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edited by Dianne Bardsley

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Contents

Editorial

Three different aspects of New Zealand English lexis and issues relating to lexis in New Zealand are examined in this 2006 issue of the Wellington Working Papers in Linguistics. These include a paper from an undergraduate assignment in LING 322 *New Zealand English*, a section of a study in a PhD investigation, and a paper from an ongoing diachronic study of the place of te reo Maori in New Zealand English.

The first paper is contributed by Katherine Quigley, whose PhD study focuses on the lexis relating to Public Service reforms in the years 1984 to 1994. A comprehensive analysis of the figurative language in a corpus of almost one million words from the New Zealand Treasury's *Annual Reports* and *Briefings to the Incoming Governments* is made. In particular, Katherine explores the broad range of metaphors found in the *Briefings* papers.

In the second paper in this volume, Amigo Westbrook examines the extent to which terms recorded in New Zealand English from te reo Maori can be regarded as authentic loan words, and presents the concept of common knowledge to distinguish these from terms for which there is little understanding or use. The data for his study is taken from a short lexicon of twenty-nine te reo Maori terms found in Situations Vacant advertisements, and the administration of a questionnaire survey of comprehension and usage.

Finally, John Macalister discusses the factors relating to the origins of place-names and the renaming of places in New Zealand, with particular reference to the establishment and maintenance of personal and collective identities.

Together, these papers provide a sample of the variety in current research into New Zealand English lexis that is being carried out in the School of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies at Victoria University of Wellington.

Dianne Bardsley

December 2007

The Metaphors of Economic Change

Katherine Quigley

Abstract

During a lexicographical study of the New Zealand Treasury's *Annual Reports* and *Briefings to the Incoming Governments* dating from the decade 1984 - 1994, figurative language in these government documents was analysed. The purpose of this paper is to present the range of metaphors used in this dataset. It will be seen that the Treasury in New Zealand during this ten-year period used at least ten different metaphorical constructs to represent changes taking place in the national and international economies. In this context one metaphor stood out as of striking importance, as measured by both frequency of occurrence and quantity of discrete linguistic instantiations: the metaphor of physical motion. This metaphor is a powerful and often-used tool for talking or writing about economics, which can be found in the business section of any daily newspaper, yet has been little recognised or studied to date. Apart from the physical movement metaphor, a number of others occurred in the corpus of just under one million (903,760 approx.) words. They are equally colourful and expressive, but are minor players in the discourse of economics when compared to the metaphor of physical motion.

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Data Sources

Two types of government document were used for this study: firstly, the *Annual Report* which under the Public Finance Act every public service department is required to supply to Parliament. Secondly, the three-yearly *Briefing to the Incoming Government (BIG)*, prepared by each public service department prior to an election. Within the New Zealand Treasury, overall responsibility for authorship of the *BIGs* rests with the Policy Co-ordination and Development Unit, a think-tank-like group within the Treasury[1]. From one election year to the next, there was approximately a 50% turnover of staff within this unit[2]. The documents are lengthy, each one like a book in itself, with each book often divided into two volumes, and each volume running to as many as 15 chapters. In key years for policy formation such as 1984 and 1999, two sets of briefings were produced. They offer detailed and in-depth advice to the new, post-election governments, and

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[1] "PCD's role is to maintain an overview across Treasury policy development, keep abreast of emerging ideas and research and review and challenge existing Treasury thinking. PCD provides analysis and advice on medium-term strategy issues." (NZ Treasury, 2005/2006: 44)

[2] David King, Director, Development Strategy, Ministry of Economic Development, formerly of The Treasury, personal communication (2005).

cover all aspects of New Zealand's economy, from the structure of the financial system itself to specific issues such as export markets for certain types of manufacturer.

Because 1984 was a very important year which saw a major change in policy direction, the briefings put out during July of that year are the longest ever produced by Treasury. At a total of 31 chapters as compared to the next longest (17 chapters in total for the two briefings from 1999), they are almost twice as long as any year's *BIGs*, from the earliest records available online through the following two decades up to the present day. With the Treasury *BIGs* in particular, we have a dataset consisting of a decade's worth of government briefings, emanating from the prime mover of public policy, covering the ten years which were at the heart of the first wave of dramatic core reforms to New Zealand's state sector.

Theoretical Framework

Metaphor theory is complex, and being continually refined as a result of ongoing research. At the time of writing no agreement prevails as to where the study of metaphor should fit within the traditional theoretical frameworks used for language description. As Moon (2002: 391) observes:

> Metaphor is sometimes associated with literary language, but it is an old issue within linguistics and the philosophy of language. In addition to studies of metaphor within semantics, metaphor is an active research area within psycholinguistics and language engineering.

Space does not allow an in-depth examination of the current state of the field of metaphor studies, but a brief introduction is given here to contextualise the findings which follow. Throughout this paper metaphors are expressed via small capital letters, according to the convention established by such influential writers in cognitive linguistics as Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Kovecses (2005). The small capitals should be understood as denoting concepts, not words. "An important point about the kinds of systematic metaphor that Lakoff and Johnson describe is that they link concepts and not individual words." (Moon 2002: 395). That is, it is the concept of money that is linked to the concept of water, not necessarily the lexical items *money* and *water*.

Metaphor as a type of linguistic innovation is based on a perception of similarities, such as Turner's example of *banjo* for *shovel* (1966: 36). As Moon (2002: 397) points out, "there is a long tradition of seeing metaphor essentially as a comparison that implies an underlying simile." This type of "metaphorical creativity" as Lyons (1977: 567) calls it, is not yet understood, nor is it known how metaphor is represented in the brain. What is clear is that metaphors are not based merely on random likenesses; Ramachandran (2003: 9) makes the interesting observation that "metaphors are also directional. Certain directions like sound to touch, or vision to

hearing, versus hearing to vision are much more common and there is no way you can explain this except in terms of anatomical constraints in the brain."

The foundation for this suggestion was laid by Lakoff and Johnson's 1980 book *Metaphors We Live By*, which claimed that metaphor is not simply a matter of linguistic form, but is a surface reflection of basic bodily experience, so that some kind of reasoned transfer from concrete physical experience to abstract thought has taken place, which has resulted in connections being made in the human brain. This means that not only do we speak in metaphors, but that they actually are how we experience our daily reality. This notion is the essence of the cognitive framework. Thus Kovecses (2005: 3) cites AFFECTION IS WARMTH as an example of a primary metaphor, because of the correlation in childhood experience between bodily warmth and the loving embrace of parents.

In analysing individual metaphors, Lakoff (1987: 283) proposed a *Spatialization of Form* hypothesis, which "requires a metaphorical mapping, from physical space into a 'conceptual space'…. More specifically, image schemas (which structure space) are mapped into the corresponding abstract configurations (which structure concepts)." So there are metaphors which project "image schemas into abstract domains, preserving their basic logic. The metaphors are not arbitrary but are themselves motivated by structures inhering in everyday bodily experience" (*ibid*. p. 275).

An example of just such a metaphor which was found in the New Zealand government documents and which follows this introduction, is the set of terms for concepts such as *fall, go up, drop, higher (interest rate), low (reserves)*, and so on. With this image, which was extraordinarily prevalent in the Treasury dataset, the source domain is verticality, and the target domain, quantity. This particular mapping occurs because "the UP-DOWN schema structures all of our functioning relative to gravity" (Lakoff 1987: 276). "There is a structural correlation in our daily experience that motivates every detail in this particular metaphorical mapping….The correlation is overwhelming: MORE correlates with UP. LESS correlates with DOWN. VERTICALITY serves as an appropriate source domain for understanding QUANTITY because of the regular correlation in our experience between VERTICALITY and QUANTITY. Every detail of the metaphor is motivated by our physical functioning" (*ibid*. p. 277).

Complex metaphors therefore, such as those found in the briefing papers to the incoming governments and which are listed hereunder, function as "conceptual correspondences, or more technically, mappings" (Kovecses 2005: 26) between two domains, wherein the source is the more physical kind of domain and the target the more abstract. For example in another metaphor described in the next section, the source domain is WATER and the target domain MONEY. What follows then, is a catalogue of the complex conceptual metaphors which were found in the published documents of the Treasury, and their linguistic instantiations.

Findings

This section constitutes an account of the metaphors used in the *Briefings to the Incoming Government* by the New Zealand Treasury during the decade 1984 – 1994. It is interesting that while the Treasury *BIGs* are relatively rich in such linguistic figures, the *Annual Reports* for the period contain almost none. It is also interesting that the same document types during the same time period but from another ministry, namely the *BIGs* and the *Annual Reports* from the Department of Social Welfare, do not contain any metaphor at all – possible reasons for this are discussed in the next section of this paper.

The first subsection below deals with by far the most striking image to emerge from a complete reading of this document type across the ten years: the use of the lexis of physical movement to express change in the economic domain. This phenomenon was first noticed, and pointed out in passing, by Kennedy in an article on first language processing in 1978, and Lakoff (1987: 321) makes this one brief mention of it: "For example, the MORE IS UP metaphorical model constitutes conceptual scaffolding for, say, discussions about economics – price rises, depressions, downturns, etc." Apart from these two cursory references, no one seems to have taken the idea up or studied it in any depth. It is hoped that the provision below of empirical data will make a useful contribution to existing knowledge in the field of metaphor research.

Terms of Physical Motion as a Metaphor for Economic Change

Detailed and exhaustive lists follow of all the lexical instantiations by which this conceptual metaphor is realised in this data set. References are to the New Zealand Treasury *Briefings to the Incoming Government* unless otherwise labelled as from an *Annual Report* (A.R.), and give the year of publication, volume if relevant, chapter, and page number. Full bibliographical details for each of these documents can be found in the list of data sources at the end of this paper. The metaphor lists are arranged by part of speech as used in the original context, with the largest category, which as might be expected, is verbs of motion, first, then nouns, adjectives and adverbs in decreasing order of frequency. These words have only been collected if they were used in a metaphorical sense, and if they also occurred in a context relating to economic change, ie to money in real terms, or to funding models or systems. Where words to do with motion occurred either literally or metaphorically but in a more general context, i.e. unrelated to economic change, they have not been included in the following lists.

As lists of discrete lexical items cannot give the full flavour of this metaphor in the way that extended prose does, some excerpts are given below, in chronological order of publication, to illuminate the type of written discourse in which the imagery occurs. It will be seen that these examples are densely packed with terms of upward, outward, downward and sideways motion, of opening and closing movements, and of relative speeds. These orientations correlate well with the

schema variously categorised by Lakoff as up-down (vertical movement), containment, front-back (on a horizontal plane), centre-periphery, and relations (part-whole, etc); metaphorical concepts which "structure our experience of space" (Lakoff 1987: 283).

- "This in itself will reduce upward pressure on costs and prices and the output loss that is often associated with the process of disinflation." (1984, *Economic Management*, Part II: 2: 132)

- "A relatively low share price has the effect of raising the firm's cost of capital which in turn reduces its ability to expand and increases the risk of takeover or divestment." (1987, *Government Management*, Part I: 2: 100)

- "For example, there is some evidence to suggest that while policies to achieve rapid disinflation will have higher initial adjustment costs, total costs could be lowered because the initial cost can shock people into a faster change to their wage and price setting behaviour, thereby promoting a faster and less costly transition to low inflation." (1987, *Government Management*, Part I: 4: 196)

- "Monetary policy actions are assumed to be directed towards offsetting the inflationary pressures of both higher demand and the downward pressures on the exchange rate." (1990, *Briefing to the Incoming Government 1990*, Ch. 2: 26)

- "When the freeze was lifted, there was a rapid resurgence of pent-up wage and price pressures."(1990, *Briefing to the Incoming Government 1990*, Ch. 5: 53)

- "Growing tax revenues and declining unemployment will help close the deficit and offer a more resilient economy in which rapid fiscal progress can be made." (1993, *Briefing to the Incoming Government 1993*, Ch. 1: 25)

- "The September QSBO suggested little upward drift in selling prices, while lower imported inflation, the lagged impact of mortgage-rate falls, and rising productivity suggest the CPI movement should remain comfortably within the target range." (1993, *Briefing to the Incoming Government 1993*, Ch. 2: 42)

It could be argued that this metaphor of movement has over time become so embedded in the English language that in its most common representations: words such as *go up*, *fall*, *grow bigger* and *reduce*, it has become a "dead" metaphor and there is no other way of saying something than by using these words. This is certainly true to some extent. It is obvious that quantity is represented on a vertical plane in the English language (as well as in other languages such as Mandarin Chinese), so these types of words are to some extent inevitable and their use is constrained, without alternatives. To the extent that there are no non-metaphorical

synonyms, it is certain that most users have lost sight of the original metaphor as used in this context.

So can a metaphor exist if there is not also non-metaphorical usage to describe the same subject matter? Metaphor in the Treasury *BIGs* is not spread throughout the documents, as there are many chapters with no metaphor in them at all. The quotations above are a sample of the quantity and density of metaphorical items found in those sections of the Treasury papers which are concerned with change in economic policies; their pattern of occurrence supports the observation in Cameron and Juurd (2004: 108) that "metaphors are not evenly distributed across talk or text, but come in clusters or bursts at certain points, and may be nearly totally absent at other points...". The quotations above also illustrate that there is more going on here than long-dead words which used to relate to physical motion. In the frequency of occurrence, in the variety of expressions by which the metaphor is represented, and in the sheer force of the metaphorical lexis of movement, these images go beyond ordinary high frequency words which used to relate to motion but have lost their primary meaning.

I suggest that one of the reasons why these types of phrases using the vocabulary of physical movement are the primary metaphor discovered in the Treasury papers, is that economics as a discipline is sometimes graphical, and policymaker economists tend to use expositional diagrams to illustrate data (rather than conceptual diagrams like the supply/demand curve)[3]. It is possible that the economists employed in writing these document types were conceptualising economic changes as represented by lines and movements on a graph.

The second explanation I propose here is that economics is often concerned with changes and rates of change. The physics of motion is also concerned with change and rate of change, hence perhaps similar conceptual structures have led to the adoption of the same lexis.

Table 1
Verbs

accelerate (v.i.) (90.1.9)	bottom out (v.i.) (87.II.1.11)
accelerate (v.t.) (87.I.4.203)	break away from (v.i.) (87.II.1.9)
advance (v.i.)(84.2.14.313)	break down (v.i.) (87.II.6.195)
advance (v.t.) (91.AR.58)	broaden (v.i.) (93.2.32)
arise (v.i.) (87.II.10.272)	broaden (v.t.) (90.1.9)
arrest (v.t.) (87.I.4.207)	bundle (v.t.) (87.II.6.178)
attract into (v.t.) (87.I.4.196)	bundle together (v.t.) (87.II.10.271)
balance (v.t.) (87.II.10.271)	capture (v.t.) (87.I.2.114)
bind (84.2.4.154)	channel (v.t.) (84.2.5.163)
boost (v.t.) (87.I.6.363)	close down (v.i.) (90.2.20)

close off (v.t.) (87.I.4.202)	even up (v.i.) (87.II.6.196)
constrain (87.I.4.195)	exercise (v.t.) (84.2.3.139)
construct (v.t.) (87.II.10.294)	exit (v.t.) (93.3.58)
contract (v.i. & v.t.) (84.1.3.57)	expand (v.i.) (87.I.6.373)
counterbalance (v.t.) (87.II.6.196)	expand (v.t.) (87.I.6.366)
cram (v.i.) (87.II.6.196)	fall (v.i.) (84.1.3.56)
crowd out (v.t.) (84.2.7.176)	fall back (v.i.) (93.2.31)
curb (84.2.3.136)	fall behind (v.i.) (93.1.11)
cushion (84.2.1.104)	fall off (v.i.) (87.I.4.209)
cut (v.t.) (90.1.4)	feed through to (v.i.) (87.II.6.196)
cut back (v.t.) (90.3.35)	flatten out (84.1.3.55)
dampen (84.2.1.104)	float (v.i.) (84.2.3.137)
decelerate (v.i.) (87.I.6.391)	float (v.t.) (87.I.4.197)
decentralise (v.t.) (87.II.6.193)	flow (v.i.) (87.II.10.273)
decline (v.i.) (90.2.17)	fluctuate (v.i.) (84.2.6.171)
deliver (v.t.) (87.I.2.94)	freeze (v.t.) (84.2.3.140)
depress (v.t.) (84.2.3.135)	go (87.I.2.93)
destabilise (84.2.7.182)	grapple (v.i.) (90.1.2)
devolve (v.t.) (87.I.2.91)	grapple with (v.t.) (93.1.26)
disburse (v.t.) (87.I.2.91)	group (v.i.) (87.I.2.94)
disinflate (v.i.) (87.I.4.204)	grow (v.i.) (84.2.4.146)
displace (v.t.) (84.2.7.176)	halt (v.i.) (87.I.6.365)
distort (v.t.) (87.I.4.201)	halt (v.t.) (90.2.17)
diverge (v.i.) (84.2.5.165)	hamstring (84.2.1.106)
divert (84.2.15.321)	hold (v.t.) (84.2.9.208)
divert into (v.t.) (87.I.4.196)	hold down (v.t.) (87.I.2.101)
double (v.i.) (87.II.1.11)	hold up (84.1.3.56)
draw away (v.t.) (84.2.4.153)	impact on (v.t.) (84.2.4.153)
draw out (v.t.) (84.2.3.137)	impede (87.I.2.90)
drive (v.t.) (87.I.6.372)	increase (v.i.) (84. 2.3.140)
drive down (v.t.) (90.9.154)	increase (v.t.) (84.2.3.137)
drive out (v.t.) (87.I.2.105)	interpose (v.refl.) (87.II.10.272)
drive up (v.t.) (84.2.3.137)	invert (v.t.) (87.I.4.204)
drop (v.i.) (84.2.7.184)	lag (v.i.) (87.II.5.144)
drop (v.t.) (84.2.6.171)	lag behind (v.t.) (87.II.9.268)
drop back (v.i.) (90.2.15)	lean against (v.t.) (90.1.13)
ease back (v.i.) (84.2.3.140)	leave (v.i.) (84.2.11.236)
ease-out (v.t.) (87.II.9.262)	lengthen (v.i.) (84.2.11.236)
ease up (v.t.) (84.2.3.137)	level off (v.i.) (87.I.6.366)
emerge (84.2.1.108)	level out (v.i.) (87.I.6.390)
enter (v.i.) (84.2.11.236)	level up (v.t.) (87.II.5.149)
erode (v.t.) (84.2.5.159)	lift (v.t.) (84.2.4.154)
escape (v.t.) (90.3.32)	loosen (v.t.) (90.4.44)
evaporate (v.i.) (93.5.99)	lower (v.t.) (84.2.3.139)

lump together (v.t.) (90.7.86)
mesh (v.i.) (87.II.10.289)
moderate (84.1.3.59)
move (84.2.1.108)
move away from (87.I.2.102)
move back (v.t.) (90.1.8)
move up (v.i.) (90.4.42)
narrow (v.i.) (93.1.25)
narrow (v.t.) (87.I.2.103)
offset (v.t.) (87.I.2.102)
open up (84.2.11.236)
outstrip (v.t.) (90.1.9)
overlap (v.i.) (90.9.147)
pass (v.i.) (87.I.2.97)
peak (v.i.) (87.II.1.11)
phase-in (v.t.) (87.II.9.263)
pick up (v.i.) (90.2.24)
pitch (v.t.) (87.II.9.261)
plug (v.t.) (84.2.10.210)
point (v.i.) (87.I.6.386)
precipitate (v.t.) (87.I.4.204)
protect (84.2.1.107)
pull (v.t.) (90.1.5)
pursue (v.t.) (84.2.8.195)
push forward (v.t.) (87.I.4.205)
push up (v.t.) (90.4.42)
raise (v.t.) (84.2.4.142)
ratchet up (84.2.1.112)
rebalance (v.t.) (90.1.6)
rebuild (v.t.) (87.I.6.366)
reconstruct (87.I.2.100)
redeploy (v.t.) (87.II.9.262)
redirect (84.2.4.151)
reduce (v.t.) (84.2.3.140)
re-emerge (v.i.) (90.1.13)
relax (v.t.) (87.I.2.88)
release (84.2.11.235)
remove (v.t.) (87.II.10.277)
restrain (v.t.) (84.2.4.143)
restrict (84.2.4.154)
restructure (87.I.2.101)
retard (v.t.) (87.I.4.194)
reverse (v.i.) (87.I.4.213)
reverse (v.t.) (90.1.5)

revert (v.i.) (87.II.9.262)
revolve (84.2.5.165)
rise (v.i.) (87.I.4.201)
roll back (v.t.) (84.2.8.196)
run (v.i.) (87.I.4.206)
run (v.t.) (84.2.7.179)
run down (v.t.) (87.I.6.366)
scale down (v.t.) (90.3.35)
scrap (v.t.) (90.2.20)
separate (v.t.) (87.I.2.100)
set (87.I.2.101)
shape (v.t.) (90.3.32)
shed (84.2.14.310)
shield (v.t.) (90.3.36)
shift (v.i.) (87.I.4.202)
slip back (84.1.3.55)
slot into (v.t.) (87.II.10.289)
slow (v.t.) (84.1.3.55)
slow (v.i.) (87.I.2.120)
slow down (v.i.) (87.I.4.205)
smooth (v.t.) (84.2.7.182)
split (v.i.) (93.1.13)
split up (v.t.) (87.I.2.108)
spread (v.i.) (87.I.4.202)
spread (v.t.) (87.I.4.210)
squeeze (v.t.) (87.I.6.390)
stabilise (v.i.) (87.I.6.391)
stall (v.i.) (90.4.42)
stand up (v.i.) (87.I.4.192)
stretch (v.t.) (93.1.11)
strike (v.t.) (90.1.11)
subside (84.2.4.147)
support (v.t.) (90.1.4)
suppress (84.2.3.134)
surge (v.i.) (93.2.31)
switch (v.t.) (84.2.11.245)
target (v.t.) (90.1.3)
thrust (87.I.2.113)
tighten (v.t.) (84.2.3.137)
tip over (v.i.) (90.2.29)
transfer (84.2.13.293)
treble (87.II.10.269)
trigger (01.5;AR)
turn (v.i.) (87.II.6.177)

turn down (v.i.) (84.2.11.234)
uncover (v.t.) (90.4.42)
unwind (v.i.) (90.2.24)

weigh (v.t.) (87.II.10.273)
widen (v.i.) (84.1.3.57)
wind down (v.i.) (90.2.24)

In the above list there is a subgroup of verbs slightly different in that they may not directly consist of active movement, but they cannot exist without movement. They act in a negative sense to stop or slow physical motion, and for this reason they have been included in the list. These verbs are *arrest, curb, constrain, cushion, freeze (v.t.), halt, hamstring, hold, impede, restrain, restrict, retard* and *stall*.

A second subset of the verbs listed above is those involving the notion of balance. To be consistent with the "stopping" verbs just mentioned and because some movement is a prerequisite for all of these words too, in order to reach an equilibrium, they also have been included here. These verbs are *balance, counterbalance, rebalance, stabilise* and *weigh*. In their semantic notion they are linked to the set of *level off, level out* and *level up*, and *flatten out*, also in the list. A pair to do with cohesion (*bind*) and dissolution (*erode*) have also been included in the above list as involving some movement.

In addition to these, there were many other verbs in the Treasury *BIGs* which could have been construed from their context as related to movement, but in the end were not included in this list because they were not clearcut cases. Examples of such verbs are *absorb* (84.2.8.198), *conceal* (84.2.1.104), *perform* (87.I.2.102), *reinforce* (84.2.7.181), *underlie* (v.t.) (90.1.9), *undermine* (84.2.7.175), *underpin* (v.t.) (90.1.10) and *weaken* (v.i.) (90.2.24). Interestingly, several of these have to do with the notion of physical strength of structures. The related notion of tensile strength is another similar domain, and accordingly the word *tightness* (84.2.4.154) was omitted from the list of nouns which follows (although *tightening* was included, as the gerund more definitely conveys the feeling of movement). As these examples show, it is sometimes difficult to determine what constitutes motion and what does not, but in the end it was decided to draw the line at verbs like these, which indubitably do include some physical movement, but where that is so slight as to be tangential to the word's primary meaning.

Table 2
Nouns

acceleration (84.1.3.57)
action (84.2.7.177)
adjustment (90.3.32)
bind (84.2.5.167)
blow-out (93.1.9)
blunting (87.I.2.105)
boost (87.I.6.387)
bottoming out (84.1.3.57)

bounceback (84.1.3.57)
break (90.2.28)
break-up (90.9.149)
broadening (90.6.77)
build-up (84.1.3.56)
carriage (meaning "carrying")(87.I.2.105)
carrier (87.I.2.106)

carry over (87.I.6.388)
clash (84.2.10.212)
collapse (84.2.4.147)
containment (87.I.2.101)
contraction (84.2.5.158)
creep (90.6.80)
crowding out (84.2.7.174)
cut (84.2.7.176)
cut-back (87.I.6.362)
cutting (84.2.15.320)
decline (84.1.3.55)
decrease (84.)
deepening (84.2.5.168)
deflation (87.I.4.202)
deflator (87.I.4.208)
delivery (87.I.2.88)
deposit (84.2.4.154)
devolution (87.I.2.92)
disinflation (84.2.2.132)
dismantling (90.3.32)
divestment (87.I.2.100)
downturn (84.2.3.136)
drain (84.2.5.162)
drift (87.II.6.196)
drop (84.1.4.69)
dynamics (84.2.11.235)
dynamism (87.II.5.126)
easing back (84.2.1.104)
elasticity (87.II.9.259)
emergence (90.1.9)
entry (84.2.4.156)
equilibrium (84.2.5.158)
evening out (87.I.4.193)
expansion (84.2.1.103)
extraction (87.I.2.105)
fall (84.2.4.146)
fall-off (84.1.3.56)
feed-through (93.2.35)
flattening (87.I.4.205)
flexibility (84.2.4.153)
flight (87.II.5.149)
float (84.2.5.167)
floating (84.2.5.168)
flow (84.2.4.145)

fluctuations (84.2.1.105)
freeze (84.2.1.105)
freezing (84.2.5.165)
growth (84.1.3.55) imbalance
(84.2.1.103)
impact (84.2.2.133)
increase (84.1.3.56)
inflation (84.2.3.140)
inflow (84.2.3.137)
input (87.I.2.100)
instability (84.2.7.175)
integration (90.3.32)
lengthening (87.I.4.196)
levelling down (87.II.5.128)
levelling off (87.I.6.367)
levelling up (87.II.5.128)
lift (84.2.1.103)
lowering (84.2.5.161)
manoeuvre (87.II.6.195)
mobility (84.2.15.317)
move (84.2.4.154)
movement (84.2.1.107)
narrowing (87.II.10.287)
opening (87.II.9.268)
opening-up (87.II.9.267)
outflow (84.2.4.152)
output (84.1.3.57)
outturn (84.1.4.69)
overlap (87.I.2.107)
overrun (90.3.34)
pace (84.2.12.249)
volatility (84.2.11.237)
widening (84.1.3.56)
wind-down (87.I.6.377)
peak (84.)
pick(-)up (84.1.3.57)
placement (90.1.11)
pressure (84.2.2.132)
progressivity (84.2.10.216)
quadrupling (87.II.1.11)
raising (84.2.3.140)
rapidity (84.2.7.181)
rate (84.2.3.135)
reconstruction (87.I.2.103)

redeployment (87.II.9.264)
reduction (84.2.5.161)
relaxation (87.I.2.94)
removal (84.2.11.237)
restructuring (90.2.21)
resurgence (84.2.1.103)
retrenchment (84.2.1.107)
reversal (84.2.1.105)
reversion (94.AR.5)
rise (84.2.5.159)
rollback (90.3.34)
rollout (01.48;AR)
run (84.2.4.147)
rundown (84.1.3.56)
separation (87.I.2.88)
shift (84.2.5.164)
shifting forward (84.2.1.104)
slippage (87.I.4.204)
slowdown (87.I.4.205)
slowing (84.2.7.175)
slowing down (87.I.2.105)

speed (84.2.5.163)
spiral (84.2.5.159)
squeeze (84.2.3.139)
stabilisation (84.2.7.178)
step (84.2.10.217)
stoppage (90.9.152)
streaming (87.II.5.135)
swing (84.2.3.134)
takeover (84.2.13.293)
targeting (90.1.9)
tightening (84.1.3.56)
transfer (87.II.10.277)
transition (87.I.2.93)
transmission (87.I.2.105)
turnaround (84.)
upsurge (84.)
upswing (84.1.3.59)
uptake (84.2.3.135)
upturn (84.1.3.57)
wind-up (01.54;AR)
yield (84.2.4.155)

Table 3
Adjectives; Nouns and Present Participles Used Adjectivally

accelerated (87.I.4.191)
accelerating (84.2.1.105)
active (84.2.4.154)
arising (87.I.2.96)
attacking (84.2.3.134)
binding (84.2.4.153)
buoyant (84.1.3.56)
centripetal (87.II.4.100)
contractionary (84.2.3.139)
crash (90.6.77)
crawling (84.2.5.166)
cyclical (84.1.3.59)
decelerating (87.I.6.391)
declining (84.1.3.59)
decreasing (87.II.10.270)
deep (downturn) (87.I.4.203)
depressing (84.2.1.115)
destabilising (84.2.7.177)

developing (87.II.9.259)
distorting (90.1.8)
down (87.I.6.388)
downward (84.2.5.159)
downwards (84.2.3.141)
driving (84.)
dropping (84.)
dynamic (87.I.2.98)
escalating (84.2.3.135)
expanding (84.1.3.59)
expansionary (84.2.3.141)
falling (84.1.3.61)
faster (87.I.4.195)
fastest (84.2.8.199)
fixed (84.2.3.134)
floating (84.2.3.134)
flow-on (84.2.4.146)
forward (84.2.5.163)

growing (84.2.5.161)
higher (84.2.5.162)
impacted (84.2.1.107)
increasing (84.2.1.103)
inflationary (84.2.5.159)
inward (84.2.5.163)
levelling off (84.1.3.55)
loosening
low (90.1.7)
lower (87.I.2.103)
lowest (87.I.2.102)
oriented (90.1.9)
output (90.7.86)
outreach (01.60;AR)
outward (84.2.5.163)
overarching (90.1.8)
portable (87.I.2.92)
quick (90.1.3)
rapid (84.1.3.56)
reinforcing (84.2.1.105)

revolving (87.I.2.83)
rising (84.2.5.169)
running (87.I.4.189)
simultaneous (action) (87.I.4.197)
slow (84.2.1.103)
slowing (84.)
spiralling (84.2.3.135)
squeezing (84.2.3.136)
stabilising (84.2.7.177)
stable (84.2.3.59)
stagnant (84.2.15.321)
static (84.1.3.59)
stationary (84.1.3.57)
suppressed (87.I.4.201)
uneven (pace) (87.I.4.209)
upward (84. 2.2.132)
widening (84.2.8.195)
winding down (84.)
wrap-up (01.50;AR)

In this list the words *centripetal, cyclical, revolving, rollback, rollout* and *spiralling* form a set relaying circular motion: a metaphor within a metaphor. The other feature of this list is that, predictably perhaps, terms of pace are far more evident than in any other part of speech. While the verbs earlier included the six items *accelerate, decelerate, lag behind, overtake, pass* and *run,* and the nouns *acceleration, pace, rate, slowing down* and *speed,* here the adjectival forms have a far higher ratio of terms related to the pace of physical motion. So although they are a shorter list, they include *accelerated, accelerating, decelerating, escalating, faster, fastest, quick, rapid, running, slow, slowing, static, stationary* and *uneven pace.* A similar proportion of terms related to speed can be seen in the adverbial class following.

Table 4
Adverbs

at a moderate pace (87.I.4.195)
at a much faster pace (87.I.4.195)
below (84.2.5.162)
dynamically (87.II.10.270)
fast (87.II.9.263)
forward (87.I.2.117)
freely (84.2.15.317)

quickly (84.2.1.105)
rapidly (84.2.1.105)
sharply (84.2.3.136)
slowly (84.2.11.236)
statically (87.II.10.270)
steeply (84.2.10.217)
upwards (87.I.2.81)

Other Treasury Metaphors

Apart from the huge and omnipresent image of physical motion as a metaphor for economic change, there were nine other, less frequent, metaphors found in the documents of the Treasury, and these follow in this section. It will be seen here, however, that the concept of physical motion continues to be a common thread through several of the following metaphors, though they all have quite different metaphorical realisations, and each set of imagery is distinct from the others. The continuation of physical movement is perhaps most obvious in the first of what follows, MONEY IS WATER, and in THE ECONOMY IS A MACHINE metaphor; it also occurs though in the schemata of the wargame, the battleground, and the roadway.

It is noted that Moon, in deciding which metaphors to include in a dictionary, developed for herself a 'rule of ten', whereby she "only dealt with metaphors if there were at least ten lexical realizations that reflected the mapping fairly clearly…" (2002: 395). Cortazzi and Jin (1999: 162) "set a minimum number of five tokens before considering accepting candidate conceptual metaphors…" Adopting this type of principle was considered here, but instead it was decided to include all conceptual metaphors found in the documents examined, in the interests of providing a complete list, which may be helpful for future research. In fact most of the metaphors discovered were fairly productive, and over half of the subsidiary ones which follow do meet or exceed Moon's 'rule of ten'; the final four metaphors had fewer than ten realisations in this dataset. Furthermore only the final two metaphors listed here do not meet Cortazzi and Jin's minimum of five tokens. In this section the metaphors have been arranged in order from the most frequent to the least frequent. In these nine more minor metaphors we can see the various instantiations of each base metaphor working together to represent often abstract and demanding subject matter through a single figurative concept.

Not every occurrence of these metaphors has been listed here, as the most productive ones had very many instances. In the few cases where the same word was used in the same way, only one citation has been selected by way of an example. Within each metaphor, its various lexical realisations have been ordered alphabetically, with the headword highlighted by italicised bullet points, the citations following. In cases where several different lexical instantiations of the one conceptual metaphor occur within the same sentence or consecutive sentences, as can occur when a writer has an image in mind and continues it throughout the proposition s/he is making, these citations have been listed under the first occurring headword. In these cases too, where an image has been continued throughout two consecutive sentences, rather than splitting them and listing under their respective different headwords or lexical realisations, the sentences have been kept together, so as to preserve the original integrity of the metaphor and the full force of its image.

i. MONEY IS WATER

Cash as the physical object notes and coins, and as the more abstract entity in bulk, is often conceptualised as liquid, through the systematic borrowing of lexical items from the source domain and lexical set of plumbing and irrigation in order to express different aspects of monetary transactions. This conceptualization is not specific to English, but occurs in other languages such as Mandarin Chinese.

- *Anchor*

These will be greatly facilitated if the monetary authorities can identify a useful 'intermediate target' which will act as an 'anchor' for nominal magnitudes in the system. (87.I.4.217)

Given a floating exchange rate, the role of nominal anchor must be played by a monetary aggregate. (87.I.4.217)

- *Cascade*

price cascades (84.2.10)

tax cascades (84.2.10)

margin-on-tax cascade (84.2.10)

- *Channel*

The Prime Minister's Department provides an additional channel for advice and dialogue on economic questions. (84.2.2)

Administrative methods of allocation are likely to channel scarce capital resources in less preferred directions. (84.2.14)

…this will enable resources to be more rapidly channelled into activities yielding high returns … (84.2.11)

… has simply channelled the costs through other mechanisms…(84.2.8)

- *Dampen*

This effect would tend to dampen the recovery of consumption as disposable incomes rise. (87.I.6.374)

…and accepting that this will dampen our low-growth economy. (90.1.2)

- *Downstream*

…reduced cashflow for downstream traders … (84.2.10)

There are several policies designed to compensate forest growers for the downstream benefits they provide through the protection of land prone to erosion. (84.3.34)

Within the state sector, responsibility for allocation of funds should be moved as far downstream as possible. (87.II.5.150)

- *Drain*

…the resulting balance of payments deterioration drains cash out of the economy … (84.2.3)

…designed to spread the monetary effects of the tax drain to the Government in September and March… (84.2.4)

- *Drop (of Water)*

It is in fact by resisting "sharing" that the minority maintains its existence: it is like a drop of water constantly threatened by the presence of a sponge. (87.II.8.225)

- *Ebb*

…voluntary compliance which is reported to be at a low ebb. (87.I.4.192)

- *Filter*

-secondary schools in New Zealand operate more finely as filtering devices…in consequence the path through to university and teachers college for those who get through the filter is exceptionally smooth; (87.II.6.187)

- *Flow*

…empowering…through maximising information flows… (87.II.2.42)

The cash flows in and out of the Public Account have not in the past been managed in the sense that a private firm would… (87.I.2.92)

Viewed in this context free transfer of the SOEs deprives the Crown of the dividend flows from the assets. (87.I.2.115)

High levels of assistance to manufacturing industries through import licensing and high tariffs have encouraged a flow of resources into some of our least efficient industries. (87.Intro.2)

…the broader economic costs that flow from economic distortions … (84.2.14)

The national benefit requires that resources flow as freely as possible among different activities … (84.2.15)

Trade is a process in which, through voluntary contracting, scarce resources flow to their most highly valued uses. (87.1.15)

Through voluntary contracts, either based on barter or facilitated through money, ownership titles to resources are transferred, ensuring that resources flow towards those who value them the most. (87.1.15)

… where individual firms are unable to prevent some of the benefits from their investments …from flowing to competing firms. (84.2.15)

… capital flowing more freely across international borders. (93.3.53)

… flow-on effects arising from the troubles of particular financial institutions. (84.II.4.146)

- *Liquid*

This class of outputs concerns the operational management of the Crown's net liabilities portfolio and the central management of its liquid funds. (93.AR.40)

the degree to which tighter liquidity would have reduced the cash drain through the OET accounts. (84.2.4)

…difficulties of …adjusting liquidity management settings soon enough. (87.I.4.204)

…the liquidity management system that has evolved relies heavily on flows to and from the public account… (87.I.4.216)

- *Log-jam*

The removal of the above constraints has the potential to break the log-jam of change and produce better labour-market outcomes. (90.9.151)

- *Muddy (the flow)*

…the idiosyncracies of personal interaction will tend to muddy the flow of academic analysis. (87.I.Annex.400)

- *Navigate*

…with parents belonging to lower socio-economic groups or belonging to ethnic minorities less able to navigate the committee politics involved… (87.II.5.147)

- *Stagnant*

Higher taxes on a stagnant economy will only damage the economy further. (90.1.9)

- *Stream*

… a premium above the present value of the future income stream…(84.2.13)

The SOE Unit was represented on and serviced the SOE Steering Committee, which provides an independent stream of advice direct to the Minister and comprises private and public sector members. (91.AR.57)

A further four departments are scheduled to come on-stream by 1 July 1991. (90.AR.58)

- *Strip (liquid)*

… subsequent sales…were successful in stripping these liquid assets out of the banking system (84.2.3)

- *Trough*

Since the trough of the recession in mid-1991 … (93.3.48)

ii.i THE ECONOMY IS A BATTLEGROUND

- *Aggressive*

…a policy that is so aggressive that reversal is thought highly probable… (87.I.4.196)

- *Captive*

A reserve asset ratio system was in place to provide a captive market for government securities and to assist with monetary control. (87.I.4.215)

- *Capture*

Avoidance of Capture (subheading, 87.I.1.48)

…a proportion of the gains will be captured by the Government in a competitive selling process. (87.I.2.114)

- *Clash*

…the current clash between policies … (84.2.1)

- *Combat*

increases in expenditure…to combat recession…(84.2.7)

- *Danger*

In general government policy faces the danger of two types of capture: capture from external sources – that is, lobby groups; capture from internal sources – that is, its own bureaucracy. (87.I.1.44)

The dangers are obvious … (84.2.3)

- *Force*

…forces pulling strongly in different directions … (84.2.1)

- *Militate*

The information costs underlying centralised decision making therefore militate against its successful execution. (87.I.1.43)

- *Predatory*

… given …the risk of EC acting in a predatory manner. (87.I.2.108)

- *Spear*

The Maori Development Corporation could play a spear-heading role in this process. (87.I.5.342)

- *Sword*

The state is a double edged sword. (87.I.1.44)

Industry assistance is a double-edged sword. (87.I.4.240)

- *Takeover*

The retention of any form of public ownership is likely to shelter the organisation against takeovers… (87.I.2.117)

- *Target*

We are off target. (90.1.2)

- *Threat*

… pressures for domestic wage and price increases…would further threaten our international competitiveness. (84.2.3)

- *Trap*

…we are particularly worried that the cumulative effect of a variety of targeted schemes could act as a trap for low income assistance recipients. (87.I.Annex.446)

ii.ii THE ECONOMY IS A WAR-GAME

- *Counter (Moves)*

The Government may seek to counter the counter moves of the advantaged and of the employer and tertiary recruiters, thus leading to further rounds of the game and eventually to a totalitarian state. However, before we get to that stage, the game can be seen to produce higher and narrower bastions of privilege… (87.II.5.127)

Attempts to disable the advantaged…will merely lead to counter moves… takeover of the public school agenda, and hence to an expensive game played out largely with public money… (87.II.10.280)

- *Round (One)*

The state's choice is not the end of the story, it is only round one. …. If the state resists such counter moves there will be further rounds of the 'game'. For this reason, state intervention which seeks or is likely to disable the choice by a particular group of its educational agenda is liable to meet resistance by that group and may be sidetracked or turned around. (87.II.2/38)

- *Rules (of game)*

It is important to consider the nature of the conflict between rapid and significant change and another feature of progressive adjustment, namely that there be consistency in the rules of the game. (87.I.4.251)

- *Tactics*

…it is difficult to force the pace of change simply by concentrating on the former, particularly if this turns into disabling tactics against some of the latter. (87.II.5.128)

iii. THE ECONOMY IS A PATIENT

- *Adaptation*

…the process of adaptation of the economy to various supply and demand shocks. (84.2.4)

- *Cause*

… tackle the root cause of the difficulties by reducing the fiscal deficit…(84.2.3)

…inflation diverts attention from causes to symptoms … (84.2.3)

- *Chronic*

…chronic imbalances between government expenditure and revenue can seriously disrupt and destabilise the economy … (84.2.7)

- *Disable*

…any inwardness in the educational source is potentially disabling of students. (87.II.5.146)

- *Inject*

the potentially destabilising influence of injections of liquidity into the financial system…(84.2.7)

Any such cash injections would have to be reversed when the crisis subsided. (84.2.4)

…the latter works through injecting additional cash into the financial system … (84.2.4)

… insufficient debt was sold to negate the effects of the injection from the fiscal deficit. (84.2.7)

The more actively involved Ministers become in monitoring, the greater is the likelihood of non-commercial objectives being injected into the commercial decision making of the business. (87.I.2.100)

Additional resources injected into an existing system may help in countering the symptoms but not the cause of conflicts and failure. (87.II.5.143)

- *Pain*

Although this process may be slow and painful … (84.2.3)

- *Pick Up*

However, export volumes are expected to pick up. (90.2.24)

- *Recovery*

The economy has experienced a relatively modest and uneven recovery… (90.2.17)

However, the recovery has been weak and tentative… (90.2.17)

- *Remedy*

The remedy for this fiscal problem lies in improving the overall balance in policy strategy. (90.1.2)

- *Sclerosis*

…they must be supplemented by action to overcome the sclerosis that has built up through the regulation of many markets of the economy. (84.2.1)

- *Side-effects*

…so as to minimise the risks of policy reversals with all the undesirable side-effects on private sector decisions which such uncertainties about policy intentions arouse. (84.2.7)

- *Suffer*

The economy is suffering from serious imbalances internally and externally. (84.2.3)

- *Symptoms*

… to try to suppress symptoms by direct controls rather than by attacking causes directly. (84.2.3)

…high levels of unemployment…are a symptom of the more general difficulties the economy has faced. (84.2.11)

- *Weak*

The weak state of domestic activity… (90.2.19)

iv. THE ECONOMY IS A ROADWAY

- *Barrier*

…minimise…barriers to exit from the present state system; (87.II.5.152)

Further, the greater the cost barriers erected around private schools the less competition they pose to state schools. (87.II.5.130)

- *Collision*

There are inevitable collisions in the economic traffic if the signals are jammed or confused. (84.2.1)

- *Fuel*

…fuelling excessive monetary expansion … (84.2.7)

- *Gate*

It is not known to what extent subject decisions are taken by Maori children themselves, and to what extent teachers act as 'gate-keepers' guiding children to subjects they, the teachers, deem suitable. (87.II.8.230)

This suggests that schools at forms 6 – 7 provide a narrow gateway…to educational opportunity. (87.II.6.188)

- *Path*

Either pretence can be immensely damaging to an individual's initial path in the world beyond school. (87.II.5.145)

…schools…owe it to their students…to make school a path not a barrier to the outside world. (87.II.5.146)

An international survey suggests that young people in education predominantly see it in terms of a pathway to work. (87.II.5.121)

Thus chance, bad choice, earlier errors or problems or shortage of resources are less likely to trap individuals into a particular pathway. (87.II.6.169)

Schools need … to … provide a pathway to the necessary skills, knowledge and abilities that will enable reasonable progress to be made in the wider society. (87.II.10.290)

- *Redirect*

This may mean establishing mechanisms to redirect government intervention from main institutional to other sources of education; (87.II.2.42)

- *Signal*

However, as described, educational qualifications are used as signalling devices in the labour market… (87.II.5.124)

the desire to get price signals correctly aligned as soon as possible to redeploy resources… (87.I.4.196)

..changes in relative prices are signals to producers and consumers to change the pattern of their resource use. (84.2.4)

- *Signpost*

Its strengths seem to lie in signposting and providing the basic skills and attitudes that young people will need in the world beyond education. (87.II.5.144)

Those who lack such orientation most need to have the system explained and the way forward signposted to them so that they can develop for themselves appropriate strategies for success. (87.II.5.145)

Therefore, to justify state support, the school's side of the partnership lies in providing the core curriculum and, where necessary, clear signposts as to its relevance and use. (87.II.5.145)

Thus, unless secondary schools can…offer a well signposted way to the valuable social and economic skills… (87.II.10.280)

- *Steer*

… the self-steering ability inherent in society to reach optimal solutions through the mass of individual actions pursuing free choice without any formal consensus. (87.II.2.41)

- *Traffic Lights*

In a similar way to traffic lights, the major virtue of the price mechanism is its simplicity in both signalling information and co-ordinating behaviour. (87.1.16)

- *Vehicle*

…consultative processes will provide a vehicle for furthering their particular interest… (84.2.2)

- *Way (forward)*

This brief attempts to open out the issues for the Government in order to lead to more constructive consideration of the best way forward. (87.II.1.vii)

v. THE ECONOMY IS A MACHINE

- *Automatic*

…administered exchange rate regimes with a high degree of automaticity in their operation (e.g. some forms of crawling peg) may also fail to be sufficiently flexible… (84.2.5.165)

- *Dismantle*

… the dismantling of existing policies… (84.2.11)

- *Engine*

That argues that openness to trade will remain an extremely important engine of growth. (93.3.48)

- *Fulcrum*

… provide the fulcrum on which monetary policy is made effective… (87.I.4.219)

- *Machinery*

… the machinery for…executing policy… (84.2.1)

Cabinet has the overall responsibility for control of the government machinery, … (84. 2.13)

- *Mechanism*

In both cases the outcome of these different adjustment mechanisms on the real factors in the economy (for example, consumption and output) is identical once the adjustment is fully worked out. (84.2.5.158)

The mechanism of domestic monetary contraction described above is therefore prevented from operating. (84.2.5)

…whether the mechanisms for change in education policy, which worked well in more leisurely times, are up to the sudden gear shifts that are increasingly required if the system is to adapt to the fast changing and increasingly varied needs of society. (87.II.1.4)

… introducing a credit offset mechanism whereby taxpayers can offset tax on inputs against tax on their outputs. (84.2.10)

Other mechanisms allowing greater freedom could also be devised. (84.2.13)

The particular mechanisms adopted, which are operated by the producer boards, cause problems of their own; (84.2.15)

The mechanisms through which opportunism and incentive problems generally work in the state are in fact more subtle and complex than are widely appreciated. (87.I.1.43)

They may do this either by putting automatic mechanisms in place which give the system self-stabilising properties consistent with price stability… (87.I.4.211)

- *Momentum*

Once inflation has gathered momentum, it is difficult to stop… (84.2.3)

- *Ratchet*

…the structural expenditure ratchet…will remain (84.2.6)

A notable feature of this trend in government expenditure as a proportion of GDP has been a 'ratchet" mechanism whereby increases in spending in election years have not been fully reversed in subsequent years. (84.2.8)

- *Supertanker*

Like a supertanker, the economy … (84.2.1)

- *Track*

The system tends to run on its own track… (87.II.1.18)

vi. THE ECONOMY IS SUBJECT TO HEAVY WEIGHTS AND SUDDEN SHOCKS

- *Burden*

A reduction in the fiscal deficit would put pressure on the relatively sheltered parts of the economy such as the public sector…spreading the burden away from the exposed sectors. (87.I.4.237)

- *Exposed*

… with the exposed sectors taking an undue share of the pressure on the whole economy. The correct response in such circumstances is to … increase the pressure on the sheltered sectors… (90.4.44)

- *Impacts*

Excluding activities from the economy-wide programme to reduce assistance or even shielding them from its most significant impacts… (87.I.4.252)

- *Pressure*

Particularly important is the relative pressure on those exposed to international competition and those protected from it. (90.4.40)

- *Protection*

Also important are the protections afforded by regulations. (90.1.7)

- *Shelter*

…reducing the costs imposed from the more sheltered sectors of the economy. (90.1.7)

… principally by ensuring that these sectors and activities which are currently sheltered or protected are exposed more openly to market pressures. (87.I.4.203)

…some of the most highly assisted industries have been somewhat sheltered from the impact of the liberalisation programme. (87.I.4.247)

…from exposing sheltered areas of the economy to some form of price competition… (87.I.4.251)

- *Shield*

Past approaches tended to shield New Zealanders from change in world prices. (90.3.36)

- *Shocks*

A firm fiscal stance will minimise the risks around the outlook and help reduce the economy's vulnerability to shocks. (93.2.31)

The vulnerability to terms-of-trade shocks should diminish as exports become more diversified and firms differentiate the products they produce. (93.3.52)

vii. THE ECONOMY IS A HORSE

- *Fetter*

unfettered markets (84.2.1)

- *Harness*

It is desirable that the resources of the tax system and the social-welfare system are harnessed to exploit their complementarity. (90.11.180)

harnessing markets (84.2.1)

- *Rein*

Government expenditure has not been reined in to make room for the 1982 tax cuts. (84.2.3)

..to keep a tight rein on these policies…

- *Spur*

…competition provides a strong spur to innovation and better performance. (93.1.16)

- *Stubborn*

Inflation has proved stubborn. (87.I.4.190)

viii. THE ECONOMY IS A BUILDING

- *Ceiling*

For example, controls on conditions of employment and staff ceilings may make it difficult to attract the employees required to improve performance. (84.II.13.284)

…the problems caused at upper levels by delays in adjustments have recently been compounded by the imposition of a ceiling on their adjustments. (87.I.2.66)

The retention rates from form 3 to form 5 are of special interest because, while a ceiling of 90 percent enrolment appears to have been operated for non-Maori students, for Maori students there has been an effective ceiling of less than 70 percent. (87.II.8.230)

- *Floor*

To put a floor under wages, either by a minimum wage law or some concept of a "minimum living wage" in wage negotiations is probably a particularly inequitable form of labour market intervention. (84.II.11.240)

By placing a floor under the wages which people will accept, benefits can also reduce the number of jobs on offer. (90.4.48)

Effectively, these policies impose a wage "floor" in the labour market. (90.9.152)

- *Window*

The next 10 years provide a window of opportunity to secure a significant reduction in debt. (93.1.25)

ix. THE ECONOMY IS FLAMMABLE

- *Ignite*

If demand rises too fast then other prices may rise as well, igniting inflation. (93.2.42)

- *Overheat*

Macroeconomic conditions may firm, reducing the risks of overheating. (93.2.40)

This would ensure that fiscal policy helps prevent domestic demand overheating. (93.2.44)

Conclusion

As mentioned above, it is interesting that a comparative study of the three-yearly *Briefings to the Incoming Governments* and the *Annual Reports* from another New Zealand ministry, namely the Department of Social Welfare (as it then was), across the same time frame, yielded almost no metaphor at all. So although the Treasury study was replicated exactly by reading a second million words of text, from the same two document types and the identical publication years at three-yearly intervals across a decade, though from a different government department, the result was a near complete dearth of any figurative language. This finding lends weight to the theory advanced in this paper that the metaphors listed herein are particular to the domain of economics and finance.

This raises the question of what the Treasury metaphors do. What is the effect of using metaphor in general and these metaphors in particular? I suggest that one key reason for there being a wealth of metaphor in the Treasury papers and almost none in the corresponding sets of Social Welfare papers is that whereas Social Welfare is writing about concrete entities such as people, Treasury is writing about abstract entities such as economic theories, the financial markets and rates of exchange: content which places considerably more demands on the reader. The DSW documents from the period are mainly concerned with the need to increase the cultural sensitivity of their own workforce and policies, intervention programmes for orphans and abused children, the various benefits available for single parents, widows, returned servicemen and invalids, and how many beneficiaries are abusing the system. This is all somewhat more concrete and easier for a reader to relate to than papers which discuss solely abstract ideas such as which economic policies the government should adopt. It seems likely therefore that Treasury economists resort to the metaphorical constructs listed in this paper in order to make their subject-matter more easily understood by their intended readers, namely the new Minister for their portfolio, and the incoming

government. Cameron and Juurd (2004: 114) have observed that clusters of metaphor arise "when a conceptual, or root, metaphor was needed to talk about something…" - this finding is borne out by the present study. Lakoff and Johnson too contended that metaphor is not just a poetic or rhetorical device, but "is principally a way of conceiving of one thing in terms of another, and its primary function is understanding" (1980: 158). Gibbs made the same point (1999: 44): "Many scholars now recognise that metaphor is essential for how people communicate about abstract, difficult-to-talk-about ideas, ….In this way, metaphor is indeed necessary and not just nice or ornamental". Describing the economy as a machine with moving parts or as a building with floors, ceilings and windows transforms the theories into physical images and by creating these pictures in the reader's mind, makes the actual concepts easier to grasp.

Secondly, it also seems possible that the Treasury writers during this period of radical economic reform chose the metaphors they did, whether consciously or not, because they suited their purpose in seeking to persuade the government to follow the courses of action which Treasury was recommending. Cameron and Juurd (2004: 115) also have claimed that some metaphorical clusters function to persuade "through rhetorical repetition." Talking about money as flows of water or traffic implies that it is possible for the government to control and direct such flows. Conceptualising running the economy as fighting a war or war-game or as wrestling a stubborn animal needing to be reined into submission, also creates the impulse to adopt the recommended tactics to control and dominate it. Framing the national economy as an unwell patient, or as a vulnerable entity exposed to outside pressure and liable to crack under sudden shocks or heavy weights could well incline the government to protect, shield and shelter it. Describing the economy as at risk of overheating and catching fire warns the government of possible danger if they do not take action to lower the temperature.

In conclusion, it is suggested that the eleven tropes described in this paper, and most especially that of physical movement, are commonly but to some extent unconsciously used by writers of economic and financial texts. It has been the aim of this paper to draw conscious attention to the figurative lexis and therefore the mental schemata we use to describe this domain of the human experience.

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Te reo Maori words in job advertisements: Lexemes of New Zealand English?

Amigo Westbrook

Abstract

Based on the epistemological understanding of common knowledge and empirical findings from sociolinguistic studies, this paper considers the extent to which Maori words appearing in English contexts can be considered as lexemes of New Zealand English, and explains their distribution in New Zealand English. A case study of Maori words used in job advertisements in New Zealand newspapers from 15 July, 2006 to 15 August, 2006 is used for illustration.

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Introduction

The influence of Maori on New Zealand English is rather apparent. Researchers (Deverson 1991; Kennedy 2001; Macalister 2005) have found that approximately six per thousand word tokens in New Zealand English are of Maori origin. Due to the renaissance of Maori, i.e., the renewal and return to Maori indigenous culture, land, sacred sites, and language (Webster 1998), 'Maori is making its presence in English more strongly felt than ever before' (Deverson 1991: 19). Yet the status of Maori words used in English contexts is less obvious. Just by virtue of their appearance in English contexts, should one then consider them as lexemes of New Zealand English? Consider the course outlines which contain the logo of Victoria University of Wellington in Maori. Though there are Maori words appearing in an English document, the university would maintain they are indeed Maori, for being Maori words is the purpose of their presence. How then to categorise Maori words appearing in English? A lexicographer will adopt an inclusive approach, for the function of a dictionary is to record as many items as possible (Macalister 2005: xxxiv). A sociolinguist might suspect whether they were results of code-switching or code-mixing (Holmes 2005). Weinreich (1968: 11) offers a way of dividing inherited, established, and nonce borrowings on the basis of the currency and frequency of a word into its host language. Nonce borrowings (less frequent or one-off borrowings) are excluded on this account. Macalister (2005: xxi) thinks such an approach cannot account for a word that is well established in a certain domain yet fails to be generalised by most language users. Instead, he suggests, 'it is more useful to think of these borrowings sitting along a continuum' (ibid.). For him, nonce borrowings are permissible. However, one might argue that this approach would potentially have the danger to include code-switching or code-mixing cases and hence become arbitrary.

This discussion aims to establish an account that is able to handle these nonce borrowing cases, identify lexemes of New Zealand English borrowed from Maori, and explain their distribution in New Zealand English.

The common knowledge account

People gain their knowledge by linguistically interacting with others and empirically with the world. A language like other knowledge is the result of appropriate social interactions (Longino 2002: 124-144),[1] and being epistemically accepted and shared in nature. People share their linguistic knowledge to a certain degree. New Zealand English vocabulary items such as *All Blacks* and *haka* are known to Kiwis from all walks of life because they are common knowledge in Aotearoa. Something is common knowledge in a community simply by virtue of the fact that it is known to members of the community. Thus, a New Zealand English lexeme can be defined as a word (or a group of words) that is distinctive to New Zealand and is the common linguistic knowledge of only native New Zealand English speakers relative to its domain.

Notice that the common linguistic knowledge is relative to the word's domain. It can be general, as *Aotearoa, Maori,* and *Pakeha* are known to all Kiwis. It also can be local, for instance, a club DJ is not expected to know *daggers* and *foot-rotters,* for these words belong to the common knowledge in the domain of sheep farming. Thus, some nonce borrowings can be included, if they are well established in certain domains though fail to be generalised by most language users, for the scope of common knowledge is the extent to the word's domain.

Furthermore, to possess a linguistic common knowledge is to know under what conditions the use of a word is assured; it does not require that one must use the word. Bardsley (2006: 62) has found eighteen synonyms for the term *musterer*. A sheep-farmer will be familiar with most (if not all) but does not necessarily use all. Thus, a nonce borrowing relative to its domain is a common knowledge even though it is used infrequently or even once.

This definition also can handle code-switching or code-mixing cases. Suppose a Maori word is the result of code-switching or code-mixing. If it is understood by native New Zealand English speakers without further explanations, then it can also be included as a lexeme of New Zealand English. Since there is a *ceteris paribus* clause of common linguistic knowledge between the speaker and audience, and the lexical item in question is epistemically realised and accepted by the audience, a shared common knowledge is established.

[1] 'A given content, A, accepted by members of C counts as *knowledge* for C if A conforms to its intended object(s) (sufficiently to enable members of C to carry out their projects with respect to that/ those object(s)) and A is epistemically acceptable in C.' Longino 2002: 136.

Therefore, a Maori word (or a group of Maori words) can be labelled as a lexeme of New Zealand English borrowed from Maori, if it is the common linguistic knowledge of native New Zealand English speakers relative to its domain.

The distribution of lexemes borrowed from Maori in New Zealand English.

Researchers (Richard 1970; King 1993) suggest that New Zealand English consists of Pakeha English and Maori English, and many linguistic features including vocabulary are shared between them. According to Robertson (1994: 21), 'Maori English functions in a similar way for Maori in New Zealand' and shares considerable vocabulary with te reo Maori (Benton 1991: 195). Given this, the distribution of lexemes borrowed from Maori in New Zealand English can be represented as in Figure 1.
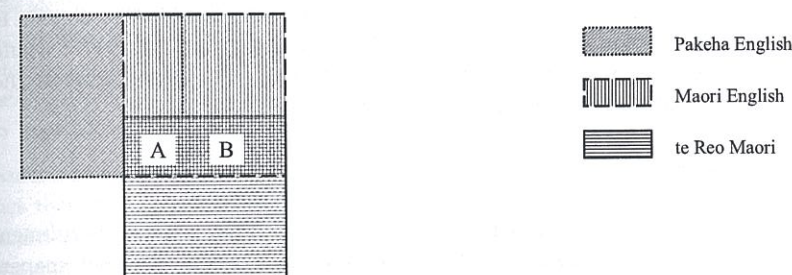
Note: Pakeha English + Maori English = New Zealand English

A: lexemes shared in Pakeha English and Maori English and te reo Maori

B: lexemes shared in Maori English and te reo Maori

A+B = lexemes borrowed from Maori in New Zealand English

Figure 1: The distribution of lexemes borrowed from Maori in New Zealand English.

The common knowledge account has rather plain explanations for these empirical findings. Area A includes lexemes borrowed from Maori such as *Aotearoa,* and *kia ora,* because they are the general common linguistic knowledge of all Kiwis. It also includes local common knowledge of Pakeha English and Maori English speakers, for example, *komiti* and *minita* are well known to politicians. Likewise, area B covers lexemes shared between Maori English and te reo Maori speakers but not of

Pakeha English speakers, just because they are the common knowledge among these two linguistic communities.[2]

Te reo Maori used in job advertisements

The background

Since Maori became an official language of New Zealand under the Maori Language Act 1987, the Government has developed a *Maori Language Strategy* that endeavours to promote the use of Maori across every linguistic domain. Public sectors are expected to ensure that Maori is systematically used on a par with English in respect of their services (The Maori Language Commission 1994: 5). Recruitment advertising policy, for instance, is commonly established among public sectors to ensure the use of both English and Maori when appropriate (e.g. The University of Waikato 2006). Naturally, people would think that Maori words used in job advertisements might be a kind of 'political decoration'[3] and not necessarily understood by the general public (i.e., not the common knowledge of native New Zealand English speakers). Since occupation vocabulary is commonly used in daily life, job advertisements were regarded as an appropriate domain to illustrate the common knowledge account. If the account were to work, it would enable one to determine the status of Maori words used in job advertisements and explain their distribution (if present) in New Zealand English.

Methodology

Initial data-gathering

Newspapers and Internet sites are two main locations of recruitment advertisements in New Zealand (Department of Labour 2006). Five newspapers searched for this study were *The New Zealand Herald*, *The Dominion Post*, *The Nelson Mail*, *The Press*, and *The Otago Daily Times*, and the website accessed was *jobstuff.co.nz*. These selected data sources fairly cover most parts of New Zealand and are considered reliably representative.[4]

In the search through these sources, only Maori words used for titles of positions were collected, because names of occupations would be more familiar to people than specific descriptive terms of jobs. Only titles of positions used in sentences

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[2] Within area B, there is also a division of general and local common knowledge. For example (Holmes 2005: 99), tapu, tangi, mana, and wairua are known to both Maori English and te reo Maori speakers, thus they can be labelled as the general common knowledge of these linguistic communities. Yet experts in Maori culture study will have refined semantics for each of these that differ from the understanding of laypersons, and if these words were to be used in such a way, they would have been labelled as the local common knowledge of their domain.

[3] 'This notwithstanding, I cannot avoid the feeling that the phenomena I have been talking about are symptomatic of a view of Maori, not as potentially one language of two in a bilingual society, but only as a flag, a marker of distinctness.' Harlow 2005: 145.

[4] These selected sources are also used for official Job Vacancy Monitoring Programme (Department of Labour 2006) and ANZ Job Advertisement Series (Australia and New Zealand Banking Group Limited 2006).

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without equivalent English translations in brackets were collected, since for a Maori word to be used in such a way, an understanding of its meaning is presupposed. A total of twenty-nine Maori words in job advertisements from 15 July, 2006 to 15 August 2006 were collected from the sources named above.

The selection of citations

Website addresses were provided in most job advertisements. Links to related (sectors' or organisations') websites could also be found on their home pages. Navigating through these websites, official documents, news etc., provided a variety of citation sources. Citations were chosen on the principle that selected words should be used in sentences and from these sentences one might easily infer their meanings. For instance (Victoria University of Wellington, 1999), there is no difficulty to infer *kaiako* means 'a teacher' from, 'We are looking for a full-time early childhood kaiako to join our friendly, supportive and enthusiastic teaching team.' Of the twenty-nine words, nineteen of them survived with at least three citations from three different sources.

The identification and classification of terms according to Deverson (2000)

According to Deverson's definition of a New Zealandism and his typology, nineteen collected words qualified as distinctive New Zealand words, as their referents were not confined to New Zealand experience alone and hence assigned to Type 2 (distinctive word with non-distinctive referent).

For the common knowledge account, their status was yet to be determined. The fact that they are Maori words and therefore distinctive to New Zealand is not sufficient for one to conclude that they are lexemes of New Zealand English. There is a gap between being Maori words and being Maori loanwords. Only when a Maori word is the common knowledge of host language speakers, does it become a loanword.

Compilation of a questionnaire

The purpose of the questionnaire was to determine whether these Maori words were known to both Pakeha and Maori English speakers (i.e., a common knowledge of New Zealand English speakers). If they were, what was their distribution in New Zealand English (would their distribution conform to Figure 1)? Thus, variables considered appropriate for this study were participants' first language, the linguistic community of participants, their gender, and their age. For this study (Maori words in job advertisements), participants' occupations, their attitudes to and their perceptions of using Maori words, and their awareness of New Zealand English, were also thought to be relevant.

The questionnaire was designed on the assumption that the use of Maori words fulfilled the best outcome of the advertising purpose (i.e., either these words were known to Kiwis and hence achieved the best clarity, or using Maori was a more effective or attractive way to convey information). Thus,

(1) Participants were given a list of twenty-nine definitions of occupations[5] and asked to choose one from four provided answers or to offer a term that they would use. The rationale for using definitions rather than citations was that one could easily infer the job from citations and therefore citations could not provide exclusive evidence for understanding the term.

(2) Participants were asked to express their opinions on a five rank Likert Scale and to provide reasons for their choice. Responses were sought on whether the use of Maori made the job known to a wider audience, whether the use of Maori induced intimacy with Maori speakers or provoked the curiosity of non-Maori speakers, what participants' stated attitudes to using Maori words were, and participants' awareness of New Zealand English.

The justification for the written questionnaire survey was that as the collected words were from newspapers, a visual image was essential to achieve accurate results for part (1), and participants could express their opinions more freely for part (2) than by any other method.

From two linguistic communities (English, and Maori-English), participant subjects who had lived continuously in New Zealand for at least the past five years, were sought.

The pilot survey gave little assurance of English speakers' knowledge under part (1). A list of ten common job terms was kept, but nineteen less common terms were converted into a table in which participants were asked to provide meanings if thought they were familiar with these terms. Five distraction-questions were added to reduce the level of 'difficulty', the selected words being *kiwiana, kumara, Pakeha, paua, tiki tour*.[6]

Respondents (10 Pakeha English speakers; 10 Maori-English bilinguals) were found through 'friends telling friends', and hence giving a good distribution of age, gender, and variety of occupations. The questionnaire survey was carried out in person and respondents were informed of the survey results.

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[5] Of twenty-nine words collected words, only nineteen words survive with at least three citations from three different sources. Since the aim of this study is to determine whether collected words are lexemes of New Zealand English and the common knowledge of these words is taken as the necessary condition, ten words that only have one or two citations are also included.
[6] This was also for the purpose of supporting the notion of common knowledge; it turned out that all participants knew these words.

Table 1
Profile of respondents

Age	ENGLISH SPEAKERS	10			MAORI SPEAKERS		10	
	female	5	male	5	female	5	Male	5
18-29	Student	1	Student	1	Student	3	Student	1
30-39	Office manager	1	Lawyer	1			Lecturer	1
40-49	Administrator	1	Nurse	1	Nurse	1	Director	1
50-59	Nurse	1	Minister	1			Conductor	1
60+	Pastoral care	1	Engineer	1	Audiometrist	1	Insurer	1

Problems

Maori English is used mostly by Maori people, but neither all nor only Maori people speak Maori English (Bauer 1994: 413). Since Maori speaker respondents in this study were all Maori-English bilinguals, possessed some phonological features of Maori English, and employed more Maori vocabulary items (see Tables 3 and 4), they were assumed also to be Maori English speakers. An accurate identification of Maori English speakers may be accomplished by further studies.

Results

Of twenty-nine selected words, fourteen terms (5 known to all Maori and to some English speakers, 9 known to most Maori and some English speakers) were labelled as Type A terms. Six terms were known to most Maori speakers but not to English speakers (Type B). Seven terms were known only to some Maori speakers (Type C). Two items were unknown to most Maori speakers (Type D).

Table 2
The number of respondents knowing the meaning of a word

WORD LIST	ENGLISH SPEAKERS		MAORI SPEAKERS		TOTAL 20
	Female 5	Male 5	Female 5	Male 5	
Type A					
1. kaiawhina	1	4	5	5	15
2. tumuaki	1	3	5	5	14
3. kaumatua	1	2	5	5	13
4. kaiako		3	5	5	13
5. kaiwhakahaere	1	2	4	5	12
6. ringawera		2	5	5	12

7. kaitiaki pukapuka		2	4	5	11
8. kaituhi		2	4	5	11
9. kaitohutohu		1	4	5	10
10. pou awhina		1	4	5	10
11. kairangahau		1	3	5	9
12. kaiarahi		1	3	5	9
13. kaitataki a rohe		1	2	5	8
14. takawaenga	1		2	5	8
Type B					
1. kaiwhakatau manuhiri			5	5	10
2. hekeretari			4	5	9
3. kaiwhakaako			3	5	8
4. kaikaute			2	5	7
5. kaiawhina whakahaere			2	5	7
6. kaitautoko			2	5	7
Type C					
1. kaiwawao			3	3	6
2. kaitakawaenga			2	4	6
3. kaiwhakarite			2	4	6
4. pou takawaenga			2	4	6
5. apiha takawaenga			1	5	6
6. pukenga			1	4	5
7. kaitatari kaupapa			1	3	4
Type D					
1. kaihoahoa whare				1	1
2. uepu-a-motu					0

There were some clear observable patterns.

- If a word was known to English speakers then it was mostly known to Maori speakers; the more English speakers knew it, the more Maori speakers would know it (as in Type A).

- From Type A to Type D and within each type, terms ranged from less technical to highly skilful, or well-known to less common jobs, e.g., from *kaiawhina* (caregiver) to *kaihoahoa whare* (architect).

- Type B words were mainly for general office work positions, e.g., *kaiwhakatau manuhiri* (receptionist).

- Type C words were for professionals, e.g., *kaitatari kaupapa* (policy analyst), *pukenga* (lecturer).

- *uepu-a-motu* (education review officer) was known to neither set of speakers.

- In both linguistic communities, male speakers knew more words than female speakers did. (The number of words used by male in both linguistic communities was greater than by female speakers.)

- Maori used more words than English speakers did:

Table 3
The number of respondents who would use these Maori words

Number Of Words Used	ENGLISH SPEAKERS		MAORI SPEAKERS		Total 20
	Female (5)	Male (5)	Female (5)	Male (5)	
None	5	3	-	-	8
1-5	-	2	4	2	8
6-10	-	-	-	1	1
11-15	-	-	1	2	3

Terms were mostly used in communications among Maori-English bilinguals:

Table 4
The number of respondents using words with different linguistic communities

Maori Words Used With	ENGLISH SPEAKERS		MAORI SPEAKERS		Total 20
	Female (5)	Male (5)	Female (5)	Male (5)	
Maori speakers	-	1	1	2	4
English speakers	-	-	-	-	0
Maori-English bilinguals	-	-	4	3	7
All above	-	1	-	-	1
Not using any	5	3	-	-	8

With respect to opinions on whether Maori words used in job advertisements achieved clarity, six out of ten English speakers disagreed, and six out of ten Maori speakers agreed:

Table 5
The number of respondents and their opinions on Maori words used for clarity

Maori Words Used For Clarity	ENGLISH SPEAKERS Female (5)	Male (5)	MAORI SPEAKERS Female (5)	Male (5)	Total 20
Strongly agree			1	1	6
Agree			2	2	
Neutral	2	3	2	1	8
Disagree	1	1		1	6
Strongly disagree	2	1			

Nine out of ten English speakers disagreed that using Maori was effective. Four out of ten Maori speakers disagreed but another four agreed:

Table 6
The number of respondents and their opinions on using Maori words was effective

Using Maori Words Is Effective	ENGLISH SPEAKERS Female (5)	Male (5)	MAORI SPEAKERS Female (5)	Male (5)	Total 20
Strongly agree				1	5
Agree	1		2	1	
Neutral	1	1	2		4
Disagree	1	3	1	3	11
Strongly disagree	2	1			

While most Maori speakers responded that using Maori words was attractive, most English speakers did not agree:

Table 7
The number of respondents and their opinions on whether using Maori words was attractive

Using Maori Words Is Attractive	ENGLISH SPEAKERS Female (5)	Male (5)	MAORI SPEAKERS Female (5)	Male (5)	Total 20
Strongly agree				1	9
Agree		3	4	1	
Neutral	2		1	1	4
Disagree	1	1		2	7
Strongly disagree	2	1			

Ten respondents disagreed that Maori words used in job advertisements were New Zealand English, and only five thought they were:

Table 8
The number of respondents and their opinions on Maori words as part of New Zealand English

Maori Words As a Part Of New Zealand English	ENGLISH SPEAKERS Female (5)	Male (5)	MAORI SPEAKERS Female (5)	Male (5)	Total 20
Strongly agree				1	5
Agree	1	2		1	
Neutral	2	1	2		5
Disagree		1		2	10
Strongly disagree	2	1	3	1	

Sixteen out of twenty respondents agreed that Maori words in English made New Zealand English unique and seen as a part of New Zealanders' identity:

Table 9
The number of respondents and their opinions on Maori words in English as a source of cultural identity

Maori Words In English as a source of Cultural Identity	ENGLISH SPEAKERS		MAORI SPEAKERS		Total 20
	Female (5)	Male (5)	Female (5)	Male (5)	
Strongly agree			2	2	16
Agree	3	4	3	2	
Neutral	1	1		1	3
Disagree	1				1
Strongly disagree					

Discussion

* Nearly all Maori speakers and some English speakers knew Type A items. This finding suggests that a common knowledge might have been established among them. That at least three citations from different sources could be provided suggests that Type A items are used other than only in Maori contexts. Thus, Type A would likely be shared among Maori English speakers, or English and Maori speakers.

* Type B items are from those nineteen less common terms for which participants were asked to provide meanings, and how much they would use them and with whom. Though Type B are less common than Type A items they are known to most Maori speakers and are mainly used with Maori-English bilinguals. Thus, Type B items would likely be the common knowledge of Maori English speakers.

Therefore, Type A and B items could be both labelled as lexemes of New Zealand English.

* Type C items are highly technical and are known only to some Maori speakers. It is likely they are common knowledge among some Maori speakers (relative to their domains).

* Only a Maori Studies pukenga (lecturer) knew one item in Type D, while *uepu-a-motu* (education review officer) was known to neither set of speakers. Thus, Type D items would likely to be innovations of Maori (the product of Maori language promotion).

Thus, Type C and D items might retain their status as Maori words.

Respondents agreed that Maori words in English made New Zealand English unique and should be seen as a part of New Zealanders' identity, yet opinions differed sharply on whether using Maori words in job advertisements achieved clarity, or was attractive or effective. It may be inferred that Type A and B words are shared more among Maori English speakers than among Pakeha English speakers. (The distribution of Type A and Type B largely fell into Area B in Figure 1.) Thus, Maori English speakers would give positive answers while Pakeha English speakers disagreed, for these terms are well-established common knowledge among Maori English speakers, but are less well-established among Pakeha English speakers.

Conclusion

This paper has suggested a common knowledge account that identifies lexemes borrowed from Maori in New Zealand English and explains their distributions. The distinction between those words considered Maori words and those considered Maori loanwords is resolved when a Maori word becomes the common knowledge of host language speakers. The positive attitudes towards the use of terms from te reo in English suggest that more te reo terms, including those in this study, might well become well-established in the common knowledge of New Zealanders in the future.

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Appendix: Questionnaire survey form

A questionnaire about the unique New Zealand variety of English.

Kia Ora! Aotearoa is full of rare seismic beauty: we have glacial mountains, rich and unique indigenous flora and fauna; we have exhilarating bungy jumping and stunning surfing, .. and the words we use are elegantly playful. We receive our Chrissy pressies when pohutukawa turn red. We tell the Sunday driver to rattle his dags! From North Cape to the Bluff, we are always hospitable to people; all that they need to do is just bring a plate…

This study is to examine one of the many colourful characteristics of *New Zealand English*. Thank you for your participation.

Please respond to the questions by circling the appropriate letter.

1. Which word do you use for 'sweet potato'? (or provide another that you would use.)
a. taro   b. tata   c. kumara   d. kumara   e. other_____

2. Which of the following is for 'a person who gives instructions to some one, communicates knowledge or skills, especially in a school'? (or provide another that you would use.)
a. kaikaute   b. kaiako   c. pou awhina   d. pou takawaenga   e. other _____

3. Which of the following is for 'a person who is employed to form a working relationship between two organisations to their mutual benefit'? (or provide another that you would use.)

a. takawaenga   b. ringawera   c. kaipatopato   d. kaiwhakaako   e. other _____

4. Which of the following is for 'a paid helper who regularly looks after a child or an elderly, sick, or disabled person', (or provide another that you would use.)

a. kairangahau   b. kaipatopato   c. kaiwhakahaere   d. kaiawhina
e. other_____

5. What word do you use for 'books, documents, artefacts, etc., relating to or characteristic of New Zealand and its history'? (or provide another that you would use)
a. kiwification   b. kiwiana   c. kiwidom   d. kiwism
e. other_____

6. Which of the following is for 'a person trained to give guidance, support, or advise in personal, social, or psychological difficulties'? (or provide another that you would use.)
a. kaihoahoa   b. kaipatopato   c. pou niho   d. pou awhina
e. other_____

7. Which of the following is for ' a person employed in a hotel, office, etc., to receive guests, clients, etc.'? (or provide another that you would use.)
a. kaikohi moni   b. kaitiaki pukapuka   c. kaiwhakatau manuhiri   d. kaimatai oha
e. other_____

8. Which of the following is for 'a kitchen worker'? (or provide another that you would use)
a. rangatira   b. ringawera   c. pukenga   d. pononga   e. other_____

9. What word do you use for 'a Caucasian or person of European descent New Zealander'? (or provide another that you would use.)
a. pakeha   b. palangi   c. afakasi   d. paleface   e. other _____

10. Which of the following is for ' a person who is the head of an organisation'? (or provide another that you would use.)
a. kaitataki a rohe   b. kaiwhakatau manuhiri   c. takawaenga   d. tumuaki   e. other
_____

11. What word do you use for 'the shellfish that its flesh is highly prized as food and its shell is often used for making jewellery or crafts in New Zealand'? (or provide another that you would use.)
a. haliotis   b. paua   c. abalone   d. abulon   e. other _____

12. Which of the following is for 'a person who endeavours to discover new or collate old facts etc. by the scientific study of a subject or by a course of critical investigation? (or provide another that you would use.)
a. kairangahau   b. kaitohutohu   c. kaipatopato   d. kaituhi   e. other _____

13. Which of the following is for 'a person employed to give advice or recommendation' (or provide another that you would use.)
a. kemihi   b. kaiako   c. kaitohutohu   d. kaiwhakaako
e. other_____

14 Which of the following is for 'a short trip, a guided trip, or a form of walkabout'? (or provide another that you would use)
a. shoot through   b. going bush   c. full tilt   d. tiki tour   e. other_____

15. Which of the following is for 'a general manager'? (or provide another that you would use)
a. kaiwhakahaere   b. kaihoahoa   c. kaipatopato   d. kaiawhina
e. other_____

16. If people from overseas read New Zealand newspapers and copy down the following words, how would you explain to them what these words mean? For example, I will say that Te Papa Tongarewa is the Museum of New Zealand.

e.g. Te Papa Tongarewa	the Museum of New Zealand
1. apiha takawaenga	
2. hekeretari	
3. kaiarahi	
4. kaiawhina whakahaere	
5. kaihoahoa whare	
6. kaikaute	
7. kaitakawaenga	
8. kaitataki a rohe	
9. kaitatari kaupapa	
10. kaitiaki pukapuka	
11. kaitautoko	
12. kaituhi	
13. kaiwawao	
14. kaiwhakaako	
15. kaiwhakarite	
16. kaumatua	
17. pou takawaenga	
18. pukenga	
19. uepu-a-motu	

17. How many of these 19 words do you normally use in daily life?
a. none   b. 1-5   c. 6-10   d.11-15   e. 16+

18. With whom do you use these words?
a. te reo Maori speakers
b. te reo Maori and English speakers (who can speak both languages)
c. English speakers
d. other_____

19. 'Using te reo Maori words in job advertisements makes the job and its requirements clear', do you agree?
a. strongly agree   b. agree   c. neutral   d. disagree   e. strongly disagree

Why?
_____

20. 'Using te reo Maori words in job advertisements is effective, for more people will know about the job as both te reo Maori and English speakers can understand it'. Do you agree?
a. strongly agree   b. agree   c. neutral   d. disagree   e. strongly disagree

Why?
_____

21. 'Using te reo Maori words in job advertisements is attractive; I will take another look if there is one'. Do you agree that using te reo Maori words enhances the intimacy with te reo Maori speakers, and/or evokes the curiosity of non-te reo Maori speakers?
a. strongly agree   b. agree   c. neutral   d. disagree   e. strongly disagree

Why?
_____

22. 'Using te reo Maori words in job advertisements is another example of borrowing words from te reo Maori that makes our English unique'. Do you agree that these te reo Maori words in job advertisements belong to New Zealand English?
a. strongly agree   b. agree   c. neutral   d. disagree   e. strongly disagree

Why?
_____

23. 'As a New Zealander, I would like to use more te reo Maori words that have been introduced into our variety of English'. Do you agree that the presence of te reo Maori words in New Zealand English is a distinctive part of New Zealand culture or identity?
a. strongly agree   b. agree   c. neutral   d. disagree   e. strongly disagree

Why?
_____

Your age:
a. 18-29   b. 30-39   c. 40-49   d. 50-59   e. 60+

Your gender: _____

Your occupation: _____ (write in either te reo Maori or English as you prefer)

Your first language:

a. te reo Maori   b. te reo Maori and English   c. English

Thank you again for your time!

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"That place would be better named Glover": Establishing and contesting identity through the (re)naming of places

John Macalister

Abstract

This paper examines changes in samples of English language discourse surrounding the giving of place names in New Zealand. Since the beginning of systematic colonisation, name-givers have been able to draw on both Maori- and English-language resources. Diachronic shifts in preferring names from one language or the other appear to reflect socio-historical developments which, in the early 21st century, favour names drawn from te reo Maori. One of several reasons given for re-naming a place is the desire to claim a more meaningful name than that currently used, which in turn suggests the importance of Maori for the expression of a bicultural national identity. As this paper is a preliminary exploration of the topic, it concludes with indications of further research directions.

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Introduction

Maori words account for around six words out of every thousand used in New Zealand English (Kennedy & Yamazaki, 1999; Macalister, 1999) making the Maori word presence the most distinctive feature of this variety of English (Deverson, 1991). Different semantic domains contribute to this presence, but the majority of Maori words that are used are proper nouns of various types. Names of places – which can include districts and provinces, towns, settlements, farms and stations, streets, houses, geographical features (rivers, mountains, lakes, for example), oil wells and mines, sporting and recreational venues – are a significant contributor to those proper nouns; in a diachronic study of newspapers from 1850 to 2000, the contribution of place names to the Maori proper noun presence in the years investigated ranged from a little over 60 per cent to a little under 90 per cent (Macalister, 2004). On one level, it would be possible to dismiss this significant contribution by commenting that the Maori presence in New Zealand English is largely geographic. However, as has been briefly discussed elsewhere (op. cit.), examination of proper nouns, including place names, can be surprisingly revealing. In terms of linguistic information they provide evidence of, for example, phonological adaptation, Maori dialectical differences, and the creation of hybrid forms in which an English language and a Maori language element are combined. One further insight that can be gained from an examination of place names is into the construction of New Zealand's national identity, because a place name can be

viewed as "a symbolic marker communicating the relative power and status of linguistic communities in a given territory" (Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara, & Trumper-Hecht, 2006: 8). In the New Zealand context place names can provide insights into the relative standings of Maori and non-Maori, but also, because a name-giver does not have to be a speaker of a language to use it as a source for names, the linguistic origins of a name can express the name-giver's values, history and sense of relationship to the immediate and to the wider world. National identity is a multi-faceted concept which includes elements of possession and of belonging in an effort to express what it means to be in and of New Zealand.

The idea that place names have this revelatory power is related to the concept of 'linguistic landscapes'.

> The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region or urban agglomeration (Landry & Bourhis, 1997: 25).

The approach taken here, however, is not a linguistic landscape approach for "the study object of linguistic landscape research is language on signs in public space" (Backhaus, 2007: 9). The focus of this paper is on the diachronic changes in samples of discourse surrounding place names, and so is looking at the influences which determine which names actually appear on signs. The discourse primarily deals with choices between Maori and English names for places, and reflects the fact that the giving of place names is a top-down process. Names are typically imposed on places by authorities, which today tend to be agencies of central and local government. Given that these authorities are dominated by non-Maori, the views are overwhelmingly those of English-speakers who are very likely to be monolingual. As a result, the discourse includes some comment on the pronunciation of Maori place names for, while the way in which an individual pronounces a name is more likely to be an expression of personal than national identity, arguments about pronouncability are used in determining whether a Maori or English name is chosen.

This paper begins by briefly describing how Maori- and English-speakers established their sense of identity through naming places in the pre-European and pre-colonial periods, then adopts an historical framework proposed by Belich (2001) to discuss discourse about the naming of places in 1850, 1910, and the year 2000. This framework has been supported by earlier analysis of the presence of Maori words in New Zealand English (Macalister, 2006). Using present-day examples, the views expressed by those proposing and opposing renaming are then examined, and finally expectations of future trends of naming are proposed, with suggestions for ongoing research.

Establishing identity: Naming in pre-European and pre-colonial New Zealand

Places in New Zealand have, of course, had names since humans have lived in the country. The names tell the story of both the people who live in it and their history. Thus, for example, in the Wellington region great figures from te ao Maori are remembered – the mythical Maui in *Te Upoko o te Ika a Maui*, for instance, or the navigators Kupe and Tara in the names of the harbour, *Te Whanganui a Tara*, the *Tararua* mountain range and *Nga Ra o Kupe*, Kupe's sails, light-coloured cliffs on the eastern shore of Palliser Bay.

With the arrival of Captain James Cook and the H. M. S. *Endeavour* in 1769, a new process of naming began. In the choice of names, a limited range of obvious motivations were operating including:

- the commemorating of events, such as initial landfall (Young Nick's Head), unpleasant moments (Poverty Bay[1] Cape Foulwind[2]) and departure (Cape Farewell[3]);

- the honouring of others such as patrons (Hawke's Bay[4]), companions (Banks's Island[5], after Sir Joseph Banks), and 'explorers' (Cook Strait, a name Cook was persuaded by others, notably Banks, to use);

- features of geography, such as South Cape Named on 10 March 1770[6] (Stewart Island);

- the adoption of some Maori names, as *Toai Poonamoo* for the South Island, a misrepresentation of *Te Wai Pounamu*.

As Cook and others who placed English language names on the map were passing through rather than staying, it seems reasonable to suggest that they were establishing an identity for the country primarily in the sense of claiming ownership but that this only had meaning for outsiders, for those using and referring to the charts they created. The names that Cook and others applied had no meaning for those living in the country whose ownership and belonging was already expressed in the names they had given. These new English names did, however, lay the groundwork for later contestation of identity that occurred when systematic colonisation began following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840.

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[1] "because it afforded us no one thing we wanted"; named on 11 October 1769. The information for this section is based on Reed (2000).
[2] Named on 20 March 1770.
[3] Named on 31 March 1770, at the end of Cook's first visit; both Capes Farewell and Foulwind had been previously named by Tasman.
[4] Named after the First Lord of Admiralty, on 15 October 1769.
[5] Now Banks' Peninsula; it was mistaken for an island in 1769.
[6] Named on 10 March 1770.

It was not, moreover, in the assignation of names alone that English-speakers imposed their identity on the country, but also in the way that existing Maori names were orthographically and phonologically adapted. Phonological adaptation could be extreme. Whaling stations at Te Korohiwa and Te Awa-iti, for example, were respectively known as *Coalheavers* and *Tarwhite*, prompting Elsdon Best to comment that "Your old-time whaler was no philologist, and his rendering of the Maori tongue was a fearful and amazing thing" (Best, c. 1914). Less extreme examples of Anglicised Maori place names are numerous: *Otakou* became and remains *Otago*, *Pito-one* is still *Petone*, *Te Maru* continues to be *Timaru*, and *Temuka* was originally *Te-umu-kaha*. Furthermore, names which appear orthographically faithful to their Maori origin are sometimes corrupted in both spoken and written form, with *Paekak* and *Otahu* for *Paekakariki* and *Otahuhu* being well-known instances.

Two Schools of Thought: Wakefield and Sewell on place names

In the years immediately following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, the maps of New Zealand began to be filled in with new place names. This was, of course, a process driven by English-speakers. Maori, it hardly needs to be said, already had names for the places and not infrequently these names were those that appeared on maps, which were being produced by and for English-speakers. Essentially, the same motivations for naming that had existed since Cook continued to operate. To this extent, the assignation of names to places was not arbitrary and the naming of places was consciously considered by, at least the more serious-minded, colonists. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, referring to New South Wales, was of the view that "Names of places, too, should be changed; they make part of the moral atmosphere of a country" (Wakefield, 1849: 118). British place names, in other words, would help to provide a supportive environment for the successful establishment of exported British values and virtues. He expressed this belief in the context of contemplating "a colony in short, that shall be an entire British community, and not merely one formed of British materials, ..." (ibid: 116). As this was how he envisaged the Wakefieldian settlements in New Zealand it seems likely that he would have held the same views regardless of which side of the Tasman the settlements were located.

However, even among the more serious-minded colonists, not all shared Wakefield's enthusiasm for English language place names. Henry Sewell, who arrived in Canterbury in 1853 and went on to become New Zealand's first Premier three years later, was moved to comment in his diary soon after arrival: "Arranged to meet at Kaiapoi (the native name, would that all the names were native!)" (McIntyre, 1980). While Sewell does not expand on his reasons for preferring Maori names, one explanation may be that he saw such names as an expression of autonomy from Britain which would be consistent with his "zeal for responsible government" (Oliver, 1966). New Zealand should be governed, he and others strongly believed, by a majority of elected members from the House of

Representatives rather than by a London-appointed Governor and an executive of unelected officials.

The opposing views that Wakefield and Sewell express provide a convenient shorthand for referring to the dichotomy that exists in the on-going discourse about place names, the tension between Maori and English names. Sewell's views appear to be in the spirit of what historian James Belich has labelled the 'progressive colonisation' phase of New Zealand history. In this phase, which fell from roughly 1840 to 1880, there was an openness to borrowing from Maori, which was consistent with "the making of a new people from an old" (Belich, 2001: 17). Adopting Maori names for places was a means of declaring this new identity, this distinctiveness from what had been left behind.

Place names in the new Dominion: The Wakefieldian resistance

Echoes of the Wakefield/Sewell difference are apparent in this newspaper comment from 1909.

> The old identities in Nelson and other places are getting up on their hind-legs and using profane words about the post-office fad for giving new Maori titles to villages and hamlets with old-fashioned names. It is not so long since our "Crofton" became changed to the unfamiliar "Ngaio." Nelson in like way had a village called "Manu," but the Post Office people thought this was too much like Manui, near Wanganui or Maunu, near Whangarei, and so, with a stroke of the pen "Manu" (meaning bird) became "Tui" (the parson bird), ... But the local residents are loudly complaining that "they dunno where they are."[7]

At first glance, this comment seems surprising for its suggestion of an official preferring of Maori names at this time. This, after all, was during the 90-year phase of New Zealand development from 1880 to 1970 that Belich (op. cit., p. 29) has called 'recolonisation', "a renewal and reshaping of links between colony and metropolis", between New Zealand and Britain. The openness to borrowing from te reo Maori that characterised the progressive colonisation phase was replaced by a resistance to, or at least stabilisation of, borrowing (Macalister, 2006: 18). Investigation of this 'post-office fad' suggests, however, that the case was being overstated. As can be seen in Table 1, sixty place names were changed in the three year period from 1909 to 1911, but overall only seven new Maori names were added, and even the newspaper commentator above approved of some of these changes, noting that Oldham's Creek "gets certainly a sweeter name as 'Atawhai.'". The reason for changing names was, in the annually repeated official phrasing, "to meet altered circumstances, or to agree more nearly with local designations" rather than any concerns about an expression of an Anglo identity. Indeed, the newspaper's reference to "old-fashioned names" appears to be to

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[7] *New Zealand Freelance*, 23 January 1909: 18

existing, established names, whether English or Maori, rather than English language names *per se*. Opposition was based on a felt loss of local identity, whereas renaming was occasioned by a wish to avoid confusion between places with the same or similar-sounding names.

Table 1
Post Office name changes, 1909 - 1911

	No. changed	English > Maori	Maori > English
1909	19	3	1
1910	27	8	2
1911	14	0	1 [8]
	60	11	4

(Source: Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives 1909 – 1911[9])

Another issue that was raised around the same time, but that seems to have had little traction, was that of the ease of pronunciation for English-speakers of Maori place names. A member of Parliament, whose surname happened to be Glover, was reported as having said:

> "I have … a great respect for the old Maori traditions. But what is the use of using Maori names which only a few can pronounce. Take Otahuhu, for instance. That place would be better named 'Glover".[10]

While the name of the railway station remained unchanged, the significance of his suggestion to the present discussion, as with the journalistic comment on changes of names, is that both appear to express sentiments that could reasonably be associated with a recolonisation phase. The lamenting of the loss of *Crofton*, the light-hearted suggestion that Otahuhu "would be better named 'Glover'" are consistent with the reaffirming by English-speakers of a British-based identity.

From 1970 to the present: The victory of the Sewellites

The historian James Belich has labelled the phase of New Zealand history since around 1970 'decolonisation', meaning that New Zealand has been developing an identity increasingly independent of Britain from that time. Analysis of New Zealand English in terms of the presence of words of Maori origin supports this historical framework: not only are more Maori words being used in New Zealand English, but a greater variety of different Maori words are being employed (Macalister, 2006). 'Decolonised' New Zealand, in other words, is progressively more defined by Maori. Place names, which are typically imposed in a top-down

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[8] This was a change from a hybrid form, 'Waikaka Siding' to 'McNab'.
[9] AJHR (1909) Vol. III, Report F1: iv, xvii; AJHR (1910) Vol. II, Report F1: v; AJHR (1911) Vol. III, Report F1: 5, 13.
[10] *The Dominion*, 17 November 1910: 4.

manner by decision-makers, have also become an expression of this trend. In 2001, for example, Wellington City Council adopted a new naming policy giving preference to Maori names, which has resulted in a number of name changes including the renaming of *Chaffers' Park* as *Waitangi Park*, *North Queen's Wharf* as *Kumutoto*, and *Anzac Corner* as *Waititi Park*. In each case the new Maori name links back to pre-European settlement, and particularly to the geographical features existing at that time. Waititi, now a street corner, was a beach from which waka were launched, Kumutoto and Waitangi were streams, now undergrounded. These renamings are clearly a statement about identity. They announce the city's bicultural identity, the value that the Council attaches to the city's pre-colonial history and also the importance of the relationship with tangata whenua for Wellington today.

Government policy seems designed to ensure that this renaming initiative continues on a nation-wide basis. In August 2007 the government introduced the New Zealand Geographic Board (Ngā Pou Taunaha o Aotearoa) Bill into the House of Representatives (Hansard, 2007). The bill was updating a 61-year-old Act, and in proposing the bill the minister made clear that its purpose was about identity as much as efficiency: "It ensures that place naming reflects who we are as a nation". Another MP, speaking in support, claimed that the Bill was designed "to rediscover, acknowledge, and rename places with the names with which they were originally blessed". The Bill passed its first reading without dissent.

Both this Bill and the actions of Wellington City Council draw attention to reasons for renaming, which are explored more fully in the following section, with particular reference to 21st century examples.

Reflecting who we are as a nation: Reasons for renaming

The act of renaming places is not new. There was considerable fluidity of place names during the early colonial period, with modern-day Picton being a fine example (Reed, 2000). Six English language names competed for dominance between 1832 and 1859, before the Governor decreed a seventh, *Picton*. The Maori name, *Waitohi*, is a fairly common place name and so its use for the town that became Picton may have been rejected for the possibility of causing confusion. The functional reason of avoiding confusion is a recurrent reason for paying attention to names, and to renaming. It is evident in the renaming practices of the Post Office in the examples from 1909 to 1911, and was made explicit by the Minister in the 2007 debate mentioned above, when he stressed the importance of names "for people in all manner of everyday communications and activities, for businesses and their transactions, and for emergency services in responding to incidents." A recent example of this motivation for renaming in operation occurred when residents of Cornwall Place, Masterton, "plagued by street-name confusion" through being a side street off Cornwall Road, opted to be renamed *Kokiri Place*, a name that "would revive Maori history of the area" (Katterns, 2006). It is perhaps significant that two English names had been rejected by residents before the

Maori name was chosen. The preference for the Maori name is consistent with regarding New Zealand's current historical development phase as one of decolonisation.

Other reasons for renaming appear to reflect more contemporary concerns. Anglicised Maori place names have become a source of unease for some. Renaming offers a way to restore the correct form. This argument has been advanced in the case of *Ohiro Road* in Wellington, and the city of *Wanganui*. In the latter case, a referendum was held in 2006 on whether the city should be *Wanganui* or *Whanganui*. Local iwi argued that a change would acknowledge their existence and identity as tangata whenua, whereas those who argued against said it could create confusion and mispronunciation. The proposed change to include an 'h' was rejected by voters, and was subsequently criticised by Maori Party MP Te Ururoa Flavell as contributing to a process of renaming "the town with the made-up word, Wanganui, without the 'h'" (Hansard, 2007).

The MP's comment suggests a third reason for renaming, and one that also seems to reflect contemporary concerns. That is the desire to claim a more meaningful name for a place, in the sense of choosing a name with New Zealand resonance. In recent years this justification has been proposed for the South Island towns of St Arnaud and Collingwood and the North Island city of Lower Hutt. Those after whom the first two were named had no direct link with New Zealand. St Arnaud was named for a French general who fought alongside the British during the Crimean War, Collingwood for the admiral who was Nelson's second-in-command at the Battle of Trafalgar. The call in both cases was to replace the non-Maori names with *Rotoiti* and *Aorere* respectively. Ironically, the name *St Arnaud* was chosen earlier to replace *Rotoiti*, a Maori name also found in the North Island. As the earlier renaming was to avoid confusion between places, and the current proposal is to claim a more meaningful name, this would suggest a diachronic shift in the weight given to reasons for renaming.

The Lower Hutt instance was a little different from the other two cases, in that Hutt was a director of the New Zealand Company, and so had at least a tenuous link to the country, but was also interesting for its failure to capture the popular imagination and for its attempt to promote a manufactured name. In early 2005 the Mayor tried to start a debate over a Maori name for the city and proposed his personal favourite, *Kupe City* - "It's a great name. It's simple and has a lot of mana" (Trow, 2005). The Wellington Tenths Trust[11] came out in favour of discussion of a Maori name, although they refrained from endorsing Kupe City, and the *Dominion Post* dedicated a luke-warm editorial to the topic, as well as conducting a vox-pop on the issue; only one of the five respondents expressed support. The entire debate was neatly deflated in a letter to the editor

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[11] This trust represents the Maori owners of Wellington and the Hutt Valley descended from Taranaki iwi.

"… I prefer Coupe City in recognition of the boy racers whom the mayor and his council allow to torment residents (particularly on Thursday nights)."[12]

The surprising omission in these various exchanges was that no-one acknowledged that Hutt City already has a Maori name, *Awakairangi*.

A final reason for renaming, and one that is very much linked to political initiatives, is symbolic redress for historic injustices through the Treaty settlement process. For example, in 2000, as part of Ngai Tahu's Treaty settlement with the Crown, bilingual road signs with Maori place names printed beneath the English name began appearing in the South Island. This has also resulted in paralleled place names, such as *Aoraki Mount Cook* and *Matiu Somes Island*.

A trend associated with the desire to rename places is the drive for correct pronunciation of Maori place names. As noted earlier, even orthographically correct Maori names tend to be adapted to English phonology by English-speakers, but in recent years there has been a drift towards correct pronunciation. Media commentators periodically recognise that a speaker's Maori-word pronunciation communicates values and beliefs to the listener.

Perhaps Winston voters are not just old-fashioned racists, but are disempowered-feeling people, who now realise they liked the country the way it used to be, and are bamboozled by suddenly hearing Oamaru pronounced "Oh – ah – ma-rrru" with rolling R's (Clifton, 2002).

Similarly, an initiative to encourage Waikato University staff to pronounce *Waikato* correctly has been linked to the fact that this one word forms "a distinctive feature of the university" for "[i]t is the only one of New Zealand's eight with a Maori word in both its English and Maori titles" (Neems, 2007). This initiative would seem to be less concerned with personal identity, and closer to a concern about national identity.

It is the case, however, that whatever reasons are proposed for renaming a place, objections may be raised. Recent reactions to renaming proposals are examined in the next section.

"They dunno where they are": opposing renaming

One common reason for opposing a name change is the sense that there will be a loss of local identity, that people will feel they are in a different place. This is understandable, of course, and it should be admitted that the desire to convey a sense of a different place, such as a bicultural New Zealand, may underlie a renaming proposal. Responses to proposals by Wellington Tenths Trust and Wellington City Council to have more Maori place names in the city were along these lines.

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[12] *Dominion Post,* 27 January 2005: B4.

Wadestown Residents Association president John Shrapnell was at first lost for words when told yesterday about the proposal that Wadestown be renamed Ahu Mairangi. "I can't see many people wanting change. I would say that knowing how people hate change, that they wouldn't want a new name," he said (Johnson, 2002b).

In similar fashion, people may express opposition to a proposed renaming because they see no point to it, and even imagine reasons in favour of an orthographically incorrect form. The writer of a letter to the editor drew on both lines in a recent discussion of *Ohiro/Owhiro*.

> Being a Brooklyn resident for 87 years with close associations to Ohiro Farm, I see no reason to change the name. … Maybe the Chief Owhiro did not want his name used for a farm or a road.[13]

It is also the case that people have emotional investment in existing names. For example, one proposal put forward by the Wellington Tenths Trust and Wellington City Council was labelled "an insult to the community" (Johnson, 2002a).

The reality with these top-down processes of naming and renaming, however, is that if the name-bestowers have the will the names will be changed.

Current Trends, Contrary and Counter-currents

It is likely that a preference for Maori over English place names, for the correction of Anglicised Maori place names, and for paralleled place names will continue in the foreseeable future. Central government legislation and local government policy will direct this process, a process which is in keeping with a range of other initiatives to promote Maoridom and to protect te reo Maori.

At the same time, however, there are contrary pressures. One may be that suburbs evoke particular associations through their street names. The planned suburb of Whitby, near Wellington, is a classic example. The association is with Captain James Cook, for it was at the Yorkshire port of Whitby that he began his sailing career, and it is this association that drives the naming. The streets evoke features of sailing ships and sailing ship life (such as *Cleat Street, Ration Lane*), Cook's voyages (*Venus Place*), and the people who sailed on them (*Solander Place, James Cook Drive*) as well as the ships themselves (*Resolution Drive*).

It is also possible that recognition of the place of multiculturalism and multilingualism may play an increasing role in the naming and renaming of places. A recent example, believed to be the first Chinese-English street sign in New Zealand, occurred in Otaki. According to the local mayor, "Multilingualism was part of the Otaki community's long-term vision, and the new sign was one step in making that vision a reality" (Blundell, 2007). Given the size of the Pasifika

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[13] *Brooklyn Tattler*, October 2005, p. 4.

population, particularly in Auckland, the Chinese community is not the only one that may be reflected in future place naming.

However, it is worth remembering that expressions of identity through place names are never going to be tied to one language, or language group. As one parliamentary speaker remarked in the previously mentioned debate:

> I also note that one of the nicest names we have in New Zealand is the Pigroot … If that does not say "New Zealand, South Island", I do not know what does (Hansard, 2007).

Concluding remarks

The public discourse about the naming of places suggests that place naming in New Zealand has followed the same pattern of change as was shown in an earlier analysis of the Maori word presence in New Zealand English, moving from an openness to borrowing in the early colonial period, followed by a relatively long period of stability and then, since about 1970, a renewed interest in the use of Maori words. In the earliest phase the stimulus for the borrowing may have been the desire to create a new national identity distinct from that of Britain; in the latest phase the stimulus may be more closely tied to the expression of a bicultural national identity.

It is worth remembering, however, that this exploration of the discourse represents a preliminary foray into the field. Further areas of investigation that could support this analysis of the discourse are links to language policy and planning documents and quantitative data, which may be provided by drawing on a linguistic landscape approach.

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