr als 300,000 **(„300.000")** neuseeländische Häuser haben ...

20 May 2008 00:00 KAT Vielen Dank fuer die Korrekturen :) Sehr behilfsreich. Much appreciated. [*Many thanks for the correction :) Very helpful*]

Mutual support Language arrangement Switch to English; gratitude.

25 May 2008 15:40 ANI I added some more information about energy consumption of households in germany and some information about strategies to reduce it, and i'm working on the questionnaire

26 May 2008 14:02 KAT Hi, hier ist eine neue Version. Leider ist die Qualitaet nicht gut genug (von mir aus), aber meine Zeit ist beschraenkt. [*Hi, here is a new version. Unfortunately the quality is not good enough (in my view), but my time is limited*]

Mutual support Language arrangement Apologetic; workload issue.

Figure 2 Wiki writing extracts

Their comments or corrections were often mitigated through expressions of mutual support and strategies such as apologies (e.g. see 9 May entry KAT), hedges, presenting changes as suggestions or use of smiley emoticons (see 19 May entry CIA) as well as expressing gratitude (see 20 May entry KAT).

In answer to the second research question, “what are the affordances of translingual practices for collaborative language learning?” the findings are presented in the form of (a) quantified measures of the CIF dimensions analysed for the first three synchronous meetings (Figures 3-5) and (b) selected qualitative data. In the examples presented below, passages in German are rendered with English glosses shown in square brackets. Written chat is marked as [w] and spoken turns as [v].

Synchronous Meeting 1
Task negotiation and exploratory talk predominated in this entirely spoken interchange, reflecting the group’s efforts to understand and shape the task to the group members’ needs and interests (see Figure 3).

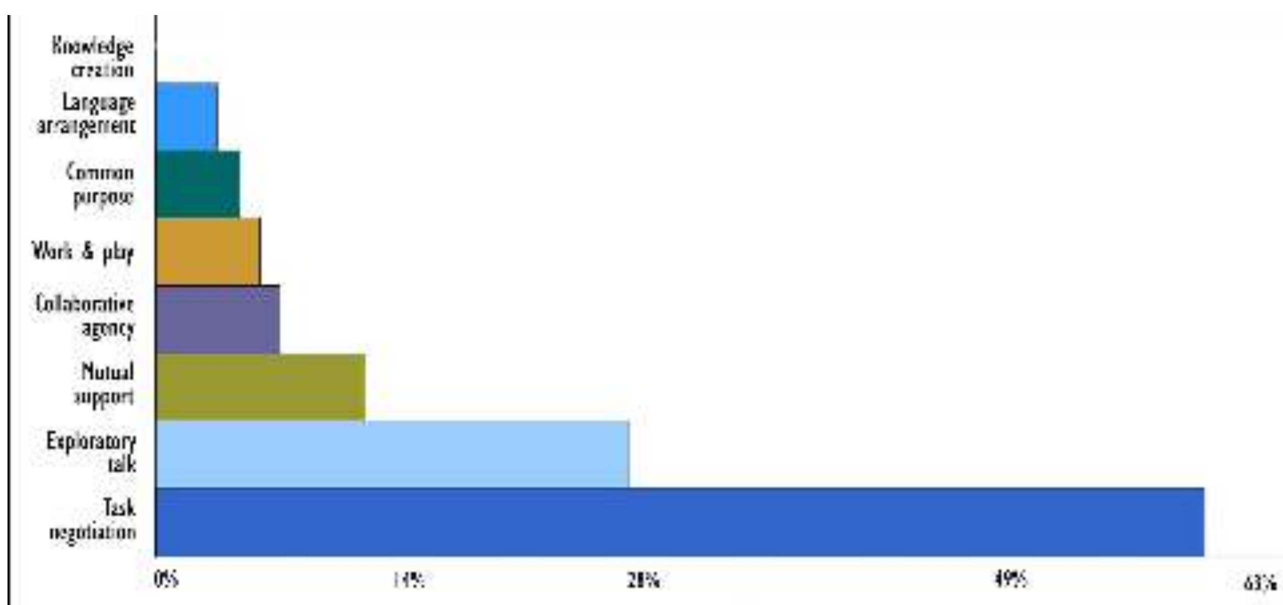

Figure 3 CIF dimensions in Meeting 1

The brief extract below shows students attempting to narrow down their topic (1) or elements thereof (4, 5), use a shared resource (2), express mutual support through acknowledgment of work (3) and mutual consultation and agreement (4, 5). The use of questions (“do you think we need…”) and modals (“would be easier”, “may just come about”) add a tentative tone and evoke a sense of possibility at a point when the students were still feeling their way and seemed to avoid imposing on each other. In this passage the students communicate in English only, suggesting the possibility that KAT the New Zealand student accepts her partners’ language choice as ANI and CIA are in a numerically dominant position.

1. ANI [v] I think it would be easier if we eh specify our topic more than only environment so maybe ehm that's a nice suggestion to see how people … in their houses yeah houses and deal with electricity or I don't know food or something. I don't know.
2. KAT [v] Ehm if we do that that might be reasonably easy because in New Zealand eh just recently we had a TV show which is called "Wasted" and ehm that was very interesting because eh each week … [continues to describe the show]. I've actually posted a weblink about that in the other part of [their discussion board].
3. ANI [v] yeah [laughing]. Kat, I saw what you have done. So much things, so much work on that. Wonderful.
4. CIA (v) Yes that's eh that's right Ani. Thanks Kat too…do you think we need some general background maybe ehm this TV show you mention Kat and ehm then we could give some kind of solution to the problems?
5. KAT [v] Yeah that sounds good with ehm solutions they may just come about naturally, because [gives examples of of websites, then the connection breaks down]

The use of joint linguistic resources became a subject of negotiation when ANI reminded her partners to discuss "when to speak German and when to speak English. Make some suggestions". The group decided to manage this aspect of their collaboration in a rather structured manner, following a suggestion by KAT:

6. KAT [v] we could always eh speak like English for half an hour and German for the other half, we can practise both languages at the same time. ….
7. ANI [v] Oh that's a good idea Kat. So maybe we try it that way ehm so up to half past ten we will speak English and then switch to German.

And this is precisely what they did a little later in the meeting:

8. ANI [v] Another topic I think now ehm the time is coming to change our/our [laughing] English in German so are you ready?
9. KAT [v] [laughing] Eh nein ich bin nicht parat dafür. [eh no I'm not ready for it]

Despite KAT's somewhat facetious response (9), perhaps as an attempt at humour, the remainder of the meeting was conducted in German. Apart from further topic-related discussion the students deliberated their approach to collecting data, the report, and the language(s) it should be written in. The group spent a lot of time and effort discussing the latter aspect in all meetings, even though only the German students needed to report the findings. A sense of common purpose and group belonging was signalled at the end of the meeting through the use of the inclusive "we" and the label "girls" (10):

10. ANI [v] Gut Mädels, also wir haben uns jetzt entschieden für die Verschmutzung die man selbst im Haushalt verursacht. Wie wollen wir jetzt

weiter vorgehen mit unsere Gruppenarbeit? [*Ok girls, so we have decided for pollution caused by ourselves in households. How do we want to proceed with our group work?]*

Synchronous meeting 2

An increased level of mutual support was notable, compared to other meetings (see Figure 4). It finds expression in the ways the partners managed the demands of the project in general and how the German students responded to KAT's increasing concern about workload, an issue which continued to exercise them and was exacerbated by KAT's repetitive stress symptoms which affected the amount of writing she could do. The students also made much more use of the written chat in this meeting as CIA had no headset.

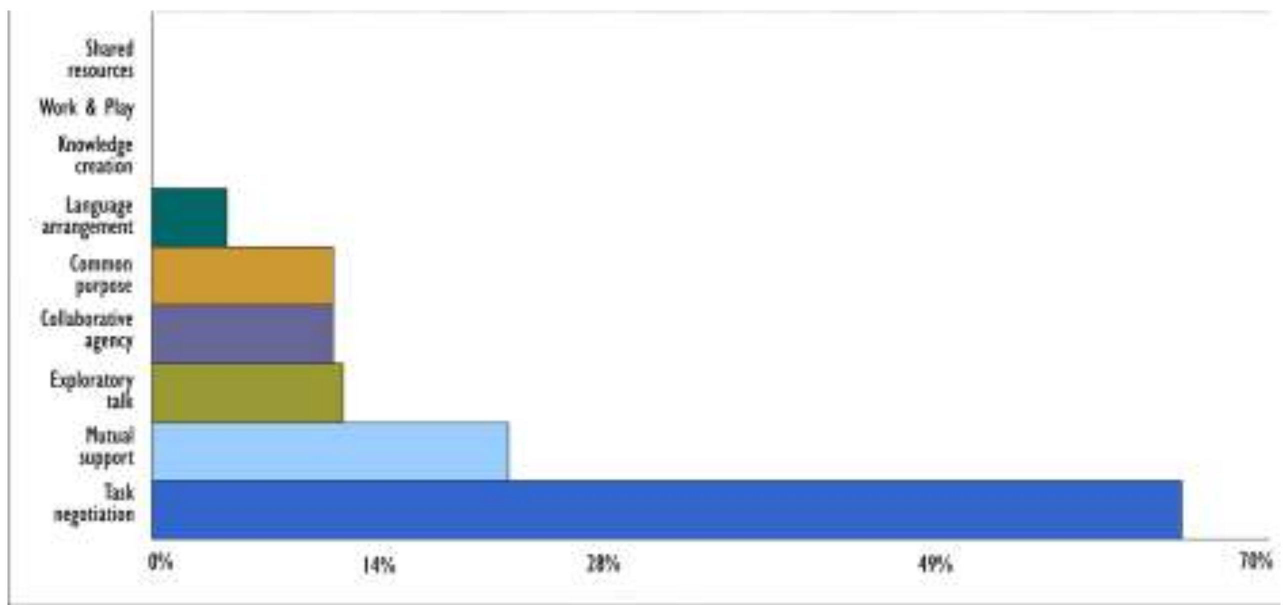

Figure 4 CIF dimensions in Meeting 2

While waiting for KAT to arrive, CIA and ANI discussed ideas for delimiting their topic as they began to feel overwhelmed with information. They agreed to a suggestion KAT had made after ANI raised this issue in the forum (11, 12), switching to English to relay this to KAT when she arrived (13-20). KAT responded in a friendly and accepting manner, boosted by a smiley emoticon, but not without inserting her own area of interest (21):

11. CIA [w] … also nehmen wir Kat's vorschlag mit dem energieverbrauch an [*so we accept Kat's suggestion about energy consumption*] ?
12. ANI [w] jep. Welche bereiche wollen wir uns denn ganau anschauen [*yep. Which areas do we want to have a look at then*]?
13. ANI [w] we already discussed what our further steps could be.
14. KAT [w] have you two decided on something new?
15. ANI [w] yeah. we want to focus on energy consumption
16. CIA [w] hey KAT! We just talked about ANIs idea to reduce our subjekt

17. KAT [w] are we going to go by your suggestion on garnet?
18. CIA [w] and we talked about the structure
19. KAT [w] ok˙ what subject will we work on?
20. ANI [w] we think that it would be interesting to discuss the energy consuption in nz and germany and compare it
21. CIA [w] sounds good to me :) and about renewable energies.

The partners' agreement turned into dissent when ANI disagreed with KAT's suggestion for a collective approach to researching the topic (22), prompting CIA to propose a division of labour by country (23):

22. ANI [w] I think it will be too much.
23. CIA [w] yes, so we could divide into nz and germany? ok if it is not to much work for you, could you search information about nz? Shall we switch the language in a few minutes, Kat?

CIA's simultaneous suggestion to switch language (23) may show recognition of KAT's need to use German in this project, but could also mean an attempt to placate KAT when asking her to do something, given the tentative and polite language couched in question format. CIA further suggested that the proposed division of labour just apply to the introductory part of the written report and a collective approach be taken to preparing the data collection part to lighten the load. KAT promised to "do her best" despite other professional and personal demands, while CIA committed to starting the next meeting in German, adding a winky emoticon perhaps to add a humorous nuance or as a means to signal mutual understanding. This interaction reflects an emerging give-and-take attitude, the students' sensitivity to each other's needs and their ability to take joint responsibility, in other words – - collaborative agency. Their emerging sense of collectivity comes through in CIA's tribute to the group at the end of the meeting: "we are an excellent team".

Synchronous meetings 3 and 4

After an introductory exchange with lots of friendly emoticons the students launched into a meeting almost entirely in German. Across 64 turns, some of them substantial and primarily spoken, the interaction shows features of mutual support, collaborative agency and knowledge construction (see Figure 5), all of which combined into creative capability facilitated through their shared linguistic resources.

For example, in a verbal exchange about wiki writing CIA acknowledged KAT's contribution and referred to this activity as: "quite a good opportunity for someone to write a text, and eh like you've already done it KAT, thanks by the way, which someone corrects and adds ideas to, or maybe inserts new figures" [v; translated]. However, KAT explained her aversion to changing someone else's text by saying that she wrote "beneath your text, so it's a little bit strange. I didn't want to destroy your work". After reassurance from CIA that it is acceptable to overwrite in a wiki

and that versions are stored KAT responded: “I didn’t know that you could lift texts, otherwise I would have done that, but I suppose I’ll learn fast how a wiki is used” [v; translated]. Co-creation of knowledge is apparent here in the sense that KAT learnt not only about technical aspects of wiki writing but was encouraged to take a more collective perspective of text production and ownership.

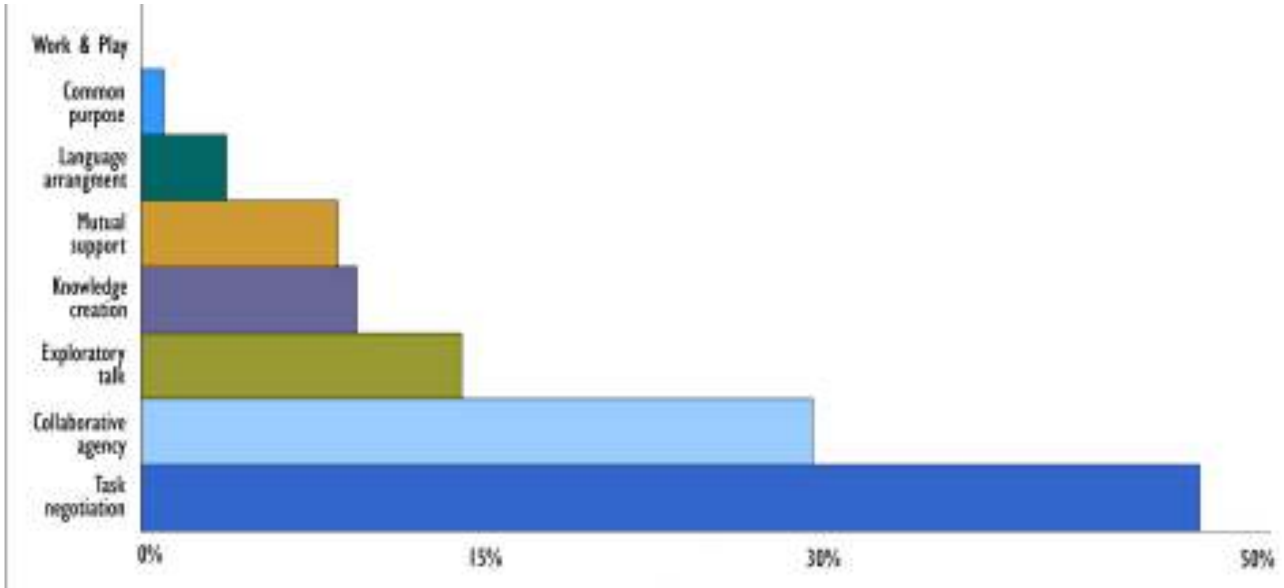

Figure 5 CIF dimensions in Meeting 3

Discussing ideas for the questionnaire provided an important opportunity for joint construction of knowledge, even though KAT’s assistance with that raised workload implications. CIA and KAT both professed to be novices in this area. As a psychology major, ANI was familiar with question design and able to give her partners detailed explanations. When KAT made a comment about question formats she struggled to express herself clearly in German and made a rare intrasentential switch into English to clarify her point (24). ANI inferred KAT’s meaning and disambiguated in German (24), perhaps as a face-saving strategy to indicate that KAT did make herself clear enough in her target language, but could benefit from linguistic resources in the form of unfamiliar lexical items (25):

24. KAT [v] …die sind sehr gut, weil wenn man nicht zu viel Auswahl hat mit den Antwort. Dann kann man irgend-eine bessere Antwort heraus ehm... Ja ich eh ich weiß nicht, wie man sagt, einfach [*they are very good because there aren’t too many answer options. Then you can … a better answer … eh, well I don’t know how to say it, simply*] to end up with a better answer, to establish what the results are?
25. ANI [v] Ich glaube du meintest dass man bessere Antworten erhält, vielleicht auch aussagekräftigere Antworten erhält, … wenn man solche Fragen stellt, als eh wenn man viele offene Fragen stellt und den Personen viel Freiraum lässt, wie sie antworten können. [*I think you meant that better answers can be*

> *achieved, maybe also more meaningful answers, if you ask such questions, rather than many open questions with much scope for people to answer them].*

The students spent considerable time in this meeting on debating what language to write their final report (or "article") in. The following extract was prompted by KAT voicing a concern about insufficient exposure to German (26, 28):

26. KAT [w] ich mache mir einfach was gedanken das ich zu viel englisch brauche mit dem projekt [*I'm just a bit worried that I use too much English in the project*]
27. ANI [w] … findest du, dass du zu wenig von unserer zusammenarbeit profitierst? [*do you feel that you benefit too little from our cooperation?*]
28. KAT [w] einfach mit dem projekt selber wen es auf englisch ist und ich mehr oder weniger die korrekturen machen muss aber ich werde NZT nochmals fragen, weil auf unser seite ist es ein relativ offenes projekt [*simply with the project itself if it's in English and I more or less need to do the corrections but I'll ask NZT again because it is a relatively open project at our end*]

Clearly KAT was thinking about giving language feedback about her partners' use of English in the wiki, ignoring the fact that German predominated in their live interactions. When the partners suggested a bilingual approach to mollify KAT, she agreed to parts of the text being written in both English and German but underlined her resistance to more writing with a reminder of her physical pain and the desire to even abandon the meeting (29). Faced with KAT's threatened disengagement CIA countered with a conciliatory statement, suggesting that writing in English should be easier for Kat (30), who agrees (31):

29. KAT [w] ok. oder auch einfach stuecke davon dass wir nicht zu viel arbeit davon haben. ok. mein arm macht mir recht weh so hoere jetzt ich am liebsten auf... [*ok. Or just simply parts of it so that it doesn't mean too much work for us. Ok. My arm is in quite a bit of pain and so I'd rather finish now*]
30. CIA[w] schauen wir einfach mal,wie es mit der arbeit läuft. aber in der muttersprache ist sowas ja kein problem;) [*let's just see how it goes with the work. But in your mother tongue it's not a problem after all*]
31. KAT [w] ja stimmt [*yes that's right*]

It was not until the fourth meeting that KAT's workload concern was addressed. When she apologised for not having given more language feedback due to other commitments her partners realised they might be expecting too much. Yet, when ANI asked for KAT's assistance with sending questionnaires to her New Zealand contacts, KAT voiced resistance on four separate occasions, citing various obstacles that would make it difficult for her to do so. Gradually, the German partners acknowledged the need to reduce their demands prompting CIA to point out to ANI: "Ok, what KAT just noted, I already thought about that too, because she is by herself after all and there's two of us, so she shouldn't have to author the texts in German too" [v;

translated]. It was also CIA whose reminder to be realistic about what was achievable in the project sought to reassure KAT:

32. CIA [v] …also ich würd mir jetzt darum nich so n Stress machen, weil wir ja keine wissenschaftliche Untersuchung in dem Sinne leiten können … . Wir sind ja nur so n kleines Paperlein und ich finde wir sind jetzt schon sehr ausführlich und sehr detailliert [… *well I wouldn't stress out about it so much because we can't conduct a scientific investigation in that sense… . We're only a small paper anyway and I think we're already very comprehensive and detailed*].

Discussion

This article set out to explore the affordance potential of translingual practice for collaborative learning during an online intercultural exchange. Translanguaging is an emergent construct and by no means uncontroversial. Much of its early empirical base is located in the US bilingual education context and aims to disrupt dominant language ideologies and monolithic notions of language. In this study the construct provided a useful lens for examining interactive languaging practices in the context of a bilingually designed task, where interactivity and collaborative agency were seen as manifestations of an emerging learner community, made evident through multiple layers of CIF dimensions. The students in the group under study sustained active engagement, jointly strategised and co-constructed a self-directed learner community. This speaks to the collaborative quality of their interactions which were mediated via both written and spoken modes in synchronous and asynchronous fashion. Drawing on both German and English in distinct ways, the group translanguaged in Wei's (2011) sense by moving between and beyond linguistic structures. Their multimodal discourse incorporates a range of semiotic means such as emoticons or suprasegmentals and displays distinct patterns in the wiki and the live meetings. With a focus on collaborative writing and language feedback, the former shows translanguaging primarily at sentence or intersentential levels. In contrast, the audio-chat weaves together longer passages in German or English into a meaningful whole. Through their shared linguistic resources the learners made meaning, constructed trusting relationships and created knowledge, not just around content and language, but also to make sense of expectations, negotiate joint contributions or establish what it means to write collectively in a wiki. It is interesting to note that on completion of the project KAT requested that her name be added to the German students' written submission, a clear act of laying claim to co-created knowledge.

The learners' translingual practices enabled a form of collaborative agency afforded by an expanded linguistic repertoire as a resource for further action (van Lier, 2004), or interaction. This was particularly evident in the amount of exploratory talk produced translingually in which the students engaged with each other's ideas and negotiated meaning as a basis for jointly constructed artefacts, the wiki and the questionnaire. Sharing experience and using each other as a resource contributed to a

sense of common purpose which in turn helped overcome difficulties, for example when ANI's experience facilitated a joint approach to designing a questionnaire. This example also highlights the relational nature of their emerging agency and is apparent in the three partners' trust in and concern for each other. This empowered KAT to resist unrealistic expectations of her role and led the German students to make concessions, suggesting a jointly created self-reflexive process. In other words, they became "possessors of capacities that can only be practised in joint actions, and capable of sensitive responses to others and to the situations of interaction" (Burkitt, 2015, p. 322).

The learners exercised their agency through conscious attempts to create learning opportunities. These were evident in the way they evaluated and realised linguistic affordances to suit their individual and group-specific needs and goals (Aronin & Ó Laoire, 2013; White, 2008). Given the bilingual design of the project, its open task structure and differential learning outcomes, as well as the combination of distance students and face-to-face learners, complexity was inevitable. Not surprisingly, much time was spent on understanding and strategising for the task. The findings from this study indicate that the learners' linguistic practices were a resource for handling a cognitively demanding task. The students' advanced level of proficiency is likely to have played a role as they were able to produce substantial and often separate segments of discourse in either German or English. Dewaele argues (2010) that affordances associated with multilingual learning may be reduced at higher levels of proficiency. However, if creativity is a product of languaging (Blommaert, 2013, p. 614), the students' translanguaged interactions clearly afforded them opportunities to be agentive and creative, perhaps precisely because they were able to handle difficult environmental terms and concepts at an advanced proficiency level. Explicit error corrections were essentially limited to the wiki and virtually absent in the live meetings, akin to what Edasawa and Kabata (2008) found in a similar online exchange. For these learners, translanguaging did not function as a tool to address lexical gaps in their live meetings but it afforded them "flexibility in language use and the permeability of learning through two or more languages" (Lewis et al., 2012, p. 659) and the means to create community through interactivity (Canagarajah, 2016).

Applied linguistics has a fundamental role to play in informing theoretical and pedagogical shifts to help learners engage in a global, intercultural and superdiverse world. To use the words of Kramsch and Huffmaster (2015), "the exclusive use of monolingual/national points of reference deprives learners of the transnational, translingual and transcultural competencies they will need to use the language in today's multilingual environments" (p. 114). To break away from monolingual assumptions and practices greater consideration must be given to language learners' bi/multilingual repertoires and identities, as well as pedagogies which support these. Recognising language learners as emerging bilinguals (Turnbull, 2016) will be an important step. Equally important will be the adoption of pedagogies which help leverage the ability to purposefully shuttle between languages (Canagarajah, 2013)

and recognition of bilingual forms of languaging as legitimate. From a translingual perspective the notion of ‘target’ language itself may shift to refer to the ability to draw on an enhanced linguistic repertoire. This is not to deny the reality named languages have in the consciousness of learners as a goal to invest in.

The findings from this study show that translingual pedagogies can facilitate local practices through expanded notions of language, communication and literacy (Gort, 2012). They can help create spaces for dynamic linguistic practices and promote “overlapping social processes, including knowledge construction” (Moore, 2014, p. 592). Translanguaging strategies such as translation, working with multilingual texts or collaborative dialogue can be embedded in learning-through-content or task-based learning (e.g. see Lasagabaster & Doiz, 2016; Newton, Seals & Ash, 2017) and demonstrate “how multiple linguistic resources and modalities can be integrated into the classroom in effective and meaningful ways” (Smith et al., 2017, p. 20). Not only would these validate emergent bilinguals’ cultural and linguistic capital but they afford both learners and teachers with new ways to utilise expanding linguistic repertoires to make sense of diverse and complex worlds.

While the debate about the value and place of translanguaging in applied linguistics is bound to continue, emerging research supports the idea that translingual practices offer a platform for promoting meaningful and diverse curricular environments (Martínez-Álvarez, 2017). In higher education contexts with dominant language constellations, hybrid forms of language use conflict with privileged academic discourses which are underpinned by monolingual norms. The use of L1, let alone translanguaging in language classrooms may be viewed with suspicion, if not resistance, by teachers and learners alike. The findings of this research demonstrate the merit of educational spaces which promote translanguaging practice to help students develop expanded mediational means which enable them to “also develop and enact standard academic ways of languaging” (García & Sylvan, 2011, p. 389) in authentic and legitimate ways.

A key contribution of this research lies in its transdisciplinary perspective and innovative theoretical framing and methodology which enabled insights into the emic dimension of affordances (Larsen-Freeman, 2018). The study gives voice to the students and shows them as active social agents who co-constructed a community of learners through translingual means. Both quantitative and qualitative analysis of the students’ engagements provided a snapshot of their moment-by-moment interactions and ways in which they realised opportunities for learning by co-constructing bilingual discourse. While the findings from this study are limited to one focal group, they helped crystallise possibilities and constraints of translanguaging as an expanded affordance in multilingual language learning contexts.

Notes

[1] This included a pilot in Semester 1 2007, followed by a second collaboration in Semester 2 and a third round in Semester 1 2008 ('Semester refers to the New Zealand academic year here).

[2] Wimba synchronous and asynchronous audio-graphic communication tools.

[3] The original framework consists of four interconnected dimensions: Cohesion, Participation, Creative Capability and Identity.

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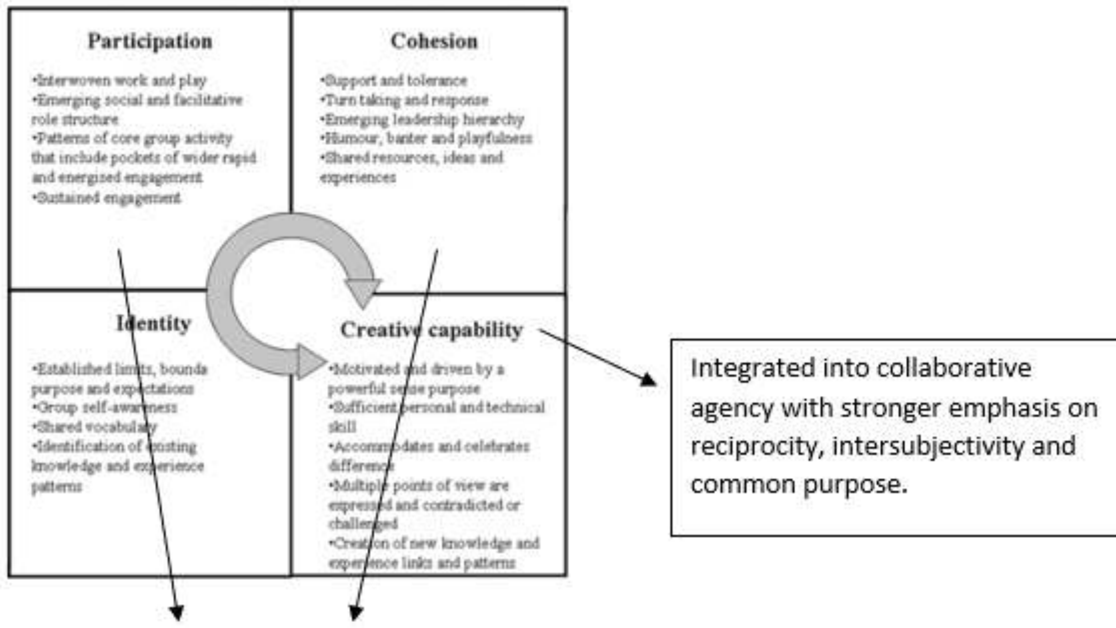
Appendix

Adaptations to CIF dimensions (Galley et al., 2014, p. 8)



Emerging social and facilitative role structure: replaced by mutual support (acts which facilitate cohesive ties and supportive group dynamics, including linguistic behaviours such as hedging).

Core group activity/sustained engagement: replaced by task negotiation and exploratory talk.

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COLLECTIVE NOUNS AND NUMBER AGREEMENT IN NEW ZEALAND ENGLISH

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Abstract

It is commonly acknowledged that agreement with collective nouns tends towards the singular in current American English, with the plural more frequent in British English, while New Zealand and Australian English fall somewhere in between. This paper reports on a diachronic study into agreement patterns in New Zealand English, and shows how patterns may be shifting among a number of nouns. The data come from a recently compiled corpus of NZE newspaper material which covers the period from the mid-1990s to the early 2010s. A large selection of the wide range of eligible nouns is examined to identify any discernible patterns, and the nouns under investigation are divided into two groups according to whether any statistically significant change is detected in their agreement preferences over the 15-year period. The results indicate that a number of nouns show an increasing preference for plural agreement in New Zealand English. Further, a short survey carried out with a group of advanced second language learners showed that, in the case of at least one collective noun, non-native speakers are not in agreement with New Zealand English speakers.

Keywords: collective nouns, New Zealand English, corpus linguistics, diachronic change

Introduction

Much work has been done in recent years on the historically very well traversed and complex topic of collective noun agreement, and the variation that is to be found in the different varieties of English. The present study sets out to shed new light on the area of collective noun agreement in New Zealand English (NZE) by employing a diachronic perspective, using newspaper material covering a recent 15-year time period. With a diachronic view, the aim is to detect any signs of change that may be taking place, and to determine whether change is affecting all nouns, or a certain sub-group of nouns.

Rather than attempting to add to the qualitative aspects of singular or plural verb/pronoun selection with collective nouns, the present work adopts a mainly quantitative approach, and seeks to establish whether it might be possible to claim that NZE has, or might someday have, some degree of dialectal difference in this area of the grammar. The results do, in fact, indicate that change is underway with a

number of nouns, and, given the space restrictions here, additional work of a comparative nature will be needed to determine whether or not any parallel shift is apparent in other English dialects.

The focus of this paper is therefore on one grammatical aspect as it is realised in one native variety of English. Knowledge of the patterns of general English usage in non-native varieties is always valuable, however, and a large body of research already exists on that topic. It is in the interests of opening up new lines of research in that area that the present study incorporates the description of a small-scale survey on English collective noun grammar among Finnish university students – Finland being a country where English is widely spoken as a foreign language (EFL).

Collective Noun Agreement in English

The topic of collective noun agreement is a very well researched one indeed, and earlier work has taken the analysis of the various factors influencing variation to detailed lengths (e.g. Levin, 2001; 2006; Hundt, 1998; 2009; Depraetere, 2003). The perspective of dialectal variation, naturally enough, features prominently in the wealth of background material available, and the broad conclusion is that American English (AmE) speakers are, generally speaking, restricted to using singular (or grammatical) verbal agreement with the majority of collective nouns, while British English (BrE) tends to use more plural (or notional) agreement. The younger dialects of Australian English (AusE) and NZE have been documented as lying somewhere in between the two older varieties (see e.g. Bauer, 1988; Hundt, 1998; 2009; Levin, 2001; 2006), and, furthermore, have been shown to have very similar agreement preferences to one another (Hundt, 2009, p. 215). Aspects of collective noun grammar in the outer-circle varieties of Singaporean and Philippine English have also been investigated (Hundt 2006), but this particular topic appears to be relatively underexplored in relation to EFL varieties – a point briefly addressed in the present paper.

The standard explanation for the selection of either singular or plural agreement is that in the former, focus is placed on the group itself as a whole, while in the latter, it is placed on the individuals comprising the group. That is, it depends on "whether the group is being considered as a single undivided body, or as a collection of individuals" (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 758). It is widely acknowledged, however, that often there are a number of other factors influencing the choice between singular and plural, including:

1) Semantics: in certain contexts, a switch between singular and plural concord can produce an entirely different reading, as can be seen in the difference between singular and plural in *the audience was/were enormous* – a large group of people vs. a group of large people (adapted from Quirk et al., 1985, p. 758). Similarly, Biber et al. (1999, p. 189) point out that the verb itself may be incompatible with variation, as

in *the committee comprises/consists of/has eight members*, where the verbs *comprise*, *consist of*, and *have* are linked to the singular (though some variation is found here too; thanks to an anonymous reviewer for pointing out authentic examples such as *the committee consist of…*)

2) Medium: spoken English and informal written registers tend to allow more plural forms with collective nouns than the more formal written registers (Hundt, 2006, p. 209).

3) Distance: the plural becomes more likely as the distance from the noun increases (Hundt, 1998; Biber et al., 1999; Levin, 2006).

4) Lexicogrammar: individual nouns have their own preferences that have been shaped through centuries of use, e.g. today *police* is most commonly used with plural forms, and *government* is most commonly used with singular.

It has also been noted that, in some cases, it is difficult to point to any influencing factor as an explanation for variation, and the choice appears to approach free variation (Levin, 2006, p. 323).

As mentioned above, with the majority of collective nouns, singular verbal agreement is the norm in AmE, and plural verbal agreement is found more often in BrE. Pronominal plural agreement, however, is common enough in both varieties. The following examples, taken from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), demonstrate singular verbal agreement coupled with plural pronominal agreement in AmE:

(1) a. You know, the **government** has first priority to take care of their people and provide health care. (COCA, NEWS, 2014)
b. When a **family** is willing to expose their kids to new and different foods, it really opens up a child's mind… (COCA, NEWS, 2015)

This type of combination is known as mixed concord, and examples of it are not difficult to find. As outlined in some detail in Levin (2006, p. 326), the singular verb form and the plural personal pronoun form in English are the unmarked, or default, variants, so it can be argued that the combination of singular verb and plural pronoun feels natural to English speakers. It is due to the AmE tendency to use the singular verb more often than other varieties that the singular verb + plural pronoun combination occurs most frequently in AmE (Trudgill & Hannah, 1994, p. 72; Johansson, 1979, p. 205; Hundt, 1998, p. 85; 2006, p. 210). In all varieties, other mixed combinations, e.g. plural verb + singular pronoun (or vice versa), singular verb + plural verb (or vice versa), singular pronoun + plural pronoun (or vice versa), are relatively rare (Levin, 2001, p. 34).

With respect to language change and collective noun agreement, there is an attested diachronic shift in the direction of singular agreement in the general area of collective nouns, and regarding the position of NZE in this shift, Hundt suggests that "[i]f the general development is one from notional towards grammatical concord, NZE could be seen as more advanced in this development than BrE but not quite as advanced as AmE" (1998, p. 83). Despite the general rise in the use of the singular form, however, it has been shown that there is nonetheless a fair amount of variation at the lexicogrammatical level, and even in AmE, some collective nouns, such as *staff*, can quite easily be combined with the plural, and, as noted above, it would be unusual to find *police* being treated in the singular. Levin (2006) found that in BrE over the course of the 1990s, several nouns were progressing in the direction of the plural, while several increased the use of singular, and others remained static. Levin studied 21 low frequency collective nouns, four of which, *cast, clan, gang, minority,* overlap with the group of nouns used in the present study. The present study and Levin (2006) have aspects in common, most notably the genre and diachronic perspective, a point to which we shall return in the discussion.

As regards NZE, research carried out in the various fields of linguistics over the past few decades has gone a long way towards establishing the world's youngest major variety of English as a unique dialect in its own right, but more work needs to be done, particularly in the area of grammatical variation; the present paper, therefore, is a step in this direction.

Method

The corpus

The data are taken from the Corpus of New Zealand Newspaper English (CNZNE), a corpus created from the Fairfax New Zealand media archives, accessed via The Knowledge Basket news and information archive service (www.knowledge-basket.co.nz). The CNZNE comprises 100 million words of material taken from 13 metropolitan and provincial newspapers, and is divided into two time periods: 1995-98 (42.6 m. words) and 2010-12 (58.5 m. words). The short diachronic window of half a generation allows insight into possible change in progress (for details on the corpus, see Rickman, 2017, pp. 171ff.). The results presented below are therefore based on new data, and provide a fresh perspective on the topic.

The entire corpus is somewhat large for the present study, and manageable datasets were obtained using just the month of June from three newspapers, from each time frame of the corpus. The three papers chosen were the *Nelson Mail*, the *Waikato Times*, and the *Sunday Star Times* (hereafter *NM, WT* and *SST* respectively). The papers were selected according to certain criteria: each should have a relatively similar word count in each section (i.e. time frame) of the corpus, and should represent a different part of the country: the upper South Island (*NM*), the upper-central North Island (*WT*), and Auckland (*SST*). Despite being generally thought of as

one of the more homogeneous dialects of English, NZE nonetheless shows a modest degree of regional variation (see e.g. Turner, 1966, pp. 163ff.; Bauer & Bauer, 2000; Hay et al., 2008, pp. 95ff.; Calude & James, 2011), so the inclusion of papers from different regions of New Zealand was seen as important. (A paper from the Otago/Southland region would have been ideal, but the *Southland Times* did not provide sufficient data. Thus the three papers chosen for this study do not reflect the three main dialect areas postulated in Bauer and Bauer [2000].) In terms of size, 1995-98 *NM*, *WT*, *SST* yields 817,274 words, while 2010-12 *NM*, *WT*, *SST* yields 1,157,046 words. All sub-genres of the papers have been included. AntConc 3.2.4w served as the concordancing software.

The nouns

I investigate the same set of 35 collective nouns used in Hundt (2009), which, in turn, were taken from a longer list in Quirk et al. (1985, p. 316); these are *army*, *association*, *audience*, *board*, *cast*, *clan*, *class*, *club*, *college*, *commission*, *committee*, *community*, *company*, *corporation*, *council*, *couple*, *crew*, *crowd*, *department*, *family*, *federation*, *gang*, *generation*, *government*, *group*, *institute*, *majority*, *ministry*, *minority*, *opposition*, *party*, *population*, *staff*, *team*, and *university*. Most, if not all, nouns naturally display a certain amount of polysemy, but the case of *college* was sufficiently extreme to warrant the division of *college* tokens into two separate categories. The general practice in New Zealand is for a school sports team to derive its name metonymically, i.e. a sports team from Howick College will normally be referred to as *Howick College*. The difference between the institution sense (2a) and the team sense (2b) can be seen below.

(2) a. Nelson College for Girls has a new plan to get students to use rubbish bins. (*NM* 1998)
b. St John's College remain at the bottom of the table after going down 1-0 to Hillcrest High. (*WT* 2010)

It will be shown below that this division is justified, as the sports team-type collective noun is one of a number of nouns that is currently undergoing an interesting change in NZE. The two senses of *college* thus increase the number of nouns investigated in this study to 36.

Further methodological issues

The procedure used here for obtaining frequencies follows that used in Hundt (2009), where counting singular vs. plural frequencies at the general level meant that, within any given token, all examples of agreement that are consistent in number marking are counted once only. Instances of mixed agreement are also acknowledged in the general counts of singular vs. plural, and all mixed tokens are counted once, as mixed, and are not further analysed. (3a), for example, contains an example of a singular verb form followed by a singular pronoun form, and is counted as one singular token; (3b), containing one plural verb form and one plural pronoun form, is

counted as one plural token, and (3c), containing one singular verb form followed by one plural pronoun form, is counted as one mixed token.

(3) a. The Lottery Grants **Board** was also angered, fearing its $1.3 million grant for the building was wasted. (*WT* 1996)
b. The **audience** walk out knowing they loved it, but having no idea what just happened. (*WT* 2010)
c. I had a friend whose **family** was by no means well-off; in fact, I think his father might have been on a benefit. Yet they were among the first people in town to get a TV set, and a flash one at that. (*NM* 2010)

Frequencies for verbal and pronominal agreement are provided for some of the nouns, and in this case, in any given token, the first occurring instances of both verb and pronoun were counted. Thus, (3a) counts as one instance of singular verb, and one instance of singular pronoun; (3b) similarly, one each of plural verb and plural pronoun, and (3c) is one singular verb and one plural pronoun.

Relative pronouns as constituting number marked forms appear to be somewhat controversial in this area, and I disregard them in the present study. Examples are given in (4a-b).

(4) a. Mrs Gray has been a member of the Te Awamutu SPCA since its inception and was a key member of the fundraising **committee** which raised funds to build the premises. (*WT* 2010)
b. You should go back to the **company** who sold you the policy and ask for projected returns based on say, 10 years. (*SST* 1996)

The reason that I set them aside here is that, while the relative pronoun *who* tends to be found with a singular antecedent, and *which* with a plural, there is nonetheless some inconsistency, and relative pronouns "are generally not considered to represent number in English" (Levin, 2001, p. 32). This practice is also followed in Hundt (2006; 2009). All relevant verbs or pronouns appearing in relative clauses, however, are counted.

Analysis and Results

An overview of the results indicates that the use of plural agreement has increased in NZE over the 15-year period covered by the corpus. Figure 1 shows that, in the period 1995-98, the singular is found in 1189 cases, or 80 percent of all tokens for this period, the plural in 280 cases, or 19 percent, while mixed concord accounted for 18 tokens, or one percent. In the 2010-12 period, singular agreement is found in 1087 cases, or 67 percent of the total for this period, the plural in 488 cases, or 30 percent, and mixed in 40 cases, at three percent. Mixed cases aside, the difference between the two types of agreement across the two time periods has a log-likelihood value of 57.92 ($p \leq 0.0001$), with a Cramer's V effect size of 0.137.

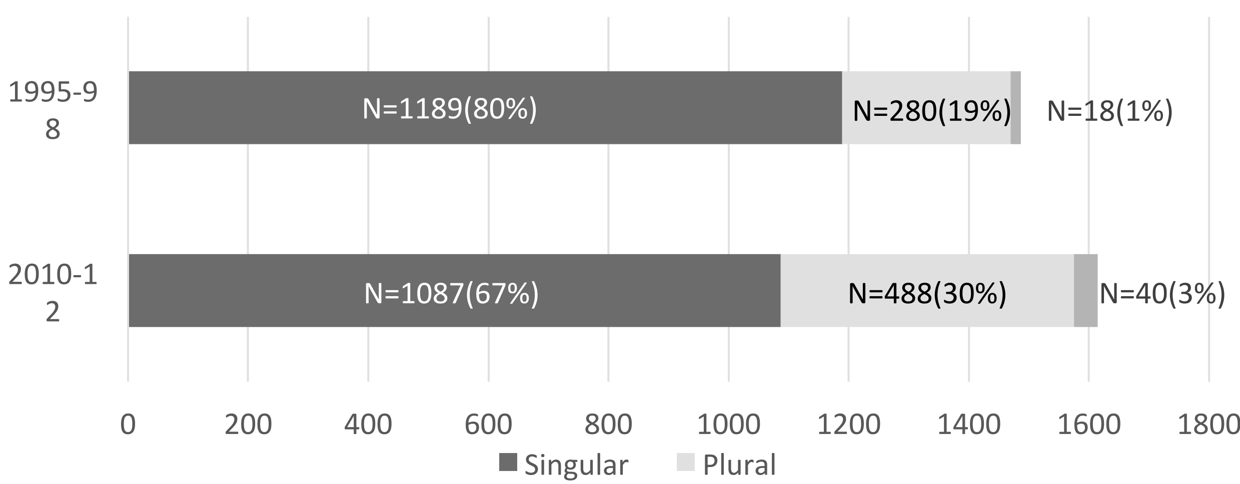

Figure 1 Singular, plural, and mixed agreement totals in the Corpus of New Zealand Newspaper English, 1995-98 and 2010-12

An initial observation, which is in line with the findings of earlier research, is that not all nouns are contributing to this apparent rise in the use of the plural. Before going on to divide the group into nouns that are showing an increase in the plural and those that are not, it should be pointed out that many of the nouns show unremarkable results; the nouns *army*, *clan*, *class*, *college (institution)*, *gang, minority*, *opposition* and *university*, despite appearing in the corpus quite frequently, actually have provided few relevant tokens due to the scarcity of co-occurring number marked forms (the total number of 15 tokens was set as the minimum number required for a noun to provide useful data for the study). These eight nouns have been set aside, and will not receive further comment. (Frequencies for all 36 nouns are provided in Table 4 in the Appendix.)

The remaining 28 nouns were then divided into two groups based on the results of a test for statistical significance; the nouns showing significance below the $p \leq 0.05$ level across the two time periods of the corpus were separated from those that fell above this threshold. The Fisher's Exact test was chosen for its ability to handle low numbers, as several nouns do have low numbers in at least one cell. The same test was applied to all nouns. The analysis below therefore follows two main paths, and firstly discusses the nouns with significant results, and secondly those with non-significant numbers.

Nouns showing statistically significant change

Five nouns were found to show statistically significant change in favour of plural agreement over the time period. Table 1 gives the nouns, their raw frequencies, and statistical details. (The size difference between the two sub-corpora should be kept in mind when comparing the raw frequencies.)

Table 1 Nouns showing statistically significant results

	1995-98	**2010-12**	
	SG:PL (MIX)	SG:PL (MIX)	LEVEL OF SIGNIFICANCE
audience	5:0	8:9	p ≤ 0.05
cast	6:2	1:9 (1)	p ≤ 0.01
college	5:0	1:18	p ≤ 0.0001
council	285:7 (1)	235:17 (2)	p ≤ 0.05
team	105:35 (6)	73:133 (12)	p ≤ 0.0001

Four of the five nouns, i.e. all but *council*, look to have reversed their agreement preferences, shifting from mainly singular in 1995-98, to mainly plural in 2010-12. *Council* remains a noun that is mostly matched with singular verb/pronoun forms, but the evidence given here provides grounds for suggesting that there might be a change underway. *Audience*, *cast*, and *college (team)* are represented by frequencies that are somewhat lower than ideal, and, in some instances, the level of significance is close to the cut-off point of p ≤ 0.05, and further research would be required in order to shed more light on these cases. *Team* offers the most striking results of the group, with a large and highly significant difference between the two sub-corpora. Examples of these five nouns, in (verbal) singular and plural, are given below.

(5) a. … big stars tend to think that the **audience** expects them to react in a certain way and they don't want to lose their audience. (*SST* 1996)
b. The **audience** were led in through the back door after a brief introduction from Jimmy, the central character … (*WT* 2010)
(6) a. A large **cast** of 20 was performing the play and had carefully developed pseudo French accents. (*NM* 1998)
b. The high-quality **cast** don't put a foot wrong and the sets and props produce a convincing representation of NZ in the 1980s. (*SST* 2012)
(7) a. …Tauranga Girls' **College** was first in the senior and intermediate team races… (*WT* 1996)
b. Morrinsville **College** were beaten 19-0 by Hamilton Boys' High School Second XV… (*WT* 2010)
(8) a. The Nelson City **Council** deserves a bouquet for the way it is encouraging stimulating and attractive sculptures around the city. (*NM* 1998)
b. All along the **council** have fostered the assumption that such a centre needs to be built in spite of the other performance venues coming on stream … (*NM* 2010)
(9) a. The **team** doesn't just click its fingers and win. They've got the continuity from being together since January and they've done their homework… (*WT* 1996)
b. …the St Peter's First XV rugby **team** remain the only unbeaten side in the Waikato secondary schools Ian Foster Shield competition. (*WT* 2010)

With *team* showing such convincing results in terms of diachronic change, an additional sample was taken from a halfway point between the two time frames, the year 2004, in an attempt to get a clearer picture of what is going on. The results were

placed alongside the existing data, as shown in Figure 2. The June 2004 file of *NM*, *WT* and *SST* has a word count of 959,035 – compare 817,274 / 1,157,046 for 1995-98 / 2010-12 respectively.

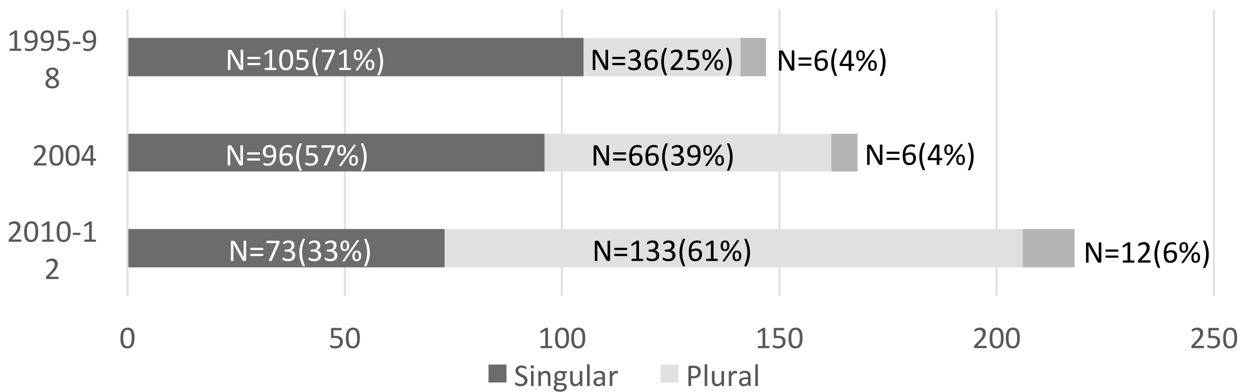

Figure 2 Team, singular, plural, and mixed agreement totals in the Corpus of New Zealand Newspaper English, 1995-98, 2004 and 2010-12

Although the temporal gap between each of the three sections is now extremely short, the progression from singular to plural agreement preference is nonetheless striking: the share of plurals rises steadily, from 25, to 39, to 61 percent of the total, and the singular decreases in a similar manner, from 71, to 57, to 33 percent. The difference between singular and plural, between each of the three time frames, is statistically significant; the difference between 1995-98 and 2004 has a log-likelihood value of 7.9 ($p \leq 0.01$, Cramer's V effect size 0.161), while the 2004 and 2010-12 data has a log-likelihood value of 20.87 ($p \leq 0.0001$, Cramer's V effect size 0.237). None of the other nouns in this study underwent this extra analysis.

The two nouns in this group that have the most significant results are the two most commonly used to denote sports teams – a finding that further highlights the need for future research focusing on the *team* type noun (see also Hundt, 1998, pp. 80ff. and Vantellini, 2003 for studies focussing on this particular noun in NZE).

It may be useful to consider the ratio of verbal to pronominal agreement in the case of these five nouns; this information is given in Table 2. Note that the method of counting verbal and pronominal agreement is different from that used for general singular vs. plural counts (cf the discussion under Method), so most of the numbers in Table 2 do not match those of earlier tables.

Table 2 Statistically significant nouns: verbal and pronominal agreement, 1995-98 and 2010-12

	1995-98	**2010-12**	**1995-98**	**2010-12**
	SINGULAR		**PLURAL**	
	VERB:PRON	VERB:PRON	VERB:PRON	VERB:PRON
audience	5:0	8:0	0:0	4:6
cast	6:0	2:0	0:3	7:3
college	4:1	1:0	0:0	9:13
council	197:142	188:84	3:7	6:15
team	86:43	81:9	8:33	56:106
TOTALS	**298:186**	**280:93**	**11:43**	**82:143**

As noted above, the plural form of personal pronouns is less marked than the singular form, and the singular verb form is less marked than the plural. In terms of singular forms in the NZE data, the indication is that the verb is more common than the pronoun. Plural forms in the present data show the opposite tendency, with the pronoun looking to be more common than the verb. In a Fisher's Exact test, the nouns *team* ($p \leq 0.0001$) and *council* ($p \leq 0.01$) both show a statistically significant change towards the increased dominance of singular verb forms over singular pronouns ($p \leq 0.0001$), but not in the increase of plural pronoun forms over plural verbs.

L2 speaker survey results

Against the background of the noteworthy results for the noun *team*, shown in Figure 2, it may be of interest to consider the agreement preferences of highly proficient L2 speakers of English with this noun. With this aim in mind, a brief survey was carried out with 25 students of English at the University of Tampere, Finland. The students were all native speakers of Finnish, taking part in a first-year linguistics course, and were, for the most part, first-year English undergraduates. English language teaching in Finland normally begins in primary school at around the age of nine, and by the time they reach university age, the majority of Finns have a very good understanding of correct English usage (see e.g. Ringbom, 2012; Meriläinen 2010 for discussion of the position of English in Finland). The participants used for this survey have all been made aware of the variation that exists in this area of the grammar, in first-year grammar courses. It is also important to keep in mind that Finnish does not allow for the type of variation seen in English, and typically requires the use of the singular with collective nouns (Hakulinen et al., 2004, p. 552).

The survey was conducted in accordance with the ethical guidelines of the University of Tampere, and was carried out in a similar way to those of Johansson (1979) and Bauer (1988). The main methodological differences between the earlier studies and the present one are that the participants were not told anything of the source of the material they were shown, and, in order to keep the task reasonably quick and

straightforward for them, a three-point, rather than a five-point, scale of acceptability was used (1=unusual/unacceptable, 3=normal/acceptable). All students were unpaid volunteers. They were shown four short sentences involving the noun *team* (e.g. *She believes the team has learnt a lot from this year*), that were taken from the corpus data (and in some cases slightly adapted), each exemplifying one of the four agreement possibilities: plural verb, plural pronoun, singular verb, and singular pronoun, but none containing both verb and pronoun. The four sentences are given in the Appendix. The participants were asked to rate each sentence on the three-point scale described above, and in any cases deemed unacceptable, indicate the part of the sentence causing the problem, and suggest a solution. They were instructed to rely on first impressions, and not to spend time re-thinking their choices once they had made them.

The results of the survey showed that, in the case of verbal agreement, as many as 17 of the total 25 changed the plural verb to singular. Plural pronouns, on the other hand, seemed to be less objectionable, with only three participants changing the plural pronoun to singular (all three were also among the 17 who changed the verb to singular). Only two participants made a change from singular to plural, and in one case it was in both the verb and the pronoun (but the same person also changed the plural verb to singular); in the other case it was only the pronoun, with no other change made. There were some problematic cases among the results, with five participants commenting only on issues unrelated to agreement (an indication, perhaps, that they are comfortable with the idea of variation), and one participant rating all four sentences as perfectly acceptable in every way. Because none of the sentences contained both a relevant verb form and a pronoun, it was not possible for the participants to make any changes that would lead to any of the verb–pronoun number sequences that are unusual in native-speaker varieties, so there were no ‘incorrect’ answers.

The overall finding of this small-scale and somewhat informal survey is of some interest, but with relatively few participants and only one noun, the limitations are clear. If we were to attempt to draw any parallels between NZE native speaker usage and that of Finnish undergraduates in this area, a much more detailed and thorough investigation would be needed. It seems though, that further work in this area could prove worthwhile for EFL researchers, since it would be interesting to know the extent to which L1 transfer plays a role in the participants’ agreement choices.

Nouns showing non-significant results

Table 3 lists the remaining 23 nouns, all of which lie above the threshold for statistical significance in a Fisher’s Exact test. The numbers in the table indicate raw frequencies.

Table 3 Nouns showing non-significant results

	1995-98	2010-12
	SG:PL (MIX)	SG:PL (MIX)
association	41:1 (1)	41:1 (1)
board	41:2	46:1 (3)
club	38:4	45:13 (1)
commission	17:0	16:0
committee	27:1	17:4
community	18:2	28:8 (1)
company	187:7	152:2 (1)
corporation	10:0	8:0
couple	2:37	1:40 (1)
crew	2:2	1:15
crowd	2:0	5:7 (1)
department	47:2 (1)	21:0
family	14:24	32:48 (1)
federation	10:0	9:0
generation	3:3	3:8
government	133:2 (4)	162:6 (2)
group	71:29 (2)	70:42 (6)
institute	7:0	11:0
majority	3:19	4:17
ministry	34:0	28:2 (1)
party	52:4	36:4 (1)
population	8:3	15:9 (1)
staff	3:90	1:69

With no statistically significant differences below $p \leq 0.05$ found with any of the nouns in this group, speculation with regards to any possible diachronic change is not possible. The numbers themselves do, however, invite some commentary, as there is some indication that certain nouns appear to have a clear, fixed preference for either singular (e.g. *association*, *board*, *company*) or plural agreement (e.g. *staff*, *couple*), with similar ratios of singular to plural in both time frames, while the situation looks much less clear-cut with others (e.g. *family* and *group*), which allow both types. It can also be said that the overall picture here bears a resemblance to that seen in the results in Hundt (2009), despite the different corpora used – ICE-NZ as opposed to a newspaper corpus.

Concluding Remarks

The present study has employed a new corpus with a diachronic perspective to examine a group of collective nouns in NZE, with the overall finding that a small number of the nouns show statistically significant change towards plural agreement, while the majority show results that are statistically unremarkable. The two nouns showing the most convincing results are the semantically connected nouns denoting

(for the most part) sports teams. Closer inspection of *team* shows a gradual shift toward plural agreement over the 15-year period. It is of some interest that two of the other nouns showing statistically significant change, *audience* and *cast,* are also nouns that share semantic ties, with a converse relationship of sorts. These are findings that deserve more attention in future research, as they may turn out to highlight a distinctively local feature of NZE. This speculation gets some preliminary support from a brief survey of L2 English speakers, the results of which suggest a preference for singular verbal agreement.

The results given here may be compared to those of Levin (2006), where 21 low frequency collective nouns in BrE were analysed over the decade of the 1990s. It was found that some nouns appeared to be drifting in a different direction to others, with the explanation that each noun has its own preference, and while the majority may have settled into a preference for the singular, others are still undergoing a shift, in accordance with the theory of lexical diffusion. Taken together, the results here, and those in Levin (2006), help to provide new insights into the area of collective noun grammar, insights which are particularly valuable in light of the fact that there is a far larger number of these types of nouns in the language than just the 36 nouns studied here, and we make these agreement choices – mostly automatically and subconsciously – on a very frequent basis. Clearer understanding of the way language users treat collective nouns can be of benefit to students and teachers alike, and the results of the present study can tentatively inform language teaching in New Zealand with an emphasis on the descriptive, rather than the prescriptive. From the L2 learner's perspective, for example, it is useful to know that notional concord is possible – and preferred – with a certain type of noun, that the rules are often somewhat flexible, and there is a certain amount of dialect-specific variation.

On a final note, it should be kept in mind that this study is based on newspaper language, and the influence of newspaper style guides must be considered. Bauer (1988, p. 247; 1994, p. 418), for example, notes that the main NZ metropolitan daily papers required, at the time, collective nouns to be treated as singular, but he goes on to note that the plural is more frequent in sports reporting. Hundt (1998, p. 86) notes that in the late 1990s the style guides of the *Dominion* and the *Evening Post* required sports teams to be used in the plural, and in addition it is known that certain contexts, such as sports reporting, allow for more plurals. The steady march towards plural agreement with *team* over a relatively long 15-year period, however, alongside the statistical evidence provided for both of the *team* type nouns in this study, does not seem to point towards any unduly heavy influence from media style guides.

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Appendix

Table 4 Singular/plural/mixed counts for all nouns – percentages and raw frequencies

	1995-98	2010-12	1995-98	2010-12
	RAW FREQUENCIES		PERCENTAGES	
	SG:PL (MIX)	SG:PL (MIX)	SG:PL (MIX)	SG:PL (MIX)
army	0:0 (2)	4:0 (1)	0:0 (100)	80:0 (20)
association	41:1 (1)	41:1 (1)	95:2.5 (2.5)	95:2.5 (2.5)
audience	5:0	8:9	100:0	47:53
board	41:2	46:1 (3)	95:5	92:2 (6)
cast	6:2	1:9 (1)	75:25	9:82 (9)
clan	1:0	-	100:0	-
class	1:0	1:0	100:0	100:0
club	38:4	45:13 (1)	90:10	76:22 (2)
college	5:0	4:0	100:0	100:0
college team	5:0	1:18	100:0	5:95
commission	17:0	16:0	100:0	100:0
committee	27:1	17:4	96:4	81:19
community	18:2	28:8 (1)	90:10	76:22 (2)
company	187:7	152:2 (1)	96:4	98:1.5 (0.5)
corporation	10:0	8:0	100:0	100:0
council	285:7 (1)	235:17 (2)	97:2.5 (0.5)	93:6.5 (0.5)
couple	2:37	1:40 (1)	5:95	2.5:95 (2.5)
crew	2:2	1:15	50:50	6:94
crowd	2:0	5:7 (1)	100:0	38:54 (8)
department	47:2 (1)	21:0	94:4 (2)	100:0
family	14:24	32:48 (1)	37:63	40:60
federation	10:0	9:0	100:0	100:0
gang	2:0	0:2	100:0	0:100
generation	3:3	3:8	50:50	27:73
government	133:2 (4)	162:6 (2)	96:1 (3)	95:4 (1)
group	71:29 (2)	70:42 (6)	70:28 (2)	59:36 (5)
institute	7:0	11:0	100:0	100:0
majority	3:19	4:17	14:86	19:81
ministry	34:0	28:2 (1)	100:0	90:7 (3)
minority	0:3	0:3	0:100	0:100
opposition	2:1	4:1	67:33	80:20
party	52:4	36:4 (1)	93:7	88:10 (2)
population	8:3	15:9 (1)	73:27	60:36 (4)
staff	3:90	1:69	3:97	1:99
team	105:35 (6)	73:133 (12)	72:24 (4)	33:61 (6)
university	2:0 (1)	4:0 (1)	67:0 (33)	80:0 (20)

Survey Questions

1. Thomson says the team haven't yet had the opportunity to develop a strategy.

2. The Scottish rugby team cut short its morning practice yesterday.

3. The coach wants the team to give themselves time to get accustomed to the track.

4. She believes the team has learnt a lot from this year

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PERCEPTUAL CORRELATES OF COMPREHENSIBILITY IN RELATION TO SUPRASEGMENTAL FEATURES

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Abstract

Comprehensibility and other perception measures of non-native speaking ability are predicted by several objective suprasegmental features such as word stress, rate of speech, and pitch. This exploratory study discusses the relationship between comprehensibility and perceptual descriptors in relation to intonation. First, five Likert scales were created for the purpose of rating speaker intonation by asking listeners to describe several speakers. Then in a perception experiment, listeners were presented with audio clips of native and non-native speakers of English which contained either both segmental and suprasegmental information or only suprasegmental information (low-passed). The listeners rated the clips on comprehensibility, goodness of intonation, and the five perceptual scales. The relationship between these ratings and acoustic measurements of the clips was analysed through principal components analysis. A positive correlation was found between comprehensibility, good intonation, and fluid, confident, and natural production; these were also correlated with several speech rate, pause, and stress measures.

Keywords: comprehensibility, perception, acoustic

Introduction

Successful oral communication is an important goal for second language (L2) speakers. In the last several decades, the field of applied linguistics has embraced comprehensibility, as opposed to native-likeness and an absolute reduction of a foreign accent, as the goal of pronunciation instruction. Many researchers assume a componential structure of speaking proficiency, that is that different linguistic skills, such as production of segmental and suprasegmental features, contribute to speaking proficiency independently (e.g., De Jong, Steinel, Florijn, Schoonen, & Hulstijn, 2012 for L2 Dutch). Appropriate prosody is often argued to be crucial for comprehension and may even be more important than segmental features (Anderson-Hsieh, Johnson, & Koehler, 1992; Derwing & Munro, 1997; though see Zielinski, 2015 who argues that the propagation of this dichotomy is unfortunate as segmental

and suprasegmental features cannot always be easily separated). Moreover, pedagogy-oriented studies have demonstrated that suprasegmental training yields positive results (e.g., Gordon & Darcy, 2016; Saito & Saito, 2017).

A number of researchers have dedicated themselves to identifying the suprasegmental features of speech that contribute to different measures of speaking ability (e.g., Kang, 2010; see below). Quantifying such acoustic features is crucial for successful pedagogy and prioritising objects of instruction when teaching in a context of limited time and other resources. What is also important is defining these features in perceptual, less technical terms that may be more accessible to both teachers and students, and be more readily used in teaching and assessment.

Therefore, the goal of this exploratory study is to discover the relationship between perceptual correlates of intonation in their relation to one measure of speaking ability, comprehensibility. In what follows, we will briefly introduce the literature that discusses acoustic predictors of speaking ability and some perceptual correlates. Then we will describe a short preparatory study, which helped to choose the perceptual components of intonation for the main study, which focused on the predictive relationship between comprehensibility, goodness of intonation, perceptual features, and several acoustic measures.

Acoustic Correlates

Several measures of speaking ability have been used in linguistic studies. Munro and Derwing (1995) draw a distinction between three concepts: accentedness as a subjective measure of a speaker's degree of accent, comprehensibility as a subjective measure of ease of understanding of the utterance by the listener, and intelligibility as an objective measure of understanding of the utterance operationalized as, for example, the number of words repeated correctly. These measures are related but are not identical (Munro & Derwing, 1995), and listeners may rely on different types of features in assessing them. Saito, Trofimovich, and Isaacs (2017) found that pronunciation features were most important for accentedness / nativeness judgments and a broader range of features (including lexis and grammar) was used in comprehensibility ratings. This means that listeners focus on pronunciation for accentedness and take content into consideration for comprehensibility and intelligibility. In this study, we will focus on the role of pronunciation features, especially suprasegmentals, in comprehensibility.

A number of experimental studies have attempted to identify the relationship between different suprasegmentals and measures of speaking ability. Many of the earlier studies focused on one variable at a time: Field (2005) demonstrated that misplaced lexical stress negatively affects intelligibility, especially when it is shifted to the right (see also Hahn 2004); Maastricht, Krahmer, and Swerts (2016) showed that focus marking by pitch accent affects accentedness and comprehensibility. Tajima, Port,

and Dalby (1994) manipulated temporal characteristics of Chinese-accented speech to match those of a native English speaker while preserving other characteristics and found that it increased intelligibility of the stimuli. Polyanskaya, Ordin, and Grazia Busa (2017) discovered that speech rate contributes to accentedness but found that speech rhythm is a stronger predictor. Munro and Derwing (2001) found a significant relationship between rate of speech and both accentedness and comprehensibility: stimuli produced at different speech rates and the same stimulus manipulated to have different speech rates varied in degree of accentedness and comprehensibility. Slow and very fast speech was perceived to be less comprehensible, and the optimal speech rate for comprehensibility was determined to be 4.23 syllables per second.

Many of the recent studies explored a bundle of features. In one of the most comprehensive studies to date, Kang, Rubin, and Pickering (2010) regressed 29 different pause, pitch, rate, and stress measures against comprehensibility, and suprasegmental fluency, high-rising tones, mid-rising tones, boundary markers, word stress, and pitch height all emerged as significant predictors. Kang (2010) analysed a number of suprasegmentals in order to link them with comprehensibility and accentedness and concluded that pitch range and word stress were significant predictors of accentedness and speech rate – of comprehensibility. Isaacs and Trofimovich (2012) correlated 19 different speech measures (segmental, suprasegmental, lexical, etc.) with ratings of comprehensibility and found that word stress was a significant predictor. In another study Saito, Trofimovich, and Isaacs (2016) demonstrated that the importance of different acoustic measures can vary by speaker proficiency level: rate of speech and 'adequate and varied prosody' were important for beginners and intermediate learners, and good prosody was important for advanced levels. To sum up this section, comprehensibility has consistently been found to be predicted by the rate of speech, word stress, and a number of pitch measurements.

Perceptual Correlates

While the studies described above discovered a significant relationship between speaking ability and acoustic measures of suprasegmental features, and found a notable amount of variance explained (e.g., an impressive 50% in Kang, Rubin, & Pickering, 2010), Munro and Derwing (2015) noted that acoustic measures do not always correlate with perception ratings. While 18-19% of variance in listeners' judgments of international teaching assistants' oral proficiency and instructional competence was explained by objective prosodic measures (speech rate, pausing, stress, and intonation) in Kang (2012), 7-9% was attributed to listener characteristics. This section touches upon the few studies that have used more subjective measures in the study of suprasegmental features.

Several studies aimed to find a correlation between comprehensibility and perception measures, employing trained linguists for their quantification. For example, Munro and Derwing (1995) rated the 'goodness of intonation' for several speakers and found

that it significantly correlated with comprehensibility as judged by lay listeners. To ensure that segmental features do not have an undue effect in such ratings of goodness of intonation, Derwing and Munro (1997) used low-pass filtering, which removes most of the segmental but preserves suprasegmental information below the chosen cut-off. For 35% of listeners, the comprehensibility score significantly correlated with this prosodic score, and for 38% – with the speech rate. These findings suggest that perceptual scores supplied by linguistically trained listeners are good predictors of comprehensibility and could be used in pedagogy and assessment, but it is unknown whether lay people would be able to provide or fully understand such intonation scores.

Eliciting lay listener self-reports by having them comment on the features that they believe they notice in the speech is another way to explore listener behaviour. When performing accentedness judgment tasks in Derwing and Munro (1997), 23% of listeners mentioned prosodic features, 15% – rate, and 8% – fluency; despite the acoustic studies demonstrating a stronger relationship between suprasegmentals and accentedness, 92% of listeners commented on segmentals and 46% on grammar. Moyer (2004) also found that although the raters focused on phonological features, commenting on the lexicon and morphosyntax 21% of the time, they still attributed a higher importance to specific segments (27%), leaving 11% for intonation, 7% – speed/tempo, 5% – syllable stress, and 3% – hesitation and rhythm. This suggests that lay listeners overestimate the importance of segmentals in relation to suprasegmentals.

Finally, some studies find that listeners provide certain perceptual descriptors when justifying their responses in accentedness rating or accent identification tasks (Hayes-Harb & Hacking, 2015; McKenzie, 2015). For example, Gnevsheva (2016) demonstrated that listeners described native English speakers as ‘comfortable’, ‘confident’, ‘excited’, and ‘animated’ when estimating their nativeness and origin, but described non-native speakers’ speech as ‘disjointed’, ‘broken’, and ‘hesitant’. It seems that such perceptual descriptors can be linked to comprehensibility and more objective measures of suprasegmentals. Such descriptors as ‘confident’ and ‘disjointed’ may be referring to the speaker’s rate of speech and pausing, and ‘excited’ to their pitch range. To sum up, little is known about how lay listeners describe non-native prosody and how such descriptions can be linked to comprehensibility and acoustic measures, which is what this paper aims to investigate.

Preparatory Study

The aim of the preparatory study was to arrive at a list of descriptors which lay listeners could use in describing non-native prosody in the main study. The audio stimuli in both the preparatory and main study were collected through the FluentIQ online interface (fluentiq.com, May 2016 version). FluentIQ is an online tool for

assessment of English proficiency which was created by developers at Fluent Scientific (fluentscientific.com) in Christchurch, New Zealand. The assessment consists of several tasks probing different language skills. Of interest to the current study is the Passage Reading section, in which users audio-record themselves reading a short paragraph (approximately 80 words long). These recordings were used as audio-stimuli in the study.

Because the non-native English-speaking participants were real users of the tool and were not recruited for the study specifically, little control was exercised in recruiting them and collecting demographic information. This resulted in participants coming from a range of first language (L1) backgrounds, and such information as age and language learning histories was not collected. The participants chosen for the experiment varied in comprehensibility as determined by an average rating on a 7-point Likert scale by lay listeners. Because collecting participants from the same background was not practical, the first author, who is a trained sociophonetician, selected speakers representing a variety of different L1s, which also makes the results of the study generalizable to a wider population.

Eight audio-clips produced by non-native English speakers were chosen for the preparatory study. They were presented to nine listeners, who reported themselves to be native speakers of American English, via the Amazon Mechanical Turk (AMT) interface for the purpose of describing them. The listeners were given the following definition of intonation: ”Intonation is variation in spoken pitch. It involves dividing speech into thought groups, focusing on particular words, and using a pitch movement. These differences distinguish questions from statements, focus attention on new information, and express speaker emotions.” The participants were asked to listen to the eight clips and choose ten words (five antonym pairs) that could be used to describe the intonation in the clips and differentiate the eight speakers. Two examples of antonym pairs were given: slow and fast, loud and quiet. The participants could use their own words but were also given a list of words to choose from if needed: broken, choppy, clean, confident, deliberate, drawn-out, emphatic, expressive, flat, fluent, fluid, fragmented, hesitant, jumpy, monotone, natural, rhythmic, rigid, soft, stiff, stilted, telegraphic, tonal, unnatural, variable, varied tone, well-paced (these were identified in a pilot to the study).

Of the nine participants, five chose confident - hesitant, monotone - varied tone, and natural - unnatural as three of their scales, three chose expressive - flat, and rwo chose fluid - fragmented. Two more chose unnatural - rigid, and all the other options were used only once. The five scales confident - hesitant, expressive - flat, fluid - fragmented, monotone - varied tone, and natural - unnatural were then selected for the main study.

Main Study

A different set of 14 stimulus clips was collected for the main study in the same way as the clips for the preparatory study. Ten clips were produced by L2 English speakers and four by native speakers of American English who read the same short passage in English (around 80 words). Because previous research demonstrated a relationship between comprehensibility and acoustic measures, the relationship between comprehensibility, five perceptual descriptors, and several acoustic measures will be investigated here as a proof of concept. Following some of the analyses performed by Kang, Rubin, and Pickering (2010), pitch range, number of silent pauses, number of prominent words (with prominent syllables), and duration, which is taken as a reflection of their speaking rate, were derived from the clips. The minimum and maximum fundamental frequency (min F0 and max F0) was measured with Praat using the autocorrelation method, with the pitch floor of 50 Hz and the pitch ceiling of 500 Hz (Boersma & Weenink, 2009). Manual corrections were used to increase reliability. Pitch range was calculated by subtracting min F0 from max F0. Table 1 represents averages of L2 English males and females' min and max F0 and pitch range. These were log-transformed for the statistical analyses below. Silent pauses were considered those of at least 100 milliseconds. Number of prominent words was recorded by the first author auditorily. On average it took L2 speakers 44.5 seconds to read the passage (range: 32.1 – 58.5). For comparison, native speakers read the passage in 31 seconds (range: 27 – 33).

Table 1 L2 English speakers' mean F0 measurements

	Min F0 (Hz)	Max F0 (Hz)	Pitch range (Hz)
Males (n = 5)	80.63	239.47	158.84
Females (n = 5)	155.43	317.80	162.38

The clips were scaled for intensity and then low-passed at 300Hz using Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2009). This operation excludes segmental information but keeps the pitch contour intact; it has previously been used for the study of intonation as it allows toisolate segmental and suprasegmental information (e.g., Derwing & Munro, 1997). This allows us to be sure that listeners focus on suprasegmental features in completing the task. So, in the end there were two types of stimuli: original and lowpass. The clips were put in one random order with an L1 English female as the first stimulus.

The stimuli were presented to two groups of 15 listeners, who reported themselves to be native speakers of American English, via the AMT interface. Both the original and the lowpass groups performed the same task, rating each clip on seven 7-point Likert scales. In the lowpass condition, the listeners were told that they would hear the speakers muffled as if through a wall and were instructed to make their best guess as to their comprehensibility if they could hear them well and clear. First, the listeners rated the speakers on a comprehensibility scale from 1 (Impossible to understand) to

7 (Effortlessly comprehensible). Second, they were given the definition of intonation from the preparatory study and were asked to rate the speakers on a 'goodness of intonation' scale (cf. Munro & Derwing, 1995). Finally, the listeners rated the clips on five 7-point scales created during the preparatory study describing the speaker's intonation as confident - hesitant, expressive - flat, fluid - fragmented, monotone - varied tone, natural – unnatural at the extremes.

Results and Discussion

First, a comparison of native and non-native speakers' comprehensibility in the original and lowpass conditions was performed by fitting a linear mixed effects model (Bates et al., 2015) in R (R Core Team, 2016) with comprehensibility as the dependent variable; an interaction between condition (original and lowpass) and nativeness status (native English speaker & non-native English speaker; NES & NNES) as fixed effects; listener and speaker as random effects; and nativeness status as slope for listener (Barr et al., 2013). The model is presented in Table 2. Non-native English speakers were rated significantly more comprehensible in the original condition than in the lowpass one (p=0.004). Moreover, in the lowpass condition listeners could not tell the difference between native and non-native speakers of English in terms of comprehensibility (p=0.298). However, there was a significant interaction such that the difference in comprehensibility between native and non-native speakers was larger in the original condition (Figure 1). This means that listeners perceived a difference in comprehensibility between native and non-native speakers in the original condition but could not do so reliably without the segmental information. Moreover, the listeners could not predict the speaker's comprehensibility based on suprasegmental information in the lowpass condition alone.

Table 2 Summary for model of comprehensibility

	Estimate	Std. Error	df	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	2.767	0.285	36.190	9.696	0.000	***
condition_original	1.167	0.375	29.950	3.115	0.004	**
L1_NES	0.333	0.314	28.570	1.061	0.298	
condition_original:L1_NES	1.783	0.344	29.700	5.179	0.000	***

To confirm that the chosen perceptual descriptors could distinguish between native and non-native speakers, six similar models were fit to the data with the same fixed and random effects as above and the scores on the six different perception scales as the dependent variable: goodness of intonation, confident - hesitant, expressive - flat, fluid - fragmented, monotone - varied tone, natural - unnatural. A significant interaction was found for goodness of intonation (Table 3) and naturalness (Table 4), such that there was a regression to the mid-line in the lowpass condition, meaning listeners heard less of a difference between native and non-native speakers in the lowpass condition compared to the original (see Figure 2 for goodness of intonation). The difference between native and non-native speakers in the lowpass condition was

still significant for intonation but not for naturalness. This suggests that lay listeners can distinguish native and non-native speakers by relying on suprasegmental features alone when focusing on goodness of intonation, but they cannot reliably do so by focusing on naturalness. The significant effect of condition and interactions also suggest that lay listeners rely on segmental features even when they are asked to focus on intonation specifically.

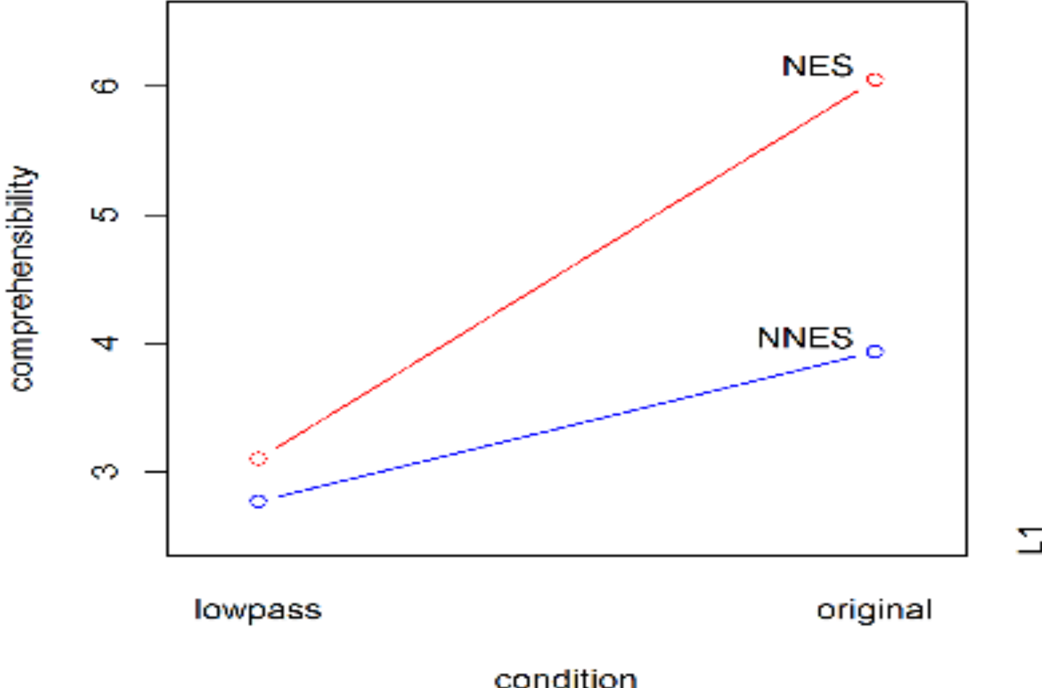

Figure 1 Comprehensibility as predicted by an interaction between condition and nativeness

Table 3 Summary for model of goodness of intonation

	Estimate	Std. Error	df	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	4.517	0.353	24.018	12.806	0.000	***
condition_original	0.767	0.327	29.480	2.342	0.026	*
L1_NNES	-0.897	0.397	20.904	-2.261	0.035	*
condition_original: L1_NNES	-1.160	0.341	29.404	-3.401	0.002	**

Table 4 Summary for model of naturalness

	Estimate	Std. Error	df	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	4.833	0.424	29.415	11.410	0.000	***
condition_original	0.500	0.421	29.557	1.189	0.244	
L1_NNES	-0.793	0.501	29.367	-1.584	0.124	
condition_original:L1_NNES	-1.033	0.497	29.556	-2.080	0.046	*

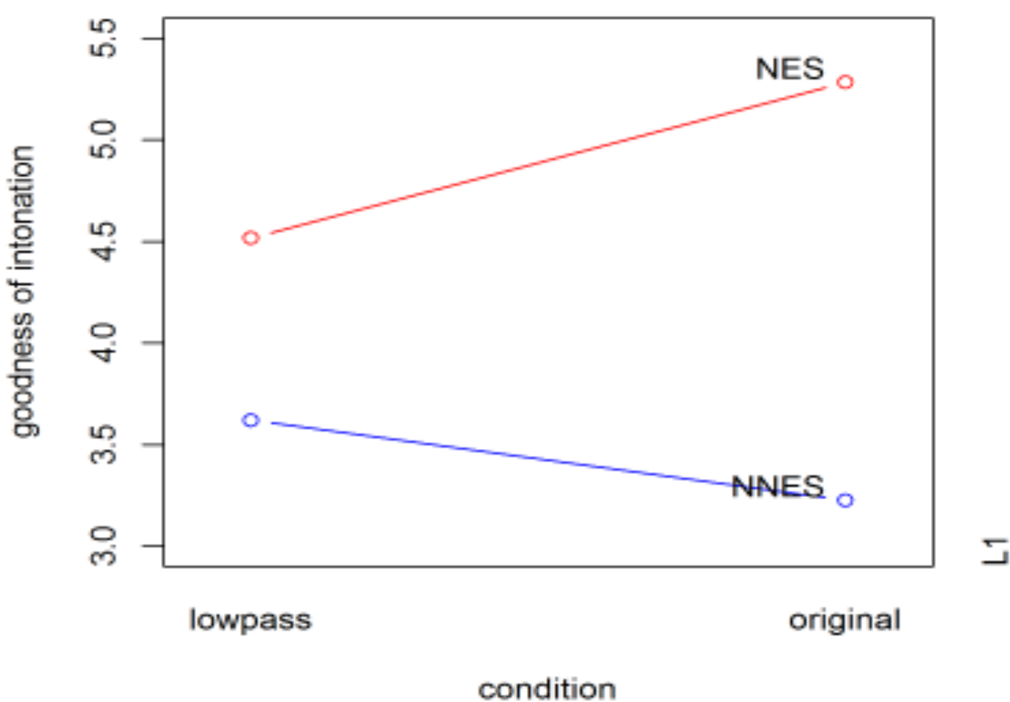

Figure 2 Goodness of intonation as predicted by an interaction between condition and nativeness

A significant effect of nativeness (but not condition) was found for the scores on the scales of confident - hesitant (Table 5) and fluid - fragmented (Table 6) such that native English speakers were rated to be more confident and fluid than non-native speakers equally in both original and lowpass conditions. This means that listeners could distinguish native and non-native speakers by relying on their subjective concept of what fluid and confident speech is like and that is solely dependent on suprasegmental features. No effect of condition or nativeness was found on the scores on the expressive flat and monotone - varied tone scales. This is probably so because these descriptors do not distinguish native and non-native speakers well as there may be a lot of variation on those scales within both the native and non-native speaker groups.

Table 5 Summary for model of confidence

	Estimate	Std. Error	df	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	5.642	0.364	17.272	15.522	0.000	***
L1_NNES	-1.768	0.431	17.450	-4.099	0.001	***

Table 6 Summary for model of fluidity

	Estimate	Std. Error	df	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	5.458	0.374	22.831	14.613	0.000	***
L1_NNES	-1.668	0.481	28.222	-3.466	0.002	**

To explore the relationship between comprehensibility and the different perception scores in relation to suprasegmentals, a principal components analysis (PCA) was performed on the non-native English speaking data; acoustic measurements were added to the analysis for exploratory purposes because of demonstrated links between comprehensibility and acoustic features. PCA is a statistical method of data reduction which can be used to explore the relationship among multiple variables (Johnson, 2008). The variables included were comprehensibility in the original condition; goodness of intonation and the perception scores which rated how confident, expressive, fluid, monotone, and natural the speaker's intonation was in the lowpass condition; as well as speech rate, pitch range, min_F0, and max_F0. Because the listeners could not reliably distinguish between native and non-native speakers in terms of comprehensibility in the lowpass condition, comprehensibility in the original condition is used. Scores on the perceptual descriptors in the lowpass condition are used to exclude the possibility of the listeners' reliance on segmental features in their assessment of prosody. The loading plot in Figure 3 shows the relationship between the variables in the space of the first two components, Comp. 1 and Comp. 2.

From a visual analysis of the figure, it can be seen that comprehensibility in the original condition was correlated with perception of a more confident and fluid production in the lowpass condition, and negatively correlated with a longer clip duration and more silent pauses and prominent words. This suggests that listeners relied on speech rate and stress in their assessments, which is in line with previous studies that have linked speech rate and speaking proficiency (Field, 2005; Hahn, 2004; Munro & Derwing, 2001; Polyanskaya, Ordin, & Grazia Busa, 2017; Tajima, Port, & Dalby, 1994). In addition, good intonation was positively correlated with a more fluid, confident, and natural production in lowpass perception and min_F0. There was a weak positive correlation between good intonation and expressive speech and a weak negative correlation with monotone speech. These correlations are likely weak because of substantial inter-speaker variation, even in native speakers. In fact, the linear mixed effects models fit above indicated that listeners cannot reliably distinguish native and non-native speech using the expressive - flat and monotone - varied tone scales.

Because the stimuli were self-recordings of participants that were probably performed using a variety of different equipment, technical specifications, and environments, the reader is encouraged to exercise caution when interpreting these results. Additionally, the above conclusions are based on a reading passage and may not generalise to spontaneous speech. It has been demonstrated that L2 speakers may behave differently in reading and speaking tasks (e.g., Beebe, 1980; Major, 2001). However, reading passages allow the researcher to control the content and minimise the effect of differences in grammar and vocabulary. Finally, having to rate the same stimulus on several scales may have resulted in higher correlations between perceptual scales.

Despite its limitations, this research serves as an exploratory study and supports the use of such perceptual descriptors where reference to acoustic measures is impossible or inappropriate as they capture some variation in comprehensibility and acoustic measures. The findings support the use of goodness of intonation, confident - hesitant, fluid - fragmented, and natural - unnatural scales for suprasegmental feedback as they correlate with speaker comprehensibility and can distinguish native and non-native speakers. For example, teachers can demonstrate examples of speech with a different proportion of prominent words and silent pauses and use such descriptors as ‘fluid’ and ‘fragmented’ in teaching and giving feedback. It remains to be seen whether L2 learners will find perceptual descriptors like this useful.

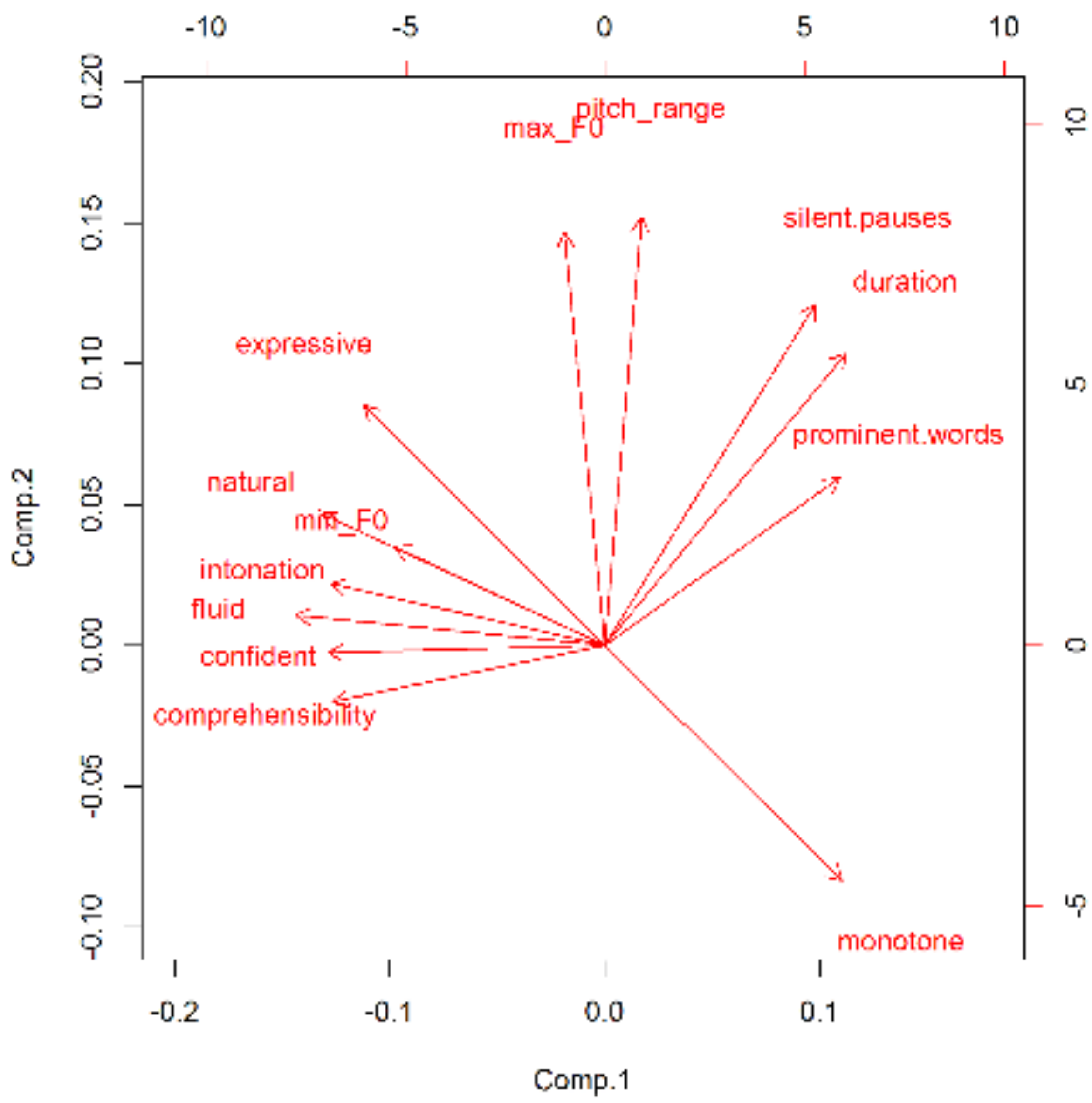

Figure 3 The loading plot of PCA of perceptual and acoustic variables

Conclusion

This was an exploratory study which attempted to identify the perceptual correlates of comprehensibility that lay listeners may use when describing non-native intonation. Five such scales were chosen: confident - hesitant, expressive - flat, fluid - fragmented, monotone - varied tone, natural - unnatural. All were found to correlate to a certain degree with comprehensibility ratings and acoustic measures. Comprehensibility was positively correlated with several perceptual measures: good intonation and confident and fluid production, as well as a faster speech rate and fewer prominent words and silent pauses.

This small-scale exploratory study is an example of how perceptual and acoustic measures of intonation can be used together to understand the components of comprehensibility, and it suggests that an exploration of the relationship between objective and subjective measures can be an interesting area of research. Future studies could explore a larger number of acoustic and perceptual measures relating to several suprasegmental features.

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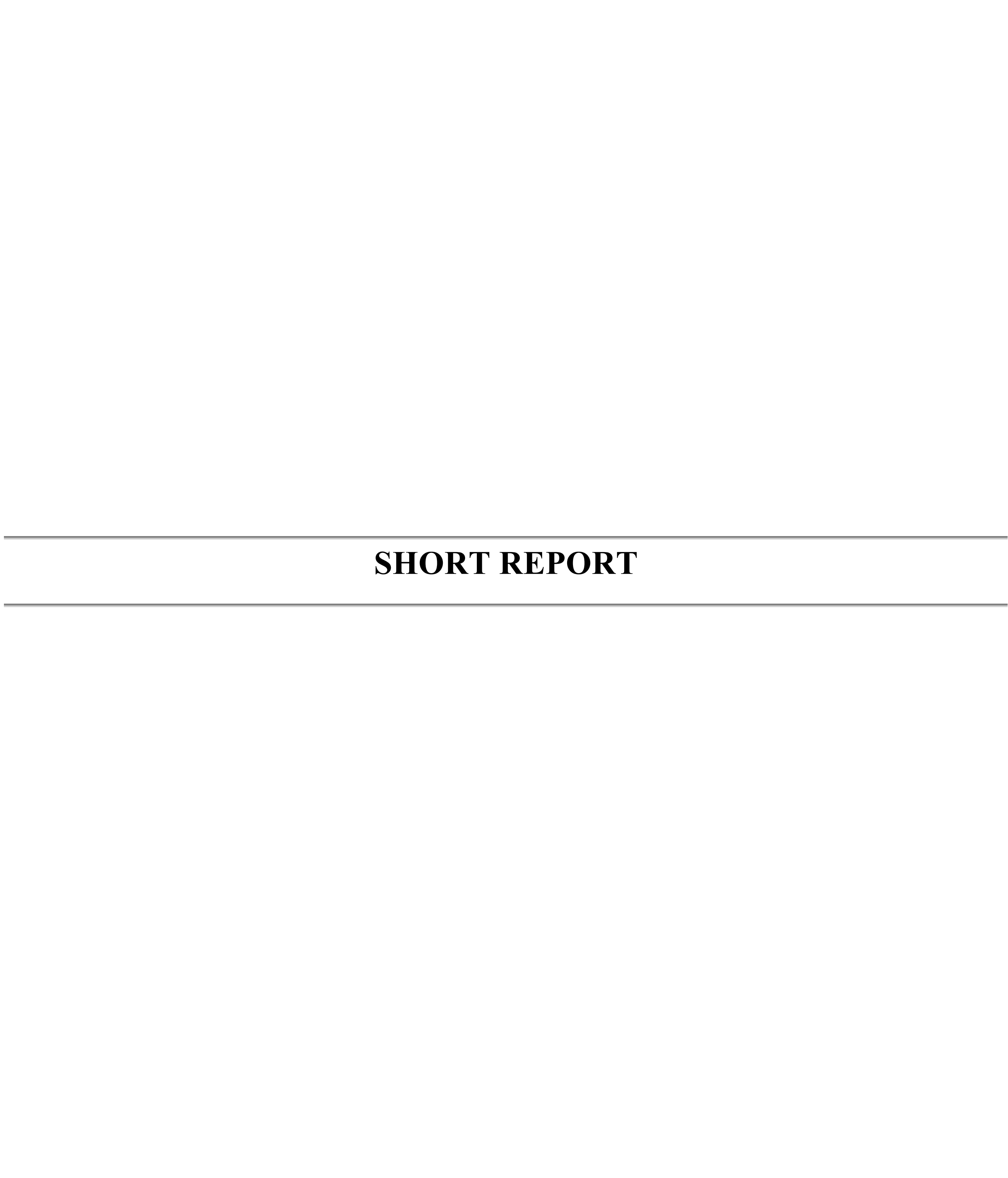
SHORT REPORT

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BILINGUALISM IN NEW ZEALAND: A FIELD OF MISCONCEPTIONS

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Introduction

Despite having two official languages (te reo Māori and New Zealand Sign Language), with English as the de facto dominant language, New Zealand is rarely considered to be a multilingual, or even bilingual, society. Research on bilingualism in New Zealand has traditionally focused on speakers of English and te reo Māori (see, for example, Durie, 1997; Hill, 2017; May, 2005). In a special issue of the International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism (2005, volume 8, issue 5), which focused specifically on bilingual education in New Zealand, two thirds of the articles centered on bilingual speakers of Māori and English. But what of the other diverse levels of bilingualism, multilingualism, and multiculturalism that exist widespread throughout the country? What of the 1,001,787 foreign-born residents, making up a quarter (25.2%) of the country's population (up from 22.9% in 2006 and 19.5% in 2001) according to the 2013 national census (Stats NZ, 2013a), many of whom bring with them unique sets of language experiences that only add to the culture and diversity of New Zealand's society? What of the emergent bi- and multi-lingual speakers who function as a result of New Zealand's changing migration patterns and associated increasing 'superdiversity', or "the substantial increase in the diversity of ethnic, minority and immigrant groups in a city or country" (Chen, 2015, p. 53). This all bears some important questions: exactly how bilingual is New Zealand? How many bilingual speakers are there? What languages or language varieties do bilinguals in New Zealand speak? And what does it mean to be bilingual in New Zealand? This paper aims to address the main question, *How bilingual is New Zealand*? It will begin with an overview of what it means to be bilingual, before addressing the past and current state of bilingualism and multilingualism in a specifically New Zealand context as a result of recent trends towards an increasingly superdiverse society.

What is the Bilingual Speaker?

The concept of '*bilingualism*' and what it means to be bilingual has received much attention. Past definitions of bilingualism have been broad, spanning the entire length of the bilingual continuum. At the maximalist end of the scope, scholars have defined bilingualism as "a native-like control of two languages" (Bloomfield, 1985, p. 56). However, some voices, including Hakuta (1986), have expressed concern over

suchextreme positions, suggesting that “very few people who would generally be considered bilingual have anything resembling native-like control over both languages” (p. 4). Dewaele, Housen, and Wei (2003) agree, suggesting that the ‘perfect’ bilingual most likely does not exist, and that even the ‘balanced’ bilingual is rare. They refer to various forms of “‘imperfect’ and ‘unstable’ forms of bilingualism in which one language takes over from the other(s) on at least some occasions and for some instances of language use” (p. 1).

Some scholars of the past have defined bilingualism within a more reasoned and moderate scope, although definitions are also somewhat lacking. Haugen (1953), for example, explains bilingualism to be when “the speaker of one language can produce complete, meaningful utterances in the other language” (p. 7). And at the far minimalist end of the bilingual continuum, Diebold (1961) refers to the term *incipient bilingualism*, or “the initial stages of language contact” (p. 103). His definition refers to the state in which a bilingual speaker has one highly developed language (often their first), and one in the early stages of development. This allows those with knowledge of even a few phrases or words in another language to be included within the bilingual category, blurring the barrier between a competent speaker of two languages, and a tourist with a phrase book. Mackey (1987) broadly defines bilingualism as “the knowledge and use of two or more languages” (p. 700), emphasising the *knowledge* of languages as opposed to the level of proficiency that must be attained in each. In contrast, Grosjean (1989) defines bilingual speakers as those “who use two or more languages in their everyday lives” (p. 4), emphasising the regular *use* of two or more languages, rather than proficiency.

However, recognising that bilingualism is difficult to define in relation to only one factor, some scholars have favoured more inclusive terms. The term *emergent bilingual*, for example, was popularised by García (2009), who broadly used it in reference to “students who are in the beginning stages of moving along a bilingual continuum” (p. 397, chapter 2, note 2); in other words, those in the process of acquiring a language other than their first. Turnbull (2016) extended the term to specifically include foreign language learners within its framework, redefining emergent bilinguals as “any person who is actively in the process of acquiring knowledge of a second language and developing bilingual languaging skills for use in a given situation relevant to their individual needs to learn the TL [target language]” (p. 3). Taking all of these past definitions into consideration, the definition of bilingualism in a specifically New Zealand context that I will use throughout this paper is the active knowledge and use of a language other than English in situations relevant to the individual needs of the speaker.

Bilingualism in New Zealand

When it comes to bilingualism in New Zealand, the most widely studied and referenced form of bilingualism is that of English and te reo Māori. Studies related to

English-Māori bilingualism have investigated matters from an educational perspective, including Māori-medium education (e.g., May & Hill, 2005; May, Hill, & Tiakiwai, 2004), as well as the strategies used to maintain and support te reo Māori throughout New Zealand (including *Te Kōhanga Reo* programmes at the preschool level, *Kura Kaupapa Māori* programmes at the elementary level, *Whārekura* programmes at the secondary level, and *Whāre Wananga* programmes at the tertiary level) (see García, 2009; May, 2004). However, despite this, relatively little regard is offered for the other diverse minority languages and language varieties spoken by bi/multilinguals throughout the country. Although research on Māori-medium education in New Zealand has been abundant, research on similar forms of immersion bilingual education in the same contexts has not been due to the lack of such provision. In 2016, it was reported that 18,444 students were enrolled in Māori-medium education at 279 schools throughout New Zealand, where at least 51% of the curriculum was taught through the medium of te reo Māori (Education Counts, 2017). However, there have been fewer efforts to support the bilingual education of Pasifika bilingual speakers who make up a large portion of the population (May, 2006, 2012), nor of any other minority language or language variety, for that matter.

De Bres (2015) identifies a hierarchy of minority languages in New Zealand, in which she claims te reo Māori to be at the top, followed by New Zealand Sign language, Pacific languages, and ending with other migrant languages at the bottom. She suggests that little connection between the various language communities occurs, with the language groups operating more in isolation from one another than in cooperation towards a common interest. It may be the case that, because there is little relationship between the minority languages in New Zealand, a lack of recognition that these languages are spoken throughout society has arisen. Whilst te reo Māori remains the largest minority language, it must also be acknowledged that Māori is not the only language with which bilingual speakers are engaging in New Zealand. The reality is that te reo Māori comprises only a small portion of the overall percentage of languages used throughout the country. Over 190 languages were reported to be spoken in New Zealand according to the most recent 2013 national census results, although only 37 of those languages were spoken by more than 0.1% of the population. The most widely spoken language, with 3,819,969 reported speakers, was English, and the least commonly spoken languages, with only three reported speakers each, were the North Germanic (undefined), Baltic (undefined), Mon-Khmer (undefined), Viet-Muong (unclassified), Micronesian (undefined), Cushitic (undefined), Chadic (unclassified), and Artificial (unclassified) languages.

According to the 2013 census, 737,910 people (18.6% of the total population) reported the ability to speak more than one language throughout New Zealand (Stats NZ, 2013b); up from 671,658 people (17.5%) in 2006, and from 562,113 people (15.8%) in 2001. Perhaps unsurprisingly, 60.4% of those people were foreign born, compared to just 39.6% who were born in New Zealand; shedding more light on the reality of changing migration patterns as a result of the increasing superdiverse New Zealand society. The most commonly spoken language other than English was te reo

Māori (3.7% of the population), followed by Samoan (2.2%), Hindi (1.7%), Northern Chinese (including Mandarin) (1.3%), and French (1.2%) – largely coinciding with the five largest ethnic groups in the country: New Zealand European, Māori, Chinese, Samoan, and Indian. Although we understand English and te reo Māori to be the two most commonly spoken languages throughout New Zealand, that is certainly not to say they are the only ones; nor are they the only languages being learnt.

Statistics requested and obtained directly from NZQA (New Zealand Qualifications Authority) – the government crown entity in charge of organising and maintaining educational assessment and qualification standards nationwide – show that 13 different foreign languages were being studied at 429 schools nationwide by 12,201 students as a mainstream subject involving 14 or more credits in 2016, a three percent increase from 11,848 students in 2015. Based on Garcia's (2009) concept of the emergent bilingual, and Turnbull's (2016) re-framing of the term to include foreign language learners within its scope, we understand that those students who are actively studying a foreign language at New Zealand secondary (and, indeed, tertiary) institutions are, in their own right, bilingual speakers of the target languages – a fact that, even today, is rarely recognised by bilingual scholars and educators, not only in New Zealand, but in a worldwide context too. This is perhaps because, as Grosjean (1989) alludes to, many bilinguals, particularly those at the beginning stages of the bilingual continuum such as foreign language learners, tend to evaluate and criticise their own language competencies as being inadequate and unworthy of a 'bilingual' status. I believe this to be the case not only from the perspective of foreign language learners themselves, but from the majority of the general public, and from a large portion of the academic community too, who continue to perpetuate the erroneous notion that a bilingual speaker is one with native like fluency in both languages (also see Grosjean, 2010). In viewing foreign language learners as emergent bilinguals, we uncover an entirely new field of bilinguals with a distinctive set of languaging skills yet to be widely recognised in New Zealand. It is important that we also work to acknowledge and support these emergent bilinguals alongside those already functioning in society, not only because they possess a unique set of language skills with which they can express themselves as whole individuals, but because of the potential benefits they may provide for New Zealand's future society and economy by conducting business and relations on an international stage.

The General Manager of the 2013 national census, Sarah Minson, is reported as having said "there are more ethnicities in New Zealand than there are countries in the world" (Stats NZ, 2013c, para. 3). New Zealand is a society formed on the basis of multiculturalism and, by default, multilingualism. It has become a superdiverse society (Chen, 2015) and yet, little support is offered for the minority languages and language varieties other than English and te reo Māori. For example, although the option is given for almost all NCEA secondary school examinations to be issued and completed through the medium of te reo Māori as well as English (see NZQA, n.d.), and for the national census to be completed in both languages too, little regard is offered for the array of other languages spoken throughout New Zealand beyond the

scope of English-Māori speakers. NZQA may consider offering NCEA examinations in a more diverse array of languages to ensure that we are truly testing students' knowledge of the content and not only their English language skills. Likewise, Statistics New Zealand might consider offering the national census in more languages to ensure that the most accurate data is being collected and not impeded due to the potential language proficiency restrictions of the respondents. It is important that New Zealand works to support the linguistic rights of all bilingual and emergent bilingual citizens, particularly those who are already functionally bi/multilingual as a result of New Zealand's changing migration patterns and associated superdiversity.

Conclusion

To address the main question '*How bilingual is New Zealand?*', we must first consider what it means to be bilingual. Taking a neutral position on bilingualism, one that neither sets undemanding nor unattainable standards of proficiency or frequency of use, but rather focuses on the active attainment and/or employment of both languages relevant to the everyday needs of an individual's life, we see New Zealand as becoming an increasingly bilingual (and indeed, in some cases, multilingual) superdiverse nation due to the influx of foreign-born immigrants who bring with them a diverse array of language experiences, associated intermarriage, and the increasing number of emergent bilinguals studying foreign languages, thus adding to the ever-growing bilingual mix of New Zealand's society. To put an exact number on this is difficult, however, especially given the fact that many of the bilinguals who would fall into this category may not view themselves as being bilingual at all. Nevertheless, it is clear that a range of bilingual activity is occurring throughout the country on a regular basis, and there should therefore be greater awareness that bilingualism in New Zealand is so much more than the relationship between English and te reo Māori alone.

New Zealand may be conceptually different to other bilingual nations, such as South Africa, in which 12 languages currently hold an official status and are used regularly (despite the increasingly dominant role of English as the de facto language in the public domain), and where the majority of the population is considered to be at least bilingual, if not, multilingual. The lack of a relationship between minority language groups in New Zealand (see de Bres, 2015), alongside the predominantly English monolingual (with some, albeit still limited, accommodation to te reo Māori) policy environment, has largely determined the relatively lower levels of acknowledgement for other minority languages. However, New Zealand is a nation full of unique bilinguals in their own right. These bilingual speakers may not speak the same two languages, or two languages of the same language family; but the fact remains that bilingual activity other than English and te reo Māori occurs in all areas of the country on a daily basis. This must be taken into consideration as bilingual education policy makers in New Zealand review the 'bilingual education' and 'bilingual nature' of New Zealand's superdiverse society. Such a society, with an ever-increasing

ethnic and linguistic diversity, results in a greater responsibility to make sure that the linguistic needs and, indeed, the linguistic rights of all citizens are attended to. Chen (2015) predicts that around 51% of New Zealand's population are likely to be of a Maori, Pacific Island or Asian ethnicity by the year 2038, highlighting the need for greater recognition of linguistic minority groups and to further encourage interaction amongst them henceforth (de Bres, 2015). It is hoped that the ideas presented in this paper will help to shed light on the often-misconceived group of bilinguals that exist widespread throughout New Zealand.

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

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

Journal articles
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