

Language practices of Māori Deaf New Zealand Sign Language users
for identity expression

BY

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ABSTRACT

Previous research examining Māori Deaf identity and NZSL neologisms expressing Māori concepts indicates that there is a desire among Māori Deaf people, in some measure, to express their identity linguistically (R. McKee et al., 2007; Smiler, 2004; Smiler & McKee, 2007). As yet, there is little detailed investigation of how this manifests in language practices. Applying Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) theory of identity as a product of linguistic practices with a Kaupapa Māori approach, this thesis combines descriptive analysis of language and paralinguistic contact points between NZSL and te reo Māori to reveal how innovative features occur in Māori Deaf discourse, with qualitative exploration of motivations and beliefs regarding how linguistic features are perceived to index Māori identity in NZSL. This study engages with a particular subset of Māori Deaf individuals who are actively involved in Māori Deaf networks and affairs, comprising a community of practice or kaupapa whānau. Analysis of data from language use samples and focus group interviews shows that in Māori contexts, Māori Deaf individuals use the following features: variation in pointing handshape, combining of Māori word mouthing with NZSL signs, sign neologisms with Māori reference, and marked pauses in formal public speaking. Metalinguistic discussions among participants indicate that these features may be consciously employed to construct a Māori Deaf identity in certain contexts. Findings from this research contribute to a currently limited collection of available research concerning indigenous Deaf populations, expanding knowledge of sociolinguistic variation in NZSL and of the relationship between variation and identity in signed languages generally.

NGĀ MIHI AROHA

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“Mā te huruhuru, te manu ka rere”

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CHAPTER ONE

1 Introduction

Introductions are customary when meeting new people in both te ao Māori (the Māori world) (Barlow, 2005) and the Deaf world (Lane et al., 1996). These include the citation of whakapapa (genealogy) and description of community connections. This thesis follows these same customary practices, honouring my Māori heritage as well as the Māori Deaf heritage and identity of the participants in this study. As identity is an integral part of this research, this section begins with an introduction of myself and the experiences that led me to the Deaf community and this research topic. This chapter describes my motivation for undertaking this research, outlines the research topic, research questions and aims, details writing conventions used throughout the thesis, and concludes with an overview of the study.

1.1 Whakapapa: my personal background

Ko Kakepuku o Kahurere te maunga

Ko Waipā te awa

Ko Tainui te waka

Ko Matakaro te whenua

Ko Ngāti Maniapoto te iwi

Ko Ngāti Unu, Ngāti Kahu ngā hapū

Ko Te Kōpua te marae

The above pepeha (formal self-introduction in te reo Māori (the Māori language)) describes the connection between our people and the surrounding area and landmarks we settled on. I am a descendent of the iwi (tribe) Ngāti Maniapoto and the hapū (sub-tribes) Ngāti Unu and Ngāti Kahu. Our people arrived on the waka (canoe) Tainui and came to settle as kaitiaki (guardians) of the land Matakaro. Our marae (traditional tribe-affiliated meeting grounds) is Te Kōpua. As we stand at the northern doors to our whare tūpuna (ancestral house) Ko Unu,

we are sheltered by Mount Kakepuku to the East, and sustained by the river Waipā to the West. These places and people are my ancestors.

Sharing a similar experience to many Māori people, I was not raised on my ancestral homelands, immersed in traditional cultural practices and language. However, I was raised by loving parents who provided me with a strong foundation, allowing me to seek out my heritage culture and language later in life. Raised in Taranaki, I attended my first New Zealand Sign Language (NZSL) class with Lisa Masters, a wonderful Deaf teacher who based her classes at the local polytechnic. After this, the spark lit by these classes lay dormant until I attended Te Herenga Waka – Victoria University of Wellington. Here I embarked on a journey of reclamation, learning my own language, te reo Māori, with the encouraging and detail-oriented lecturer Karena Kelly, and once again took up NZSL, this time under the guidance of Sara Pivac Alexander, David McKee, and Rachel McKee. During this time, I made lifelong connections with many Deaf people which saw me move to Auckland to pursue a degree and a career in NZSL-English interpreting.

Growing up without a strong connection to te ao Māori became increasingly difficult as I got older. As my Māori identity journey collided with the Deaf world, a wonderful Māori Deaf man helped me feel at ease as I searched for ways to reconnect with my marae and whānau (extended family). Michael Wi taught at Rūaumoko marae, the pan-tribal Deaf marae located on the grounds of the national Deaf education centre, which is a hub for Māori Deaf activities. Michael and I are from the same iwi and when he addressed Deaf students at the marae he would, without exception, mention proudly that he and I were from the same iwi. Whilst Rūaumoko is not my marae and I am not a member of the Deaf community, he made me feel at home. The Māori Deaf community have forever been welcoming, and experiences such as this will remain with me always. Since that time, I have returned to Wellington, continued to learn more about myself as a Māori woman in Aotearoa New Zealand, and remained close with the Deaf community that welcomed me some 13 years ago.

1.2 My motivation to do this study

Over my time working with the Deaf community, I became increasingly aware of the challenges affecting Māori and Deaf communities and of the double marginalisation of Māori Deaf people as members of both the Māori and Deaf worlds. For the purpose of this research, Māori Deaf individuals are those culturally Deaf NZSL users who whakapapa Māori (have Māori ancestry). Knowing that language can contribute to a person's identity, I was interested in how NZSL practices contribute to self-identification for this group. My interest in understanding Māori Deaf linguistic practices and perceptions of identity was largely informed by my experiences in the previous decade or so. Additionally, previous research indicates a desire for Māori Deaf people to express their ethnic identity in NZSL (R. McKee et al., 2007; Smiler, 2004; Smiler & McKee, 2007). Yet to be a central focus of research are the ways in which Māori Deaf people do this. For that reason, this thesis set out to explore how Māori identity can be expressed or performed through changes in sign language production by Māori Deaf individuals. Taking this into consideration, I decided that language use and beliefs and ideologies relating to linguistic expression of identity needed to be explored in order to be better understood.

1.3 Background context: rationale

The journey to greater recognition of New Zealand Sign Language (NZSL) and Deaf cultural identity traverses some similar ground to that of te reo Māori (New Zealand Human Rights Commission, 2013). Revitalisation efforts for te reo Māori began in the 1970s and led to the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal and the passing of the Māori Language Act 1987, in addition to other policies and legislative changes for the protection and promotion of the language (Albury, 2016). As referenced in *A New Era in the Right to Sign = He Houhanga Rongo Te Tika Ki Te Reo Turi*, a report by the Human Rights Commission (2013), the New Zealand Deaf community drew on the experiences of the Māori language, resulting in the official recognition of NZSL in 2006. (*New Zealand Sign Language Act, No 18*, 2006). The language recognition movements of both the Māori and NZSL communities in New Zealand have motivated some individuals with intersectional Māori Deaf identities to seek their own recognition as a unique ethnolinguistic community (R. McKee et al., 2007; Smiler, 2004; Smiler & McKee, 2007).

Māori deaf children did not have opportunities for simultaneous enculturation into both the Māori heritage of home and the Deaf cultural milieu of school, often sacrificing one for the other (R. McKee, 2001; Smiler, 2004). The first government school for deaf children in New Zealand was founded in 1880 and until the 1960s most deaf children attended residential deaf schools, in which any form of sign language was actively discouraged (Powell & Hyde, 2014; Smith, 2003). These deaf education institutions were founded and operated under a western-values-based system (Smiler, 2004; Smith, 2003). However, as NZSL accessibility and recognition progresses alongside the Māori language renaissance, Māori Deaf people who identify with NZSL and Deaf culture are connecting more frequently with te ao Māori (R. McKee et al., 2007). It is reasonable to propose that increased exposure to Māori domains and experiences, increasingly facilitated by the availability of NZSL interpreters, is a significant factor for Māori Deaf individuals now seeking a deeper connection to their Māori identity (AKO Ltd, 1995; Smiler, 2004; Smiler & McKee, 2007). This aspiration is also formalised in the NZSL Strategy 2018-2023 within the Use/Access language priority¹ (Office for Disability Issues, 2019) and evidenced in publications and resources (e.g., Deaf Aotearoa, n.d., 2019). Language practices among NZSL users negotiating participation in Māori domains are evolving yet hardly documented. This study builds on previous work with Māori NZSL users, examining how Māori Deaf identity is linguistically constructed.

1.4 Aims

The intention of this study is to discover innovative language practices by Māori Deaf people and associated motives, such as strengthening connection to their Māori identity and developing Deaf ways of performing this identity in Māori contexts. It will examine some outcomes of language contact between NZSL and te reo Māori to identify how this group uses their language repertoires to convey a Māori Deaf identity. While ethnic identity alignment through use of spoken Māori is a common aspiration of hearing Māori whānau for

¹ “What success looks like in five years’ time ... Māori Deaf have access to Te Ao Māori and Māori speaking domains through the training and retention of trilingual interpreters (te reo Māori, NZSL and English)” (Office for Disability Issues, 2019, p. 14)

their deaf children (R. McKee & Smiler, 2017), this research will focus on Deaf people's own beliefs and practices. The study will examine how potential variations of NZSL output support Māori Deaf perception and performance of identity in Māori contexts.

Outcomes of contact between te reo Māori and NZSL are complicated by the differing modalities of spoken and signed language, which afford distinct mechanisms for creating and structuring meaning (Quinto-Pozos & Adam, 2015) (see Section 2.4). Within Māori-NZSL language contact spaces, influences from te ao Māori practices such as haka, waiata and karakia can be observed in the NZSL discourse of Māori Deaf people as they seek equivalence for these forms of language performance. However, this study will more specifically examine four variable language and paralinguistic features of NZSL in Māori influenced contexts: at a phonological level – the alternation of 'whole-hand' with 'index-extended' pointing for person referents; at a lexical level - neologisms, calques or translations to express Māori concepts or terms; combinations of Māori language mouthing with signs; and pause frequency and length. Intentional innovations in language practices also reflect the ways in which these individuals are constructing a community of practice - a group of people actively engaging in practice for a common purpose (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2015).

Suggestions of intentional identity construction through linguistic variation highlight the relevance of studying metalinguistic discourse among speakers around associations between language and identity (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). This thesis will apply Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) framing of identity as a product of linguistic practices to address three research questions:

1. In what ways are Māori Deaf individuals constructing a distinct identity through the use of New Zealand Sign Language?
2. What linguistic features are they using to index that identity?
3. What ideologies do Māori Deaf individuals express regarding their identity and its connection to language practices?

The research procedure is also framed by a Kaupapa Māori approach (see Section 3.1.2). Building relationships with Māori Deaf stakeholders and participants and working with a Māori Deaf facilitator contributes to co-construction of this thesis with participants and the

upholding of mana (authority)². As little research has been undertaken into language practices of Māori Deaf people based on discourse data, any findings from this research will contribute to a currently limited collection of available research concerning indigenous Deaf populations, and expand knowledge of sociolinguistic variation in NZSL and of language variation and identity in signed languages generally.

1.5 Language conventions used in this thesis

Data analysis and reporting in this study crosses three languages and cultures: the Deaf world, the Māori world, and the Pākehā (New Zealander/s of European descent) world. Moving between NZSL, te reo Māori and English, and each culture, has proven challenging in the writing of this thesis. To aid in readability for wider audiences, I have endeavoured to be consistent in using the writing conventions listed below.

- Māori terms appear unitalicised as an indigenous language of New Zealand.
- In the first instance, Māori terms are followed by a translation in parentheses unless otherwise explained in the surrounding text. There is also a glossary of Māori terms at the end of the thesis for reference as required. NB: pluralisation of Māori words does not involve affixes. Therefore, there may be apparently singular Māori terms embedded in English sentences that imply plurality.
- In the first instance, a complete term precedes an acronym (e.g., New Zealand Sign Language (NZSL)), after which the acronym is used, except in the case of headings or quotes.
- Capitalisation is used to gloss NZSL signs, a common convention for representing signs in written form (e.g., the sign meaning marae is written as MARAE).
- Scare quotes are used to indicate mouthing that co-occurs with a sign (e.g., if a signer mouths the word spirit, it appears in the text as ‘spirit’)
- Capitalisation of the word ‘Deaf’ is used to index Deaf cultural identity. This is reflected in Deaf Studies literature, with lower case ‘deaf’ used to describe the audiological condition of deafness, and uppercase ‘Deaf’ indexing cultural status (Woodward, 1975).

² Mana is not a term easily explained in English. Keep in mind that the definition provided does not equate to a thorough translation.

- There are different usages of the word ‘hearing’. In this thesis ‘hearing’ will be used as a term of identity to denote people who are not audiologically deaf or culturally Deaf. NB: As hearing and deafness is not binary, the terms ‘hearing’ and ‘Deaf’ used within this thesis should not be read as such.

1.6 Overview of the study

The presentation of this thesis is divided into seven chapters. This chapter began with a personal introduction and outlined the aims, motivations, writing conventions, and structure of the thesis. The aim of this thesis, as noted in this chapter, is to explore the language practices of Māori Deaf individuals for the expression of identity. To achieve this aim, Chapter Two reviews previous relevant literature and provides information on the past and present sociocultural conditions of Māori Deaf people, including studies of Māori Deaf identity. It also introduces topics such as the contact zones between te reo Māori and NZSL, and popular misconceptions of the relationship between these two languages. Following this, Chapter Three describes the methodology this study employed, and the theoretical approaches used in this study. Chapter Four and Chapter Five report findings from two different datasets, analysis of target features in selected language samples, and metalinguistic discussion among Māori Deaf focus group participants. Chapter Six consolidates findings, discussing how Māori Deaf individuals are building a community of practice through shared linguistic practices, some of which are for the purpose of identity expression. Finally, Chapter Seven considers the implications of findings, identifies limitations of this research, and provides recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

2 Background to the Study

As outlined in the previous chapter, the intention of this study is to discover innovative language practices by Māori Deaf people and associated motives. This chapter outlines key information, setting a foundation for the study of Māori Deaf linguistic construction of identity. The chapter begins with a brief history of the formation of the New Zealand Deaf community and NZSL. Following this, it describes the construct of Māori Deaf identity as it is applied in this study, as well as the group of Māori Deaf people this study focusses on, and reviews relevant research. Considering this study aims to explore the linguistic indexing of identity, this chapter subsequently introduces the topics of language contact pressures and outcomes between NZSL and te reo Māori before covering popular misconceptions about the relationship between these two languages.

2.1 New Zealand Deaf community

The New Zealand Deaf community as it is known, was born out of the establishment of a specialised residential deaf education institution in 1880 (Collins-Ahlgren, 1989). The institution, named Sumner Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, employed Gerrit van Asch as its first director (Townshend, 1993). In keeping with the pedagogical trend of the time, van Asch promulgated the oral method which utilised only speech and lipreading (Collins-Ahlgren, 1989). Oralist ideology and practice remained in New Zealand for the next one hundred years. However, in general, sign languages emerge from a critical mass of deaf people which often occurs through the founding of educational institutions (Bragg, 1997). Accordingly, it has been proposed that the sign language of the New Zealand Deaf community began to develop within the dormitories of the first residential school for the deaf in Sumner (Collins-Ahlgren, 1989).

In New Zealand, considering an absence of any records indicating the existence of an indigenous sign language before the arrival of Europeans (Forman, 2003), it is surmised that visual communication with or among deaf people at this time would likely have been

“gesture, mime and context-dependent protolanguage” (Bragg, 1997, p. 4). NZSL is historically related to British Sign Language (BSL) and Australian Sign Language (Auslan) (D. McKee & Kennedy, 2000). However, due to the exclusion of deaf students who knew BSL in the early years of the Sumner school - in order to maintain a strictly oral communication environment - the language that initially emerged has been described as ‘school sign’ (Collins-Ahlgren, 1989). As time progressed, second generation deaf students arrived with progressively more knowledge of BSL, ‘school sign’, and other family or local signs. Over time, this combination eventually developed into NZSL (Collins-Ahlgren, 1989).

The establishment of deaf schools in Christchurch, and later Auckland and Feilding, was the first time that deaf children had come together, including indigenous Māori deaf children (Forman, 2003). As a result of the culturally hegemonic European framework that deaf education was founded on, Māori deaf children at these schools were assimilated into New Zealand European culture (Faircloth et al., 2015; Forman, 2003; Smiler & McKee, 2007). The work of Bishop and Glynn (1999 as cited in Faircloth et al., 2015), acknowledges that New Zealand educational systems were designed for this purpose, to assimilate Māori people and remove their cultural differences. Despite Māori deaf children’s overrepresentation in hearing-loss statistics (Smiler, 2014) and at deaf schools (Forman, 2003; Smiler & McKee, 2007), a recent report describes ongoing cultural isolation for Māori Deaf youth (Witko, 2020). At deaf schools, whilst Māori Deaf children were mostly isolated from their heritage culture, Townshend (1993) explains that enculturation into the Deaf community occurred within these same schools. Therefore, it can be surmised that many Māori deaf children who attended deaf schools together developed stronger ties to the Deaf community, whilst simultaneously experiencing Māori heritage, knowledge and language deprivation (Faircloth et al., 2015; R. McKee & Smiler, 2017; Smiler, 2004). Whilst attendance at deaf schools in New Zealand has recently declined in favour of ‘inclusive education’ policy (i.e., attendance at regular schools, usually without deaf peers), the individuals who participated in the current study are of an age group who did experience residential deaf education.

2.2 Māori Deaf identity

Māori people generally construct a Māori identity through whakapapa, although some people assert a requirement of additional prerequisites such as knowledge of their whakapapa

connections, culture and language (Durie, 1998). However, most deaf children are born to hearing parents, meaning that biological family is not necessarily the primary source of social and language identity (Mitchell & Karchmer, 2004). Accordingly, a cultural Deaf identity is realised through connections with other Deaf people, commonly accompanied by ‘Deaf pride’ and use of sign language (Glickman & Carey, 1993; Nikolarazi & Hadjikakou, 2006). This concept of a non-kinship collective as a source of identity and social belonging among Māori Deaf people has been referred to as a ‘kaupapa whānau’ (Smiler, 2004). This is a group of people who may or may not be biologically related, but are connected through commitment to a shared kaupapa (purpose) (Metge, 1995, as cited in Smiler, 2004). This group can also be described as an emerging community of practice (CofP) (R. McKee et al., 2007). A CofP can be defined as a group of people actively engaging in practice for a common purpose (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2015). When compared to a more limiting ‘speech community’ model, Bucholtz (1999) considers the CofP framework more appropriate as it “may be constituted around any social or linguistic practice” (p. 210). Māori deaf people (note the lower case ‘deaf’, meaning those with the audiological condition of deafness (see Section 1.5)) can be generally defined as people who have hearing loss and whakapapa Māori (have Māori genealogy). However, it is a more specific group of people, those ethnically indigenous and enculturated into the Deaf community, those within a Māori Deaf kaupapa whānau or CofP, who are the focus of this study. In general, this thesis will use the term CofP, as it focuses more specifically on those engaged in shared language practices.

2.3 Research on Māori Deaf people

Research with Māori Deaf people has investigated aspects of identity construction (Faircloth et al., 2015; Hynds et al., 2014), identity perception (Smiler, 2004; Smiler & McKee, 2007), interpreter role within trilingual spaces (R. McKee & Awheto, 2010) and neologisms within NZSL that reference Māori concepts (R. McKee et al., 2007; R. McKee & McKee, 2011). Previous studies have also examined the Māori Deaf experience, focussing on foundational years (Faircloth et al., 2015), experiences of early intervention services (Smiler, 2014) and family language practices in Māori families with deaf children (R. McKee & Smiler, 2017). To date, identity focussed studies have employed a mixture of qualitative and narrative based methods to explore Māori Deaf identities as uniquely distinct from their hearing Māori and Deaf non-Māori counterparts (Faircloth et al., 2015; R. McKee, 2001; Smiler, 2004, 2014).

Smiler's (2004) seminal study of Māori Deaf cultural and linguistic identity analogises facets of identity to a star constellation. This follows Foster and Kinuthia's (2003) model of Deaf ethnic minority identity in the United States. In their metaphor, expression of different aspects of identity (such as deafness, or ethnicity) shine brighter or dimmer in response to internal and external influences in various contexts. Other documentation of Māori Deaf experiences, also in narrative formats, can also be found outside of research publications, for example: *Te Karere (John Rua Participates in a Taiaha Course, 1996)*, *Te Hēteri (The Experiences of Māori Deaf, 2004)*, and *Māori Television (He Māori, He Turi)* (Simon, 2009).

One of the first published accounts of a Māori Deaf individual's experience was in McKee's (2001) *People of the Eye: Stories from the Deaf World*. Patrick Thompson's journey back and forth between his Māori and Deaf worlds shows the fluidity of self-perceptions of identity through time and context, evidencing Foster and Kinuthia's (2003) constellation analogy. To date, identity perception and expression constitutes most of the documentation and research about Māori Deaf people. Many of these studies centre the Deaf voice (Wilson & Winiarczyk, 2014), employ Kaupapa Māori (Māori values-based) frameworks (Tuhiwai Smith, 2021), and use a mixed methods approach (Dunn, 2012; Faircloth et al., 2015; Smiler, 2004, 2014, 2016; Smiler & McKee, 2007).

Studies of Māori Deaf identity have enabled researchers to suggest there is a desire among some Māori Deaf people to express their identity linguistically (Dunn, 2012; R. McKee, 2019; R. McKee et al., 2007; Smiler, 2004, 2006; Smiler & McKee, 2007). Although there are relatively few studies of the social construction of identity in sign languages, Palfreyman (2020) describes linguistic variation indexing (minority) Javanese identity in Indonesian Sign Language. This study draws on Palfreyman's approach, combining analysis of linguistic usage with metalinguistic data to explore the linguistic ideologies of Māori Deaf participants, building on foundational research on Māori Deaf identity and aspects of language contact between te reo Māori and NZSL.

McKee et al (2007), examined the outcomes of linguistic and cultural contact between te reo Māori, te ao Māori and NZSL, using a mixed methods approach, analysing lexical data and interviews. It was the first study co-authored by a Māori Deaf individual with only one other

Māori Deaf co-authored study identified since then (Faircloth et al., 2015). Findings on signs with Māori reference and their connection to identity were supported by interviews that addressed beliefs and issues concerning contact between NZSL and te reo Māori. Findings showed that at the time of publication, neologisms with Māori reference in NZSL were not yet widely known and mostly restricted to Māori domains of use. The phrase ‘Māori signs’ was also critically examined, with the authors taking the view that “‘Māori signs’ — although frequently referred to interchangeably as “Māori Sign Language” — constitute neither a sign language indigenous to Māori nor a manual equivalent of spoken Māori nor, at this time, a distinct sociolect of NZSL.” (R. McKee et al., 2007, p. 73). This study concluded that signs with Māori reference are often products of language contact between te reo Māori and NZSL.

Aside from this research, the only other scholarship focussing on linguistic indexation of Māori Deaf individuals was a presentation by McKee (2019). It explored possible connections between NZSL and Māori non-verbal features, such as flat-hand pointing gestures, use of brow-flashes, as well as lexical innovations arising from language contact (translational) pressures. McKee explains that signs can become indexed to Māori meaning over time. There are pointing variations in NZSL, two major variations being an index extended point and a flat, whole-hand point. McKee suggests that flat-hand pointing gestures by hearing Māori individuals may have been adopted to construct a Māori identity, as these gestures are used by hearing Māori speakers, are visibly accessible to Deaf people, and can be directly imported into NZSL. Overall, McKee’s findings showed weak (emerging) evidence of linguistic markers of Māori identity in NZSL. This thesis will build upon previous research such as this, to further explore the connection between language and identity of Māori Deaf people.

2.4 Contact between te reo Māori and NZSL

Language contact occurs between signed languages and spoken languages, manifesting in forms such as fingerspelling, mouthing and loan translations of words borrowed from the spoken language (Fenlon & Wilkinson, 2015). As English is the dominant spoken language in New Zealand, NZSL vocabulary reflects much contact with English, and relatively little contact with te reo Māori. However, growing prevalence of Māori loan words in NZ English (Macalister, 2003) as the language is progressively revitalised, could be one factor increasing

pressure to express Māori concepts in NZSL. Additionally, increasing frequency of Deaf individuals' contact with Māori domains may also contribute to language contact pressure in NZSL. An increase in documented signs with Māori reference in NZSL dictionaries could be evidence of this (Kennedy et al., 1997; D. McKee et al., 2011).

Spoken-signed language contact also occurs via sign language interpreters, who are rendering concepts from a spoken language into a sign language, and in the process may coin loans from the spoken source language, especially where there are lexical gaps in the target signed language. Prior to the first NZSL interpreter training in 1985, Deaf people in New Zealand had limited access to spoken language domains, including those in which te reo Māori was spoken. Generally, the increased availability of interpreters since that time has enabled greater participation in society and mediated exposure to spoken discourse used in a wider range of contexts. However, access to te reo Māori domains remains limited as there are fewer than five sign language interpreters able to work between te reo Māori and NZSL (Vale & McKee, 2020). Regarding te reo Māori domains, increased participation by Deaf people, albeit limited, is likely to contribute to increased awareness of Māori cultural concepts, and a need or desire to express these concepts in NZSL.

Mouthing of Māori words with signs may also be evidence of language contact. Mouthing can be defined as the “voiceless articulation of spoken words while producing signs” (Quinto-Pozos & Adam, 2013). It results from contact between two languages of different modalities, known as bimodal contact, such as between a signed and spoken language. Some researchers believe that mouthing is an integrated part of sign languages (Crasborn et al., 2008), whereas others view it as code-mixing or code-blending (Quinto-Pozos & Adam, 2013). Either way, much of the contact between spoken languages and signed languages began with the establishment of deaf schools and the oralist teaching methods of the time. A focus on mastery of spoken and written languages within these institutions introduced lip patterns and written words, giving way to mouthing and fingerspelling within signed languages (Quinto-Pozos & Adam, 2015). Regarding code-mixing and the influence of spoken languages on signed languages, code-mixing could suggest that mouthing is not a part of the linguistic structure of signed languages, rather that it is the importation of words from spoken languages mouthed simultaneously with signs in signed languages. If this is the case,

mouthings of Māori words may be evidence of not only language contact pressure, but also a desire to express ethnic identity linguistically. Quinto-Pozos (2002) describes bimodal contact between spoken and signed languages, documenting the use of Spanish mouthing with ASL signs, and English mouthing with Mexican Sign Language signs, by Deaf Mexican migrants to the United States. Locally, increases in frequency of Māori words within New Zealand English may be increasing exposure to Māori language mouthing for Deaf people. This in turn could give rise to Māori language mouthing within NZSL. Documenting instances of Māori language mouthing and potential motivations surrounding this linguistic practice is one of the aims of this thesis.

2.5 Borrowing paralinguistic features: pointing gestures

In addition to language contact outcomes, visible communicative behaviours, or paralinguistics, may be adopted by Deaf signers for ethnic alignment purposes. Paralinguistics or paralinguistics pertains to the “non-verbal features of spoken language” (Aarts, 2014). One paralinguistic feature of interest in this study is pointing gestures used by hearing speakers. Forms of pointing gestures are labelled differently across studies, therefore, when discussing previous research, I refer to pointing forms as per the studies cited. However, when it comes to this study, the labels ‘index-extended’ and ‘whole-hand’ are used. Further explanation of these pointing categories and their parameters can be found in Chapter Four.

Two prominent studies examine pointing gesture usage within hearing ethnic minority groups. Firstly, Wilkins (2003) writes extensively on pointing variations of speakers of Arrernte, a central Australian (Pama-Nyungan) language. He argues that index finger pointing is not universal, concluding that “even index-finger pointing is subject to some degree of social and semiotic shaping that must be socially transmitted” (p. 180). Wilkins (2003) goes on to explain that whilst English speakers generally used index finger pointing to show “path segments and turns and compass point bearings”, Arrernte speakers employ flat hand pointing to perform these same functions (p. 193). Whilst Wilkins suggests index finger pointing as the preferred variant of English speakers, there is also evidence of an English cultural norm that it is impolite to point to visible persons in the same space (e.g., Jarmolowicz-Nowikow, 2015, as cited in Cooperrider & Mesh, 2022; Roush, 2011). Regarding this, Roush’s (2011) study looks at politeness accommodations of Deaf ASL users when pointing in English

speaking communities. He suggests that if an extended index finger point can be viewed as rude, then a bent index finger or an honorific point, signed with a palm-up flat hand and often used in a formal register, is viewed as a more polite alternative. Returning to ethnic differences, Gruber's (2016) New Zealand study found that hearing Māori speakers use flat handshape pointing gestures more often than hearing Pākehā speakers. As Wilkins found with Arrernte speakers, Māori speakers also had a tendency towards flat-hand gestures to depict paths of movement. These findings applied to speakers of Māori identity whether they were speaking English or Māori at the time. Intragroup language practices (including gestures, as seen in the examples above) may be motivated by an intent to distinguish from or align with different groups (e.g., Bucholtz, 1999; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985). Selection of a pointing gesture variant may indicate ethnic identity alignment. Gruber (2016) concluded that Māori speakers are not unique in their use of flat-hand pointing gestures, but rather the frequency differs, as Māori individuals used a flat-hand form more frequently than Pākehā speakers. Considering that pointing used with spoken language and pointing in signed languages is fundamentally similar (Johnston, 2013), and that speaking communities' paralinguistic gestures may influence an adjacent sign language (Roush, 2011), Māori Deaf people may adopt whole- (flat)-hand pointing to index Māori identity in NZSL. Accordingly, this study explores linguistic behaviour and ideologies and intentions of Māori Deaf people regarding their pointing usage.

Another visible aspect of formal spoken Māori discourse is the use of pauses. Rewi (2010) identifies silence as a notable feature within a particular style of *whaikōrero* (formal speech-making) delivery. *Whaikōrero* performance is also explored by Kelly (2017), who encourages a closer look "to see how identity is bound up not only in the words spoken but in the paralinguistics employed" (p. 194). However, as there are few mentions of pausing in literature on Māori discourse, evidence of this as a potential language contact feature in NZSL is relatively weak.

2.6 Popular misconceptions about NZSL and te reo Māori

Misconceptions about the relationship between NZSL and te reo Māori are common. Many of these originate from a general misbelief that sign languages are manual codes for the words and grammar of spoken languages, whereas in fact they have an independent structure based

in a visual-manual modality (Fenlon & Wilkinson, 2015). Increasing participation of Deaf people in previously inaccessible Māori contexts and greater availability of NZSL classes for the general community, gives rise to higher instances of hearing Māori people encountering Deaf people and NZSL. Many hearing Māori people who may be meeting Deaf people for the first time do not understand the sociohistorical context of sign language communities (i.e., how signed languages develop and are transmitted) and of Deaf cultural identity. Considering that the use of te reo Māori is an important identity marker for many Māori people (Awanui Te Huia, 2015, p. 19), it is conceivable that these encounters stimulate ideologies concerning the intersection between language(s) and identity for Māori Deaf people. Certain misassumptions concerning sign language use by Māori Deaf people are perpetuated by misnomers in media headlines and stories, such as: ‘New Zealand Māori Sign Language’ (*Ko Taku Reo - Deaf Education NZ*, 2021), ‘Māori sign language’ (Clarke-Mamanu, 2016; Kaire-Melbourne, 2016), ‘te reo sign language’ (Molyneux, 2017), or phrases such as ‘sign language was something that was done in English’ (Armah, 2022). All these examples reflect the “common misperception that sign language is a manual code for a spoken language” (R. L. McKee, 2015, p. 17).

Given that Māori people regard te reo Māori as “a central aspect to Māori identity” (Awanui Te Huia, 2015, p. 19), whānau with deaf children may hold aspirations for their children to speak the language (R. McKee & Smiler, 2017). This language-identity connection, along with the aforementioned misconceptions, has led to some hearing Māori people attempting “to devise a manual code for elements of spoken Māori” (R. McKee et al., 2007, p. 50). An example of this was the release of a poster by Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, the commission for the Māori language, showing a devised fingerspelling system for macrons used in the written form of te reo Māori (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2018). This convention did not originate with Deaf NZSL users, and the poster was quickly removed from their website after feedback from the Deaf community. Propositions to create signs by hearing people, or a manually coded version of te reo Māori, are largely unaccepted by Māori Deaf people (Forman, 2003; R. McKee et al., 2007). It is important to note that whilst a ‘Māori sign language’ does not exist, individual signs with Māori reference are continuing to be created within the Deaf community. Many of these signs fill lexical or conceptual gaps in NZSL which, in turn, allow greater access to talking about te ao Māori (R. McKee & Awheto, 2010). This supports previous studies which documented Māori Deaf participants' desire for more

access to Māori settings and Māori concepts, however, not necessarily to te reo Māori itself, which is an aural/oral language (Hynds et al., 2014; R. McKee et al., 2007; Smiler, 2004). A desire to fill lexical or conceptual gaps, as well as to express a Māori Deaf identity, are likely motivating factors for the creation of signs with Māori reference. The extent of potential sign creation in recent times is still unknown, but one aim of this study is to examine what Māori concepts may prompt coinages and what form they take.

2.7 Summary

In summary, previous research concerning Māori Deaf people has introduced a range of issues and perspectives on identity and socialisation experiences. Constellations as a metaphor for identity expression allow for the foregrounding of different facets of identity depending on personal, social, and contextual factors. Connecting this with language, previous research shows language innovations are possibly used to index Māori Deaf identity in certain situations. One example is the use of NZSL neologisms, an outcome of language contact between te reo Māori and NZSL. Other examples may include Māori language mouthing with NZSL signs, and the transfer of paralinguistic, or visible aspects of Māori discourse behaviours into NZSL. Sources outside academic research include documented examples of Māori Deaf life stories and misrepresentation in media of the relationship between NZSL and te reo Māori. Building on previous research addressing Māori Deaf identity (Dunn, 2012; Faircloth et al., 2015; R. McKee et al., 2007; Smiler, 2004; Smiler & McKee, 2007) and signs with Māori reference, this study will more closely examine situated language practices of Māori Deaf NZSL users. Following the review of literature as summarised in this section, Chapter Three will present the research procedure for this study, aspects of which have been adopted from studies reviewed in this chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

3 Research design and procedure

This chapter describes the theoretical approach and research design for this study. It builds on research discussed in Chapter Two and sets a foundation for the data analysis and findings presented in the following chapters. Firstly, details of the theoretical approach for this study are presented, focussing on Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) theory of construction of identity through linguistic practices. This is the main framework informing the research questions and overall study. Additionally, this section describes the application of a Kaupapa Māori framework, integral to research with Māori people, and discusses my own positionality as a researcher and translator of the data. The relevance of metapragmatic discourse analysis is introduced. The chapter then goes on to detail the research procedure, beginning at initial consultation with a Māori Deaf group, through to selection and analysis of language samples, and the implementation and analysis of focus group discussions. The chapter concludes with ethical considerations for this study.

3.1 Theoretical Considerations

3.1.1 Identity as a product of linguistic practices

Using Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) theoretical framework of identity as a product of linguistic practices, this thesis aims to investigate Māori Deaf individuals' construction of identity. Bucholtz and Hall's framework proposes identity 'as a centrally linguistic phenomenon', enacted and analysed in interaction, arguing "for the analytic value of approaching identity as a relational and sociocultural phenomenon ... rather than as a stable structure located primarily in the individual psyche or in fixed social categories" (pp. 585–586). Supporting the proposal of identity as enacted in interaction also supports the presupposition of identity as fluid. This thesis explores identity expression and linguistic ideologies about how Māori Deaf people sign in a snapshot in time, constructed through specific interactions in specific contexts. Applying Bucholtz and Hall's assertion of identity expression across multiple linguistic levels supports a layered analysis of features such as phonological variants and lexical innovations.

Bilingual or multilingual speakers can alternate between languages to perform ethnic identity. Leeson et al (2017) highlight this in an analysis of decisions made by Irish Sign Language interpreters while mediating identity performance encoded in code-switching between English and Irish (Gaeilge) in an address given by the President of Ireland. Holmes (2008) states that ethnicity can also be “signalled by the way essentially monolingual people of different ethnic backgrounds use their language” (p. 433). As the previous chapter referenced, in an American Deaf sociolinguistic context, Hill & McCaskill (2016) explored the use of Black ASL, an African American variety of ASL believed to originate from racially segregated schools for deaf children. As the New Zealand Deaf education system has always been non-segregated, albeit based on a European framework, there is apparently little evidence of ethnically marked variation, like Black ASL (R. McKee & McKee, 2011). However, whilst sociohistorical conditions for Deaf ethnic minorities differ across national contexts, it still may be the case that Māori Deaf identity is being constructed, in part, by NZSL practices or styles emerging amongst this group, especially in formal Māori contexts. This study defines formal Māori contexts as those including conventional discourse forms such as *whaikōrero* and *pepeha*, and settings such as *marae*. The distinction of formal Māori contexts will become important in Chapter Four and Chapter Six.

The possibility of ethnic identity construction by Māori Deaf people in NZSL prompted the research questions listed in Chapter One (see Section 1.4). The research questions require analysis of both language form and ideologies, so a mixed methods approach is preferred. The research questions call for the use of descriptive analysis of recorded language samples to identify the form and frequency of certain linguistic features in use, and qualitative analysis of interview data. RQ2 (What linguistic features are they using to index that identity?) requires empirical analysis of the language samples and RQ3 (What ideologies do Māori Deaf individuals express regarding their identity and its connection to language practices?) suggests thematic analysis of participants’ metapragmatic discourse about those language samples. The research procedure for each of these types of analysis are detailed further below in sections 3.2.2 and 3.2.4.

3.1.2 Kaupapa Māori

A Kaupapa Māori approach is integral to research with Māori groups and many aspects are applicable to methods appropriate for working with Deaf community members. Core elements of a Kaupapa Māori approach adopted in this study include building relationships with stakeholders; requesting permission to analyse data, albeit publicly available; and undertaking focus group interviews led by a Māori Deaf facilitator. This approach allows for co-construction of analysis with participants and the upholding of mana. Additionally, a Kaupapa Māori approach sets expectations that research will benefit the community studied (Tuhivai Smith, 2021). Therefore, at the completion of this thesis, my aim is to translate a summary into NZSL and meet with participants and a wider group of Māori Deaf people to share and discuss the findings of this research.

Many Māori Deaf people are currently engaged in defining and claiming their intersectional Indigenous Deaf identity, and their participation in this research contributes to the critical development of that discourse among the community. This participation goes beyond solely observational study of language, involving participants in “transformative mixed methods research strategies [that] focus on the development of culturally respectful relationships to enhance collaboration between members of dominant and marginalised communities in order to improve the accuracy and usefulness of the findings” (Wilson & Winiarczyk, 2014, p. 266). This approach involves Deaf people in research on their own community and language by way of focus group discussions in conjunction with language sample analysis. It also addresses concerns about objectification which is identified as an issue in previous research on Deaf ethnic minority groups (Hill & McCaskill, 2016; Smiler, 2006).

Two aspects of Kaupapa Māori research that are also applied in this study are reflexivity and the concept of a ‘research whānau’ (Bishop, 1994; Irwin, 1994). Reflexivity is explained below, and the idea of a ‘research whānau’ is expanded in the research procedure section. The concept of reflexivity, or researcher positionality, is highlighted in previous Māori Deaf studies (Hynds et al., 2014; Smiler, 2016). Researcher positionality becomes more crucial as I ‘double interpret’ data, initially by translating source data into a combination of written English and te reo Māori, and secondly by extrapolating and ‘interpreting’ the translated data to form research findings. Studies on cross-language research reviewed by Johnson (2020)

show that literature most often looks at interpreting process problems without acknowledging the cultural positioning of the interpreter. In Johnson's review, it was generally assumed by authors that translators were insiders to the community researched. This is possibly due to a focus on spoken language bilinguals; in contrast, sign language interpreters, the majority of whom identify as hearing, are not automatically considered insiders by virtue of language competence (Johnson, 2020). Contrasting with the authors reviewed, Johnson acknowledges her own position, saying that whilst she occupies a minoritised position in wider society as a person of colour, "vis-à-vis individuals in the Deaf community I occupy a place of privilege since I am not Deaf" (2020, p. 4315). Johnson reinforces that ethnic alignment with participants does not equate to understanding of their Deaf (and potentially intersectional) experiences.

As a researcher I must acknowledge the cultures and languages present in the research space, as well as my own positionality as a hearing Māori NZSL interpreter. As a researcher and translator of data for this thesis, my culture, lens, and life experiences will influence how I research as "[A] researcher's experiences and background always affect how s/he perceives and interprets information" (Johnson, 2020, p. 4312). Researchers' positionality can be described as 'insider' or 'outsider' in relation to a research participant population, and "explicit recognition of positionality emphasises the importance of power differentials between researchers and participants" (Mellinger, 2020, p. 93). Considering the duality of Māori Deaf culture, and as a hearing Māori woman, who has married into the Deaf community and worked for eight years as a NZSL interpreter, I would position myself as an outsider-insider. As a Māori person, and additionally as a NZSL interpreter, this affords me an insider perspective in terms of ethnic and linguistic alignment. Conversely, as a hearing interpreter, whilst arguably closer than non-signers, I am positioned closer to 'outsider' in relation to the lived experience of Deaf participants. One benefit of my role as a NZSL interpreter is that I was known to all participants beforehand. Researchers who are not known to potential participants may find difficulty accessing this group (Mellinger, 2020). Participatory research also "relies, in part, on existing personal connections to the community with which researchers work" (Mellinger, 2020, p. 98). A potential risk and limitation to the research may be that my position within the community influences what participants choose to share. Johnson (2020) shares similar thoughts in her research with Deaf participants regarding their sharing of opinions on interpreters at a community college.

In addition to researcher positionality, it is important to consider the complexities of cross-language and cross-culture research. As previously mentioned, the role of interpreter continues within this thesis as I also translate and transcribe the NZSL data. In doing so, I am working between NZSL, written English and te reo Māori, as well as between Māori and Deaf cultures. Cross-checking of data becomes increasingly necessary in these situations. The participants are Māori Deaf individuals and have been selected from a Māori Deaf kaupapa whānau and likely CofP. As mentioned in Chapter Two, this research defines a Māori Deaf kaupapa whānau as a group of people who identify as culturally Deaf, culturally Māori and are actively engaged or affiliated with Māori Deaf networks and activities. The CofP also means this with the addition of shared practices. In addition to a bicultural environment, this research is situated within a Western academic paradigm, making the research space multicultural and multilingual.

3.1.3 Metapragmatics

Metapragmatics can centre the Deaf voice and support collaboration in Kaupapa Māori research by inviting participant perspective on language data. Metapragmatics is “concerned with the study of reflexive awareness on the part of participants in interactions, and observers of interactions, about the language that is being used in those interactions” (Haugh, 2018, p. 619). Eliciting speaker observations about their language use is a valuable research method as,

assessing people’s awareness of their communicative practices can yield valuable insight into how language use functions in the social economy, what identities are seen to be advertised by what varieties in what contexts, and how language is understood as availing or restricting group membership. (Brown, 2006, p. 598)

Suggestions of intentional identity construction, or identity as a ‘social positioning of self and other’ (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 586) also support consideration of metalinguistic discussions as part of the research process. Authors such as Arendt (2021) and McKee et al (2007) have used metalinguistic interviews to collaborate with research participants. They

combined linguistic analyses with metalinguistic analyses, selecting participants based on individuals' engagement with language-centred networks or language development. In support of combining linguistic and metalinguistic analysis, Arendt (2021) proposed that “metalinguistic expressions of self-attribution and attribution to others form building blocks of both identity representation and language attitudes” (p. 3). Arendt's research focussed on identity of new and native speakers of Low German, with metapragmatic analysis showing how members from these two groups positioned themselves in relation to each other (i.e., new versus native speakers). Arendt found incongruence between self-perception of language competence and demonstrated competence within the linguistic data analysed. This study will also use metalinguistic interviews, knowing that whilst metalinguistics can grant us access to what people orient to within cultural groups, it might not match empirically derived linguistic data (Marra, 2022). In other words, we should not expect participant descriptions of variable language features to match observed practices.

As linguistic ideologies form part of the research, focus groups will promote reflexive discussions regarding attribution of value on specific linguistic practices and how it contributes to processes of social differentiation (Heller, 2008). It will achieve this through guided focus groups with questions relating to beliefs about language use and the connection to identity expression. See Appendix C: Interview schedule for a list of the focus group questions.

3.2 Research Procedure

The study used two key methods: descriptive feature analysis of existing recordings of language produced by Māori Deaf signers, and thematic analysis of focus group discussions in which Māori Deaf participants reflected on excerpts of the language samples and responded to prompt discussion questions. The relationship between the two datasets is diagrammed in Figure 3.1. The following sections describe the research processes in more detail.

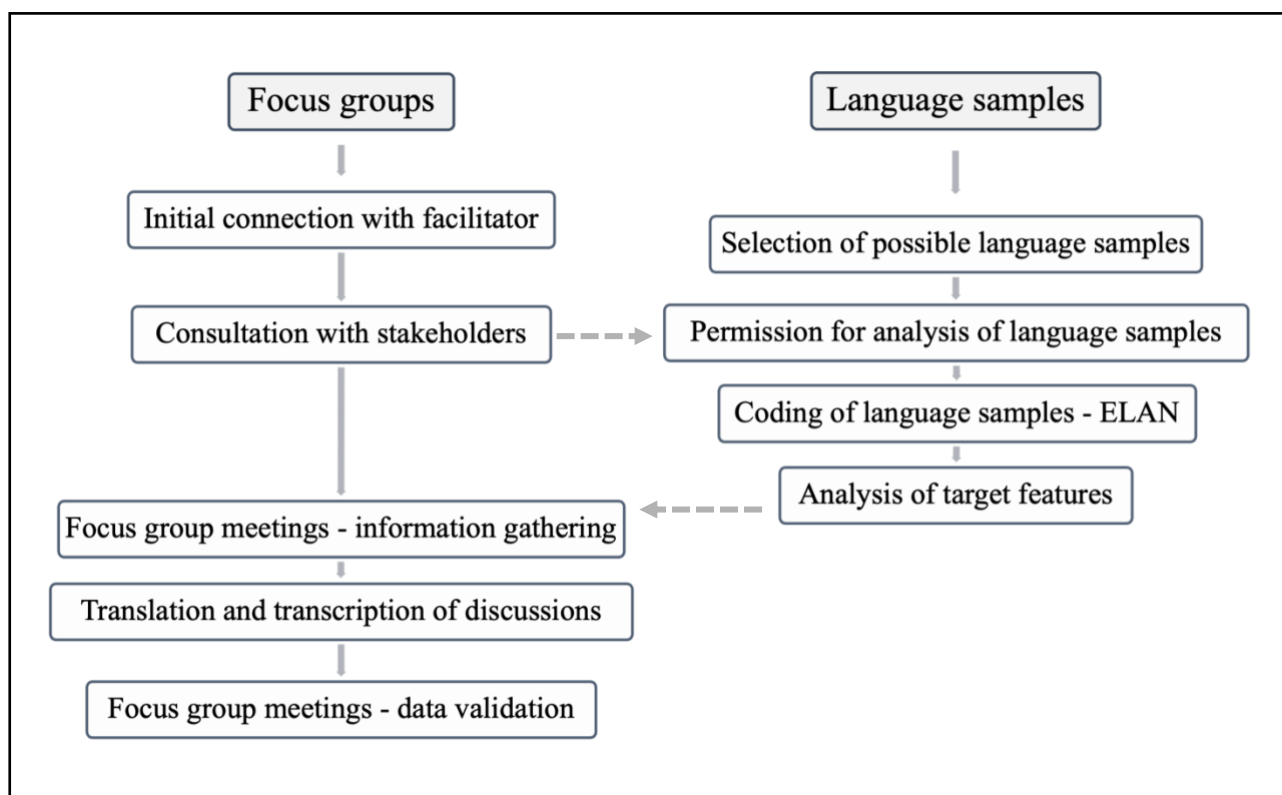


Figure 3.1 Diagram of research procedure timeline

3.2.1 Collaboration with Māori Deaf stakeholders

Undertaking research in a Deaf context and guided by Kaupapa Māori principles, it was imperative to work with Māori Deaf stakeholders. The rarity of Deaf people participating as researchers (Wilson & Winiarczyk, 2014), along with my outsider-insider position, made it even more important to include Māori Deaf stakeholders in the research process. By bringing them into the research process it also resituates the researcher as collaborator (Mellinger, 2020) and creates a ‘research whānau’ (Bishop, 1994; Irwin, 1994). Taking this into consideration, a meeting with Māori Deaf stakeholders, who were also represented in focus groups, alongside a cultural facilitator and myself as researcher, formed a multi-layered research whānau for this study.

Different parts of the research whānau worked together across four stages. The first stage was connecting with a Māori Deaf facilitator. My position as an outsider-insider required a facilitator to help ensure a culturally appropriate research process. My supervisor recommended a well-known Māori Deaf person who often attends Māori Deaf related events.

I sought her input on the relevance of the research questions and the selected discourse samples as well as collaborating on meeting design and facilitation. The facilitator also provided perspective on my data analysis and co-facilitated focus groups in which the participants contributed to data analysis. After engaging with a cultural facilitator, the second stage in this process was to consult with Māori Deaf stakeholders. The meeting was designed with Kaupapa Māori values in mind. Such values included whakawhanaungatanga (building relationships), manaakitanga (care) and upholding of mana. Intentions for this meeting were to consult with stakeholders, discuss aims of the research, and to seek permission to sample and analyse video recordings.

The third and fourth stages entailed online focus group meetings, following my preliminary analysis of target features in the recorded discourse samples. The first set of focus groups were to gather metalinguistic data pertaining to general language ideologies as well as comments on excerpts from the language samples. Details of this process are further described in Section 3.2.4. The second set of focus groups allowed me to present summaries of participants' contributions to the first focus group meetings and for the group to give feedback and validate my understanding of their data, with opportunity for both the participants and myself to ask further questions if required. These two sets of focus groups meant that Māori Deaf individuals were involved in both generating and warranting the preliminary analysis.

The four stages – engaging and planning with a cultural facilitator, consultation with stakeholders and the two rounds of focus groups - supported relationships within a research whānau, as per a Kaupapa Māori framework. Furthermore, collaboration within this study addresses previous concerns of distrust felt by Māori Deaf participants noted in research (Hynds et al., 2014; Smiler, 2006). Comments on participant distrust have also been mentioned in research on Deaf youth in New Zealand (Witko, 2020) and Deaf ethnic minorities (e.g., Hill & McCaskill, 2016).

3.2.2 Selection of language samples

The first type of data analysed were videorecorded excerpts of Māori Deaf individuals using NZSL in contexts that can be identified as Māori in terms of place or subject matter. I selected recordings from publicly available videos of Māori Deaf NZSL users who regularly attend Māori Deaf hui, Māori Deaf events, and discuss Māori Deaf affairs. As McKee et al (2007) suggest, such individuals may constitute an emerging CofP (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2015). One way they may be constructing a CofP is through language innovation and intentional linguistic practices to construct an ethnic identity in NZSL. Māori Deaf hui (gatherings) often include discussions around language and culture. The benefit of selecting recordings of individuals who attend such events is the likelihood of their observation or participation in such discourse. I chose existing recordings as data to capture natural production of language without the presence of a researcher, aiming to reduce the ‘observer’s paradox’ (Bell, 2014). I wanted to observe language used without participants feeling pressure knowing it would be analysed. Nevertheless, by self-design or otherwise, signers in these videos were all aware they were being recorded and had an audience, in-person or virtually. Consequently, audience design, “the influence of the addressee or audience on a speaker’s style” (Holmes, 2008, p. 240), is still a present factor contributing to how Māori Deaf participants position themselves in the recorded interactions.

A selection of 20 possible recordings were initially identified. These consisted of in-person recordings and recordings made for online audiences. Following this, I decided to exclude recordings of translations of written material, for example Māori stories for children, as the source text can influence signers’ language choices. I also excluded educational videos aiming to teach signs because of the unnatural focus on language production. After removing these recordings, ten were selected to present for consideration at the stakeholder consultation meeting. Those appearing in the videos, or their family where appropriate (in the case of an individual who has passed away), gave their blessing for these recordings to be used. Approved recordings included a mixture of formal and informal discourse from a range of Māori Deaf NZSL users. I initially considered analysing NZSL interpreters working between te reo Māori and NZSL in these recordings as well. However, for reasons of scope, and the fact that it is unlikely that this analysis would significantly contribute to addressing the research questions, they were excluded. Out of the ten recordings that participants approved

for inclusion in the study, eight language samples were analysed. I excluded two recordings as they were unlikely to produce enough data for analysis once the research parameters had been more concretely defined. The accepted samples consisted of six individual signers, two of whom appear twice.

Recordings were edited into usable excerpts for analysis. For example, there were instances where the camera zoomed out or panned away. I also shortened longer recordings to exclude less relevant sections. After editing the recordings to length, the likely richest segments were transcribed and coded entirely, with remaining segments annotated only for the features of interest. For example, there were language samples from two signers talking at a pōwhiri (formal welcoming ceremony) on a marae. Discourse in this context is typically formulaic at the beginning, in accordance with spoken Māori language tradition, potentially leading to the presence of more target features. Therefore, the first two minutes of each signer in this context were coded entirely. An additional two minutes were also coded entirely with the remainder of the clip annotated only for target features. Further details of the dataset are presented in Table 4.1, Chapter Four in which linguistic findings are reported.

3.2.3 Target feature analysis

Language samples were analysed using ELAN, an audio and video recording annotation software tool (2022). A screenshot of the software in use is shown in Figure 3.2. Winston and Roy (2015) note that ELAN is a favourable choice for sign language studies for its ability to combine video, multiple layers of time-aligned transcription, and annotation in one platform. ELAN uses ‘tiers’ for these multiple layers of transcript and annotation. Working with the selected language samples, I reserved the first two tiers for transcription of signs, and the remaining tiers for translations, notes, and coding of target features. Before transcribing I identified two target features of interest, one at a phonological level and one at lexical level. The first feature chosen was phonological variation in pronominal pointing - the use of a whole-hand versus index-extended finger pointing, the latter of which is conventional in NZSL to index person referents. The second target feature I chose was neologisms with Māori reference at the lexical level. As will be later reported in results, difficulties in categorising neologisms soon surfaced once annotation began. In addition to these features,

two more emerged through the annotation process: the use of Māori language mouthing with signs, and pauses. These were subsequently added as features for analysis.

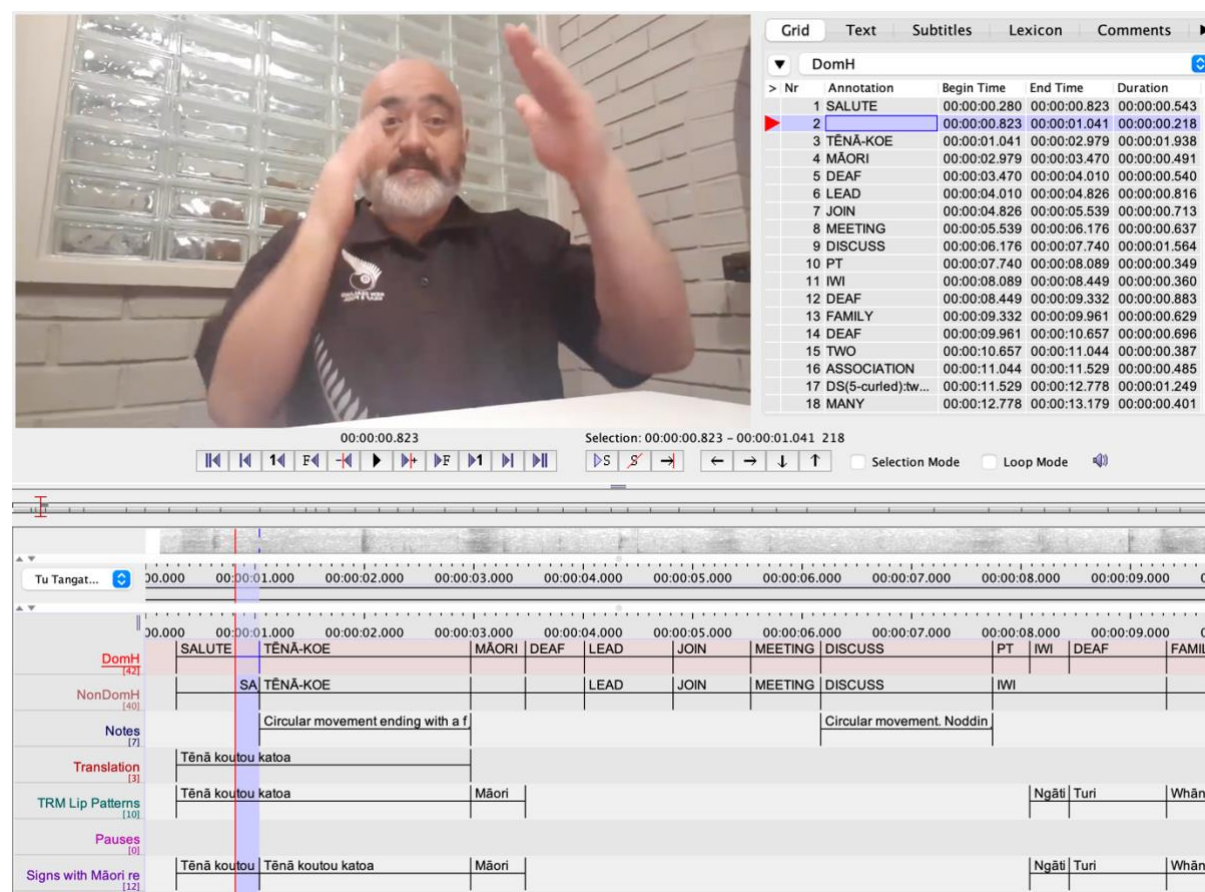


Figure 3.2 Example of ELAN transcription and annotation

The first target feature tier annotated was pointing indexing persons, coded for variation between a whole-hand ‘point’ and an index-extended finger ‘point’ as illustrated in Figure 3.3 and Figure 3.4. As later explained in Chapter Four, I use the label ‘whole-hand’ rather than ‘flat hand’ or ‘open hand’ to incorporate looser phonetic variations of this handshape, including slightly bent fingers or curved palm. This variant was selected because I was aware of discussion among Māori Deaf people about pointing preferences prior to this study and anticipated that this could be one way in which Māori Deaf people are signalling an ethnic identity. Additionally, Ferrara’s (2020) analysis of an Auslan corpus found that pointing made up 19.6% of manual sign tokens, with over half of pointing instances functioning as pronouns, reinforcing its frequency in signed languages (p. 18). Whilst previous research has

described hearing indigenous groups' use of flat handshapes to trace direction and path movement (Gruber et al., 2016; Wilkins, 2003), my analysis focussed on pointing for the purpose of person reference in NZSL, as this type of pointing has the most conventionalised form in NZSL (extended index finger), allowing for clear comparison with any handshape variants that might be seen in my data.

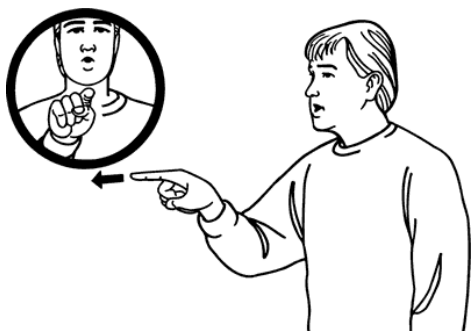


Figure 3.3 Example of 'PT' index-extended finger pointing



Figure 3.4 Example of 'PT(B)' whole-hand pointing

The second target feature annotated was neologisms, which I defined in this study as recent coinages or innovative usages to express Māori concepts. Such signs are sometimes described in the Deaf community as 'Māori signs'. I initially annotated all signs, including compound signs or short phrases, that I perceived to have Māori reference. I also used a separate tier in ELAN for translations if required. For example, consecutive signs transcribed separately as MOTHER and EARTH, could mean Papatūānuku (a Māori entity translated into English as Mother Earth) in context. Subsequent categorisation of these signs proved difficult as the parameters for neologisms with Māori reference were hard to define; signs used to express Māori referents often did not entail new coinages but rather new usage of existing signs. Conventional signs with one-off Māori language mouthing also appeared in language samples, demonstrating a NZSL approximation rather than a fixed lexical relationship. Some examples were taken to my supervisor and after discussion the following parameters were set:

- Conventional signs would likely be understood by the wider Deaf community, have an existing entry in the NZSL Dictionary, and therefore would not be included as neologisms.

- Neologisms would not have an entry in the NZSL Dictionary – indicating that they are in recent use and have not been validated as conventional signs/usages by the wider NZSL community.
- Conventional NZSL signs used with new Māori reference would be categorised as *semantic extension* or *semantic specification* neologisms.
- Conventional NZSL signs combined in sequence to express a Māori concept would be included as *compound* neologisms.
- Conventionalised signs used in a *new word class* to express a Māori concept would be considered as neologisms - i.e., noun to verb inflection.
- Modification of one phonological parameter of a conventional NZSL sign - handshape, palm orientation, movement, or location - would be considered a *phonological variant*, comprising a potential neologism.

Categorising these signs relied on my working knowledge of NZSL, te reo Māori and English, as well as the particular context, and knowledge of the community to determine new or Māori usage. As Bell (2014) asserts, “Language does not occur in a vacuum. It is situated, contextualized” (p. 131).

The third target feature annotated was instances of spoken/ signed language contact manifesting as mouthing of a complete or partial Māori word (or phrase) with a sign(s). I added this feature after observing novel mouthing in the language samples. I decided to include instances of incomplete/partial mouthing because it indicates intention to use a Māori language lip pattern. This feature overlaps with neologisms, with many semantic extension signs categorised as such due to the addition of Māori language mouthing with an existing sign.

The fourth target feature annotated was pauses, defined by the hands lowering and coming to a terminal resting position. This feature came to my attention when annotating the first language samples of two signers delivering whaikōrero in a marae context. I noticed possible increases in frequency and length of pauses and so I included this as a feature of interest across all language samples. As referenced in Chapter Two, Rewi (2010) noted that one style of (hearing Māori) whaikōrero employs silence, usually when walking. As a visually accessible part of this style, pauses may be a feature that Māori Deaf individuals incorporate

into their own NZSL whaikōrero practices. Therefore, I annotated for instances of pausing with the intention to compare the use of marked pauses in whaikōrero samples with other language samples.

3.2.4 Focus Groups

Analysis of metalinguistic discourse can reveal how identity may be constructed intentionally through ideologies (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Smiler, 2004). Moreover, a combination of metalinguistic reflection alongside observation allows for deeper analysis of language use (Arendt, 2021). Accordingly, focus group interviews where participants discussed language ideologies relating to identity formed part of data collection and analysis alongside my own analysis of language samples. As Hatoss (2016) reminds us, "[c]ommunity-based projects are best done when researchers work with the community and not just on the community. The human aspects of such research projects are the key determining factors of success or failure" (p. 158). The aim of interviews was to collect information regarding beliefs about Māori Deaf identity and its connection to language practices. A major advantage of a mixed methods approach that includes discussions about language and ideology, is that it can strengthen linguistic findings, potentially warranting the hypothesis that Māori Deaf individuals are indexing their identities linguistically.

Triangulation of results using a mixed methods approach not only provides a more robust understanding of findings (Hesse-Biber, 2010), it is also recommended for Deaf research as focus groups give rise to discussion of complex issues, leading to deeper understanding of issues (Wilson & Winiarczyk, 2014). Moreover, the opportunity to contribute to analysis serves as a sign of respect to the participants and their community (Anderson et al., 2018). In this study, I used a sequential mixed method design, with language analysis findings serving as the basis for focus group discussion.

3.2.5 Focus group participants

Invitations were extended to those appearing in possible language sample recordings, or where this was not possible (in the case of an individual who has passed away), to their

family. The facilitator and I drew on personal knowledge to select and invite Māori Deaf individuals who are involved with Māori Deaf specific groups and activities, i.e., national Māori Deaf hui, Māori Deaf youth hui and Māori Deaf committees. Before the first meeting, one of the invited people requested an invitation be extended to another well-connected Māori Deaf person. Whilst this person did not appear in any of the potential language samples, they are engaged in language and identity discourse and regularly attend Māori Deaf events. As the potential language samples were recent, signers in the recordings, stakeholders from the initial meeting and focus group participants were likely to overlap. After discussion, I decided to invite Māori Deaf stakeholders from the initial consultation meeting to also be focus group participants. In addition, overlap between signers in the language sample and focus group participants allowed some individuals to reflect on and discuss their own language practices in excerpts that were shown to the group. The participant group was comprised of 11 Māori Deaf individuals, four women and seven men, with approximate ages ranging from late 20s to 60s.

3.2.6 Focus group procedure

Ideally, focus groups would be conducted in-person which is preferred in both Deaf and Māori cultures (Smiler, 2006). However, considering the public health risks at the time (Covid-19), I decided to conduct these online on Zoom. Benefits of using this platform included wider geographical inclusion of participants, reduced time commitment and transport logistics for participants, as well as the convenience of recording the sessions. One major drawback to the online platform is its contradiction with Māori and Deaf cultural preference for face-to-face interaction. Online platforms do not enable the depth of connection afforded by in-person interactions which are so valued by Māori and Deaf communities. However, as focus groups accommodated health considerations at the time, Zoom was chosen for focus groups as the video platform most familiar to participants. Focus groups were limited to six people, including myself and the Māori Deaf facilitator, to optimise individuals' visibility on Zoom and for easier turn-taking logistics in an online, signing medium. This resulted in convening three focus groups with three to four participants each. Considering there was a gender imbalance across language samples and focus group participants, one of these focus groups was a Māori Deaf women's focus group. This was set up to ensure a space for female led discussion and to allow for unrestrained discussion of

language features observed in male signers. The Zoom format enabled recording of all participants at a front-facing angle (as opposed to the challenge of filming a seated circle of signers), which is ideal for transcription and analysis of signed data. The online mode also allowed for showing video excerpts and screenshots to the group by screen-sharing.

The focus groups were carried out in two stages. The first stage consisted of discussions around identity and language prompted by the research questions, as well as discussions of language sample excerpts (see Appendix C: Interview schedule). Language sample discussions began with general observations of the excerpts, after which questions were asked about features of interest. After the first focus groups concluded, I translated each recorded discussion into written English, with Māori words/phrases as appropriate. I created written summaries for each group and passed these on to the facilitator to check for accuracy, before recording NZSL translations. Considering that this study centres around NZSL users and that average literacy levels in the Deaf community are lower than in the general population (R. McKee & Vale, 2014), NZSL videos were provided alongside the summaries and other written information. Each focus group received both the written and signed summaries in advance of the second round of focus groups. The NZSL summaries were also played at the beginning of each session to allow for questions and clarification if required. The second round was to check the accuracy of my translation and understanding of the focus group data collected. Participants were invited to clarify, amend, or add to the summaries where required. Once completed, participants were sent a small gift to acknowledge their contribution.

Focus group video recordings were transcribed, translated from the NZSL source into written English. Sections of the transcripts were checked by the Māori Deaf facilitator for accuracy of translation before being thematically coded in NVivo, a qualitative data analysis software (2020). The approach to coding was both deductive and inductive (Hennink et al., 2020), with initial codes being further refined in an iterative process resulting in the themes discussed in Chapter Five.

3.3 Ethical Considerations

Ethical parameters for this research centred around Māori Data Sovereignty principles (Te Mana Raraunga, 2018) relating to Māori Deaf participants' ownership over their own knowledge. These principles include respect, consent, and control. Before research commenced, the facilitator I intended working with consulted a group of Māori Deaf people to gauge whether they would be supportive of this research and willing to participate. After that, but before recruiting focus group participants, I held a stakeholder meeting, inviting individuals or whānau (where appropriate) who appeared in possible language samples to discuss the research project, and to request permission to use selected video recordings. Project information and consent was also required for focus group participants and this information was provided in both written form and as an NZSL video translation beforehand, with the opportunity to clarify information live (virtually). As allowed by the university's Human Ethics protocol, participants were able to give consent in either written form or in NZSL which was recorded at the start of focus group sessions and stored securely. The focus groups were held via Zoom, and data summaries were brought back to the group in both written form and NZSL to check for accuracy.

Regarding participant identification, sign language data is inherently identifiable as the language is embodied. In addition, the Deaf community comprises small, familiar networks of people, which can make anonymity less possible, and potentially of less concern to participants. Ethics approval allowed findings to be reported in either de-identified form or with real names according to participant choice. During the second round of focus groups, I asked whether participants preferred to use pseudonyms or their real names. These choices influenced how I talked about the samples because of the crossover of participants in data sets. As research progressed, I use an iterative process, checking in with participants in case these decisions had changed (Brear, 2018). It is important to give such options for naming. Only the participants who chose to use their real name are identified as such and appear in figures that illustrate data. All others are represented by pseudonyms as requested. Research participants may wish to be identified by their given names, seeing the connection between name and knowledge as empowering (Smiler, 2004). On the other hand, pseudonyms are intended to reduce potential harm to research participants and are common in qualitative research (Brear, 2018). Heaton (2022) suggests pseudonyms bring a balance, adding that

“[t]his technique has the advantage of allowing data to be de-identified without being de-personalized as well” (p. 127). Māori Data Sovereignty principles give control of choice, which is important for focus group participants. As the principles outline, Māori people “have an inherent right to exercise control over Māori data” (Te Mana Raraunga, 2018). Along with name choice, I also applied these principles to the data by asking permission to analyse public recordings of Māori Deaf people, providing summaries of focus groups and checking their accuracy with participants, and by working alongside a Māori Deaf facilitator throughout.

3.4 Summary

This chapter details a multi-faceted research design and process to investigate the research questions. It begins with the overarching framework of Bucholtz and Hall’s (2005) theory of construction of identity through linguistic practices, followed by a description of how a Kaupapa Māori and metapragmatic discourse approach also inform the research design. These approaches emphasise relationship building, collaboration, and fostering of participant agency in the overall research process. The second section of this chapter describes each data set and the associated processes for sampling (discourse recordings) or recruiting (for focus groups), and the tools and procedures used for coding and defining target features of analysis. Ethical considerations and how these were implemented in the research process are discussed. This chapter identifies the parameters and processes for this study and sets a foundation for the findings and discussion presented in the following chapters.

CHAPTER FOUR

4 Variable features in Māori Deaf texts

The previous chapter detailed a multi-faceted research process and relevant theoretical and ethical frameworks for exploring possible language-identity connections for Māori Deaf NZSL users. This chapter will report findings from the descriptive analysis of existing natural language recordings to identify the nature and frequency of variable target features within NZSL used by Māori Deaf signers in Māori contexts. After introducing the language samples, findings about handshape variants for person-referent pointing are reported. Following this, neologism types found in the data are detailed, including semantic extension via Māori language mouthing, calques and renditions of Māori formulaic greetings and farewells. Lastly pause length and frequency are reported on.

4.1 Introducing the language samples

Language samples were collected from recordings of Māori Deaf individuals using NZSL in contexts identified as Māori in terms of place or subject matter. Further information on the process of language sample selections is detailed in Chapter Three (see Section 3.2.2). The table below introduces the eight samples, the role of each participant, and discourse type.

Table 4.1

Details of speaker roles and discourse type in language samples

Speaker	Role	Discourse Type	Sample length mm/ss
Speaker A	Speaker for the host/ welcoming party	Formal public speech at a pōwhiri	06:12
Speaker B	Speaker for the visiting party	Formal public speech at a pōwhiri	07:02
Speaker C	Panellist	Public panel discussion with a live audience	11:00
Speaker C	Presenter	Educational video about pōwhiri protocol on a marae, filmed for an online audience	06:35
Speaker D	Staff member	Information sharing video filmed for an online audience	03:18
Speaker D	Himself	Pepeha delivery filmed for an online audience	01:24
Speaker E	Storyteller	Māori narrative filmed for an online audience	01:06
Speaker F	Spokesperson for a Māori Deaf organisation	Information sharing video filmed for an online (social media) audience	00:34

As illustrated in the table above, there were a range of discourse types and contexts, from a formal ceremonial setting with a large in-person audience to filmed posts for social media. The wide variety of samples allows for target feature analysis across discourse settings and registers. Most texts designed for an online audience assumed an audience of mostly Māori Deaf NZSL users. Recordings from live events, such as Speaker C's sample, had a mixture of hearing and Deaf audience members connected to the Deaf community in some way. The live event from Speaker A and B's samples also had a mixture of hearing and Deaf audience

members connected to the Deaf community or the local Māori community in some way. As the concept of a pōwhiri invokes a te reo Māori context, the context of Speaker A and B's samples requires explanation. A pōwhiri is a formal welcoming ceremony, almost exclusively conducted in te reo Māori, between hosting and visiting groups at a marae. The pōwhiri Speaker A and Speaker B's samples were drawn from was at Rūaumoko marae, the Deaf marae at the Auckland branch of the national deaf education centre. Speaker A and B are both previous students of the deaf education centre and have had ongoing roles in the development of the marae. As a hybrid context, the pōwhiri was situated in a Māori Deaf space and conducted primarily in NZSL and te reo Māori with interpreters working between the languages. The attendees were a mix of Deaf, hearing, Māori, and non-Māori people.

4.2 Pointing for person reference: whole-hand versus index-extended

As introduced in chapter three, variation in forms of pointing could be one way in which Māori Deaf people signal an ethnic identity. Once I began annotating, it became clear that in addition to the main contrast between index finger and whole-hand forms, phonetic variation was present - for example, plus or minus thumb extension with each main form. I retained the two main variants, renamed as index-extended and whole-hand pointing (see figures 4.1 and 4.2), and refined definitions to include phonetic sub-variants of these main pointing handshapes. All instances of pointing were coded by handshape and annotated for the referent of pointing. Index-extended pointing was coded as PT and whole-hand pointing was coded as PT(B) – denoting the open-hand 'B' handshape of ASL fingerspelling, in accordance with the coding used in Victoria University's NZSL Corpus.

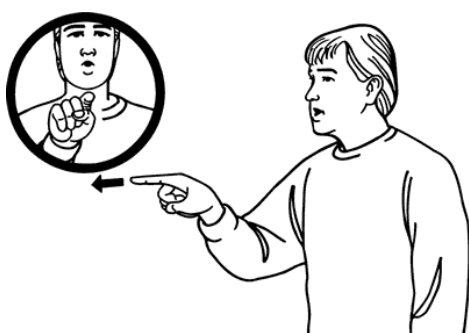


Figure 4.1 Example of 'PT' index-extended finger pointing



Figure 4.2 Example of 'PT(B)' whole-hand pointing

Since this analysis focuses on pronominal pointing, instances of pointing for other purposes were transcribed but excluded from analysis. One sample had no instances of pointing, and another had no instances of person referent pointing due to the topic. After excluding these two, six samples remained as shown in Table 4.2, which indicates similar overall frequency of the two handshape variants.

Table 4.2

Frequency of PT and PT(B) pronominal pointing variants in language samples

Speaker	Setting	PT	PT(B)
Speaker A	Pōwhiri with live audience	16	20
Speaker B	Pōwhiri with live audience	30	32
Speaker C	Public panel with live audience	34	16
Speaker C	Educational video for online audience	7	3
Speaker D	Information sharing for online audience	2	10
Speaker D	Pepeha filmed for online audience	0	3
Total		89	84

Out of the six samples that were analysed, the youngest person, Speaker C, who appears in two samples, was the only person who had a higher percentage of PT over PT(B), using PT more than twice as frequently as PT(B). In Speaker C's public panel discussion sample, first person pronouns, which occurred more frequently than other pronoun forms, showed the PT variant usage as three times more frequent than the PT(B) variant (i.e., 30 instances of PRO1:PT and 10 instances of PRO1:PT(B)). This is in contrast to the other speakers and Lucas et al's (2001) finding in ASL that first person pointing is more likely (than other person referents) to differ from the PT citation form. Although Speaker C was seen to use PT more frequently within this data, Speaker C stated in discussion that he avoids PT and prefers to use PT(B) handshape as a sign of respect. This idea of respectful pointing aligns with the

description of whole-hand honorific pointing as a more polite alternative to index finger pointing in ASL (Roush, 2011).

Further examination of the usage contexts suggests that Speaker C's handshape choices in this sample were likely influenced by surrounding signs, suggesting possible linguistic environment effects on variation. Anticipatory handshape assimilation was identified in Lucas et al's (2001) study of variation in index-extended handshapes, where "signers tend to use a 1 handshape variant whose most important features, the thumb and fingers 2, 3, 4, match the features of the preceding and following handshapes" (pp. 110–111). Examples of handshape assimilation with a following and a preceding sign are illustrated in figures 4.3 and 4.4.



Figure 4.3 Handshape assimilation with following sign: PRO1:PT, PT



Figure 4.4 Handshape assimilation with preceding sign: RESPECT, PRO1:PT(B)

In contrast to the high percentage of PT usage from Speaker C, Speaker D instead showed a strong preference for PT(B). The two samples of Speaker D were made for an online audience, with one being a more formal discourse style showing a rendering of a pepeha into NZSL. Overall, there were fewer instances of pointing recorded in the two samples from Speaker D, and both were shorter in length than Speaker C's samples. Although Speaker D's samples were shorter, the preference for PT(B) was 83% in one clip and 100% in the second. However, it is important to note that the latter consisted of only three pointing instances. All first-person pronouns (PRO1) were PT(B), although a very loose form, with the thumb and fingers all connecting and used together to point. Second-person pronouns were consistently clearly defined PT(B). Speaker D did not appear to be as strongly influenced by the linguistic context and has spoken publicly about his preference for PT(B). For example, some years ago when I started working as a NZSL interpreter, this speaker told me explicitly that Māori Deaf people use PT(B) and that I should also use PT(B) as an ethnically Māori NZSL interpreter.

The two participants recorded at a pōwhiri, Speaker A and Speaker B, were fulfilling cultural Māori roles as official speakers for the welcome formalities. Overall, both signers had a slightly higher percentage of PT(B) over PT usage. Whilst Speaker A, the host side speaker – who has the most 'visible' role in a pōwhiri ceremony since the crowd of assembled visitors are facing them - had a much higher rate of PRO1:PT(B) usage at 79%, Speaker B, the visitor side speaker, had an almost even 50% split between PRO1:PT and PRO1:PT(B). For both Speaker A and Speaker B, most instances of PT(B) were first person pointing. This is also the case with Speaker C in the public panel sample. Although the PT variant was predominant, when Speaker C did use PT(B), it was mostly as a PRO1:PT(B). These three samples, Speaker A, Speaker B, and Speaker C's public panel, were all in the context of addressing a group of people of mixed ethnicities and Deaf/hearing backgrounds. These were also recordings of live in-person events unlike the other samples which were made for virtual online space with likely intended Māori Deaf but overall unknown audiences.

4.3 Lexical innovation

Various strategies to express Māori concepts and referents in NZSL were identified in the data. Two strategies that do not result in neologisms and were not included for analysis were pointing to visually accessible things in the physical space, and nonce fingerspelling of

specific Māori words (although compound signs with initialisation or partial spelling were included). Neologism strategies were categorised as (1) “native” new signs that are not an extension of existing signs and have “an etymology internal to NZSL structure” (R. McKee et al., 2007, p. 44), most commonly the use of depicting morphemes to represent physical properties of a referent; (2) calques or item-by-item loan translations; (3) semantic extension by adding a new meaning or sense to an existing NZSL sign; (4) semantic extension via mouthing, the same strategy as (3) above but separated out to specify extension via the addition of Māori mouthing; (5) compounding, that is, combining multiple signs to express a single concept; (6) phonological variation through the modification of one phonological parameter (handshape, palm orientation, movement, or location) of a conventional sign appearing in the NZSL Dictionary to convey a Māori usage of the sign. Some signs included a mixture of these strategies. Table 4.3 below lists the number of signs from the data that appear in each category. See Appendix D for complete list of neologisms found in the language samples.

Table 4.3
Frequency of neologism strategies in language samples

Neologism strategy	Number of signs
Native NZSL coinage	10
Compound (C)	4
Calque	9
Phonological variant (PV)	7
Semantic extension (SE)	10
SE + C	4
SE via mouthing (SEM)	15
SEM + C	9
SEM + PV	2
Noun to verb modification	1

Six of the 44 conventionalised signs tagged as ‘Māori culture and concepts’ in the NZSL Dictionary also appeared in this data (MĀORI, MARAE, KAUMĀTUA (elder/s), TE-REO-MĀORI, PĀKEHĀ and AROHA (love)). As semantic loans are the most productive mechanism for semantic importation into NZSL (R. McKee, 2019), it is understandable that this was the most frequent strategy used, with semantic extension via the addition of te reo Māori mouthing being most common. Findings related to mouthing will be discussed in more detail in Section 4.4.

Various loan translations or calques were found and are listed below in Table 4.4. Calques are an item-by-item or word-for-word rendition of a phrase or morphemes into another language. One such example is repetition of the sign GO to render the triplet structure of the Māori phrase, ‘haere, haere, haere atu rā’, (literally ‘go, go, go, in a direction away from the speaker’) a phrase commonly used as a farewell to the deceased (Hura, 2016). Additionally, English mediated calques occur for both variations of Papatūānuku (MOTHER+EARTH/ EARTH) and one variation of Tāne-Mahuta (god³ of the forest) (fs-T.A.N.E+FOREST). As these are based on translations of Māori words that are commonly used in NZ English, these are examples of language contact between te reo Māori, English, and NZSL. Tāne-Mahuta is a recent discourse referent for the Deaf community and likely for this reason (three) distinct variants were found in the data. Another calque is seen with the compound TE-REO-MĀORI+MĀORI. The complete meaning is encompassed by the first sign alone (i.e. this neologism has no other more general meaning in NZSL), so the compound is likely an attempt to mirror the phrase length of ‘te reo Māori’. All but one of the calques were proper nouns, mostly containing more than one word in Māori, such as the names of places, atua (deities) iwi, and community group names.

³ Although ‘god’ is a typical English translation, this translation does not entirely align with the Māori sense.

Table 4.4

NZSL calques identified in language samples

Concept	English Translation	NZSL Gloss
Haere, haere, haere atu rā	farewell (usually to the deceased)	GO GO GO
Ngāti Turi	group name, Deaf/ Māori Deaf collective	IWI + DEAF
Ngāti Turi o Aotearoa	group name, Deaf/ Māori Deaf collective	IWI + DEAF + AOTEAROA
Papatūānuku (two variants)	Mother Earth	M + EARTH, EARTH
Tāne-mahuta (one variant)	god of the forest	GOD + FOREST
Te reo Māori	the Māori Language	TE-REO-MĀORI + MĀORI
Tu Tangata Turi	Māori Deaf group name	STAND + PEOPLE + DEAF
Whānau Turi	group name, Deaf family	FAMILY + DEAF

Word class modification by varying the form of an existing sign was found in two cases in which a verb was derived from a noun via the addition of movement. The verb ‘use a taiaha (long wooden weapon)’ was derived from the existing noun TAIHAHA by producing it with additional movement, as used by three speakers either attending or talking about pōwhiri. A phonological (handshape) variant of the NZSL sign SCREAM/CALL-OUT (see Figure 5) is used to express karanga (ceremonial call/s), and this variant is further adapted by a change in movement, to better express the meaning of the Māori verb ‘to karanga’ (e.g., call visitors onto a marae) (see Figure 6).



Figure 4.5 SCREAM/CALL-OUT



Figure 4.6 Phonological variant of SCREAM/CALL-OUT with alternating movement – meaning ‘to karanga’

Formulaic openings (greetings) and closings (farewells) motivated the most instances of neologisms. Such neologisms provide opportunity for relational work, constructing a linguistic space where Māori Deaf individuals can identify themselves, the audience, and the event as Māori. Language samples showed 12 ways Māori Deaf participants used neologisms, including phonological variants and compounds, to perform NZSL renditions of formulaic greetings or farewells expected in Māori contexts. Nine of these used the neologism TĒNĀ-KOE (hello/ acknowledgement (addressing one person)) (see Figure 4.7), with numerous variations, including incorporation into phrasal compounds. Variations in movement were used to indicate plurality of addressees (‘acknowledgement to you all’) as well as to construct a level of formality (e.g., by expanding the size and length of signs). Categorisation of these tokens was decided by number of repetitions, accompanying mouthing, whether it was a compound or not, perceived formality, and function. Plural addressees were denoted by either repetition of the sign, compounding two signs (e.g., SALUTE+TĒNĀ-KOE), or adding a circular movement (see Figure 4.8). The circular movement may also indicate the speaker’s self-inclusion as a part of the group being addressed as is common in Māori greetings and farewells. The three greetings/farewells that did not incorporate a form of the neologism TĒNĀ-KOE, opted for a variation of either SALUTE (see Figure 4.9), extending its meaning to a common Māori greeting ‘kia ora’, or whole-hand ‘PT(B)’ pointing, extending its meaning (when repeatedly signed from left to right or visa versa) to a formal Māori group acknowledgement ‘tēnā koutou’ (see Figure 4.10).



Figure 4.7 Neologism: TĒNĀ-KOE



Figure 4.8 Plural inflection of TĒNĀ-KOE



Figure 4.9 Semantic extension: SALUTE



Figure 4.10 Neologism: TĒNĀ KOUTOU

4.4 Mouthing of Māori words with signs

Mouthing is a common contact feature found in many sign languages (Quinto-Pozos & Adam, 2013). Considering that English is the dominant language surrounding the NZSL community (Collins-Ahlgren, 1989), English is typically the language found in mouthing accompanying signs. Mouthing can be used to extend the meaning of an existing sign, or to show knowledge of a spoken language. Code switching for identity definition can also be demonstrated through the selection of mouthing from an alternative language than that which typically accompanies a sign (Palfreyman, 2020). For example, it has been observed that Māori language mouthing in NZSL can index Māori language knowledge (R. McKee, 2019).

High frequency Māori words loaned into New Zealand English are often differentiated with mouthing in this data, for example ‘tamariki (children)’ with CHILDREN. This demonstrates Māori mouthing without semantic extension of the sign produced, since arguably these loans are Māori equivalents of the sign’s core sense. As mentioned in the previous section on lexical innovations, there are many examples showing speakers choosing a te reo Māori mouthing to semantically extend an existing NZSL sign. Examples of semantic extension via mouthing include: ‘karakia’ with PRAY, extending the meaning to incantation, prayer, or chant in te reo Māori; ‘whānau’ with FAMILY, extending the meaning to include a wider familial group or sometimes a close group without kinship ties; and ‘pōwhiri’ with WELCOME, to mean a formal Māori welcoming ceremony. The oldest language sample, from 2016 featuring Speaker C, includes concepts such as wairua (spirit) and karanga signed as SPIRIT and SING with mouthing of English ‘spirit’ and ‘sing’ mouthing. Three years later, in 2019, Speaker C produces the Māori mouthing of ‘wairua’ accompanying the sign SPIRIT, suggesting a change in his own knowledge and/or wider societal use of Māori loan words. Speaker B’s sample, also from 2019, shows Māori mouthing of ‘wairua’ and ‘karanga’. In contrast, Speaker A’s 2019 sample, which is from the same event as Speaker B, shows karanga with English ‘call’ mouthing. Most recently Speaker D’s 2022 sample shows the term kaitiaki (guardians, caretakers of) which is part of a proper noun in this context, signed as LOOK-AFTER with English ‘care’ mouthing. Although there were a few instances of signs with Māori reference accompanied by English mouthing, the majority of these signs either had no mouthing or te reo Māori mouthing present. Overall, if mouthing was present, proper nouns (Māori group names, iwi names) and conventional signs in the NZSL Dictionary such as MĀORI, TE-REO-MĀORI, and MARAE occurred almost exclusively with Māori language mouthing. The only exception to this was the aforementioned kaitiaki with ‘care’ mouthing. This example refers to Rōpu Kaitiaki, the name of a recently established (2022) group mentioned within the data.

4.5 Pauses

Some findings of this study suggest that paralanguage behaviours such as pausing may be adopted from hearing Māori speakers by Māori Deaf speakers in formal situations such as pōwhiri. In one of the few pieces of literature published in English on Māori discourse styles,

Rewi (2010) outlines three main styles of movement when Māori people deliver whaikōrero. The second style he details includes stretches of silence and is described as follows:

The speaker rises from his seat and walks to the spot where he wishes to deliver his oration. He starts speaking, then stops, turns sideways and walks a few paces in one direction (usually in silence). He realigns himself with the opposing speakers and continues to orate. He may stop speaking and head back from whence he came, continuing to move backwards and forwards like this several times until the oration is complete. (p. 94)

By contrast, it is more conventional for a NZSL speaker to remain in one spot, as the visual nature of sign language requires clear and consistent sightline to the signer. Therefore, it is understandable that analysis of the pōwhiri recordings showed that Māori Deaf participants did not adopt the pacing back and forth aspect of this style of whaikōrero. However, lack of mouth movements, indicating silence, are a visually accessible aspect of the whaikōrero style described by Rewi (2010). As mentioned in Chapter Two, identity is connected to both the words and paralanguage practices employed by speakers (Kelly, 2017). Unlike walking back and forth, pauses are accessible to Deaf people and align with sign language delivery conventions. This visually accessible convention was observed in data, with stretches of silence (i.e., no signing) observed in the Speaker A and Speaker B pōwhiri samples.

The pauses included for analysis were those at punctuation junctures, i.e., where commas or full stops would appear in a written translation. Pauses were defined as hands lowered, clasped, or resting on a surface in an empty pause, meaning held sign handshapes were not included. See Figure 4.11 for examples of pauses included for analysis. Pauses at the beginning or end of clips within a video were considered as ‘pauses for editing’ and were also not included. Pause length was measured from the end of the last sign, as hands dropped out of the sign, to when the hands began moving upwards to the first sign of the next phrase.



Figure 4.11 Examples of hands-clasped pauses

Speaker A in the pōwhiri sample produced the longest pause across all samples at over eight seconds. The longest pause outside of the pōwhiri samples was three seconds. Speaker A had 15 pauses longer than three seconds, with the top three longest pauses all more than six seconds. Speaker B had 14 instances of pauses longer than three seconds, with the top three longest pauses all more than five seconds. Important to note is Speaker A's head turn and nod during his second longest pause. This looks to be in the direction of the interpreter and may indicate a pause for the interpreter to 'catch up', rather than a style choice. Generally, traditional Māori discourse contexts also showed a higher frequency of pauses; as shown in table 4.5, frequency of pauses was higher in the pōwhiri and pepeha samples, as well as in Speaker D's information sharing sample.

Table 4.5

Frequency of pauses in language samples

Speaker	Role	Discourse Type	Frequency of pauses per minute (rounded)
Speaker A	Speaker for the host/ welcoming party	Formal public speech at a pōwhiri	10
Speaker B	Speaker for the visiting party	Formal public speech at a pōwhiri	6
Speaker C	Panellist	Public panel discussion with a live audience	0
Speaker C	Presenter	Educational video about pōwhiri protocol on a marae filmed for an online audience	0
Speaker D	Staff member	Information sharing video filmed for an online audience	5
Speaker D	Himself	Pepeha delivery filmed for an online audience	9
Speaker E	Storyteller	Māori narrative filmed for an online audience	1
Speaker F	Spokesperson for a Māori Deaf organisation	Information sharing video filmed for an online (social media) audience	0

Overall, pause length appeared higher in pōwhiri samples, and pauses were notably more frequent in the three samples from traditional Māori discourse contexts, i.e., pōwhiri speeches and pepeha. Whilst there is a higher frequency of pausing across traditional Māori discourse

contexts, as well as Speaker D's information sharing video, the latter sample sits outside of formal Māori discourse settings. Therefore, the high frequency of pausing in this sample may indicate idiosyncratic style and/or an extension of the style across a wider range of contexts.

4.6 Summary

This chapter reported findings from descriptive analysis of three target features in existing recordings of Māori Deaf discourse samples, which seem to reflect outcomes of language and paralinguistic contact between NZSL and te reo Māori. Analysis of the frequency and context of pointing handshape variants for pronominal reference showed that the PT(B) or whole-hand variant is employed more often by Māori Deaf signers in the samples analysed, and more so in the context of 'traditional' Māori speaking roles. Neologisms with Māori reference were identified as taking a variety of forms consistent with word creation strategies in NZSL generally. Māori mouthing (or lack of mouthing) appearing with signs was identified as a productive code-blending strategy for indicating Māori sense and style. Pause length and frequency was examined as a paralinguistic feature potentially adopted from spoken Māori formal speaking style, revealing more frequent and longer pauses in NZSL used in formal Māori contexts (especially on the marae). In Chapter Five, findings from this descriptive linguistic analysis will be contextualised by metapragmatic analysis of Māori Deaf participants' beliefs concerning their use of NZSL, including their reflections on the linguistic features identified in data as reported in this chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

5 Linguistic ideologies of Māori Deaf individuals

The previous chapter presented findings from the analysis of target linguistic features in selected language samples. This chapter will report on experiences, ideologies, and beliefs of Māori Deaf individuals, exploring possible intentions behind some of the features reported on in the previous chapter. This chapter begins by outlining the process of coding focus group transcripts upon which analysis in this chapter is based. The following sections address (i) the socialisation experiences of participants and their feelings about identity; (ii) beliefs about language contact between NZSL, English and te reo Māori; (iii) perceptions of Māori style signing; and (iv) sign creation processes and transmission of signs with Māori reference.

The approach to coding focus group transcripts was both deductive and inductive (Hennink et al., 2020). Deductive coding entailed codes created for topics that were likely to arise in focus groups due to topics that were introduced to the group, such as the target linguistic features identified within the language samples and beliefs about linguistic relationships between NZSL and te reo Māori. Inductive, emerging codes were later added as transcripts and predetermined codes were re-visited. Emerging codes included relationships and experiences with whānau and with non-Māori Deaf people, processes for sign creation, and visually accessible aspects of interaction in te ao Māori and tikanga (customs).

5.1 Social experiences of participants and feelings about identity

Before discussing Māori Deaf participants' linguistic ideologies, it is important to first situate participants within their backgrounds and socialisation experiences. There were a variety of experiences shared in the focus groups. However, most participants shared experiences of growing up as the only Deaf person in their immediate family, with many saying they were also the only signer in their household. Participants shared common experiences of feeling isolated from hearing whānau, especially during events at the marae: "I want to catch up with family there. I know it's my home and my place, but I ended up isolated, sitting quietly and watching but not understanding". Participants also recounted missing out on the content of

discussions on the marae: “I don’t understand what is being said when people use te reo Māori. I just sit there and shrug”. Marae are important sites of cultural knowledge and identity, and the fact that the participants in this study reported having some early experiences of attending events at marae, albeit with limited access to the discourse, may be one reason why they are particularly motivated to be involved with an emerging Māori Deaf CofP.

Identity as an ‘intergroup phenomenon’ (Bucholtz, 1999, p. 212), describes a group identity which is defined in relation to other groups and identities. In this case, aligning with a Māori Deaf identity entails distinguishing oneself from both hearing Māori and from non-Māori Deaf groups and identities. It is important to remember the idea of situated identity as a ‘constellation’ (Foster & Kinuthia, 2003), in which the expression or perception of various aspects of identity shine brighter or dimmer in response to internal and external influences. Identity is a “social positioning of self and other” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 586) contextualised by the place, people, and purpose. Consequently, this section does not suggest Māori Deaf people are permanently differentiating themselves, rather responding to a shining or dimming of aspects of identity in relation to others in context. Keeping this in mind, the intergroup differentiation for Māori Deaf participants between biological whānau and a Deaf cultural and linguistic whānau is evident in the data. Two participants commented on a change in whānau perception of their Deaf, signing identity once the whānau saw them signing with Deaf people at the marae. In these situations, intergroup identities are being signalled by language use. Anne said her whānau were surprised to see her open up and sign at the marae saying, “I think I should’ve signed in front of them earlier to help make them aware about Māori Deaf signing and Deaf culture. I should’ve done that a long time ago”. Mere described using NZSL on the marae to claim her Deaf identity in a hearing space: “I remember the surprised look on the faces of our whānau, their jaws dropping when they saw us signing ... I showed them that I am proud to sign and be Deaf”. Mita goes even further saying he signs to groups of hearing people on marae without using interpreters, asserting his Deaf self and using NZSL as an identity claim: “I travel without an interpreter. I stand up and sign. It is my right to do so and [NZSL is] my language and who I am as a Māori person”. These are examples of signers distinguishing themselves from hearing people in a Māori context, wanting to be seen as Māori Deaf NZSL users, and emphasising a Māori Deaf way of being which can be summarised as, ‘I am Māori, in a Deaf signing way’.

Since the establishment of deaf education in New Zealand, there have been deaf schools situated in only three locations (two in major cities). One participant explained the impact of residential special education on whānau knowledge of Deaf family members:

Many marae [people from marae] say they've never seen disabled people at the marae before, for tangihanga (funerals), hui, etcetera. I understand why. Around 100 years ago, many whānau dropped disabled whānau [children] off to special schools in the city, following what government said they had to do at the time. To be educated comfortably alongside others with the same disability, like how we have deaf schools and could sign with each other. But it meant that the marae never saw their disabled whānau. Deaf family members were forgotten about. I told them that they need to be aware about these whānau members wanting to return home to the marae.

Mere shared that she has difficulty maintaining relationships with both Māori whānau and Deaf community networks at the same time due to geographical separation, mirroring urban Māori experiences where regular whānau and iwi connection becomes “more a luxury than a reality” (Barcham, 1998, p. 304). Deaf communities developed around the location of deaf schools, with the two largest Deaf clubs located in the same cities (Auckland and Christchurch) as these schools. Additionally, many Deaf adults tend to remain in major cities where they find employment and Deaf social opportunities (Dugdale, 2000). Mere spoke about a D/deaf whānau member who attended a deaf school and grew up with deaf friends. Their marae and iwi home was geographically distant from the deaf school they attended and once Mere's whānau member left school they chose to sacrifice their deaf relationships to move closer to their marae, whereas many friends settled close to the deaf school. Mere herself lives close to the deaf school that she previously attended and chooses to travel to her marae to interact with the wider whānau.

Whether socialising with hearing whānau or non-Māori Deaf people, participants experienced a similar disconnect, either cultural, linguistic, or both. With hearing whānau, participants spoke about changing their behaviour, with Mere saying, “with hearing Māori whānau I feel like I need to behave like I'm hearing”. Similarly, participants commented on cultural and communication differences within the Deaf community, with many saying they adjusted the

way they spoke and behaved when interacting with non-Māori Deaf people. As Anne explained, “When I talk with Pākehā Deaf people, I need to ‘adjust’ myself to make it comfortable”. While there was sometimes a feeling of disconnect, participants did speak positively about reciprocity of knowledge with hearing whānau and non-Māori Deaf people. Regarding whānau reciprocity, Hemi shared that his whānau have meetings where they explain the meaning and history of different places local to his iwi, and he in turn develops and shares sign names for these places. Whiti recalled experiences of reciprocity with a Pākehā Deaf friend, explaining that when they would visit each other they would learn about each other’s lives: “I wouldn’t have understood the differences in our cultures if I hadn’t had that experience”.

Participants’ experiences of difference in relation to both hearing whānau members and non-Māori Deaf people motivate a desire to align with other Māori Deaf people and to develop a Māori Deaf CofP. One organised way in which Māori Deaf people do this is by holding Māori Deaf hui (gathering and workshops on a national level) which provide a context for positive identity practice, where “individuals engage in order actively to construct a chosen identity” (Bucholtz, 1999, p. 211), and where these practices “emphasize the intragroup aspects of social identity” (Bucholtz, 1999, p. 212). Māori Deaf hui demonstrate conscious building of a CofP and the beginning of a collective identity, purposefully exploring a Māori Deaf way of being. When attending hui, one activity in which Māori Deaf people explore ways of being Māori Deaf together are discussions about lexical gaps for Māori cultural concepts which are highlighted in these settings. In these situations, Māori Deaf people need to negotiate ways of talking about these concepts as they arise. By negotiating these concepts, they are also negotiating how they are being Māori Deaf together. Focus group participants raised the importance of hui, with Haamiora saying, “Meeting other Māori Deaf, many don’t know about their Māori identity either. So how do we change this? By getting Māori Deaf together to learn at the same time - like at national hui or wānanga (gatherings for discussions/ learning)”.

Some participants commented on the first national Māori Deaf hui in 1993 being a catalyst for both learning and for conversations about whānau history, with Haamiora saying “I remember learning interesting things at the national Māori Deaf hui. When I got back home, I caught up with my family, my parents. I asked them questions”. Hemi took a different

approach initially and learnt how to research himself, “Going to the national hui had an impact. Looking into and learning about culture and other such things. When I got home, I asked about my Māori self. They explained where my marae was on my mother’s side and on my father’s side ... I showed my parents the information and they asked how I knew it. I said, ‘I found it myself’ ... I was still going to learn”. Additionally, many participants attribute their Māori learning experiences to other Māori Deaf individuals, specifically Patrick Thompson and Michael Wi who were recognised as leaders in this CofP. Both men held employed roles at the deaf education centre in Auckland, specifically supporting Māori Deaf students which added to their mana within the Māori Deaf community. A few comments made by participants were: “The first time I learnt about Māori culture was at school with Patrick Thompson as our teacher”; “Michael Wi and Patrick Thompson. I remember learning how to tell [Māori] stories from them”; “I learnt these things from Michael and Patrick”; and “I had to ask what Māori meant. Patrick explained that it meant, ‘Your marae, your waka, your whenua (land), your iwi’”.

Once Māori Deaf people came together, they could discuss desired identity labels in larger groups. Māori Deaf people are referred to interchangeably in wider society as ‘Deaf Māori’ or ‘Māori Deaf’. However, participants showed a unanimous preference for the term to be ‘Māori Deaf’. Highlighting whakapapa, Richard explained, “‘Māori’ came first because you were born first and ... you were Māori first. Only after a hearing test would you know if you were deaf or not”. That being said, in view of identity as a constellation (Foster & Kinuthia, 2003), both terms have been used by participants to highlight different aspects of their identity over time. This is similar to McKee’s (2001) description of Patrick Thompson’s journey back and forth between his Māori and Deaf worlds as described in Chapter Two. Hemi shared feelings about his own identity saying, “I used to strongly identify as Deaf. Now it’s the other way around and I strongly identify as Māori first and Deaf second”. Haamiora also noticed his identity shift over time saying:

“Māori Deaf got together in a big group and the question was posed – ‘Which one do you say first? Māori or Deaf?’ My response was ‘Deaf’ because I grew up going through the Deaf education system and being a part of the Deaf community. So, for me it was Deaf first. I wasn’t identifying as Māori yet. Then in 1993 [at the national

Māori Deaf hui] I restated this. I am Deaf and wasn't identifying as Māori yet. Then one day it started to shift and now I am Māori first and Deaf second".

In the whaikōrero language sample, Speaker A alternated between the terms Māori Deaf and Deaf Māori as a collective noun. This speaker alternated between these two terms when addressing different groups within the same pōwhiri interaction. He ordered the phrase as MĀORI DEAF except when explicitly addressing hearing Māori visitors. Addressing hearing Māori visitors, he would opt for the alternative phrasing, DEAF MĀORI. Use of these differing identity labels suggests different aspects of identity being foregrounded to align or differentiate himself from the audience he is addressing in the moment – emphasising Māori in relation to Deaf audience members, and Deaf in relation to hearing Māori audience members. All other instances of the collective noun across all samples were signed as MĀORI DEAF.

After discussing Speaker A's whaikōrero excerpt more generally, I asked participants about their perceptions of his interchangeable usage of the phrases 'Māori Deaf' and 'Deaf Māori'. In relation to 'Deaf Māori', Eddie said that Speaker A was "[t]elling the hearing people that he's Deaf first ... [f]or hearing it's 'Deaf Māori' ... whereas 'Māori Deaf' is said to Deaf people". Tanesha believes it to be related to respect "I think if [Speaker A] used the term 'Deaf Māori' when he was speaking to Māori hearing people, it's a way of respecting each other's cultures ... also stating that his culture is Deaf". The comments Eddie and Tanesha gave support the idea of Speaker A brightening and dimming the Deaf and Māori aspects of his identity 'constellation' (Foster & Kinuthia, 2003) depending on audience, with the term of difference prioritised first.

5.2 Beliefs about language contact

Metalinguistic reflection allows for more extensive analysis of language use (Arendt, 2021). Accordingly, focus groups explored participants' ideas about the intersection of NZSL, te reo Māori and English. Overall, participants suggested a difference between Māori and non-Māori use of NZSL: "With Māori Deaf people, we have a similar sign language but with some differences". There was also a view held that NZSL is a language for Pākehā Deaf

people and that Māori Deaf people “have our own signs”. Viewing excerpts from the language samples analysed for this study prompted participants to share some thoughts about the relationship between NZSL, te reo Māori and English. Illustrative comments are shown in the concept map, Figure 5.1, representing ideas about NZSL features that reflect contact with English and te reo Māori respectively. They signal beliefs such as: signs with Māori reference are distinct within NZSL, fingerspelling is an English-influenced/ non-Māori way of signing, NZSL has a relationship with English and sits apart from signs with Māori reference.

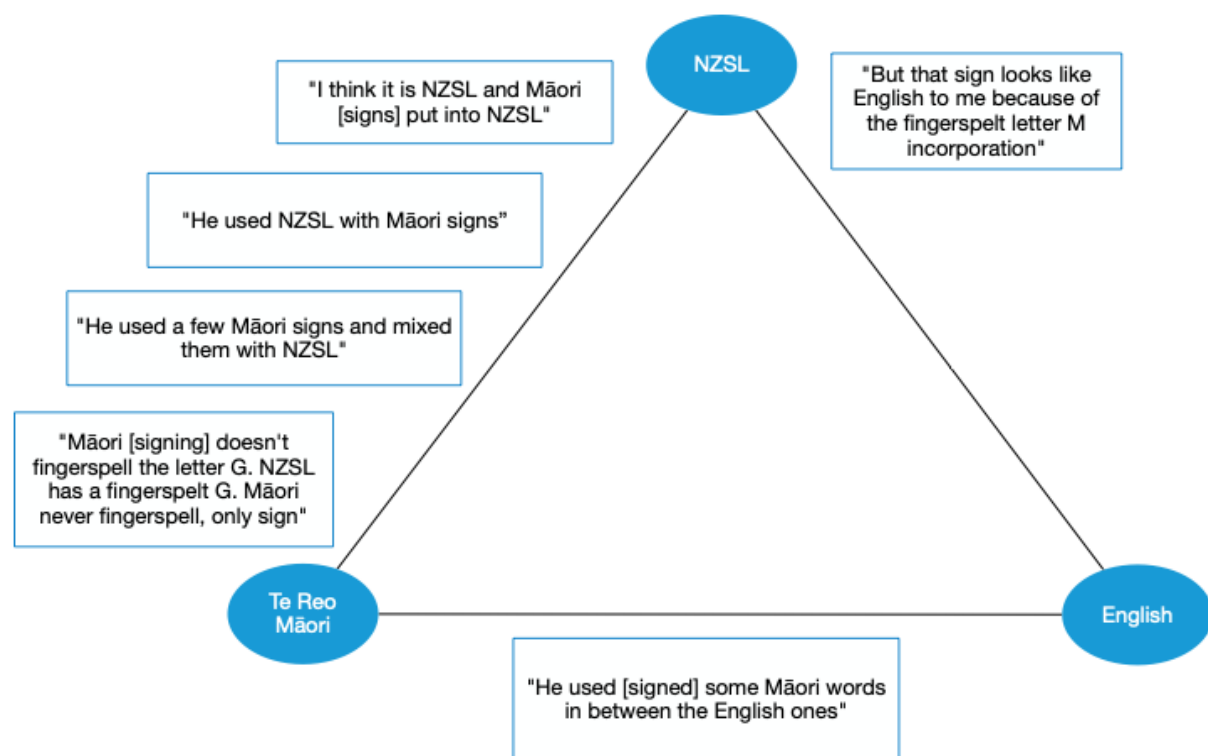


Figure 5.1 Language contact beliefs concept map

5.3 Perceptions of Māori style signing

As mentioned in Chapter One, outcomes of language contact are complicated by the differing modalities of spoken and signed languages, which afford distinct mechanisms for creating and structuring meaning (Quinto-Pozos & Adam, 2015). Mouthing of words with signs and calques (loan translations) are both common outcomes of spoken-signed language contact (Quinto-Pozos & Adam, 2015). Three variable NZSL features that participants discussed were: the combination of Māori words mouthed with signs; neologisms, including calques or

translations; and alternation between variants for pointing signs. Participants discussed how these features can originate from observation of Māori speakers' discourse behaviour (or paralinguistic features), one way in which Māori Deaf people can seek Māori discourse equivalence in NZSL and distinction from non-Māori Deaf speakers in NZSL.

5.3.1 Mouthing

The focus group interview schedule (see Appendix C: Interview schedule) included an optional question regarding Māori words mouthed with signs: 'What did you notice about: ... ii. Māori lip patterns?'. However, when participants were asked more generally about what they noticed in video excerpts, all focus groups spontaneously commented on mouthing without being prompted, indicating an awareness of this feature as an intentional linguistic choice. As Palfreyman (2020) states:

Language contact phenomena such as mouthings also merit consideration, because signers must choose how and how far to represent spoken languages on the lips (from mouthing to no mouthing, or somewhere in between). Especially in cases where the ambient speech community uses more than one spoken variety, we have seen that a signer's representation of mouthings from different spoken languages may also carry social significance. (p. 110)

In this study, the 'social significance' Palfreyman mentions means signalling Māori Deaf identity through linguistic practices such as mouthing. Whilst I expected comments about the mouthing of Māori words with certain signs (which was evident in the data), participants mainly focussed on instances where mouthing was absent in the video excerpts: "I saw that [she] didn't use any Māori lip patterns", "There were some places where she didn't use any lip patterns", "[He] didn't use many lip patterns", "There were no Māori lip patterns". The comment regarding a lack of Māori mouthing may indicate an expectation that this would be present in the excerpts shown. However, participants also expressed a belief that a lack of mouthing in general is more prevalent in Māori Deaf spaces. For example, it was noted that the excerpt of Speaker A in the whaikōrero sample differed from this signer's typically less frequent use of mouthing, saying: "His signing is different when he is with a Māori Deaf

group. His body language and signing are more Māori, and he doesn't talk [mouth]. He keeps his mouth shut". There were suggestions that Speaker A incorporated more English mouthing, deviating from the style he uses with Māori Deaf groups for the benefit of the interpreters working that day, indicating influence of audience design in this situation. Haamiora expanded on mouthing expectations saying that *whaikōrero* in NZSL does not need mouthing and that "[i]t's how Māori Deaf do *whaikōrero*. Lip patterns aren't needed". Palfreyman (2020) suggests that choices Deaf people make in regard to mouthing can contribute to identity construction, saying that "[t]his is one of several instances of 'othering' practices that signers use to assist with forging social identities" (p. 91). By this he means that the language a signer chooses to mouth, or whether they choose not to mouth, contributes to the enactment of a sociolinguistic identity. Whilst some participants indicated that a lack of mouthing was the ideal Māori style, analysis of language samples showed that when faced with lexical gaps, the mouthing of a Māori word was commonly used to semantically extend an existing NZSL sign with approximately equivalent meaning. In practice, the communicative need to express lexical equivalence prioritises the use of available linguistic resources, of which mouthing is potentially one. One participant also explained that "[i]f there isn't a lip pattern with the sign, people might be unsure what it is", showing that while neologisms or new usages are in the process of becoming lexicalised, Māori Deaf signers may add mouthing for comprehension purposes.

5.3.2 Pointing variants

Visible communicative behaviours that are typical of Māori speakers such as co-speech gesture may be adopted by Deaf signers to index ethnic identity, since spoken Māori is not a linguistic resource available to them. As Eddie stated, "I only get what is visually accessible to me, only what I can see because I don't hear anything". An example of this is pointing gestures incorporated by Māori Deaf people into NZSL. Chapter Two covers previous studies of indigenous pointing gestures, including Gruber (2016), who found that Māori individuals employ flat handshape pointing gestures more often than Pākehā speakers, and Rewi (2010), who described how Māori orators on *marae* gesture, often with hand-held objects, to punctuate sections of speech. Whilst not a focus of the study, I did observe a combination of both index-extended and whole-hand gestures produced by three hearing speakers in the *pōwhiri* sample. All three speakers had high gesture frequency, with most phrases

accompanied by more than one gesture. The hearing speakers at the ceremony showed an overall trend toward index-extended pointing accompanying first-person pronouns, with most other gestures being whole-hand variations. Additionally, the more extended the arm, the more likely a whole-hand gesture was used. One hearing visitor performed a *tauparapara* (traditional chant, incantation) which was not interpreted and included instances of whole-hand gestures. Since it wasn't interpreted, the gestures were the only accessible information produced by the speaker during the chant. Another hearing visiting elder did not use any index finger pointing, opting for a combination of whole-hand gestures and soft curved index finger points. There was a mixture of gestures, with many able to be described as having deictic properties and 'beat' or 'temporal' highlighting dimensions (McNeill, 2005; McNeill & Levy, 1982). Additionally, I was aware of discussions regarding pointing preferences in Māori Deaf groups outside of the study. Therefore, in addition to analysis of pointing variants in the language sample, the study sought to explore metalinguistic awareness of Māori Deaf people regarding their pointing usage. While video excerpts were selected and presented to participants primarily to elicit their observations about signers' language practices, the excerpt from a public panel discussion included Speaker C talking explicitly about pointing variants, namely index-extended 'PT', whole-hand 'PT(B)', and index-bent 'PT(X)' used in the Māori Deaf community. Participants responded that 'PT(B)' and 'PT(X)' variants are used to index formality, or to respect the perceived pointing preferences of hearing Māori people: "I see [hearing] Māori people getting up to speak in te reo Māori and what gestures they use when speaking. They use a [flat] handshape". Although index-bent pointing 'PT(X)' was mentioned in discussions, aside from Speaker C discussing pointing variations in the panel presentation, it was not observed in the language samples; that is to say, no signer in the samples of video data or the focus group discussions used it outside of metalinguistic discourse.

One participant, Mere, differentiated her pointing preferences for indicating person versus place. She said that places can be pointed to with an index finger, but "with a person I wouldn't point with an index finger [PT]', I would use a whole-hand point [PT(B)]". Anne supported this saying "I think index finger pointing is fine if you are talking about a place, for example a marae ... It's natural to use an index finger point to say things like 'over there'". In a different focus group, Eric spoke about referring to people from his marae saying, "when you want to acknowledge people, people that have died, their wairua, you wouldn't point

[PT]. That's what I've been told". Eric is from Northland and several participants attribute these PT(B) and PT(X) variations as originating from hearing elders in Northland, saying that hearing Māori people dislike pointing with an index finger. As Eddie explained "Māori don't like index finger pointing. A bent index finger or a whole hand is fine ... Māori have a reaction to an index finger point". Mita considered the adoption of PT(B) and PT(X) variants by Māori Deaf people as a response to a general lack of awareness of index finger pointing as a linguistic norm of NZSL: "I think many Māori Deaf were scared of hearing people who didn't know our Deaf culture. Growing up in the Pākehā world it's normal to point [PT]". Although this comment suggests pointing is normal in the Pākehā world, as previously mentioned, it can be considered as rude in many Western cultures (e.g., Jarmolowicz-Nowikow, 2015, as cited in Cooperrider & Mesh, 2022; Roush, 2011). Attribution of pointing preference only to Māori may reflect a motivation to conform to hearing Māori culture norms in contexts which have previously been inaccessible for Māori Deaf people. Aligning with hearing Māori pointing preferences may also be for affiliation purposes, showing respect to more experienced hearing Māori speakers when Māori Deaf people are fulfilling cultural speaking roles.

Mere shared many thoughts about pointing during the focus group discussion. She expressed a perception about the 'formality' of the PT(B) form, offered reasons that some Māori Deaf people exclusively use the PT variant, and linked variant choice to different contexts. In a formal signing register, a whole-hand, palm-up handshape is considered an 'honorific' point in NZSL (D. McKee et al., 2011) and in ASL (Roush, 2011). This contextual variation aligns with Mere's statement that "Māori Deaf don't like to use PT. It's nice and formal to use PT(B) ... It's more formal". As for differences in pointing variant usage, Mere said that it comes down to whether others have learnt about pointing variations and appropriate usage, applying hearing Māori gestural norms to pointing usage in NZSL. "They [other Māori Deaf people] don't understand when it is right or wrong to use PT versus PT(B) ... there are a few older Māori Deaf who only use PT, usually those that haven't been on the marae". PT(B) seems to be prompted by mirroring hearing 'co-speech gestures' (Green et al., 2014) of hearing Māori people, as well as by Māori Deaf people sharing information about the pointing preferences of hearing Māori people. Although Mere prefers to use PT(B), she practices flexibility based on who she is talking with. As she describes:

“It depends on the [Deaf] person. If that person is sensitive [to pointing variations], I would use PT(B) to refer to them. If they don’t care, then I’d use PT. So, I would consider the person and adjust my language accordingly. However, if I am with a Māori Deaf person I know well, I would use PT(B) ... Since there is so much variation, I would have to look at a person’s comfort for different pronoun forms and take their lead with which signs they use. PT(B) if they use PT(B) or PT if they use PT. It depends”.

To summarise, within the network of Māori Deaf people they are describing, participants believe there is a trend towards pointing forms other than PT. The older Māori Deaf people whom Mere describes as using the conventional NZSL index pointing form exclusively are less involved with the CofP that this study focusses on. PT(B) and to a lesser extent PT(X) variants seem to originate from observation and adoption of Māori co-speech gesture into NZSL, and greater use of an honorific pronoun form already present in NZSL. These phonological variations are perceived by participants as Māori in nature. Their metalinguistic commentary suggests that they regard the use of these variations as indexical of Māori Deaf identity, connecting hearing Māori co-speech gestures to a Māori style of pointing in NZSL.

5.3.3 Neologism creation, variation, and transmission

Neologisms with Māori reference are another potential feature of a Māori Deaf signing style. Within the Deaf community and academic literature, ‘Māori signs’ is a term often used for signs expressing Māori cultural reference (R. McKee et al., 2007). Although the term is commonly applied, this study instead uses ‘signs with Māori reference’ for clarity. McKee et al (2007) promote study of these signs saying that, “future study of how MS [Māori signs] are used in discourse will offer a further window on MD [Māori Deaf people] as an emerging “community of practice”” (p. 74). Therefore, this research expands on previous work, with a focus on identifying recent neologisms (as reported in the previous chapter) and examining beliefs about how the coining and use of neologisms may contribute to the construction of Māori Deaf identity within a CofP.

In 1997, the NZSL Dictionary contained 25 ‘Māori signs’ used by the New Zealand Deaf community (R. McKee et al., 2007). Since then the number of signs with Māori reference has grown, with 44 conventionalised signs listed under ‘Māori culture and concepts’ in the NZSL Online Dictionary (D. McKee et al., 2011). This study alone found 35 neologisms (including proper nouns and phrases), some with several sign variations, in addition to those recorded in the NZSL Online Dictionary. Richard explained that there are now signs like TĒNĀ-KOE, which data analysis shows can be inflected to indicate degrees of plurality and is often compounded with other signs for formal openings (greetings) and closings (farewells).

Fingerspelling was identified by some participants as an undesirable feature of NZSL relating to Māori style signing. Increased exposure to te ao Māori highlights lexical gaps for Māori concepts and creates pressure to generate new signs (Smiler, 2004). Fingerspelling is one means of lexical borrowing arising from contact with spoken languages (Pivac Alexander, 2008; Quinto-Pozos & Adam, 2013), although fingerspelling is not a widely preferred strategy in NZSL in general, and less so for older signers (Pivac Alexander, 2008). While fingerspelling was acknowledged by participants as a temporary strategy before signs are created and used for newly encountered Māori concepts, some participants expressed the belief that a Māori Deaf way of signing excludes fingerspelling, possibly due to its association with transferring English words into NZSL.

Through focus group interviews, it became clear that there may be a smaller CofP within the Māori Deaf group this study focusses on. This proposed smaller group consists of older Māori Deaf men who fulfil a formal speaking role, such as Speaker A and Speaker B in the whaikōrero language samples. One of the whaikōrero excerpts included a neologism for a Māori metaphor meaning ‘people from the four corners of the world’ - ‘ngā hau e whā’ (literally, ‘the Four Winds’). The sign the speaker used for this concept is identical to another sign which traces the shape of a cross, with a Christian meaning. Therefore, whilst I categorised the sign as a neologism due to its new usage, most participants understood it as a religious expression and were puzzled by it. As one of the participants said, “I don’t think that sign is used by Māori Deaf ... If it was a priest on a marae then maybe they would do it as part of their religious practice”. Most participants did not understand the neologism the way it was intended. However, it was understood by three of the older Māori Deaf male participants

(four including Speaker B), those who commonly fulfil public speaking roles. As two older male participants discussed: “That’s not a religious sign, it means ngā hau e whā”. “I agree with that ... it’s clearly talking about the four winds”. Variation in understanding shows that this concept does not have an agreed form or meaning association within the wider Māori Deaf participant group.

Some participants showed concern at non-Māori Deaf people learning te reo Māori. As one participant shared, ‘Many non-Māori Deaf get involved with studying te reo Māori, going to wānanga (Māori tertiary institution/s) and advancing themselves ... I don’t want them to jump ahead when our Māori Deaf are still behind ... Sometimes we can try to learn but it’s taken over by Pākehā Deaf. That’s wrong’. Similar sentiments are also shared by hearing Māori people regarding Pākehā peers learning te reo Māori (Cram, 2020). As one participant said, “Māori Deaf aren’t comfortable with non-Māori being involved in Māori Deaf spaces where we are trying to learn and catch up [to our hearing Māori peers]. We would rather work together and do it ourselves”. There is an expectation that Māori Deaf people should lead work regarding Māori Deaf learning of Māori culture and language.

Participants spoke about how signs and variations of signs are created, and most examples of neologisms that they mentioned were anecdotally reported, rather than occurring in the video excerpts they viewed. One example was regarding the mis-use of a classifier (depicting) sign to describe a visible feature of a marae, as a lexicalised noun sign for ‘marae’. This classifier was adopted by a hearing educator who went on to teach Deaf children that this was the noun meaning ‘marae’, which Diane and Mere contested. Another example was reported as occurring one month prior to the focus groups, regarding the coining of a sign to refer to the star cluster known in te reo Māori as Matariki (Pleiades) which was debated within Māori Deaf groups at the time. The sign under contention was a newer variant, said to have originated from a gesture used by a hearing Māori presenter to represent the hypernym ‘star cluster’, rather than Matariki specifically: “[The presenter’s] intention was that the sign was only meant to mean ‘cluster’ in a general sense and not Matariki specifically”. After this discussion there was agreement that although some Māori Deaf people were using it, this sign was not a widely accepted neologism. Participants contrasted such instances by describing Deaf-led ways of coining signs. For example, earlier in this chapter, Hemi spoke about how

he develops signs based on explanations from whānau about different places and concepts. One participant also discussed proposing a new sign at a future Māori Deaf hui, showing one way that this CofP approaches group sign validation. Apart from Hemi's example above, all other discussion on creating new signs centred around using visual motivation or depicting strategies to generate new signs.

The last census in 2018 showed a Deaf population (who use NZSL) of around 4,600 (Statistics NZ - Tatauranga Aotearoa, 2022). Considering that Māori Deaf people comprise a small subset of this population, it is possible to trace the origin of some neologisms and language practices to specific individuals, especially those in teaching or leadership roles. Mita attributes signs used by younger Māori Deaf people to one individual saying:

“I notice the [young] age of Tanesha and Eric here and see that most of your signs are from Michael Wi ... I've seen national hui here in Whangārei and taken note of the large number of youth attending and their signing. Wow, that's Michael's teaching ... It makes me proud for you Māori students. Back in my day we didn't have someone like him ... I'm very proud because it's such a big difference from the experience of those of us that are older”.

Michael held a central role as an educator and mentor at Rūaumoko Marae. He worked there for many years teaching numerous students, including Tanesha and Eric. Eric responded to Mita saying, “Yes, Michael Wi has had an influence on how I sign”. He acknowledged Michael as a proponent of the signed calque for ‘haere, haere, haere atu rā’ mentioned in the neologism section (see Section 4.3) of Chapter Four:

“My favourite sign phrase of his is ‘GO GO GO’ (signed towards the sky). I've seen his signing over many years. That phrase he would sign is valuable. And how he would follow a structure, honouring those that had passed away, then coming back and acknowledging the living etcetera ... his signs are a treasure, and we grieve now he's gone. I value his signing”.

Tanesha described the marae Michael worked at as a place of learning and a home away from home saying “Rūaumoko marae is about passing things on [generationally] to children and knowing the marae is their home”. Considering many Māori Deaf people started learning about Māori language and knowledge after the first national hui in 1993, the presence of Michael’s signs in language repertoires of younger Māori Deaf people is the first indicator of intergenerational transmission between Māori Deaf people.

5.4 Summary

This chapter positioned participants in the context of their socialisation experiences, in relation to biological whānau and the Deaf community. Participants noted examples of feeling different to both Māori whānau and Deaf community networks. These experiences of difference motivated a desire to align with other Māori Deaf people, resulting in regular gatherings and shared learning where language and identity are discussed. Beliefs and observations about Māori signing style give insight into how this CofP perceives the relationship between te reo Māori and NZSL, and how awareness of their own language practices play a role in constructing identity in relation to non-Māori Deaf people and to hearing Māori. The findings reported in this chapter complement analysis of language samples set out in the previous chapter to answer the principal research questions of this study in Chapter Six.

CHAPTER SIX

6 Discussion

Taking the view that identity is “a centrally linguistic phenomenon” enacted in interaction (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 586), this study aims to weave together linguistic and metalinguistic evidence to explore how Māori Deaf individuals may be constructing ethnic identity within the Deaf community through variation in their use of NZSL and their discourse about Māori ways of signing. Chapter Four reported on variations in target linguistic features and Chapter Five described participant ideologies and beliefs about Māori Deaf signing practices and their connection to identity expression. Whilst beliefs about language practices are not always borne out in examination of discourse, mouthing, neologisms, and pointing variants are all features that participants believe contribute to a Māori Deaf signing ‘style’. This chapter discusses key findings from the two data sets and their implications. It describes the construction of a Māori Deaf CofP through the adoption of linguistic variants in NZSL, and the construction of a metalinguistic discourse about a Māori Deaf signing style and identity. Formal conclusions will be reserved for the final chapter.

6.1 Adopting paralinguistic features of (spoken) te reo Māori: pauses and pointing

Previous research indicates that Māori Deaf individuals express more desire for access to Māori settings and cultural knowledge rather than the ability to use te reo Māori as an aural/oral language. However, visible paralinguistic features of Māori discourse are resources that Māori Deaf individuals can draw upon to signal Māori identity in NZSL, to align more with Māori discourse norms, and to seek distinction from non-Māori Deaf signers.

This study identified two examples of visually accessible paralinguistic features of te reo Māori that this CofP are using to create a Māori Deaf signing style: extended and frequent pauses in formal Māori discourse, and whole-hand pointing gestures. The *whaikōrero* and *pepeha* samples showed the most frequent pauses per minute; these NZSL texts mirror formal Māori discourse typically conducted in te reo Māori by hearing speakers. In addition to high frequency pauses, both speakers in the *whaikōrero* sample also used the longest pauses

recorded, although at least one pause may have been to benefit the interpreters working that day. Length and frequency of pauses in these samples suggest adoption of the ‘silences’ used in *whaikōrero* style (Rewi, 2010). However, as mentioned in Chapter Three, Speaker D showed similar frequency of pauses across both his *pepeha* and information sharing samples. This may be idiosyncratic, or an extension of this stylistic feature across a wider range of contexts. Whilst extended and/or frequent pauses were observed in some language samples, this practice seems to be subconscious, as this feature was not raised or commented upon by participants, some of whom were also the signers observed in language samples. Taking variation of usage into consideration along with the dearth of research on pausing in formal Māori discourse settings, evidence of this as a potential language contact feature in NZSL is relatively weak and requires further investigation.

In contrast to participants’ lack of comment on pauses, pointing was found to be at a more conscious level, with participants discussing pointing handshape variants and their perceived appropriate uses. It is a feature that Māori Deaf individuals may be using to create a Māori Deaf signing style, which may mirror a tendency for hearing Māori individuals to favour flat-hand pointing when describing movement paths (Gruber et al., 2016). As previously mentioned, the target feature analysed for this study was more specifically pointing to index person referents. In NZSL, these pronominal referent signs are typically index-finger points, although the variant of open- (whole-)hand pointing is also known as an honorific point in NZSL (D. McKee et al., 2011) and ASL (Roush, 2011), and therefore a linguistic resource available to Māori Deaf people in NZSL. Focus group discussions showed support for the use of a flat- (whole-)hand point, with participants saying they have observed this hearing Māori gestural norm and have adopted it as a Māori Deaf style of pointing. Participants said that many Māori Deaf people engaging with Māori Deaf networks and events use and prefer the PT(B) variant. McKee (2019) has also commented on PT(B) as a co-speech gesture able to be imported into the signing repertoire of Māori Deaf people, and possibly used to index a Māori identity in NZSL. Analysis of its use in Māori contexts support these observations, showing that most speakers (all but one) used a higher frequency of PT(B) over PT, varying between an almost 50-50 split and exclusive use of the PT(B) variant. Whilst the PT(B) variant was stated as a strong preference, the use of this variant was lower than the frequency indicated by participants’ stated preference for it. Increased frequency of PT(B) versus PT usage in formal Māori discourse settings, such as the *pōwhiri* and *pepeha* samples, further support the

PT(B) variant as an adopted paralanguage feature, recognisable to hearing Māori. This gesture adoption practice also occurs with other Deaf communities who draw from the gestural practices of their surrounding community (Cooperrider & Mesh, 2022).

Whilst not a focus of analysis, I did note a combination of PT(B) and PT usage by the three hearing speakers in the pōwhiri recording, supporting Rewi's (2010) description of orators on marae using gesture to punctuate sections of speech. The hearing speakers at the ceremony showed an overall trend toward index-extended pointing accompanying first-person pronouns, with most other gestures being whole-hand variations. This contrasts with observations of Māori Deaf signers who employed PT(B) more often for first person pronouns, highlighting the common disparity between linguistic ideology and observed practice. However, a more robust study of hearing speaker behaviour would be required to compare the ideologies and practices of these two groups concerning pointing handshapes.

Metapragmatic discourse among participants supports the suggestion that PT(B) and PT(X) variants are used by Māori Deaf individuals to respect Māori culture or show formality. Participants commented on how they view PT(B) as a formal variant and that they believe hearing Māori people dislike index finger pointing. Māori Deaf individuals' use of the PT(B) variant and discussions of their own PT avoidance practices suggest application of hearing Māori gestural norms to pointing usage in NZSL, as well as a desire to align with hearing Māori people. However, this latter point was not raised explicitly by participants and would require further research to determine. Interesting to note is that although Māori Deaf participants indicated PT(B) is a way to respectfully address others, out of the language samples that included pointing most signers used it more often to refer to themselves (i.e., PRO1 pointing) rather than to address others. An example of this is seen with Speaker C's public panel sample. Although the PT variant was predominant, when Speaker C did use PT(B), it was mostly as a PRO1:PT(B). In saying that, both of Speaker C's samples were quite 'explanatory' and maybe more relaxed in style, and therefore perhaps Speaker C was more likely to spontaneously use conventional NZSL pronoun (PT) forms, contrasting with other more 'performative' or culturally formulaic samples, such as the whaikōrero and pepeha samples. The signers in these samples were likely more conscious of how they were expressing themselves and how they were potentially being perceived, which could have led

to the more frequent selection of the PT(B) variant. Intentions such as this show a conscious highlighting of the Māori aspect of identity, contributing towards the construction of a Māori Deaf style of pointing and therefore a Māori Deaf identity within NZSL spaces.

6.2 Code-blending via Māori-NZSL language contact: mouthing

The use of spoken language mouthing with signs is considered a form of code switching or code-blending in signed languages (Quinto-Pozos & Adam, 2013), and may be used to index additional (minority) linguistic identities (Palfreyman, 2020; Quinto-Pozos, 2002) as well as being a lexical strategy for extending the meaning of a sign. It has been suggested that Māori language mouthing with NZSL signs indexes Māori language knowledge of the signer (R. McKee, 2019). Analysis of language samples showed that mouthing of a Māori word was commonly used to attribute Māori reference, and to semantically extend an existing NZSL sign with approximately equivalent meaning. Indeed, the addition of Māori mouthing was found to be the most frequent neologism strategy. Analysis of data also found that high frequency Māori words loaned into New Zealand English were often accompanied in NZSL with Māori mouthing, and selection of Māori mouthing was also found with NZSL signs that are conventionally accompanied by English mouthing. An example of this was the mouthing of ‘tamariki’ instead of the typical mouthing of ‘children’, both of which refer to the same concept (i.e., not a semantic extension). Some English mediated calques (e.g., Paptūānuku signed as ‘MOTHER EARTH’ and Tāne-Mahuta signed as ‘GOD FOREST’) also appeared with Māori mouthing. This showed that while the NZSL sign had initially formed through translation of a Māori name via an English phrase, there was intentionality to re-attach the original Māori mouthing as an identity-defining variant. This demonstrates that learning of Māori vocabulary contributes to code-blending resources for identity construction, echoing Palfreyman’s (2020) finding that the selection of mouthing from an alternative language other than that which typically accompanies a sign is a form of linguistic variation that can index social distinctions.

Mouthing was one of the features participants raised unprompted, indicating an awareness of this feature as an intentional linguistic choice. However, during the focus groups, participants mainly focussed on instances of signs without mouthing, saying that it is the minimisation of mouthing that contributes to a Māori Deaf signing style, rather than mouthing of Māori

words. Observations of Speaker A's mouthing were discussed, with participants saying that Speaker A's mouthing in his language sample differed from his practices when in an exclusively Māori Deaf group, in that he generally did not mouth when with other Māori Deaf people. A Māori Deaf formal speaking style was also discussed, with one participant saying that mouthing is not required when performing NZSL *whaikōrero* (which is conventionally delivered by hearing speakers in *te reo Māori*). Analysis of language samples and participants' beliefs suggest that the selection of code (substituting *te reo Māori* for English) and minimisation of (English) mouthing in Māori contexts indicate a desire to distance NZSL use from English, potentially signalling a more Māori style.

6.3 Expressing Māori words and phrases in NZSL: neologisms

Greater exposure to *te reo Māori* and *72ea o Māori* creates opportunities for neologisms with Māori reference to be developed, leading to greater lexical resources when signing in Māori contexts. Strategies for creating neologisms are consistent overall with previous research on lexical innovation in NZSL (R. McKee et al., 2007; Vale & McKee, 2022). Whereas neologisms by semantic extension draw on resources from an external spoken language (often by the addition of mouthing, or forming a calque), this study also found neologisms which were created from the internal morphological and semantic resources of NZSL (categorised as 'native' signs)⁴. Most of these neologisms were not used to replace current NZSL signs with a 'Māori variant', but rather to fill lexical gaps arising from translational inequivalence when talking about cultural concepts.

Exposure to formulaic discourse in formal Māori settings has resulted in neologisms, motivated by finding equivalence of expected formulaic phrases in NZSL. Examples of this are the 12 neologisms for greetings and farewells found in the data. The use of these is

⁴ When discussing neologisms, it is important to contextualise those mentioned and the study they sit within. I am a hearing Māori researcher working with a group of Māori Deaf individuals. As a disclaimer, I wish to emphasise that the discussion of signs observed to have Māori reference does not confirm that these signs are widely accepted or used by all Māori Deaf people. Although this thesis is co-constructed with a group of Māori Deaf people, it is not my aim to compile this list as a form of validating or disseminating these particular usages.

important to relational work and framing the talk (in NZSL) as Māori. Overall, this study found 35 neologisms (novel usages for Māori reference) including proper nouns and phrases. As previously mentioned, the NZSL Online Dictionary currently has 44 entries categorised under ‘Māori culture and concepts’. The number of neologisms found in the data may be reflective of the level of recognition and Māori language revitalisation in wider society, as well as Māori Deaf people having greater access to te reo Māori and Māori settings. As Māori language revitalisation and language contact between English, te reo Māori and NZSL continues, lexical pressures (including the common use of Māori loans in New Zealand English media and public discourse) will likely result in a continued increase of NZSL neologisms. Although neologisms can be used to relieve lexical equivalence pressures, to construct a Māori context in a Deaf space, and to express Māori Deaf identity in NZSL, this study focussed on samples of data in settings where both spoken Māori and English were also present. Therefore, further study would be needed to provide more insight into neologism usage in formal Māori settings where the main language used by hearing speakers is te reo Māori.

Extensive discussions about signs with Māori reference show a high level of consciousness for lexical innovation, with participants speaking about various examples of signs, their meaning, and how they are created. Although acknowledged as a temporary strategy, participants expressed a dis-preference for the use of fingerspelling as a means of temporary borrowing or sign creation, due to the belief that fingerspelling is usually associated with contact with English. Visually motivated depicting strategies were identified as preferable by participants, in relation to creating new signs influenced by the physical world; one participant commented, “I only get what is visually accessible to me, only what I can see, because I don’t hear anything”. Participants also believe there is a difference between signs that Māori Deaf people and non-Māori Deaf people use. In some cases, they credit Māori Deaf individuals as originators of specific signs or phrases. ‘Haere, haere, haere atu rā’, signed (as a fairly literal calque), ‘GO GO GO’, is one example participants attributed to a particular Māori Deaf leader, saying “that phrase he would sign is valuable” and “his signs are a treasure”. Examples such as this show the salience and value placed on neologisms that are seen to be symbolic of Māori Deaf cultural capital. The use of such phrases gives them high indexical value for performing Māori identity in NZSL, especially in formal, traditional settings.

6.4 Developing a Māori Deaf community of practice through linguistic practices

The findings of this research indicate the emergence of a Māori Deaf community of practice, created in part by their shared language practices and ideologies. This study focuses on this likely CofP, a subset of Māori Deaf individuals who are culturally Deaf, culturally Māori, and who actively engage with Māori Deaf affairs. The application of a CofP in discourse analysis specifies development of shared language practices. Therefore, it is likely that the group in this study are part of a CofP, as they share a common purpose and passion relating to Māori Deaf identity, enacted through construction and maintenance of common language practices. The language practices and metalinguistic discourse discussed in the following section support the claim of a Māori Deaf CofP.

Membership of a Māori Deaf CofP would require a Deaf identity and use of NZSL. It would also entail an affiliation with te ao Māori; however this may be through channels other than whakapapa or biological family heritage. Although there is greater exposure to te ao Māori since increased cultural revitalisation efforts began (Albury, 2016), one participant commented on the difficulty some Māori Deaf people experience in maintaining connections to both their Māori whānau and Deaf whānau due to geographical separation. However, as larger Deaf groups have commonly formed in cities where Deaf schools operate, such networks could possibly lead to a critical mass of Māori Deaf people, resulting in the maintenance of shared language practices. Suggested shared language practices which may be contributing to a Māori Deaf CofP, and which were found in this study, include more frequent and longer pauses in formal Māori discourse settings, more frequent use of the PT(B) pronominal pointing variant compared to the conventional PT variant, use of Māori mouthing (or minimisation of mouthing) accompanying signs, and development of neologisms with Māori reference. Metalinguistic awareness was shown across all but one of the practices (i.e., pauses), with intentional use of the three remaining practices discussed by participants. One place where these practices are likely to be maintained is Rūaumoko Marae at the Auckland campus of Ko Taku Reo: Deaf Education New Zealand. Participants observed intergenerational transmission of signs from older Māori Deaf kaumātua to younger Māori Deaf students, likely acquired at Rūaumoko Marae in the context of events designed to support cultural learning and identity development. In addition to gatherings at Rūaumoko

Marae, Māori Deaf people and networks outside of Auckland are supported by national Māori Deaf hui. Participants described the 1993 inaugural hui as a catalyst for cultural learning which in turn stimulated discussions about identity and perceived pressure for lexical innovation in discourse spaces where spoken Māori was present.

Data suggests that since Māori Deaf people have started discussing te reo Māori and cultural learning, there has been a further development of smaller in-group language practices. Within the focus groups, four Māori Deaf men with experience of fulfilling public speaking roles, such as performing whaikōrero, used or identified the NZSL neologism ‘ngā hau e whā’, to express a phrase that appears in formulaic Māori discourse. This neologism was only used and understood by these men, whereas other neologisms for different concepts were more widely understood by participants. Two of these men also appeared in the language samples that saw high frequency pause usage, one of which was from the whaikōrero sample. In-group knowledge and usage of neologisms found in formulaic discourse, such as ‘ngā hau e whā’, as well as more frequent employment of pauses, may indicate a multi-layered Māori Deaf CofP. Further study is required to determine whether smaller groups, such as a possible whaikōrero-based CofP, align with cultural roles held by hearing Māori counterparts.

Intergroup and intragroup language practices may be motivated by an intent to distinguish or align with different groups (e.g., Bucholtz, 1999; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985; Leeson et al., 2017; e.g., Palfreyman, 2020; Pichler & Williams, 2016). Considering all signers in the language samples were either recording themselves or aware they were being recorded, in-person audiences and/or online audiences were an additional factor for signers when contemplating identity construction in context. An audience that is hearing Māori, non-Māori Deaf, or a mixture of these is likely to affect linguistic practices, as "the individual creates for himself the patterns of his linguistic behaviour so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified, or so as to be unlike those from whom he wishes to be distinguished" (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985, p. 181). In this study, patterns of linguistic behaviour likely to align with hearing Māori addressees are use of whole-hand pointing and Māori mouthing with signs, whereas avoidance of index-extended pointing and minimisation of English mouthing may be used by Māori Deaf signers to distance themselves from non-Māori Deaf addressees.

Additionally, an example of differentiating oneself from separate audience groups within the same setting was seen with Speaker A, who alternated between identifying as MĀORI DEAF or DEAF MĀORI, potentially to highlight the difference between himself and the identity of his audiences. Participants agreed that this was likely asserting a uniquely Māori Deaf identity, differentiated from both Māori and Deaf identities, through overt stating of desired identity labels (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). Although the above example shows alternation between these two identity terms, depending on the intended audience, participants stated a unanimous current preference for their identity label to be ordered as ‘Māori Deaf’. This is likely due to these conversations occurring in Deaf/NZSL spaces, and so participants are highlighting their aspect of difference from the wider Deaf group by placing Māori first when self-identifying. When talking about self-identifying, two participants described switching from identifying as Deaf first to Māori first (i.e., changing from Deaf Māori to Māori Deaf) at different stages of their life. Interchanging these identity labels may show alignment to or distinction from intended audiences in specific contexts; however, ‘Māori Deaf’ was also described as a fixed term since Māori identity is ascribed at or before birth, whilst deafness and Deaf identity are determined afterwards. Regardless of whether ‘Māori Deaf’ or ‘Deaf Māori’ is selected, the positive identity practice of consistent double-barrel naming, along with the various language practices discussed in this chapter, allow Māori Deaf people to align with Māori and Deaf groups whilst also differentiating themselves as uniquely Māori Deaf.

6.5 Indexing Māori Deaf identity through language practices

This study sought not only to identify Māori Deaf language practices but to understand the intentions behind these practices. Focus groups discussed what they believed contributed to a Māori Deaf signing style. Typically (in the hearing population), Māori identity would entail a degree of cultural affiliation and potentially the use of te reo Māori. However, when typical resources are not available, different resources can be adopted or created to construct identity (Bucholtz, 1999). The Māori Deaf participants in this study demonstrate ways to index their identity through NZSL instead of te reo Māori, which is an unavailable resource for most Deaf people. Palfreyman (2020) notes that variable language features in signing communities may be of interest for those wanting to express diverse identities linguistically. This supports

the suggestion that linguistic features, such as those identified and analysed in this study, could be a way that Māori Deaf identity is being constructed in NZSL. Māori Deaf language practices and intentions were explored in focus groups through metapragmatic discussion. This saw a centring of the Deaf voice and collaboration with participants as per a Kaupapa Māori approach. Practices at the centre of these discussions, as well as the discussions themselves, contribute to how Māori Deaf people present their whole selves. Prior to beginning this research, I wanted to explore how Māori Deaf people expressed their ethnic identity in NZSL. However, through analysis of both the language samples and focus group discussions, it appears that the desire is not to solely express an ethnic identity in NZSL, but rather a uniquely Māori Deaf identity across different contexts.

6.6 Summary

Combining findings of linguistic features with participant ideologies expressed in metalinguistic discussions shows participant awareness and intentional use of features likely contributing to a Māori Deaf signing style among this particular CofP. Neologisms and new usages were frequent in language samples and were discussed at length by participants as salient features of their NZSL in Māori contexts. Neologisms were used to fill lexical gaps, add Māori reference to existing signs via semantic extension, and possibly to signal a Māori Deaf identity. While the choice of Māori mouthing where English mouthing is typically used was present in the samples, participants shared beliefs that minimisation of mouthing is a Māori Deaf style, although this was not clearly evident in the language data. The use of extended pauses and whole-hand pointing were present in the discourse samples, which may be adoptions of paralanguage features from spoken te reo Māori, although only pointing was described in this way by participants. These shared language practices contribute, in part, to the development of a Māori Deaf CofP which shares beliefs about the social meaning of these variants and practices. Formal conclusions drawn from discussion points in this chapter are made in the following concluding chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7 Conclusions

The aim of this study was to explore innovative language practices of Māori Deaf people and to identify associated motives and beliefs (linguistic ideologies), such as strengthening Māori Deaf identity through differentiated ways of using NZSL. The study addresses a lack of research on this topic, and investigated three research questions:

1. In what ways are Māori Deaf individuals constructing a distinct identity through the use of New Zealand Sign Language?
2. What linguistic features are they using to index that identity?
3. What ideologies do Māori Deaf individuals express regarding their identity and its connection to language practices?

The research questions were investigated through descriptive analysis of variation in target linguistic features, in addition to thematic analysis of metalinguistic discussions with Māori Deaf individuals about language and identity. Interpretation of findings was framed by the theoretical premise that identity is constructed through linguistic practices in interaction. This chapter presents major conclusions of this research, limitations to the study, and recommendations for further research.

7.1 Constructing a Māori Deaf identity in NZSL

Māori Deaf language practices for the purpose of identity expression are likely to be developed and maintained as long as regular Māori Deaf gatherings and linguistic discussions continue. Discussions showed that participants were already aware of and have previously discussed most of the target features in this study. Regular gatherings, shared language practices, and a shared discourse about identity and language indicate the formation of a Māori Deaf kaupapa whānau and CofP. If this CofP can maintain a critical mass of Māori Deaf people, ongoing development and maintenance of shared language practices is likely to be sustained.

Mouthing, neologisms, and pointing variants are all features that participants believe contribute to a Māori Deaf signing style, indexing a Māori Deaf identity in NZSL. A preference for whole-hand (PT(B)) pointing and the rationale for this preference was discussed at length by participants. The PT(B) variant was used more frequently than other variants across most of the data. As a variant already present in NZSL and a co-speech gesture present in Māori discourse, these Māori Deaf individuals are intentionally selecting this phonological variant as a Māori style of pointing, although less frequently than their metalinguistic discourse suggests.

Code-blending, as a form of language contact, was evident in two ways: usage of Māori mouthing to semantically extend reference of existing NZSL signs (such as ‘karanga’ with CALL-OUT), and usage of Māori mouthing with signs that would typically occur with English mouthing (such as ‘tamariki’ with CHILDREN). The former is a means to fulfil lexical gaps and allow discussion of Māori concepts, whereas the latter is comparable to code-switching, in the way that a hearing Māori person may intersperse English with Māori words. Language samples showed that Māori mouthing is a frequent and productive feature; however Māori Deaf participants stated that it is a lack of mouthing (in either English or Māori) which indexes a Māori Deaf signing style. Therefore, Māori mouthing seems to be intended more to semantically specify Māori cultural knowledge and concepts, and less as a practice that is intended (at least consciously) to index identity.

Using NZSL morphology and semantics, and drawing on their growing knowledge of Māori vocabulary and concepts, Māori Deaf people are creating neologisms as a resource (including new usages or adaptations of existing signs). This allows for greater participation in and expression of Māori culture and knowledge, and allows for construction of a Māori Deaf identity in Deaf spaces. Neologisms for formulaic Māori expressions and calques provide opportunity to frame a piece of discourse in NZSL as Māori. Framing of discourse as Māori in contexts where te reo Māori is typically spoken show Māori Deaf individuals highlighting the Māori aspect of their identity via performance of formal Māori discourse equivalence in NZSL. Neologisms also provide the ability to talk about Māori concepts where signs have not yet been lexicalised. Some of these signs were described by participants as taonga (treasures). These signs serve as a symbol of identity and have their own whakapapa, or evolution, from

the individual who originated the sign through to Māori Deaf people who continue to use such signs as part of their language repertoire.

Māori Deaf people identify with both the Māori world and the Deaf world in that they are both Māori and Deaf⁵. However, this thesis proposes that Māori Deaf people are also constructing their own unique Māori Deaf identity in addition to the concept of separate but dual identities as both Māori and Deaf. Intentional, open use of NZSL in front of hearing Māori whānau, the use of Māori style signing features with non-Māori Deaf people, and alternation of self-labelling between MĀORI DEAF and DEAF MĀORI shows some Māori Deaf people distinguishing themselves as different from hearing Māori people and from non-Māori Deaf people. This is not necessarily a static identity position, rather a choice to foreground differing aspects of identity to align or differentiate within particular contexts and interactions. This study highlights how the variable use of language is being used for this identity work. Māori Deaf people do share in the culture of Māori people, but since the acquisition and use of te reo Māori as a spoken language is largely inaccessible to Deaf people, Māori Deaf people are forging their own ethnic linguistic practices, to talk about cultural experience, participate in Māori contexts, and to express a Māori Deaf identity in NZSL. Whilst Māori Deaf people do share a language with the wider Deaf community (i.e., NZSL), this is a Pākehā-framed community borne out of a western-based education system. Therefore, to express their own unique Māori Deaf identity this Māori Deaf CofP are establishing and maintaining shared Māori Deaf language practices and linguistic ideologies.

7.2 Limitations

There were some limitations to the research as outlined in this section. One limitation is my identity and role as a hearing Māori NZSL interpreter as there is potential risk that my position within the community influenced what participants chose to share. It is also possible that my interpretations of the data were shaped by my own identity affiliations and values.

⁵ Although, Māori Deaf people do have an intersectional identity, using the term ‘intersectionality’ would introduce dimensions of social privileges and disadvantages associated with intersecting minority identities which is not within the scope of this study.

Another limitation was the gender imbalance in both data sets. Public speaking roles in formal Māori discourse settings and in Māori Deaf community leadership roles disproportionately favour men, likely affecting the number of available recordings of Māori Deaf females. Recordings of female Māori Deaf signers were difficult to find, with only one included for analysis. Out of the few recordings I found with Māori Deaf women signing, most were self-recorded information sharing or event announcement videos posted on social media. The narrative discourse style used in the language samples was the only exception I found. There was one recent recording of a Deaf woman performing a karanga (traditionally a female role); however, it was not included as a possible sample as it was unlikely to produce enough data for analysis. I did not find any recordings of Māori Deaf women delivering whaikōrero (most commonly a traditionally male role). Considering gender imbalance in language samples, and a slight but present gender imbalance within focus group participants, a Māori Deaf women's focus group was set up to ensure a space for female led discussion and to allow for unrestrained discussion of language features observed in male signers.

An additional limitation of this study was the location of Māori Deaf participants, in both the language samples and focus groups, skewing towards the upper North Island. This likely reflects the greater number of Māori Deaf people, and Deaf people more generally, residing in this area. Furthermore, Auckland is home to Rūaumoko, the Deaf pan-tribal marae, which has been an important base for this CofP to develop. Thus, the findings of this study are not geographically representative of Māori Deaf people living in more southern and less urban areas of New Zealand.

The relatively small number of language samples and focus group participants prevents generalisation to a wider population, as does the purposeful recruitment to this study of participants who identify with a Māori Deaf kaupapa whānau and/or CofP. Therefore, this study does not claim to represent the identity position or language use of all Deaf people who also identify as Māori. Although the language samples and focus groups are small, the data set is commensurate with the aim of close analysis of discourse, and is similar to the scope of previous qualitative inquiries involving Māori Deaf people. Due to the small data set and the exploratory aims of the project, variation in target linguistic features was identified

descriptively rather than by using quantitative methods to measure associations between social and linguistic variables. The size and scope of both data sets was also more suitable for a master's level research project of this scope.

7.3 Recommendations for further study

As language samples evidence longer and more frequent pauses in formal Māori language discourse settings, this study recommends research be conducted with the Māori Deaf CofP identified in this study to further explore this practice. Pauses may be a paralanguage contact feature from formal Māori language discourse settings, however awareness of use was not expressed by participants. Therefore, it cannot yet be determined whether Māori Deaf individuals are actually using pauses to index a Māori style.

In addition to pauses, in-group knowledge and usage of neologisms found in formulaic discourse, and comments about minimisation of mouthing as a feature of Māori Deaf whaikōrero style, indicates a possible multi-layered Māori Deaf CofP. Further study is recommended to determine whether smaller groups, such as a possible whaikōrero-based CofP, align with the practices (where applicable) of hearing Māori counterparts.

The intended audience of these target features is also yet to be explored. In the case of the pōwhiri sample, the audience are predominantly hearing people who are receiving the message in a spoken language through an interpreter. Therefore, these language practices, when used in this context, are likely for other Deaf signers. However, more research is required to determine the degree to which these practices are designed to align with particular audiences.

The development of signs with Māori reference is also a topic recommended for further research over time. This study identified neologisms with Māori reference but out of scope was the exploration of Māori Deaf beliefs regarding hearing Māori and non-Māori Deaf people's roles in creating and/or using these signs, and beliefs around the desired users of signs with Māori reference.

Finally, other areas recommended for study are: the outcomes of more intense language contact situations between NZSL and te reo Māori, such as a Māori Deaf child in Māori language immersion education; research focussed exclusively on Māori Deaf language practices in formal Māori discourse settings; variation in palm orientation with pointing variants, for example usage of PT(B) palm up versus PT(B) palm to the side; and lastly, a comparative study between Māori Deaf and Pākehā Deaf signers relating to the target language features of this study to establish whether they are exclusively associated with Māori NZSL users and/or with particular contexts or styles.

This research process centred around collaboration with Māori Deaf people, from initial consultation with stakeholders through to focus group participation. Translation of data and research materials made for a multi-layered research process and called for validation of findings back-translated into NZSL in order to ensure accuracy. This collaboration will continue after the conclusion of this study, with a hui to discuss findings with a wider group of Māori Deaf people, and a NZSL summary of this research provided to Māori Deaf participants, to be shared more widely. Success of this research process is due to the layers of relationship-building with this research whānau through all phases of the study, including support from a Māori Deaf facilitator. Recommendations for future researchers in this space are to co-design a collaborative research process where the study is co-constructed with research participants.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Participant information sheet

Māori Deaf style in NZSL

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

Ko Kakepuku te maunga

Ko Waipā te awa

Ko Tainui te waka

Ko Ngāti Maniapoto te iwi

Ko Ngāti Unu, Ngāti Kahu ngā hapū

Ko Melissa Simchowitz ahau

Tēnā koe,

My name is Melissa Simchowitz and I am a Masters student in Applied Linguistics at Te Herenga Waka - Victoria University of Wellington. This research project is work towards my thesis.

You are invited to take part in this research. Please read this information before deciding whether to take part. If you decide to participate, thank you. If you decide not to participate, thank you for considering this request.

He aha te whāinga mō tēnei rangahau / What is the aim of the project?

This is part of a study on Māori Deaf language choices in NZSL. We want to show you videos of Māori Deaf signers and discuss some of their language choices. This will help us better understand how Māori Deaf people are using NZSL in relation to identity. This research has been approved by the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee – ethical approval reference number 0000030293

Ka pēhea tō āwhina mai / How can you help?

You have been invited to participate because you are a Māori Deaf person who is:

- Signing in the videos we will watch and/or;
- Involved with Māori Deaf events

If you agree to take part, you will be part of a focus group on Zoom. I will show you some video recordings and ask questions about signs, signing styles, or other language features from the recordings. The focus group will take approximately 90 -120 minutes. I will video record the focus group with your permission and write it up later.

Out of respect for others in the focus group please do not openly/freely share the information discussed in this meeting or who took part. Take a minute to consider the thoughts and feelings of others before repeating information outside of this focus group and how you repeat it.

You can withdraw from the focus group at any time before the focus group begins.

You can also withdraw while the focus group it is in progress. However, it will not be possible to withdraw the information you have provided up to that point as it will be part of a discussion with other participants.

What will happen to the information you give?

This research is confidential. This means that the researcher named below will be aware of your identity, but the research data will be combined, and your identity will not be revealed in any reports, presentations, or public documentation. You can also request that your name be used if you prefer. However, you should be aware that in small projects your identity might be obvious to others in your community even if you are not named.

Only my supervisor, transcriber and I will read the notes or transcript of the focus group. The focus group transcripts, summaries and any recordings will be kept securely and destroyed on 31st December 2024.

What will the project produce?

The information from my research will be used in my master's thesis, and other academic publications and conferences.

If you accept this invitation, what are your rights as a research participant?

You do not have to accept this invitation if you don't want to. If you do decide to participate, you have the right to:

- choose not to answer any question;
- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the focus group;
- withdraw from the focus group while it is taking part, however it will not be possible to withdraw the information you have provided up to that point;
- ask any questions about the study at any time;
- read over and comment on a summary of the focus group;
- be able to read any reports or summary of this research by emailing the researcher to request a copy.

If you have any questions or problems, who can you contact?

If you have any questions, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:

Melissa Simchowicz (researcher)

sutton.meli@myvuw.ac.nz

Rachel McKee (supervisor)

Rachel.McKee@vuw.ac.nz

Human Ethics Committee information

If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research, you may contact the Victoria University HEC Convenor: Rhonda Shaw. Email hec@vuw.ac.nz.

Appendix B: Participant consent form

Māori Deaf style in NZSL

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN FOCUS GROUP

This consent form will be held for 3 years.

Researcher: Melissa Simchowitz, School of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies, Te Herenga Waka - Victoria University of Wellington.

- I have read the Information Sheet and the project has been explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I can ask further questions at any time.
- I agree to take part in a video recorded focus group.

I understand that:

- Out of respect for others in the focus group I will not openly/freely share the information discussed in this meeting or who took part. I will consider the thoughts and feelings of others before repeating information outside of this focus group and how I repeat it.
- I can withdraw from the focus group while it is in progress however it will not be possible to withdraw the information I have provided up to that point as it will be part of a discussion with other participants.
- The identifiable information I have provided will be destroyed on 31st December 2024.
- Any information I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher, transcriber, and the supervisor.
- I understand that the results will be used for a master's thesis, and other academic publications and conferences.
- My name will not be used in reports, nor will any information that would identify me. But I can request that my name be used if I prefer. I am aware that in small projects my identity might be obvious to others in my community even if I am not named.

• I would like a summary of the focus group Yes ☐ No ☐

• I would like to receive a copy of a research summary and have added my email address below. Yes ☐ No ☐

Signature of participant: _____

Name of participant: _____

Date: _____

Contact details: _____

Appendix C: Interview schedule

FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Data collection method:

- Focus group, approximately 90 - 120 minutes in length
- Video-recorded for data analysis purposes
- No identifying personal information
- Video data is obviously not anonymous, but the identity of individual participants will be anonymised in writing up analysis of the data, unless requested otherwise.

Questions / prompts before videos

1. What ways do you think Māori Deaf people show their identity in the Deaf community?
2. Do you think Māori Deaf people sign differently with Pākehā Deaf people than with other Māori Deaf people?
 - Why/ why not?
3. What ways do you think Māori Deaf people show their identity in the hearing Māori community?

Videos

Speaker A

1. What was interesting/ what did you notice about language in this video? (e.g., signs, gestures, ways of signing etc.) Is there anything Māori about this?
2. Why do you think the signer did this?

Speaker B

1. What was interesting/ what did you notice about language in this video? (e.g., signs, gestures, ways of signing etc.) Is there anything Māori about this?
2. Why do you think the signer did this?

Additional questions:

What do you think about:

- Bows – at beginning of clip
- Mihi vs tēnā tātou variations – I will demonstrate these
- ‘Ngā hau e whā’ neologism

Speaker E

1. What was interesting/ what did you notice about language in this video? (e.g., signs, gestures, ways of signing etc.) Is there anything Māori about this?
2. Why do you think the signer did this?

Speaker C

1. What do you think about pointing variations?

Speaker D

1. What was interesting/ what did you notice about language in this video? (e.g., signs, gestures, ways of signing etc.) Is there anything Māori about this?
2. Why do you think the signer did this?

Optional questions (if there is time)

1. Show MARAE variations. What do you think about these?
2. What did you notice about:
 - Pointing
 - Māori lip patterns
 - Māori signs
 - Pauses
3. Any other experiences / final thoughts about Māori Deaf style in NZSL?

Appendix D: Table of neologisms⁶

Neologisms from language sample data

Concept (Number of variants)	English Translation	Word Class	Status of Sign
			Native = native NZSL sign
		N = noun	C = compound
		V = verb	Calque = loan translation
		PN = proper noun	PV = phonological variation
		Exclamation = E	SE = semantic extension
		Adjective = A	SEM = SE via te reo Māori mouthing
Haere, haere, haere atu rā	farewell (usually to the deceased)	V	SE+C+Calque
haka	posture dance	N/V	Native
hongī	to press noses in greeting	N/V	Native
iwi (2)	tribe, extended kinship group	N	SE+C, Native
kaikaranga	the woman/women who make the ceremonial call	N	SE
kaikōrero	speaker	N	SE
kaitiaki	Guardian/s or caretaker/s of		SE
karakia	incantation, prayer, chant	N/V	SEM
karanga (3)	ceremonial call	N/V	SE, SE, SEM+PV
kia ora	hello, be well	E	SEM

⁶ Disclaimer: I wish to emphasise that this table of neologisms does not confirm that these signs are widely accepted or used by all Māori Deaf people. It is not my aim to compile this list as a form of validating or disseminating these particular usages.

koha	gift, present, offering	N	SEM+C
kuia	female elder	N	PV
mana (2)	authority, spiritual power, status*	N	SEM, SEM
marae	traditional tribe affiliated meeting grounds	N	PV
moko	Māori tattoo	N	Native
ngā hau e whā	The Four Winds, people from the four corners of the world	N	Native
Ngāti Porou	tribal group from the East Coast	PN	SEM+C
Ngāti Turi	group name, Deaf/ Māori deaf collective	PN	SEM+C+Calque
Ngāti Turi o Aotearoa	group name, Deaf/ Māori Deaf people of New Zealand	PN	SEM+C+Calque
Panguru	small town in Northland	PN	Native
Papatūānuku (2)	Mother Earth*	PN	SEM, SEM+C+Calque
pepeha	formal Māori self-introduction	N	SEM
pōwhiri	welcoming ceremony	N/V	SEM
Rūaumoko	name of the Deaf marae, god of earthquakes*	PN	SEM
taiaha	long wooden weapon	N	Noun to verb modification
Tāne-mahuta (3)	god of the forest*	PN	SEM, SEM+C+Calque, Native
tapu	sacred, holy, restricted	A	SE

tauutuutu	alternating speakers between host and visiting group at a pōwhiri	N	SE
Te Pō	the perpetual night, a time close to the beginning of time	PN	SEM
te reo Māori	the Māori language	PN	C+Calque
tēnā koe	hello (to one person)	E	Native
tēnā koe/ kōrua/ koutou/ tātou (10)	greeting/farewell to one, two, three or more (including or excluding the speaker)	E	C, C, C, PV, PV, PV, PV, SE+C, SEM+PV, SE+C
Tu Tangata Turi	Māori Deaf group name	PN	SEM+C+Calque
tūpuna	ancestors	N	SEM+C
Tūrangi	a small town south of Taupō	PN	SEM
waharoa	main entranceway	N	Native
waiata	song, to sing	V	SE
wairua (2)	spirit, soul*	N	SE, SEM
whaikōrero	formal speech-making	V	SE
whakawhanaunga- tanga	process of establishing relationships	V	Native
whānau	extended family	N	SEM
Whānau Turi	group name, Deaf family	PN	SEM+C+Calque
whare	house, building	N	SE

Note: New variants of conventional signs are included as well as proper nouns.

GLOSSARY OF MĀORI WORDS

Aroha	love*
Atua	deity/deities*
Hapū	subtribe/s
Haere haere haere atu rā	farewell to the deceased
Hui	gathering/s
Iwi	tribe
Kaitiaki	guardians or caretakers of
Karakia	incantation, prayer, chant
Karanga	ceremonial call
Kaumātua	elder/s
Kaupapa Māori	Māori values-based
Kaupapa	purpose
Kaupapa Whānau	a group of people who may or may not be biologically related, but are connected through commitment to a shared kaupapa
Mana	authority*
Manaakitanga	care/ generosity/ hospitality
Marae	traditional tribe affiliated meeting grounds
Ngā hau e whā	the four winds
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent

Papatūānuku	Mother earth*
Pepeha	formal self-introduction in te reo Māori
Pōwhiri	formal welcoming ceremony
Taiaha	long wooden weapon
Tamariki	children
Tāne-Mahuta	god of the forest*
Tangihanga	funeral
Taonga	treasure/s
Tauparapara	traditional chant, incantation
Te Ao Māori	the Māori world
Te Reo Māori	the Māori language
Tēnā koe	hello/ thank you (speaking to one person)
Tikanga	customs
Wairua	spirit*
Waka	canoe
Wānanga	gatherings for discussions/ learning or Māori tertiary institution/s
Whaikōrero	formal speech-making
Whakapapa	genealogy
Whakapapa Māori	Māori genealogy
Whakawhanaungatanga	building relationships

Whānau	extended family
Whare Tūpuna	ancestral house
Whenua	land

Note: These are Māori words appearing within chapters and do not include words from Appendix D: Table of neologisms from language samples.