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Editorial Note

This volume of Wellington Working Papers in Linguistics is dedicated to showcasing outstanding postgraduate research projects in LALS from 2019. It is a pleasure to be able to shine much needed light on these 'smaller' projects (LALS 583 - 60 points, and LALS 579 - 30 points) which exemplify the flourishing postgraduate research climate in the School.

In Volume 24, we bring together the original and excellent mahi of postgraduate scholars Shae Holcroft, Matilda Neyland (Ian Gordon Prize winner), and Reuben Sanderson, whose contributions are not only rigorous and captivating, but testament to a great deal of hard work and academic growth. The papers also reflect the broad range of linguistic interests in the School. Holcroft draws on a rich tradition of language documentation, examining the grammatical system of Bislama, and setting the scene with a compelling historical overview. Following this, we move to the area of critical discourse studies. Neyland's contribution skilfully highlights the marginalisation of migrant sex workers in the media through an innovative combination of corpus approaches and discourse analysis. Remaining in the discourse tradition, Sanderson employs a novel multimodal lens to build understanding of the complexities of belonging on a YouTube channel.

I have no doubt you will find the contributions engaging, thought-provoking, and impressive in equal measure. It has been a pleasure to work with the authors and with Reuben Sanderson as copy editor extraordinaire. Finally, thank you to the Ian Gordon Trust for the funding of this important volume and the deserved recognition it provides of LALS postgraduate work. Enjoy!

Shelley Dawson
December 2022

Taem i stop go: Marking tense and aspect in Bislama

Shae Holcroft

1. Introduction

Tense, aspect and mood systems have long been one of the most predominant areas of discussion surrounding grammar in pidgin and creole languages. For Bislama, a primarily English-lexified creole language spoken in Vanuatu, relatively little is known about how its tense, mood and aspect (TMA) system functions. Predicates in Bislama can occur with overt markers that contribute TMA information or with bare predicates with no overt markers, where the TMA information of the utterance is still understood by the speaker and addressee. This paper aims to provide a synchronic description of how the semantic categories of tense and aspect are expressed in Bislama, by considering the role of overt TMA markers in opposition with zero-marking.

A predicate in Bislama may be marked overtly for tense. Tense is deictic and locates events or situations in relation to the speaker's 'now' (Comrie 1976: 9; Smith 1997: 97). Events can be placed in the present (simultaneous with the moment of speech), the past (prior to the moment of speech), or in the future (subsequent to the moment of speech). However, a predicate in Bislama without any associated modifiers (i.e. tense markers) can be used in the expression of any tense. That is, bare forms can be used to express past, present, or future tense (1a-c respectively):

(1) a. *Yestedei* ***mifala*** ***i*** ***go*** *antap.*
yesterday 1PL.EXCL PM[1] go above
'Yesterday we went up the hill.' (M-94-2, Lepaka)

b. *Naoia* ***ol*** ***man*** ***oli*** ***krangke*** *nao.*
now PL person PM crazy now
'People are crazy these days.' (M-95-13, Rovi)

c. ***Haos*** ***i*** ***finis*** *nekis* *wik?*
house PM finish next week
'The house'll be finished next week?' (M-95-18, Lolan)

Similarly, aspect can be marked overtly or unmarked. In contrast to tense, aspect is not deictic. It is not concerned with relating the time of the situation to any other time point, but

[1] *i and oli* are glossed as 'predicate markers' (discussed further in section 2.2). As the syntax of Bislama is rather transparent, examples in this paper will not continue to include interlinear glosses.

rather, aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of the one situation (Comrie 1976: 12; Smith 1997: 9). A predicate in Bislama can express punctual, continuous or habitual aspect without any overt markers of aspect (2a-c respectively):

(2) a. ***Hem*** ***i*** ***katkatem*** *smolsmol* *kabis* *blong* *hem.*
3SG PM chop small cabbage of 3SG
'She chopped up her cabbage.' (Lolan, M-93-2)

b. *Mi* ***mi*** ***lukaotem*** *hem* *longtaem.*
1SG 1SG look.for 3SG for.a.long.time
'I'd been looking for him for a long time.' (Elsina, S-95-6)

c. ***Hem*** ***i*** ***kakae*** *pistas* *tumas.*
3SG PM eat peanut too.much
'She eats too many peanuts.' (Leikitah, M-95-16)

In the remainder of this section I give a general background for Bislama, providing a description of the history of the language and its current role in Vanuatu. I summarise previous studies of tense and aspect marking in creoles, and explain my motivations for this research, detailing the principles for the statistics. In section 2, I describe the methodology used and how the data and individual factors involved were coded. Section 3 forms the bulk of the analysis in this paper. I consider what forms are used to mark tense and aspect, and how. I provide a description of the order of such markers, and consider how unmarked predicates are interpreted. In section 4, I touch on some further directions for research on Bislama's TMA system, and consider the role of other clausal information in contributing temporal and aspectual (T/A) information. Section 5 concludes the paper, and provides a summary of the findings of this study and its implications on creole studies.

1.1 Social and historical overview (of Vanuatu and Bislama)

The Republic of Vanuatu is an archipelago of more than 80 islands located in the south-west Pacific. Vanuatu has considerable linguistic diversity, with approximately 100 vernacular languages spoken by a population of around 270,000 (see Lynch & Crowley 2001; VNSO 2016). These languages mostly belong to the Oceanic subgroup of the Austronesian family, though some Polynesian outliers are found in the central and southern islands. Bislama is a dialect of Melanesian Pidgin (MP), mutually intelligible with and historically related to Pijin, spoken in the Solomon Islands, and Tok Pisin, spoken in Papua New Guinea. The language is thus not just an important lingua franca of Vanuatu, but also a common regional language that allows for communication among peoples of Melanesia, that comprises an integral part of Vanuatu's national identity.

Melanesian pidgin differs somewhat from other pidgins and creoles around the world in that it has a rather different developmental past, and developed relatively recently compared to other languages of this type (e.g., Atlantic creoles). Though a form of contact language had

been present in the Pacific since the mid 1800s, Melanesian Pidgin dialects only recently started gaining native speakers (from the 1950s).

Vanuatu was first settled by Oceanic-language speaking Melanesian people several thousands of years ago. Its first contact with Europeans began with Pedro Ferdinandez de Quiros in 1606. The charting of the islands of Vanuatu, begun by Louis-Antoine de Bougainville in 1768 was completed by James Cook in 1774, who gave Vanuatu the name 'New Hebrides' that it would keep until gaining independence in 1980 from its joint administration by England and France. At this time, Bislama would play an important role in the formation of a united national identity in Vanuatu, as a dialect of a Melanesia-wide language formed by Melanesians, and symbolising a shared history.

The first stage in the development of Melanesian Pidgin dates from the early 1800s when Melanesians began to have ongoing, frequent contact with Europeans. This started as a result of whaling in the Pacific, which was followed by the expansion of the sandalwood and *bêche-de-mer* 'sea cucumber' trade, as well as missionary work. Since Melanesia is so highly linguistically diverse, it was impossible for Europeans to learn local languages in order to trade like they did elsewhere in the Pacific. Instead, they used simplified English or pre-existing contact languages such as the South Seas Jargon carried by the multilingual ships (Siegel 2008). Very early on in the period of 1843-65, a contact language with vocabulary derived from English but clearly different to it, known as 'Sandalwood English' or 'Beach-la-Mar', was first used by ni-Vanuatu (Crowley 1990).

The second stage in the development of Melanesian Pidgin came with the decline of the sandalwood trade in the mid 1860s, when Vanuatu entered a period of overseas recruiting for plantations, pastoral properties and mines. In the 1870s and 1880s, many thousands of ni-Vanuatu, along with other Melanesians, began to be recruited as labourers for plantations in Queensland, Samoa and Fiji (known as 'blackbirding'). Melanesians from diverse areas with no language in common except what they had acquired from earlier contact with Europeans began to use this to communicate with each other on the plantations. This language became a lingua franca between the Melanesian workers, and between Melanesians and European overseers. With continued use, new features were added, norms began to emerge, and a stable pidgin began to develop – early Melanesian Pidgin.

The third stage of development began when labourers returned to their home islands after their contracts had finished, and brought the early Melanesian Pidgin with them. After the turn of the century, a period of internal labour recruitment began, and ni-Vanuatu began to move in significant numbers to a variety of locations as plantation workers within Vanuatu. The large-scale recruitment of labour resulted in the spread of the language to many parts of the country where it was previously unknown or little used. The pidgin began to spread rapidly as a lingua franca in Vanuatu, and similarly in New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, where there had previously been no language of wider communication. In each of these countries, the early Melanesian Pidgin stabilised and changed (under the influence of local

vernacular languages[2]) to form the three current dialects of Bislama, Tok Pisin, and Solomons Pijin[3].

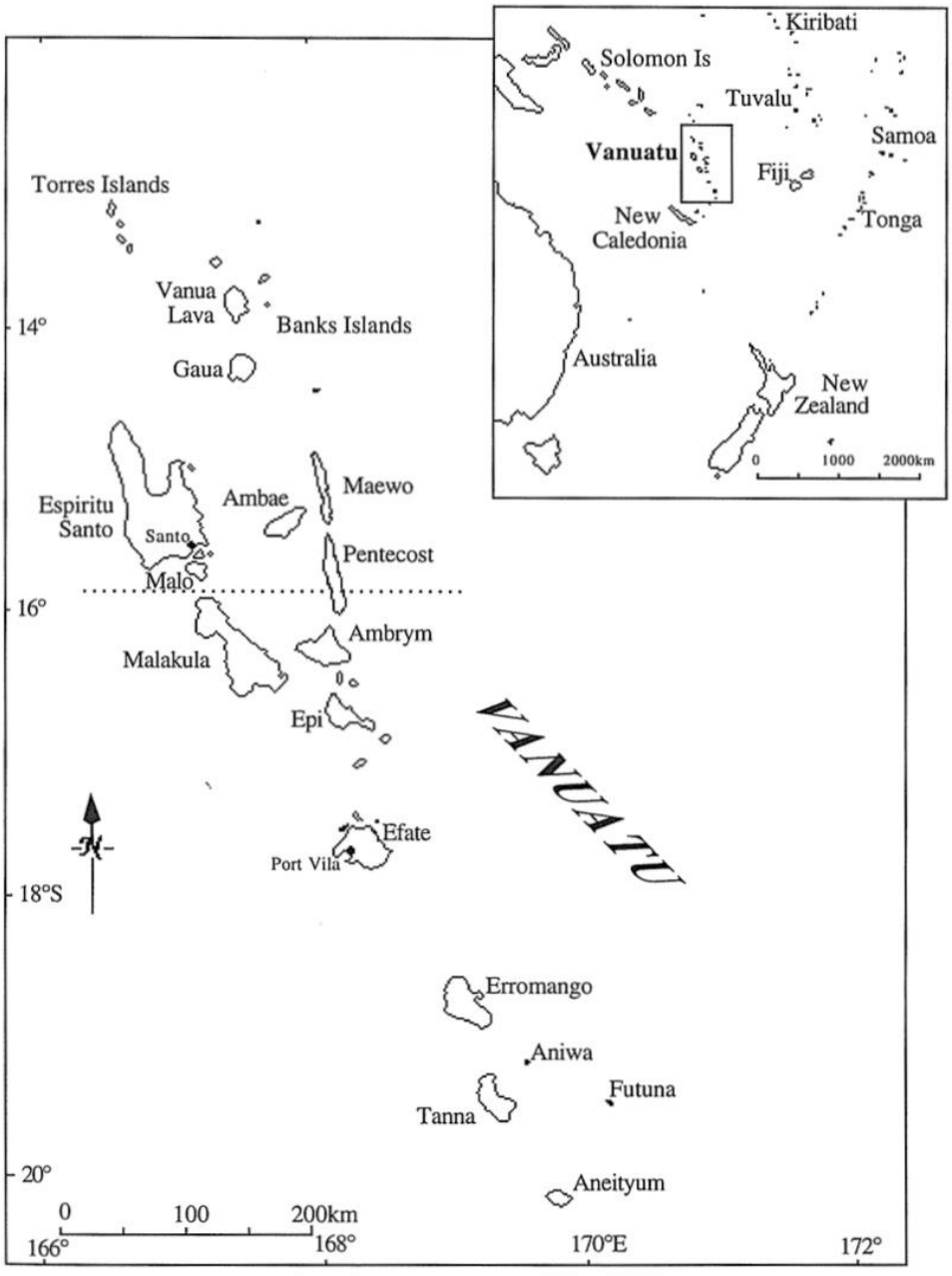
Since independence, the constitution of the Republic of Vanuatu has named Bislama as the one national language. Bislama, English and French are official languages, and the government is required by the constitution to protect Vanuatu's indigenous languages. Nonetheless, until very recently English and French were the only languages of education. In 2012, a National Language Policy was endorsed, incorporating local indigenous languages, as well as Bislama, into the formal education system for the first time (Ministry of Education 2012). The policy states that Bislama or a local vernacular can be used in the first two years of school. In the third year teachers should continue to use Bislama or a vernacular to assist children in transitioning to English or French, and some subjects may continue to be taught in the local languages from year 4. Furthermore, the Early Childhood Care and Education Policy (Ministry of Education 2017) implemented in 2019 states that for all Early Childhood Care and Education Centres, instruction should take place in the language best known to the child (which can be the child's mother tongue or Bislama). To implement the policy, the Ministry of Education and Training developed a plan to create resources for around half of Vanuatu's 100+ languages – a project which is currently underway.

[2] This is a stance taken particularly by Siegel (1998). Others (e.g., Mühlhäusler 1985; Keesing 1988) suggest that stabilisation occurred earlier in MP's development.

[3] Of course, this summary cannot express the complexity of the linguistic situation in early Vanuatu and wider Melanesia. For a more extensive explanation of Vanuatu's history and the development of Bislama, see Crowley (1990).

Figure 1

Major islands of Vanuatu, showing towns of Santo and Port Vila



1.2 Bislama as a creole?

There has quite a lot of debate in the literature as to whether Bislama should be categorised as a creole or a pidgin. A pidgin is defined as a language that emerges when groups of people are in close and repeated contact with a need to communicate but no language in common (Velupillai 2015: 15). What might start out as individual ad hoc solutions in individual situations (jargons) may stabilise to a system of norms that can be learned as a second

language (a pidgin) if contact is sustained (Velupillai 2015: 40). A pidgin is usually a secondary language in a speech community (Jourdan 1991: 196), typically used in specific situations or a limited set of contexts or as a lingua franca across communities. Nonetheless, there are some situations where pidgin languages begin to acquire native speakers, especially in urban environments (Velupillai 2015: 17). A creole is defined, in a simple form, as a natural language spoken as a mother tongue by an entire community that arose due to situations of intense contact (Velupillai 2015: 43).

Even in trying to define these categories, it is clear that the lines between what is called a 'pidgin' and what a 'creole' are often blurred. Disagreements about the definitions arise from researchers focusing on different aspects of these languages. As Siegel (2008: 3-4) summarises, some linguists who emphasise sociolinguistic criteria call MP a pidgin, due to its role as a second language rather than mother tongue for the large majority of its speakers. Others call it a creole because it has some native speakers and is used in a wide range of functions. Those who consider only linguistic criteria may call it a creole because the grammatical features it has developed are just as complex as those of clearly recognised creoles. Bickerton (1980) excludes Tok Pisin (and thus the other MP dialects) from his analysis of creoles on the grounds that it evolved over multiple generations with extended contact to substrate languages (see section 1.3 for more details). Velupillai (2015) chooses to refer to Bislama and its sister-dialects as 'pidgincreoles', indicating that these languages carry affinities with both pidgins and creoles. Though it is true that the dialects of Melanesian Pidgin have a complicated developmental past which is uncharacteristic of other more well-researched and 'typical' creoles (e.g., Atlantic creoles), I believe it is unproblematic to refer to Bislama as a creole (this position is similarly taken by Jourdan 1991, 2014 and Meyerhoff 2008).

Since the 1950s, when its primary use was as a lingua franca with limited social and functional scope, Bislama has undergone a major change in the widening of its communicative functions. Firstly, Bislama is currently used to express a variety of social functions in Vanuatu. As well as now being used in education, Bislama is also used in newspapers, as a religious language, as the major language used on national radio and in parliamentary debates, as well as in local politics. This situation is especially important when we consider that creole languages are typically not used as languages of education or media, and rarely have official status in the societies where they are spoken (Velupillai 2015: 45). In fact, Bislama is given a higher status in the constitution of Vanuatu than either of the colonial languages (if we assume a national language has a higher status, see Crowley 1990).

Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, Bislama is rapidly acquiring increasing numbers of native speakers. Though it is true that Bislama is not the first language of many ni-Vanuatu, it is very frequently learnt and used from very early childhood, and almost all children in Vanuatu (except potentially in very remote rural areas) will grow up to have some command over the language. In 2009 (VNSO 2009), 74% of the population of Vanuatu was said to be literate in Bislama, compared to 50% literate in a (local) language other than Bislama, English or French[4]. The language is used throughout Vanuatu, and though in 2009 Bislama was used most in regions with a large urban population (Shefa: Epi, Efate, Shepherd Islands; and Sanma; Espriritu Santo, Malo), it was also widely spoken in the Malampa region (Malakula, Ambrym

[4] Literacy in Bislama was higher than in English (64%) and French (37%). Literacy was measured by a respondent's ability to read and write a simple sentence in any language.

and Paama) which does not have large urban areas. It is also used as the main language in the home by 34% of Vanuatu's population[5]. Though we do not know how many people speak Bislama as a first language, this suggests around 92,000 people primarily use Bislama at home. This highlights Bislama's role not just as a lingua franca, but as a language with important social and cultural function in the home and wider community.

1.3 TMA in pidgins and creoles

The expression of tense, mood, and aspect has long been a hot topic in the domain of pidgins and creoles. In fact, very early studies of creoles (van Name 1869; Schuchardt 1882) comment on how TMA particulars are shared by creoles with different lexical bases. Other early work that draws attention to TMA includes Thompson (1961) and Taylor (1971) who note (as summarised by Muysken 1981):

(3) a. Each Creole language tends to have three of them: a past tense marker; a potential mood marker; and a durative aspect marker.

b. When we find more than one particle accompanying a verb, the particles always occupy a fixed order: tense, mood, aspect, main verb. The combinations of the particles are interpreted in fixed, and rather complex ways (1981: 183).

In 1974, Bickerton (1980)[6] published his paper '*Creolization, Linguistic Universals, Natural Semantax and the Brain*' which would guarantee that TMA would become 'the pre-eminent site for the discussion of the phenomenon of the shared properties of creoles and for the debate about its explanation' (Singler 1990: viii). Bickerton (1980) bases his LBH predominantly on shared characteristics in the TMA of four creole languages: Hawaiian Creole English, Guyanese, Haitian and Sranan. He lists the following as typical characteristics of creole TMA systems:

(4) a. The zero form marks simple past for action verbs and non-past for state verbs.

b. A marker of anterior aspect indicates past-before-past for action verbs and simple past for state verbs.

c. A marker of irrealis aspect indicates 'unreal time' (= future, conditionals, subjunctives, etc.) for all verbs.

[5] English and French are used very rarely in the home, 2% and 1% respectively. The main language spoken in private households was a local language (63%).

[6] The article was originally published in the *University of Hawaii Working Papers* and was republished in Day (1980), the version to which following references refer.

d. A marker of nonpunctual aspect indicates durative or iterative aspect for action verbs, and is indifferent to the nonpast/past distinction; this marker cannot normally co-occur with state verbs.

e. All markers can combine, but in an invariant ordering, which is: 1. Anterior. 2. Irrealis. 3. Nonpunctual (1980[1974]: 5f).

As noted by Singler (1990), Bickerton's analysis falls within the tradition of Taylor and Thompson. Its main departure in terms of TMA is his identification of an 'anterior' rather than 'past' tense. He also notes the influence of an active/stative distinction on the interpretation of bare verb forms.

Bickerton cites the similarities in the TMA of creoles as evidence for an explanation for the origin of human language. His language bioprogram hypothesis (LBH; e.g., Bickerton 1975, 1988, 2016) posits that the shared features arise from an innate bioprogram of linguistic competence triggered by the lack of adequate input in a situation of communicative need. According to the LBH, adult workers in plantation societies produced simplified and unstable contact varieties of the lexifier, which were insufficient for the basic human linguistic needs of the children of these labourers. As they grow up, the children resort to innate human language faculty (the bioprogram) to create a new and fully functional language. The LBH successively developed into a theory specifically concerned with creolization (Veenstra 2008).

Bickerton (2016: viii) states in the preface to the revised edition of his 1981 book that no research since its publication has managed to disprove his claims that:

> …creole languages arise in a single generation, and are created from an original, virtually structureless pidgin by children, who have an access to universal grammar unavailable to their elders, with minimal reference to the (substrate) languages spoken by their parents. (2016: vii)

Despite this, the LBH and its claims have been criticised from many different perspectives, and creolists in general have rejected the LBH as the principal means of accounting for the shared properties of creoles (Singler 1990). According to Veenstra (2008: 219), the LBH was so controversial that after it was published it 'provoked an avalanche of research and publications throughout the 1980s and 1990s with the sole aim of disproving it'. Many of such publications assessed the validity of the data and predictions of the LBH, with many demonstrating that some of the data used were 'incomplete, biased, erroneous, or at best inconclusive as evidence' (Veenstra 2008: 219). Indeed, the original four creoles that formed the basis for the prototypical TMA system do not even entirely conform to it (see Velupillai 2015 for a typological analysis of pidgins and creoles). Other linguistic features involved in the LBH have also been put under scrutiny (but for more on the TMA system see for example Muysken 1981; Singler 1990; Lefebvre 1996).

Another problem lies in the implausibility of the version of history that the LBH requires. By envisioning creole formation as first language acquisition, this scenario can only claim to apply to cases of language contact in which a pidgin has not existed for more than a generation (ruling out cases like Tok Pisin), and where no more than 20% of the population spoke the dominant (colonial) language, the remaining 80% speaking a variety of other languages (Veenstra 2008: 224). Critiques have been made arguing that nativisation does not play a decisive role in creolization (see Jourdan 1991) and that criticise the claim that a full-fledged

language emerges in a catastrophic, unigenerational process (see Veenstra 2008). Nonetheless, Bickerton's LBH theory of creole genesis remains central to the discussion of TMA in pidgin and creole languages.

1.4 Motivations for research

The primary goal of this study is to describe how tense and aspect are expressed in Bislama. Melanesian Pidgin is commonly used in analyses of TMA in pidgins and creoles, and is usually used as a main Pacific example. However, studies predominantly focus on Tok Pisin, which is much more well-documented and represented in literature than Bislama. Though Bislama is historically related, often claims for 'Melanesian Pidgin' TMA will refer predominantly to Tok Pisin, and may not be entirely representative of TMA in Bislama. Though some scholarship does refer to Bislama, its TMA system has not been thoroughly described, and discussions about Bislama's TMA system in comparative accounts are not based on in-depth research on the TMA system as a whole.

Though TMA markers have been described by previous researchers, there is not a long history of published accounts of Bislama at all. Guy (1974) represents the first attempt to describe Bislama, though this is little more than a sketch of moderate length. Camden (1979) compares structures of Bislama with one of Vanuatu's vernacular languages and presents a considerable amount of grammatical information about Bislama. Charpentier (1979) is an account of the social status of Bislama in Vanuatu, which includes a fair amount of structural information, comparing with vernacular languages. Tryon (1987) is a course on Bislama for non-speakers, and thus contains a lot of useful grammatical information. Keesing (1988) describes the historical development of particular aspects of Melanesian Pidgin. Crowley (1990) discusses the historical development of certain aspects of the grammar of Bislama, including an analysis of the development of TMA markers. Crowley (2004) is the most thorough and recent account of the grammar of Bislama. Meyerhoff (2000a) represents the first attempt to study a corpus of spontaneous spoken Bislama from a variationist perspective. Meyerhoff has since conducted other variationist research on other parts of Bislama grammar: Meyerhoff (2002a) looks at the emergence of complementisers in Bislama, Meyerhoff (2002b) looks at constraints on optional objects, and Meyerhoff (2003) looks at reduplication. Meyerhoff (2013) also provides an overview of Bislama's grammatical system, including its TMA system.

Throughout this paper, I will be assessing the extent to which Bislama follows or departs from the claims put forth by Bickerton (1980). It is important to note that as Tok Pisin (and thus Bislama) is said to have developed in a manner not prototypical of the creoles Bickerton's (1980) theory is based on, it is therefore not clear if the predictions in 4a-e would ever have applied to TMA in Bislama. Anything I find that deviates from his theory could be therefore be due to this fact. However, as his predictions are rooted in creole studies and analyses of TMA in creoles, I feel it is important to assess his predictions nonetheless.

In order to determine how tense and aspect marking function in Bislama, I will be performing a large-scale quantitative analysis involving multivariate statistics. Such analysis is common in variationist studies of grammatical variation. This is because these studies consider variation to be an inherent property of a linguistic system, not 'free' or random, but correlated with various linguistic and social factors (Daleszynska 2011). Factors may act together in various ways, either weakening each other or cancelling each other out (antagonistically) or

strengthening each other (synergistically) (Walker 2010b). The use of multivariate statistics helps to quantitatively determine the effect of various linguistic and extra-linguistic conditions on the choice of individual variants. In using such multivariate statistics, I am able to discover patterns of association between variant forms and potential conditioning factors. Rather than relying on categorical or deterministic distinctions, multivariate analysis allows me to infer semantic differences from probabilistic associations or preferences. Walker (2010a: 106) states rather succinctly the benefits of a variationist and quantitative approach to the description of syntactic system

> By recognizing the inherent variability of language and using naturally occurring discourse, instead of constructing examples to search for idealized contexts that will provide a one-to-one relationship between form and meaning, we can use patterns of co-occurrence to discern the grammatical system. (2010a: 106)

In this study, I assess previous analyses of Bislama's TMA and draw conclusions about how tense and aspect are marked in Bislama. This study aims to provide a theory-neutral base of how tense and aspect are marked in Bislama, by conducting the first wide-scale quantitative analysis of Bislama's TMA system, which should provide a stronger base for future comparative, cross-linguistic study of TMA in pidgins/creoles to draw from.

2. Methodology

2.1 Description of the data

The data in this analysis is drawn from a corpus of narratives and conversational Bislama recorded in 1994-1995[7]. Of course, it is not the ideal situation to be using data that is, no doubt, already out of date. As Muysken (1981: 193) states 'all Creoles, as other natural languages, have undergone changes and are still changing at different rates for different aspects of their grammars.' Indeed, recent data would be much preferred, since few large-scale studies on Bislama have been completed since the early 2000s, and especially considering how much of Vanuatu's sociocultural and linguistic situation has changed since then. However, there is only so much one can do as a master's student with limited resources and time. Having such great, well-documented data available allows me to produce a fresh analysis of Bislama's TMA system, though it does remain to be seen in future work whether my findings are still true of contemporary Bislama.

The corpus is based on the conversations of 42 speakers collected in northern Vanuatu, in the urban centre known as Santo on the island of Espiritu Santo, and in villages on the neighbouring island of Malo (see Meyerhoff 2000a for more detail about the corpus). Malo belongs to the same administrative province as Espiritu Santo (Sanma) and there is fairly steady traffic between the two islands. The communities where the data were recorded on Malo provided a view of a more *kastom '*customary' lifestyle to most residents of Santo township. Santo township (also referred to as Luganville or Kanal) is one of the two municipalities in Vanuatu and the second largest population centre (after the capital Port

[7] Examples are identified according to place of recording, year, and tape number (e.g., M-95-10, Malo 1995 tape 10).

Vila). The population, which was approximately 8,000 when the data were recorded, now over 15,000 (as of 2016, VNSO 2016), is comprised largely of ni-Vanuatu. Santo town is located on the south-eastern side of the island Espiritu Santo (also known simply as Santo – for this reason I will refer to the town specifically as 'Santo town'). Bislama is the chief medium of communication in Santo town, though most people also speak *lanwis* – the Melanesian language spoken in the area they come from – and will use this language with people from the same place. Meyerhoff (2000a) states that the primary reasons for using *lanwis* involve the desire to stress a speaker's family roots and regional affiliations and to preserve the language. Nonetheless, in public domains, whether business, social or religious, using Bislama is the norm.

The narratives in the corpus were transcribed and translated with the help of native speakers. The 45 transcribed and translated conversations yielded a total of 3928 clauses. All non-finite verb phrases were excluded (including imperatives). For the purpose of coding, a non-finite clause was defined as one where it is (next to) impossible to have the predicate marker *i* (or *oli)* attached to the verb (see section 2.1.1 below). This excludes second verbs in serial verb constructions, including those expressing motion or location (following Meyerhoff 2001). Complements of verbs such as *traem* 'try', *wantem* 'want', *kam* 'come', *go* 'go' and *karem* 'get' were also excluded, as well as anything immediately following the subordinator *blong*[8]. Any clauses containing transfers from standard English were excluded, as well as frozen expressions like *yu save* 'you know', and *yu luk* 'you see'.

The corpus of conversations from Malo is based on the speech of 27 speakers and contains 2509 clauses. The Santo corpus is smaller and includes 15 speakers and 1422 clauses. The clauses were coded for a variety of structural and functional features, which are discussed in section 2.1.1.1 below. Sociolinguistic characteristics of the participants were recorded but do not figure directly into this current study.

2.1.1 Coding of the corpus

In Bislama, the forms *i,* and less commonly *oli,* often appear between a subject and a following predicate. Because of this, they are often referred to as 'predicate markers' (e.g., Crowley 2004), though others prefer to call them 'agreement markers' (e.g., Meyerhoff 2000b). Regardless of whether the lexeme in the predicate involves a verb or adjective (1), noun phrase (2) or prepositional phrase (3), the clause was included in the corpus if there is predicate marker present where expected following the canonical agreement paradigm laid out in Table 1 below:

Table 1

Canonical subject-verb agreement (predicate marking) in Bislama, for the verb singsing 'sing'

[8] Overt subjects following *blong* were included. Instances where the complementiser *se* occurs after these verbs before an overt subject were also included, e.g.:

Mi wantem 'I want
se yu *kam kwik* …you to come quick.' (M-94-7, Tarip)

	singular	dual	trial	plural
1 (excl.)	mi Ø singsing	mitufala i singsing	mitrifala i singsing	mifala i singsing
1 (incl.)	-	yumitu Ø singsing	yumitri Ø singsing	yumi Ø singsing
2	yu Ø singsing	yutufala i singsing	yutrifala i singsing	yufala i singsing
3	hem i singsing	tufala i singsing	trifala i singsing	olgeta oli singing

Note. From "Animacy in Bislama? Using quantitative methods to evaluate transfer of a substrate feature" by Miriam Meyerhoff 2009. In James N. Stanford & Dennis R. Preston (eds), *Variation in Indigenous Minority Languages*. John Benjamins Publishing Company. 369-396. Reprinted with permission.

(3) *Mifala i stap long narafala haos ia.*

'We lived in that other house.' (S-95-1, Juliet)

(4) *Tom hem i wan rij man a?*

'Tom's a rich man eh?' (S-94-2, Lily)

(5) *Mi long nara saed.*

'I was on the other side.' (M-94-4, Lolan)

Examples where a predicate marker is absent are excluded from the analysis:

(6) *From olsem hem Ø fren blong mi, a?*

'Coz he's a friend of mine eh?' (M-95-11, Bretian)

One exception to this involves *hemia/hem ia* predicates. Though it is clear such examples are finite and predications, the use of agreement marking after these subjects is poorly understood. Historically, *hemia* derives from the third-person singular pronoun *hem,* to which the demonstrative *ia* 'this, that' has been phonologically bound (Crowley 2000). This reanalysis as a single indivisible unit is indicated by the demonstrative *ia* able to appear after *hemia*:

(7) *Hemia ia.*

'That/this is it.' (Crowley 2000: 64)

In fact, *hemia* behaves in part like a proper noun, and in part like a pronoun, but unlike any other subject type in Bislama. As a result, it has a unique distribution of *i*. Though *hemia* appears with a following predicate marker (1), it also can occur with no marker (2; Examples from Crowley 2000: 65):

(8) a. *Hemia i/*Ø no pikinini blong krae.*
'That one is not a cry-baby.'
b. *Hemia Ø/*i pikinini blong krae.*
'That one is a cry-baby.'

As *hemia* subjects are unpredictable, they are excluded from the analysis[9]. Because of the possible alternation in spelling, though *hem + ia* utterances appear where *ia* is a focus marker, only very clear examples of this are included in the data. If it is possible that the subject behaves like the indivisible unit *hemia,* it is excluded.

The word *olsem* in modern Bislama is also very unpredictable. Similar to *hemia*, *'olsem ia'* is a valid predication, but **olsem i ia* is not*,* and whether a predicate marker appears preceding *olsem* is variable*. Olsem*, according to Crowley (2004), is a preposition or adverb, however, there are also instances where it behaves like English 'like'. It can also behave as a copula. Because of the many possible functions and variable nature of *olsem,* ambiguous clauses such as the following were excluded from the analysis, whether a predicate marker was present or not.

(9) *Be mifala **olsem** ia.*
'But we were like this.' (M-95-16, Nina)
(10) *…se ril posisin i **olsem**.*
'That the real position is like this.' (S-94-4, Simeon)
(11) ***Olsem** yumi no luk mak blong hem.*
'Like, we don't notice the scars.' (M-93-2, Susana)

2.1.1.1 Linguistic factors

The clauses were coded for a variety of structural and functional features. Linguistic features included in this analysis are the type of marking, tense and sentential aspect of the utterance, lexical aspect of the predicate, and person/number and type of the subject (null/pronoun/noun).

2.1.1.1.1 Type of marking

All of the TMA markers I discuss in section 3.1 are coded for, as well as a 'zero' category including all clauses where no marker is present. In section 3.1.1.1, I discuss mood markers being removed from the analysis. Further in the analysis, other tokens of markers which do not have a tense or aspect function are removed. For the multivariate analysis in section 3.2,

[9] Examples such as *hem ia we i stap* with a subordinator following *hem ia* are included.

individual tense and aspect markers are merged into a 'marked predicate' category, which falls in opposition to the 'zero-marked' category.

2.1.1.1.2 Tense

The coding values for tense are present, future, and past, which are further combined into a past/non-past distinction. Because overt marking is infrequent overall, the coded tense of an utterance is derived from the larger context it is found in, as well as the tense of the English translation. However, when conflicting, coding is more faithful to the Bislama.

In the corpus, any clause that includes the tense marker *bae* or its variant forms are coded as 'future'. However, in reality, the 'future' category more accurately depicts an 'irrealis' category. Any instance where the English translation designates a future, conditional, or hypothetical event is also coded as 'future', rather than the tense of the English translation. By being faithful to the Bislama transcription and treating *bae* this way, we ignore biases of the tense of the English translations.

Later in the analysis process, 'future' and 'present' categories are combined to form a past/non-past tense distinction. Though it is an open question whether the fundamental distinction for Vanuatu languages is past/non-past or realis/irrealis, the patterning of non-past tenses in opposition to past tenses is viably justified by the data.

2.1.1.1.3 Coding aspect

When coding aspect, it is necessary to make a distinction between sentential aspect and lexical aspect. First, sentential aspect involves the aspectual properties of the proposition in which the verb occurs (also called grammatical, sentential, contextual or propositional aspect). Second, lexical aspect (also called *Aktionsart*, actionality or derivational aspect) involves in the inherent aspectual properties of the verb itself, where the inherent semantics specify the inner structure of an event. Such properties are not syntactic or predictable from the syntax and are therefore considered part of the verb's lexical representation (Walker 2010a). That is, while sentential aspect is a grammatical category, lexical aspect is a semantic specification (cf. Velupillai 2015: 390).

The aspectual reading of a clause depends on a variety of factors (e.g., lexical aspect of the verb, modals, adverbials, verb complements, pragmatic context: Walker 2010a) which must all be taken into account. Therefore, following Walker (2010a), I code aspect in two factor groups, distinguishing between 'sentential aspect' (the aspectual reading of the whole clause), and 'lexical aspect' (the aspectual properties inherent to the lexical verb). Though the current analysis focuses primarily on aspect marking by grammaticalized particles (section 3.1), the role of other contextual factors is considered in section 4.1.

2.1.1.1.3.1 Sentential Aspect

In this factor group, I distinguish between three types of sentential aspect: habitual, continuous, and punctual[10].

Aspect is commonly differentiated into perfective and imperfective aspect. Perfective aspect references the totality of the situation without reference to its internal temporal structure, where imperfective aspect makes explicit reference to the internal temporal constituency of the situation (Comrie 1976: 12). That is, perfective aspect views a situation as completed (Comrie 1976: 18) or focuses on its entirety rather than its constituent parts (Smith 1997: 3), while imperfective aspect views situations as ongoing, incomplete, or open-ended (Walker 2010b).

Imperfective aspect is commonly divided into habitual and continuous (or durative) aspect. Habitual contexts include any situation which takes place habitually or repeatedly (Comrie 1976: 25). Comrie (1976: 27-28) describes habitual aspect as 'characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation […] is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but precisely, as a characteristic feature of a whole period.' Although habituals overlap to some extent with repetition or iterative aspect, habituals are not necessarily iterative (or vice versa; Comrie 1976: 42). That is, repetition can be seen as a single event, or a situation can be habitual but not iterative at all (Comrie 1976: 27–28). Continuous aspect views situations as lasting for a period of time and involves events or processes that are extended in time or states that exist continuously (Comrie 1976: 41; Smith 1997: 19).

The third category is that of 'punctual' aspect, which refers to point-actions with no duration (Comrie 1976: 42). This category can be problematic, however. As explained by Walker (2010a), it is incompatible with the imperfectivity usually associated with the present tense. In my coding, I treat 'punctual' as a 'perfective' category, focusing less on the momentary duration of a situation, and more on how the event is viewed as an entirety, without reference to internal structure. Coding the 'punctual' category this way allows us to assess the importance of a perfective/imperfective distinction in Bislama.

2.1.1.1.3.2 Lexical Aspect

In coding the lexical aspect of a predicate, I distinguish between 'stative' and 'non-stative' lexical aspect. The non-stative category involves predicates which are not stative, including 'dynamic' verbs. Dynamic verbs are defined as requiring a continual input of energy if they are not to come to an end, or involve some kind of change (Comrie 1976: 13). On the other hand, with a stative verb, unless something happens to change that state, it will continue (Comrie 1976: 49). The start or end of a state is dynamic, since for a state to be started or stopped something must come about to bring about the change into or out of this state (Comrie 1976: 50). See Walker (2010a) for a discussion on coding stativity and lexical aspect.

As explained in section 2.1.1, all predicates were included in this analysis, whether they involve NPs, PPs or verbs. Thus, in this paper, I refer to 'stative predicates' rather than 'stative verbs'. In general, NP (e.g., #12) and PP (e.g., #13) predicates were coded as 'stative':

[10] Note that Bickerton (1974) uses the terms 'iterative', 'durative' and 'nonpunctual', to refer to what I call 'habitual', 'continuous' and 'imperfective' throughout this paper.

(12) *Tom hem i wan rij man a?*

'Tom's a rich man eh?' (S-94-2, Lily)

(13) *Papa blong mi i blong Ambae a.*

'My father's from Ambae eh.' (M-95-15, Jackson)

Some verbs in English can be treated sometimes as stative and sometimes as non-stative, depending on the particular meaning they have in a given sentence (Comrie 1976: 36). This is similarly the case for Bislama. For example, the verb *luk* can have the stative meanings of 'see' or 'look, seem' (see #14-15), or the non-stative meanings of 'look at' or 'watch' (see #14).

(14) *Mesek i stap* ***luk****.*

Mesek i ***luk****.*

'Mesek was watching. Mesek saw it.'(M-94-4, Lolan)

(15) *No be mi mi* ***luk*** *olsem bubu ia i kakae fulap tumas.*

'No, but it looks to me like granny here eats too much.' (M-95-16, Janette)

Verbs that are typically 'stative' may not always function as stative, and vice-versa for non-stative verbs. Because of this, I have coded each predicate individually based on its meaning in the surrounding context.

2.1.1.1.4 Person and number

The person and number of the clause was coded following the canonical Bislama subject paradigm laid out in Table 1, as below:

Table 1

Canonical Bislama subject

(1) First-person singular (1SG)
(2) Second-person singular (2SG)
(3) Third-person singular (3SG)
(4) First-person plural inclusive/exclusive (1PL)[11]
(5) Second-person plural (2PL)[11]

[11] This category combines dual, trial, and plural subjects.

(6) Third-person plural (3PL)[11]

As null subjects are very common in Bislama, the person and number for clauses with no overt subject is interpreted from preceding clauses containing overt subjects, and from the provided translation.

Existential subjects (including weather verbs) were included in the data:

(16) *i gat nakato ia.*

'There was this hermit crab.' (M-95-16, Nina)

Nonspecific impersonal subjects *yu* (translated as 'one') and *man* 'people' were excluded. If it is unclear from the translation between whether *yu* refers to a specific person or is impersonal, the utterance was also excluded. Noun phrase subjects with non-specific person and number, e.g., *evriwan* 'everyone' and *plante man* 'lots of people' were coded on syntactic grounds (i.e. *evriwan* as 3SG and *plante man* as 3PL).

2.1.1.1.5 Type of subject

I coded the subject as it occurred in each clause, that is, whether a clause contained an overt noun phrase or pronoun as a subject, or no other overt subject referent (i.e. null subject). As null subjects are likely to refer to old information or subjects that have already been introduced in the discourse, they can refer to a preceding overt NP or pronoun subject referent. However, it is possible for a null subject to appear when it is not immediately preceded by an overt subject, and is inferred from the context. Because of this, it is a lot more fitting to code the subject of each individual clause, rather than to code for preceding overt subject referents in preceding clauses or within a turn.

As stated in section 2.1.1.1.4, existential subjects were included in the corpus. As it is possible for existentials to appear with either a pronoun or a null subject, existential clauses with no overt subject were coded separately, as a sub-category of null subjects. Existential clauses with overt pronominal subjects were included with other clauses with overt pronominal subjects.

3. Tense and Aspect in Bislama

3.1 Marked predicates

3.1.1 Tense and Aspect markers

In this section, I analyse the role of particles which mark tense and aspect information in Bislama. Table 2 shows types of markers found in the corpus that have been previously analysed as marking some kind of TMA information in Bislama[12].

Table 2

Frequencies of TMA markers (of 3928 clauses)

	Total
Bae	196
Bin	29
Finis	55
Stap	233
Save	72
Jes/Jas	37
Yet	18
Mas	64
Sud	8
Sapos	74

Most of these markers occur in an 'auxiliary' position, between the subject (or predicate marker if present) and the verb (*bin, stap, save, jes/jas, mas, sud*), though some appear in clause/subject-initial (*bae, sapos*) or post-verbal position (*finis, yet*). In the following sections I evaluate these previous analyses of these markers and propose what kind of tense and/or aspect information they mark.

As demonstrated in Table 3 below, there are some instances where two TMA markers co-occur. This information is particularly important in determining the order of TMA markers in Bislama (see section 3.1.4). Because two markers occur for one clause, splitting them into two tokens is not sensible, primarily because it will inflate the number of marked clauses in the data. Since there are relatively few clauses where two markers co-occur, I chose to exclude these tokens from statistical analyses. I will therefore primarily be looking at how and when tense and aspect markers occur when there is no other T/A marker present in the clause. However, when it is especially relevant, these combinations will be discussed in regard to the T/A marker. It is also important to note that since *bae* (which marks future tense) occurs most with other T/A markers, the amount some markers appear in the future is slightly under-represented.

[12] Some forms found in previous analyses e.g., *stat, go, kam, traem,* and *wantem* (cf. Guy 1974:18; Camden 1979; Crowley 2004) are left aside to be considered in future analysis.

Table 3

Frequencies of combinations of TMA markers

	Total
Bae + finis	1
Bae + jes/jas	6
Bae + mas	7
Bae + save	16
Bae + stap	5
Bae + yet	3
Bin + finis	2
Stap + finis	1

3.1.1.1 Excluding markers of mood

Though the current analysis focuses primarily on tense and aspect, I will briefly provide a background on some markers of mood in Bislama.

Mas is an modal auxiliary in Bislama that expresses obligation or necessity, and translates into English as 'must', 'have to', or 'have got to', for example:

(16) *Mi **mas** soem pepa ia. […] i **mas** gat list blong ol samting.*

'I had to show them the paper. […] There had to be a list of everything.' (S-95-15, Rinette)

Crowley (2004: 97) suggests it expresses not just personal obligation, but also uncertainty or inevitability. In my corpus, such a meaning is only found in conditional sentences:

(17) *Sapos i ova long taem blong kakae, hed i **mas** soa.*

'If it's past eating time he'll get a headache.' (M-94-2, Lepakoa)

Sud expresses the meanings of 'should' or 'ought to':

(18) *Oli **sud** tijim olgeta long lanwis.*

'They should teach them [the local] language.'[13] (M-95-8, Starlin)

Crowley (2004: 100) states that *sud* is a recent addition to Bislama's grammar, having been introduced from English, but that its use is now quite well established, especially among younger speakers. Though there are only 8 tokens of *sud* in the corpus, the oldest speaker who uses it is Lepakoa who is 38 years old.

Sapos is a conditional marker that expresses the meaning of 'if' in conditional constructions. Camden (1979: 94) states that *sapos* (*sipos*) functions as an irrealis marker and always marks an irrealis predicate. The predicate is always viewed as uncommenced, regardless of whether it is set in past or future time. *Sapos* functions as a subordinator, and Crowley (2004: 176-177) states that it does not have a common non-subordinating use. Material introduced by *sapos* most commonly appears before the main element of the complex sentence (19a), but it appears to still be possible for it to appear after (19b):

(19) a. ***Sapos*** *yu talem faev, bae i ded.*

'If you say "5", you'll die.' (M-95-20, Iawia)

b. *Moa gud* ***sapos*** *yu bin harem mama blong mi i talem aot storian ia we.*

'It'd be better if you'd heard my mother tell this story, really.' (S-94-5, Ezra)

It is very common for the main element of a clause following *sapos* to contain the marker *bae* or, less likely, a marker of mood such as *mas* (e.g., #17). *Sapos* and *bae* never co-occur in the same clause.

Crowley (2004: 101) notes the form *kanduit* as an archaic auxiliary form, which he states to be still used by some people but falling into disuse. It is not found in my corpus. It previously expressed an inability to do something, and in particular the meaning of 'not manage to' (Crowley 2004: 101). In my data, this meaning is only expressed by means of the abilitive auxiliary *save* with an accompanying negative marker:

(20) *Oli* ***no save*** *karem wan narafala.*

'They couldn't carry another guy.' (M-93-6, Visi)

Frequencies of the markers *mas, sud and sapos* for tense and aspect have been included below but I will not be making any further comments on them and they are removed from further analysis[14].

Table 4

[13] Information in square brackets is added by me.

[14] Clauses with mood markers are combined with the 'zero-marked' category. Tokens of *bae + mas* are merged into *bae*.

Frequencies of mood markers for tense and aspect

	MAS	SUD	SAPOS
Tense			
Past	14	3	23
Present	39	4	34
Future	11	1	17
Aspect			
Punctual	39	2	44
Habitual	21	0	11
Continuous	4	6	19
Total	*64*	*8*	*74*

3.1.2 Marking tense in Bislama

In this section, I analyse how tense is marked overtly in Bislama. Table 5.1 below gives a summary of the distribution of all T/A markers for tense:

Table 5.1

Frequencies of TMA markers for tense

	PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE	TOTAL
Ø	1780	1406	138	3324
Bin	27	0	0	27
Jes/Jas	25	5	1	31
Bae	0	0	165	165
Stap	123	95	7	225
Save	36	14	6	56
Finis	40	11	0	51
Yet	5	10	0	15
Total	*2014*	*1563*	*317*	*3894*

In the following analysis, I conclude that there are three overt tense markers in Bislama: *bin* (past – anterior or simple), *jes/jas* (recent past), and *bae* (future). Present tense is not overtly marked.

3.1.2.1 Bin

Bin is a marker of past tense. It appears between the subject and the verb, following the predicate marker if there is one. Thus:

(21) *Hem i **bin** kam long las manis.*

'He came last month.' (S-94-2, Lily)

(22) *No, no from mi **bin** ting se yu yu stap luk totel.*

'No, because I had thought that you'd seen turtles before.' (M-95-19, Mesek)

As we can see in Table 5.1, *bin* occurs categorically with past tense utterances. However, previous analyses of Bislama have not always called *bin* a marker of 'past tense'. Charpentier (1979) calls *bin* a 'passé duratif' (past continuous), Guy (1974: 17) states it 'shows that the process occurred and was terminated in the past'. Camden (1979: 95) calls *bin* a marker of antecedent, or 'out of sequence' marker. This latter interpretation is similarly recognised by Tryon (1987: 121) who states that *bin* is generally only used to indicate past tense in narrative contexts, where it indicates that the action of the verb is outside the sequence of the action of surrounding verbs. He states that *bin* is rarely heard outside the Efate and Shepherd islands area, but recognises that there is an increasing tendency in central Vanuatu to use *bin* not just in narrative contexts, but also as a general past tense marker. Similarly, Charpentier (1979) notes that he has only heard *bin* used among youths in Port Vila. The data used in this study is collected in Northern Vanuatu and *bin* is used relatively frequently, however it is true that most of the recorded texts are in narrative form.

Despite this, it is undeniable that *bin*'s primary function is that of a past tense marker. But what kind of past does it mark? Bickerton (1980) states that creole TMA involves one tense marker, which marks anterior tense (also called past-before-past or prior past). This involves past tense situations where the marker is used to refer to things that happened in the past that took place before some other following event. *Bin* is described as an anterior marker by Meyerhoff (2013). Crowley (2004) states that it is possible for *bin* to have an anterior function, but that this is only for some speakers, and in fact *only* has this prior past function for those speakers.

There are 14 examples in the corpus where *bin* is used to mark simple past tense (e.g., #21 and #23 below):

(23) *Hem i **bin** bon long faea.*

'She got burnt in a fire.' (M-93-2, Lolan)

Included in these are 5 examples of past habitual, which have a simple past tense and habitual aspect:

(24) a. *Mifala i **bin** stap long ples ia.*
'We used to live there.' (S-95-11, Juliet).
b. *Mi **bin** wok wetem wan man Ostrelia.*
'I used to work with an Australian.' (M-94-7, Tarip)

There are 8 examples which have a clear anterior past function, see #22 above, and #25 below.

(25) a. *From Tammy i **bin** ronwe long gel ia blong hem.*
'Because Tammy had abandoned her housegirl/daughter.' (S-95-11, Juliet)
b. *Hem i **bin** talem long mifala se hem i **bin** karem wan trofi long saed blong karate.*
'He said to us that he had got a trophy for karate.' (M-95-9, Obed)

There are also 5 examples which have a present perfect interpretation, which can also be construed as past-before-past:

(26) *Yu **bin** risivim 100.000.*
'You have received 100,000 [vatu].' (S-94-3, Simeon)

It is evident that both a simple past and an anterior interpretation of *bin* are possible in Bislama, and neither is its sole function. In fact, both interpretations are roughly equally distributed in the data. Furthermore, the same speaker can produce sentences with both past tense functions (e.g., Juliet: #24 and #25a), even possibly within the same sentence (Obed: #25b) This indicates that *bin* may not solely have anterior function if a speaker uses it, and *bin* clearly does not function solely as an anterior marker.

Bickerton (1980) predicts that a marker of anterior aspect indicates past-before-past for action verbs, and simple past for state verbs. However, in the examples above, it is clear that it is possible for non-stative predicates to have a simple past interpretation (e.g., #21, #23) and stative predicates to have a past-before-past interpretation (e.g., #24a).

3.1.2.2 Jes/Jas

Past tense is also marked by *jes* – specifically as a marker of recent past, of events that have only recently taken place. Crowley (2004), Guy (1974) and Charpentier (1979) all note *jes* as

denoting immediate or recent past[15]. Tryon (1987: 121) describes *jes* as a tense marker indicating immediacy, not just for past tense verbs.

Jes (from English 'just') has alternate forms of *jas* and *tes*. Though the latter is not attested in this corpus, *jas* occurs only 1 time, and *jes* 30. Like *bin*, it occurs between the subject and verb (or predicate marker):

(27) a. *Mi **jas** kamaot long bank nomo.*
'I'd just come out of the bank.' (M-94-4, Lolan)

b. *Hem i **jes** kambak long Vila.*
'She's just returned.' (M-93-2, Lolan)

However, not all events in the recent past are marked by *jes*:

(28) *Yu yu Ø kam.*
Yes, mi mi Ø kam.
'Oh you've **just** arrived.' 'Yes, I've **just** come in.' (M-95-21, Petre)

Unlike *bin, jes* does not occur categorically with past tense. Though it occurs predominantly in the past (80.65%), it also occurs with the present (16.13%) and future (3.23%). This is because *jes* has other functions besides marking past tense in Bislama.

Crowley (2004) states that *jas* is also used to indicate an action takes place spontaneously with no outside cause, citing the following example:

(29) *Taem mi stap long haeskul, mi go long wan stoa mo mi **jas** stilim wan tos.*
Mi no save from wanem nao mi bin mekem rabis fasin olsem ia.
'When I was in high school I went to a shop and I stole a torch. I don't know why I did something terrible like that.' (Crowley 2004: 98)

Since this example occurs further in the past than the recent past, Crowley suggests that the use of *jes* here indicates that the action took place for reasons beyond the speaker's control. Though this may be the case in some situations (e.g., in example #33), there are plenty more examples in the corpus of *jes* used in situations other than the recent past, which do not have this meaning. Instead, they appear to be grammaticalizing like English 'just'. This English 'just' meaning is noted by Tryon (1987: 121), who states that it conveys immediacy (as in #31), though *jes* also seems to occur with the sense of 'simply, only' (#30):

[15] Guy (1974) and Charpentier (1979) record the variant *tes.* Both Tryon (1987:121) and Crowley (2004) note that *jes* as a recent introduction to Bislama. Camden (1979) describes *jas* as an 'inceptive'.

(30) *Lili i **jes** talemaot long ol famle blong hem.*

Yes, wan yia stret nao hem i talemaot long ol famle blong hem.

'Lili just tells the story to her family. Yes, [after] one year now exactly she tells the story to her family.' (S-95-10, Rebeka)

When *jes* has this interpretation, it can occur with future tense utterances marked by *bae:*

(31) ***Bae** mi **jes** harem long afta nekis wik nomo.*

'I'll just hear the week after next.' (M-95-15, Livai)

Tryon (1987: 121) states that *jes* has a recent past interpretation when it is associated with past tense verbs, and English 'just' meanings when associated with other tenses. However, it is clear that these meanings are also found in other past tense contexts:

(32) *Mi **jes** givim nomo lav blong mi.*

'I just gave it out of love that's all.' (S-94-4, Stiven)

In fact, it is possible that *jes* even can appear with this function in the recent past, if we assume the recent past is unmarked like in example #28, though examples are ambiguous:

(33) *Tede long moning mi **jes** harem gud bak.*

'This morning I just started to feel better again.' (M-94-2, Lolan)

In summary, *jes* is a marker of recent past in Bislama, but also has other functions that appear to be grammaticalizing towards English 'just'.

3.1.2.3 Bae

There exists a general difficulty analysing future tense, since it tends to have some modal connotations, as the event has not yet taken place. It is true that the marker *bae* in Bislama is best described as a marker of irrealis mood (Crowley 2004; Meyerhoff 2013; Camden 1979)[16], since it is used to describe futures, conditionals, and subjectives (cf. Bickerton's (1980) irrealis). Though Bickerton's system neatly compartmentalises the categories of tense, mood and aspect, and presents them as three discrete entities, in reality, all categories of TMA are inherently interconnected. The different temporal locations of an event (past,

[16] Tryon (1987) notes *bae/bambae*'s role in conditionals in addition to its role as a future tense marker.

present, and future) are inherently correlated with differences in mood and aspect, hence there is a correlation between future tense and irrealis, and non-future and realis (Chung & Timberlake 1985: 206); just as there is a correlation between other categories, like present tense and incompletive (as an event that is ongoing at the speech moment has not been completed). We cannot deny the irrealis functions and modal connotations of *bae*, just as we cannot deny correlations between any other TMA categories. Nevertheless, in order to describe how tense and aspect are marked in Bislama, for now we set aside these other modal connotations and consider *bae*'s role in marking future tense only.

The future tense is commonly marked by *bae,* or its longer alternative *bambae. Bae* is much more widespread than *bambae*, which is used only 11 times in the corpus. In the corpus, *bae* only ever occurs in future (and irrealis) contexts.

(34) a. ***Bae*** *mi givim faef taosen nomo.*

'I'll just give you 5000 [vatu].' (M-95-11, Bretian)

b. ***Bae*** *samtaem i kam stap long taon.* ***Bae*** *i stap a, tu tri manis o fo.*

Sometimes [she] will come to stay in town.

She'll stay ah, two, three, [or] four months. (S-95-10, Rebeka)

The development of the future marker in Melanesian Pidgin has been the subject of considerable study (e.g., Sankoff & Laberge 1973; Keesing 1985; Crowley 1990). Debate centres around the extent to which the shift of the future marker from a clause-initial temporal adverb to an inflectional category placed closer to the verb (i.e. a pre-verbal marker) is the result of substrate influences or pressure from creolizing speakers. Thus, there has been significant discussion surrounding the implications of the position of the future marker in Melanesian Pidgin. Though assessing this question is not a main focus of this paper, I briefly summarise the position of *bae* below.

Tryon (1987: 77) states that when *bambae* occurs clause-initially, the future quality of the action is stressed, and when following the subject of the sentence, the subject is highlighted or emphasised. What appears to be more representative of the variation in the position of *bae* is the type of subject of the utterance in which it occurs. Crowley (2004) states that when a verb has a pronoun subject, the future marker appears before the subject. This is attested in our corpus, as in #34a, where *bae* almost categorically appears before the subject in utterances with overt pronoun subjects.

Table 5.2

Frequencies of *bae* by with overt pronoun and noun subjects

	No. of cases
bae + pronoun + VP	80

Pronoun + *bae* + VP	3[17]
bae + NP + VP	10
NP + *bae* + VP	9
bae + NP + *bae* + VP	3
Total	105

When a subject is a noun rather than a pronoun, *bae* can occur either before the subject, or between the subject and the verb (Crowley 2004). When it does, it precedes rather than follows the forms *i* and *oli*, unlike the auxiliaries. For utterances with NP subjects, *bae* occurs between a subject and the verb in (#35a), before the subject (b), or in both positions (c)[18]:

(35) a. *Ating Tasi **bae** i go long Santo.*
'I think Tasi is going to Santo.' (M-95-18, Bretian)

b. ***Bae** bigfala ples i stap.*
'There'd be a huge place left.' (M-94-2, Lepakoa)

c. ***Bambae** kastom stik faeting **bae** i save kilim karate nao.*
'Well, the kastom stick fighting will beat the karate.' (M-95-9, Obed)

Bickerton (1980) proposes that a typical creole has a marker of unreal time for all VPs. It is interesting to note that in fact, *bae* does occur relatively equally for stative and non-stative verbs, and though slightly more frequently with non-statives (5.22%).

Table 5.3

Frequencies of bae by lexical aspect

	Ø	*Bae*	Total
Non-stative	2214	122	2336

[17] The only examples that seem to break this rule involve fronting as a focus construction (1) and an utterance which is repaired correctly (2).

- *Hem **bae** i kam slip long hem.* 'She, will she lie down on them' (M-95-19, Elise)
- *…we **bae** oli olgeta ol olfala oli kasem.* '…that they'd, all the the old men, would receive.' (S-94-3, Jonas)

Only one odd example where *bambae* appears between *olgeta* and *oli* is a true exception to the rule.

- *Olgeta **bambae** oli stap antap. '*They'll be up there.' (M-94-2, Lolan)

[18] The two examples which appear to break this rule (NP + *bae* + pronoun + VP) actually involve a fronted subject NP with a resumptive pronoun in the subject position:

- *Boe ia **bae** hem i wantem.* 'That guy [he] will like it.' (S-95-13, Sikal)

	94.78%	5.22%	100%
Stative	1178	43	1221
	96.48%	3.52%	100%
Total	*3392*	*165*	*3557*

3.1.3 Marking aspect in Bislama

In this section, I analyse how aspect is marked overtly in Bislama. Table 6. below gives a summary of the distribution of all T/A markers for aspect:

Table 6

Frequencies of TMA markers for aspect

	PUNCTUAL	HABITUAL	CONTINUOUS	TOTAL
Ø	1943	381	1001	3324
Bin	22	5	0	27
Jes/Jas	31	0	0	31
Bae	98	31	36	165
Save	38	13	5	56
Stap	29	48	148	225
Finis	38	3	10	51
Yet	2	0	13	15
Total	*2201*	*481*	*1212*	*3894*

In the following analysis, I conclude that there are four grammatical markers of aspect in Bislama: *stap* (imperfective), *finis* (completive), *yet* (incompletive) and *save* (habitual).

3.1.3.1 Save

Save (from *savvy*) in Bislama functions as both a lexical verb and an auxiliary. As a transitive verb it expresses the meaning of 'know', as in:

(36) *Mi no **save** wanem i happen.*

'I don't know what happened.' (M-95-10, Lolan)

As an auxiliary, *save* has been described as an abilitive, a permissive and as a habitual (Crowley 2004; Meyerhoff 2013; Camden 1979; Tryon 1987) In the corpus, there are plenty of examples of *save* being used to express an ability to do something:

(37) *Yu **save** karem mitufala i go long narasaed long poen ia?*

'Can you take us to that point over there?' (M-95-17, Leikitah)

It can also be used to express the related idea of permission:

(38) *Bae hem i no **save** givim mane.*

'She wouldn't be allowed to give him money.' (M-94-4, Janette)

In many grammars and descriptions of the language, *save* is described as also having a habitual function (Crowley 2004; Meyerhoff 2013; Camden 1979 and Tryon 1987 all note this use[19]). In fact, in the corpus, few examples of this usage actually arise. Abilitive and permissive meanings make up the bulk of the 56 uses of the *save* auxiliary, and there are only 13 examples where *save* occurs in an utterance with habitual aspect (23.21%).

Crowley (2004: 99) suggests that the habitual use of *save* is only common with verbs of consumption or indulgence, such as *kakae* 'eat', *dring* 'drink', or *smok* 'smoke'. Only one habitual *save* in the corpus involves a 'verb of consumption', and even this example is debatable, because *hanggri* typically has the meaning of 'hungry' or 'hunger' (Crowley 2003: 104):

(39) *… from hem i wan pikinini we i no **save** hanggri.*

'… coz he's the kind of kid who has to eat.' (M-94-2, Lepakoa)

Most of the remaining habitual examples involve the *save* auxiliary with an abilitive meaning. These examples tend to involve customary knowledge and practices:

(40) a. *Mifala i no **save** danis wetem angkel.*

'We can't dance with uncles.' (M-95-13, Rovi)

b. *Dis taem mi no **save** kolem nem blong olgeta.*

'At this stage I couldn't use their names.' (S-94-3, Jonas)

There are only a few examples of habitual *save* where the translation does not involve 'can':

[19] Guy (1974) and Keesing (1988) only note *save*'s abilitive function.

(41) a. *Be plante taem mitufala i **save** agu.*

'But lots of times the two of us have argued.' (S-94-1, Timothy)

b. *Oli **save** givim wok nomo long man we oli save.*

'They only give work to people they know.' (M-94-7, Tarip)

The infrequency of examples of *save* used with a habitual reading in general give the impression that the use of *save* as a habitual marker is very restricted in Bislama. Crowley (2004) states that some speakers of Bislama will not use *save* to express this habitual meaning at all, and instead use the auxiliary *stap* for this function. Though 11 different speakers produce a *save* auxiliary in a sentence with habitual aspect, in the data its primary function is a marker of situational possibility (ability and permission).

3.1.3.2 Stap

Stap (from *stop*) is used in Bislama as an auxiliary as well as a lexical verb with the meanings of 'stay, live', 'exist' or 'be' (Crowley 2003: 258), for example:

(42) *Ol man Amerika oli **stap** long hil ia.*

'The Americans were on that hill.' (M-95-21, Papa)

As an auxiliary[20], *stap* can express two functions: continuous and habitual. Previous analyses (e.g., Crowley 2004; Tryon 1987[21]) state that it indicates than an action is continuous or in progress, as in:

(43) a. *Ol man i **stap** danis long Asia Naet Klab.*

'Everyone was dancing at Asia Night Club.' (S-95-9, Lisa)

b. *Naoia mi **stap** wet long wan mesej blong mi.*

'So at the moment I'm waiting for a message for me.' (M-94-7, Tarip)

However, it is clear that it also indicates a continuous, on-going state:

(44) a. *Tufala i **stap** fraet long mi.*

'They were scared of me.' (S-95-13, Sikal)

b. *A yes, yu **stap** sore.*

[20] *Stap* in serial verb constructions have been excluded from this analysis:

- *Long ples ia nao i fasem **i stap***. 'On this part she has it covered.' (M-93-2, Susana)

[21] Charpentier (1979) describes *stap* as a durative, translated as *être en train de*…

'Oh yes, you're sad.' (M-94-1, Mesek)

Tryon (1987) states that *stap* is not generally used to indicate a future continuous, and that this is normally conveyed by a simple future tense construction involving *bae*. However, *stap* can be used to express continuous aspect in the past or present (see examples above), or future (e.g., alongside *bae*):

(45) *Hem ia we i **stap** ridim buk, hem i se bae i **stap** ridim buk.*

'The one who was reading a book said he'd stay and read a book.' (M-95-21, Elise)

Though *stap* occurs predominantly with continuous utterances (65.78%), it occurs in utterances with habitual aspect 21.33% of the time. The following examples clearly show *stap* used for a habitual function:

(46) a. *Hem i **stap** kasem fits.*

'She has fits.' (M-93-2, Lolan)

b. *Tammy hem i **stap** ronwe long tufala…*

*hem i **stap** aot.*

'T. would [always] abandon the two of them…

she was always out and about.' (S-95-11, Juliet)

In fact, *stap* is even used for verbs of consumption (e.g., *dring*: #47). Where the use of *save* for habitual seems restricted, it is very evident that *stap* functions as a marker of habitual aspect in Bislama.

(47) *[Oli] **stap** dring alkol blong laet nao.*

'They drink lamp alcohol.' (M-95-15, Jackson)

There are some examples of *stap* that occur with punctual utterances (12.89%). I have coded these as such to remain faithful to the native-speaker checked translations. However, a lot of these seem odd and would potentially be better translated with continuous or habitual aspect. Several of these examples involve the words *toktok* 'talk, speak', *talem* 'tell' or *stori(an)* 'chat, tell a story' (e.g., #48). Though these verbs are translated in a punctual way in English, Bislama perhaps emphasises more the innate nature of the verbs as ongoing events.

(48) *Afta gel ia i **stap** stori long mifala, i **stap** talem long mifala olsem ia.*

'Later that woman told us, she told us all this.' (S-95-11, Juliet)

I have decided to keep these coded as 'punctual' examples, though the reader should be aware that the effect of *stap* for habitual and continuous aspect is likely greater than it appears.

3.1.3.2.1 Stap as a marker of imperfective aspect?

Even bearing in mind the punctual uses of *stap*, the auxiliary is overwhelmingly used with imperfective aspect (87.11%). It is therefore justified to propose that *stap* functions as the primary marker of imperfective aspect in Bislama, especially considering the limited scope of habitual *save*. It is interesting, therefore, to evaluate the extent to which Bislama follows Bickerton's (1980) claims for a marker of non-punctual (i.e. imperfective) aspect (laid out in 1.3). In order to do so, we must ask the following questions:

(1) Can *stap* co-occur with state verbs?

(2) Does *stap* indicate continuous/habitual (imperfective) aspect for action verbs?

(3) Is *stap* indifferent to a non-past/past distinction?

As shown in section 3.1.3.2 above, it is in fact possible for *stap* to occur with stative verbs. Bickerton (1980) does state that the marker cannot 'normally' co-occur with state verbs, and it is true that *stap* is most common with non-stative predicates (87.11%). Nevertheless, it still can appear with stative predicates (12.89%).

Does *stap* indicate imperfective aspect for action verbs? Compared with sentences with no marking, for non-stative verbs, *stap* appears in 37.64% of clauses with continuous aspect, 11.53% of habitual (i.e. imperfective: 24.6%), and 1.51% of punctual (see Table 7 below). This clearly shows a trend overall for non-stative verbs in the imperfective to be marked by *stap*, indicating that *stap* is very likely a marker of imperfective aspect for non-stative verbs. Since we found for Bislama that state verbs can in fact occur with a *stap* marker, it is interesting to also investigate whether such a distinction is found for stative predicates. Compared with sentences with no marking, for stative verbs, an overt *stap* marker appears in 2.13% of clauses with continuous aspect, 9.76% of habitual (i.e. imperfective: 2.83%), and 1.26% of punctual. Though it appears that stative predicates occur with *stap* much less frequently for continuous aspect, it is interesting that use of an overt *stap* for stative verbs for habitual aspect remains just as frequent as for non-stative verbs. Therefore, it is possible that *stap* not only indicates imperfective aspect for action verbs, but also (specifically) habitual aspect for state verbs.

Table 7

Frequencies of stap vs. zero-marking for sentential aspect by lexical aspect

	PUNCTUAL	HABITUAL	CONTINUOUS	IMPERFECTIVE	TOTAL

Non-stative					
Ø	1630	307	217	524	2154
Stap	25	40	131	171	196
Total	*1655*	*347*	*348*	*695*	*2350*
Stative					
Ø	313	74	783	857	1170
Stap	4	8	17	25	29
Total	*317*	*82*	*800*	*882*	*1199*
All predicates					
Ø	1943	381	1001	1382	3324
Stap	29	48	148	196	225
Total	*1972*	*429*	*1149*	1578	*3549*

It is true that statives are less frequently marked by *stap* overall than non-statives (2.42% vs. 8.34%). Though these numbers are small, it does look like *stap* occurs more with non-stative than stative verbs overall. This might lend some support to Bickerton's (1980) claim that a marker appears to mark imperfective aspect for action verbs (i.e. non-stative) and does not normally occur with state verbs. However, we cannot deny that *stap* does still occur with stative verbs, and seems to mark habitual rather than continuous aspect in that case.

It also appears that *stap* is indifferent to the non-past/past tense distinction, as predicted by Bickerton (1980). Out of the total number of instances of *stap*, *stap* appears 54.67% in past tense contexts, and 45.33% in non-past contexts (see Table 5.1). *Stap* appears to be balanced relatively equally between past and non-past, occurring only slightly more in past tense contexts. When considering *stap* in alternation with zero-marked contexts, *stap* continues to have a balanced distribution between past (6.46%) and non-past (6.2%).

In summary, it appears that *stap* is a marker of imperfective aspect in Bislama that is indifferent to a past/non-past distinction, predominantly for predicates with non-stative verbs, as predicted by Bickerton (1980). However, it also appears to mark habitual aspect in stative predicates.

3.1.3.3 Finis

Finis (from 'finish'), as well as being an intransitive verb meaning 'finish, end' (see #49), also functions as a verbal post-modifier marking completive aspect (Crowley 2004; Meyerhoff 2013[22]).

[22] Guy (1974:18) describes *finis* as meaning 'to finish [verb]-ing'. Charpentier (1979) describes *finis* as an *accompli*.

(49) *Haos i **finis** nekis wik?*

'The house'll be finished next week?' (M-95-18, Lolan)

It expresses the idea that an action has been completed or a state has come about (see #50 and #51 respectively):

(50) *Mi fulumap fom blong hem **finis**.*

'I filled out the form.' (M-95-12, Dien)

(51) *Hem i oraet **finis**.*

'She's better now.' (M-93-2, Susana)

According to Crowley (2004), with transitive verbs with an overt object, *finis* may appear either between the verb and its object, or after the 'verb + object' sequence:

(52) *Mi stap wetem man blong mi **finis***.

'I was already with my husband.' (S-95-15, Rinette)

However, there are no examples in the corpus of *finis* between a verb and direct object. It only appears before an indirect object introduced by *long:*

(53) *From we mi mi aten **finis** long karati. Oli bin trenem mi **finis** long karate.*

'Coz I have attended karate. They have trained me in karate.' (M-95-9, Obed)

Though it is expected that most completed actions will occur in the past (78.43%), *finis* can also occur in the present (21.57%). Present tense *finis* can involve a stative predicate (see #51), or a non-stative predicate (see #54 below), emphasising that an action is completed before moving on with the story:

(54) *Hem i digim hol **finis**.*

Afta i sidaon olsem ia.

'[when a turtle lays eggs] It digs a hole.

Then it sits down like this.' (M-95-19, Lepakoa)

Finis occurs once in the corpus with future tense, in association with the future tense marker *bae*:

(55) *Bae mi mi go swim **finis**.*

'I'll go wash up.' (M-93-2, Susana)

As expected, *finis* occurs predominantly with punctual aspect (74.51%), emphasising its role as completive, also called a 'strong perfective' (Dahl & Velupillai 2013a). However, it also occurs with habitual (5.88%) and continuous aspect (19.61%). In fact, it even combines with the imperfective marker *stap* once in the corpus:

(56) *Mi **stap** hetem hem bifo **finis**.*

'I already hated her before that.' (M-95-11, Bretian)

Nonetheless, some of the examples where *finis* has an imperfective aspect (habitual: see #54; continuous: #57 below) are translated as imperfective, but are probably better interpreted as having a completive interpretation.

(57) *Si, yes i gud finis.*

'Yes, yes it's better.' (M-93-2, Susana)

Tryon (1987: 79) also states that *finis* is used as a clause linking device, corresponding roughly to 'having done X, then…'. There is one example in the corpus where *finis* appears to have a clause-linking function:

(58) *Mifala i go long ples ia. **Finis,** mifala i go stap long…*

Yes, mifala i stap long ples ia. [23]

'We went there (after that?) we went on further to…

Yes, we stopped off there.' (M-95-13, Rovi)

3.1.3.4 Yet

According to Crowley (2004) and Tryon (1987: 78), when the verbal post-modifier *yet* is used with an affirmative verb, it expresses the idea that an action is ongoing, as in (#59) below. However, *yet* is actually used more commonly with stative predicates (73.33%).

(59) *Mi stap long Santo **yet** ya. Mi no kam long ples ya **yet**.*

'I was still in Santo then. I hadn't come here yet.' (M-95-12, Dien)

[23] Punctuation added.

Crowley (2004) implies that *yet* is the inverse of *finis,* such that the combination of *yet* and the negative marker *no* expresses the negative of *finis.* In the following example, we see *no…yet* used to indicate an action that has begun but has not yet been completed:

(60) *Be i **no** go **yet**.*

'But he hadn't left entirely.' (M-93-2, Susana)

In fact, Crowley (2004) states *no… finis* is an ungrammatical combination, which is confirmed by our corpus, where *finis* never appears in negative sentences. Though *yet* does occur in the affirmative as well as the negative, one might still expect the opposite of *finis* to be the case for *yet*. This is true in respect to tense. Like *finis*, *yet* appears for all tenses but where *finis* occurs most with past tense, *yet* occurs most with non-past tense. This implies that *yet* expresses the continuation of an action or state up until the present or another specified or implied time (in the past, see #59, or the future, see #61 below).

(61) *Bae hem i luk nandao **yet**.*

'She's still to see my *nandao* [nuts].' (S-95-13, Sikal)

Though *yet* is used 86.67% with continuous, reflecting ongoing, incomplete events or states, it also occurs 13.33% with punctual aspect, for example:

(62) *Mi no toktok **yet**.*

'I didn't say anything.' (M-95-18, Atesolo)

It is possible that there is some English influence on the use of *yet*. For example, *yet* may also have another function, in emphasising increase or repetition, like English 'still, even'. For example, the following example could express 'we would have given him even/still more':

(63) *Ating bambae mifala i givim mo **yet**.*

'I think we would have given him more yet.' (S-94-4, Stiven)

This 'intensifier' use is found in Tok Pisin (Sankoff 1993). Other examples exist in the corpus which have other English functions of *yet,* following the English use as a negative polarity marker[24]:

(64) a. *Be bae i no taem blong mi yusum **yet**.*
'But it wasn't time for me to use it yet.' (S-95-10, Rebeka)

b. *Mi no save **yet**.*
'I don't know yet.' (M-95-15, Livai)

Therefore, in opposition to *finis* which appears to be a completive marker, *yet* appears to be a incompletive marker, denoting events which have begun but have not been completed by a certain time, or states that are ongoing at the reference time. In addition to this meaning, *yet* also has straight English meanings.

3.1.4 Ordering of TMA markers in Bislama

As noted in section 1.3, Bickerton (1980: 5f) proposes that in a typical creole, there exist only three overt TMA markers and a bare verb form. He suggests that all three markers can combine, but in an invariant ordering, which is: 1. Anterior. 2. Irrealis. 3. Nonpunctual. We can very simply refute the claim that there are only three markers of TMA in Bislama, as have been described earlier in section 3.1. Evidence has already been presented for where each marker appears in a clause, but I will now return to this to summarise the overall positioning of T/A markers in Bislama.

Crowley (2004: 96) proposes an order for auxiliary forms in Bislama as follows[25]:

Set I *bin, jas, mas, sud*

Set II *save, stap, kanduit*

He states that more than one auxiliary can occur with the same verb, but the verb can only appear with only one auxiliary from each of these sets, and in the order set I | set II. These auxiliary forms appear between a negative marker and the verb.

Crowley's (2004) analysis is similar to that proposed by Camden (1979), though Camden's is a lot more complex – the functions of some markers described vary, and the position of adverbials is included. Camden's main departure from Crowley's order here is that he places the 'auxiliary aspect' markers in separate slots, with the order *stap* | *mas* | *no, bin, save.*

[24] *Yet* is noted by Charpentier (1979) as a temporal adverbial translating to *encore*. Though *encore* has the meaning of 'still', it also has the English meanings of 'only, just' (*Hier encore, je lui disais de faire attention* – 'Just yesterday I was telling him to watch out') and 'still' as an intensifier (*J'ai crié mais il a crié encore plus fort* – 'I cried but he cried still more').

[25] Crowley (2004:96) also includes Set III: *wantem* and Set IV: *kam*, *go.* As noted in section 2, complements of these forms were excluded from this analysis, and these have been left aside.

However, in my corpus there are no combinations of any two auxiliary forms – not of *bin* or *jas* with *save* or *stap*, nor even of *mas* or *sud* with *save* or *stap*, despite Crowley (2004: 96) stating such combinations are possible, e.g.:

(65) *Hem i **bin stap** wantem kakae raes.*

'She had wanted to eat rice (all the time).'

(66) *Yu **mas stap** go long skul.*

'You have to go to church (all the time).' (Crowley 2004: 96)

Based on my data alone, one could say it is impossible for two auxiliary forms to co-occur. This may not the case for all Bislama, but it must be true that if it is not, combinations of two auxiliary forms are relatively rare. There is certainly not enough evidence to assess whether auxiliary T/A markers have an order like Crowley (2004) or Camden (1979) propose.

The only examples where two T/A markers appear in the same clause in the corpus involve post-verbal *finis* and subject-/verb-initial *bae*. See Table 3, repeated below for convenience:

Table 3

Frequencies of combinations of TMA markers

	Total
Bae + finis	1
Bae + jes/jas	6
Bae + mas	7
Bae + save	16
Bae + stap	5
Bae + yet	3
Bin + finis	2
Stap + finis	1

Finis occurs with auxiliary tense and aspect markers, including *bin* and *stap*. Though these combinations may seem semantically incompatible, (Crowley 1990: 205) states they <u>are</u> incompatible), they are attested nonetheless:

(67) a. *Oli **bin** trenem mi **finis** long karate.*

'They have trained me in karate.' (M-95-9, Obed)

b. *Oli **bin** ring tu taem **finis**.*

'They had rung twice already.' (S-95-6, Elsina)

(68) a. *Mi **stap** hetem hem bifo **finis**.*

'I already hated her before that.' (M-95-11, Bretian)

In the corpus, it is *bae* that occurs most with other TMA markers, alongside both auxiliary and post-verbal markers. It occurs with markers of tense (*jes/jas*) and aspect (*save, stap, yet, finis*), and also of mood (*mas*), e.g.:

(69) ***Bae** mi mi go swim **finis**.*

I'll go wash up. (M-93-2, Susana)

As discussed in section 3.1.2.3, the position of *bae* is variable depending on the type of subject of the utterance, and it does not behave like an auxiliary. It can occur before the subject (clause-initially) or between the subject and the verb (pre-verbally; only with noun phrase subjects). The following example demonstrates the position of *bae* when it occurs with an auxiliary (*stap*) in a clause with a null subject. Note that *bae* precedes the predicate marker:

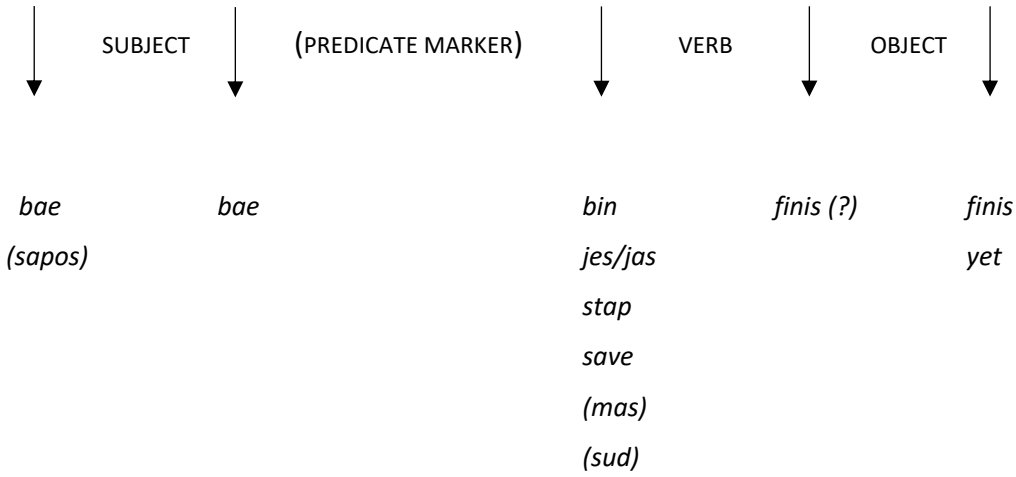
(70) *Sapos hem i givim wan samting* […] ***bae** i **stap** givim mane*.

'if it gives her something, it'll give [her] money.' (S-95-10, Rebeka)

The order of TMA markers in Bislama is thus summarised based on the previous analysis as Figure 2 below:

Figure 2

Ordering of tense and aspect markers within a clause in Bislama (mood markers in brackets)



It is clear that there are not only three markers of TMA in Bislama. There is not even just one marker of past tense (*bin* and *jes*) or imperfective aspect (*save* and *stap*). Even from my brief analysis of mood in Bislama, it is clear other moods than irrealis are marked overtly (e.g., *mas, sud, sapos*). However, if we were to forget about other markers of past tense and imperfective aspect (*jes* and *save*), and we were to call *bin* an anterior marker (excluding its other past tense functions) and *stap* a nonpunctual marker, and we follow Crowley's (2004) analysis of the auxiliary order, it would be true that the anterior marker appears before the nonpunctual marker, as predicted by Bickerton (1980). However, despite all the justifications needed to arrive at that point, it is clear that *bae*, which functions as not just as a future but as an irrealis marker, does not follow the predicted pattern. Irrespective of whether *bae* appears clause initially or pre-verbally, *bae* always structurally precedes the auxiliary pre-verbal position where *bin* and *stap* appear (as in example #70). The order proposed by Bickerton (*Anterior > Irrealis > Nonpunctual*) is thus impossible in Bislama.

3.2 Unmarked predicates

In order to understand how the tense and aspect system of Bislama works as a whole, it is important to consider the role of predicates that have none of the overt tense or aspect markers that have been described above. Previous analyses of creole grammar have recognised the importance of investigating zero-marking. An early paper by Sankoff (1990) assesses Bickerton's prediction, by considering the role of variation in zero-marking for tense in Tok Pisin and Sranan. She states:

> There is a vast potential for increased understanding of the general nature of linguistic processes in the exploration of the processes whereby zeroes become meaningful within formal oppositions. (Sankoff 1990: 310)

Since then, the analysis of zero-marking for other parts of grammar than tense and aspect marking has become common in analysis focusing on grammatical variation. Some examples for creoles include the analysis of null subjects in Bislama (Meyerhoff 2000b), and variation in zero copula (Walker & Meyerhoff 2006) and past tense marking in Bequia (Daleszynska 2011). Meyerhoff (2013) is the first to note the function of zero as a TMA marker in Bislama, stating it marks all except the progressive.

As is common practise when analysing grammatical variation, as an initial step, I conducted a multivariate analysis on the whole corpus. This gave an initial indication of the factors which interacted significantly with the dependent linguistic variable – the presence or absence of overt tense or aspect marking (i.e. zero-marked vs. marked). The corpus consisted of 3913 clauses[26]. Of these, 3392 occurred with zero-marking (86.7%), and 521 occurred with overt tense or aspect marking (13.3%).

A step-up, step-down analysis of zero vs. overt T/A marking was run using the multiple regression function in Rbrul (Johnson 2009). The step-up, step-down procedure evaluates changes to the data's goodness of fit to the model. These changes are tested as each factor group is added one by one in all possible combinations with the other factor groups, and is

[26] Only recent past tense examples of *jas/jes* and habitual *save* were kept in the 'marked' category. I chose to retain all tokens of *yet,* as all meanings still involve tense/aspect function.

subsequently removed in the same fashion. The multivariate analysis not only determines the statistical significance of factors in conditioning the choice of variant, but also the relative contribution of each factor when all factors are considered simultaneously (Walker 2010b: 7).

For the whole corpus, Rbrul selected the following variables as having significant and independent effects on the variation between zero- and overt marking (in order of significance): temporal reference, sentential aspect (perfective vs. imperfective), lexical aspect (stative vs. non-stative) and type of subject (null, pronoun, noun). Speaker was included as a random effect. Person and number of the subject was also included as a predictor, but was not found to be significant.

The step-up, step-down analysis indicated that the temporal reference of the clause had the strongest conditioning effect on the variation observed in the corpus of all predicates. In previous analyses of Bislama, some proposals have been made about how frequently different tenses are marked. Crowley (2004: 93) states that past tense is, in general, not distinguished from the present tense in Bislama, as context normally makes it clear which tense is involved. This view is shared by Tryon (1987: 121), who similarly states that past tense is normally unmarked or obvious from contextual clues. Crowley (2004) states that *bin* will be used when it is absolutely necessary that the past be distinguished from the present. This would suggest that present tense is marked less often than past. He also states that though it is possible for verbs in the future to be unmarked, it is much more common for verbs in the future tense to be marked by *bae*. This suggests that if there are no clear tense markers or contextual information available, a verb will normally be interpreted as present or past rather than future. This suggests that the frequency of overt marking will follow this pattern, from least to most marking: present > past > future.

This is in fact what the data show. Though Crowley (2004) possibly underestimates how frequently future tense is unmarked, in the corpus, overt marking occurs much more with future than any other tense, which strongly disfavours being unmarked. I also find that present tense favours occurring with zero-marked predicates more than both past and future. Past tense is unmarked 89% of the time, with present being the most unmarked overall (92%), as expected.

Table 8.1

Rbrul weightings for tense of the clause

	Total N	% unmarked	Factor weight
Present	1563	92	0.771
Past	2014	89	0.626
Future	336	48	0.151

Note. Factor selected by multivariate analysis as having the most significant effect on occurrence of zero-marking for tense and aspect. (0 = marked; 1 = unmarked). Log likelihood= -1251.699; Input probability=0.863; $p<0.0001$.

The step-up, step-down analysis indicated that lexical aspect was also highly significant. The results suggest a strong effect of stativity conditioning the variation. Stative predicates are much more likely to occur with zero-marking than non-statives, which favour being overtly marked for tense/aspect.

Table 8.2

Rbrul weightings for lexical aspect of the clause

	Total N	% unmarked	Factor weight
Stative	1282	92%	0.666
Nonstative	2631	84%	0.334

Note. (0 = marked; 1 = unmarked). p<0.0001.

This result leads me to consider the role lexical aspect plays, that is, of whether the appearance of zero-marking is dependent on the stativity of the predicate.

3.2.1 Stativity and unmarked predicates

The idea that stativity is crucial to interpreting bare predicates, as Bickerton predicted for creoles, has continued into modern scholarship. Bickerton's (1980) prediction revolves around lexical aspect being important in interpreting the temporal location of zero forms – that zero forms mark simple past for action verbs and non-past for state verbs. It is well known now that stativity is often crucial to interpreting bare predicates, not just in creole languages. Velupillai (2015: 401) finds that the lexical aspect of the verb affects the temporal reading of the clause in two thirds of the creole languages in her sample of 49 languages. Dahl and Velupillai (2013b) note that verbs which are typically event-denoting may be interpreted as referring to the past and state verbs as referring to the present in the absence of any marking to the contrary in languages which do not mark the imperfective-perfective distinction. This fact has a cognitive basis, involving the interaction between the imperfective-perfective distinction, temporal reference and lexical aspect. The distinction between perfective and imperfective aspect typically involves restrictions on temporal reference. That is, perfective verb forms are usually taken to refer to past events. This is found to be the case in our corpus, where perfective predicates occur most with past tense (63.14% of the time), and imperfective predicates occur most with non-past tense (63.87% of the time). This correlation involves the fact that prototypical uses of perfectives coincide with the default view of an event as a completed whole, but normally such a perspective is only possible if the event is wholly in the past (Dahl & Velupillai 2013b). Therefore, 'events', which are normally perfective are typically in the past, and 'states' which and are normally imperfective typically relate to the present. It then holds that languages may not need to mark present tense if the verb involved is a state, and vice-versa for non-statives.

The interactions between these categories are accounted for in the multivariate analysis. Using this method is therefore much more representative of variation in the data than looking at frequencies independently.

3.2.1.1 A 'default' temporal reading of unmarked predicates?

Further step-up, step-down analyses were run on subsets of the data, split into stative and non-stative predicates. Speaker was included as a random effect. For non-stative predicates, temporal reference and sentential aspect were found to be significant. For the stative subset, the only significant factor found was temporal reference. Person and number and subject type were also included in the runs but were not found to be significant.

If Bickerton's (1980) prediction were true of Bislama, we would expect non-stative predicates with zero-marking to have a past tense interpretation. This means we would expect to find that for non-stative predicates, past is the only factor where the factor weight for zero-marking is greater than 0.5. Though unmarked predicates do favour occurring with past tense (0.616), they even more strongly favour occurring with present tense (0.796). Even more, Bickerton's prediction suggests that if stative predicates have a default non-past interpretation, past would be the only factor to appear with a factor weight below 0.5. This is again not what the data show. Statives instead follow the same pattern as non-stative predicates, with present and past both highly favouring occurring with zero-marking.

Table 9.1

Rbrul weightings for tense of the clause for non-stative and stative predicates

	Non-stative			Stative		
Linguistic environment	N	%	F.W.	N	%	F.W.
Present	943	90	0.796	620	96	0.773
Past	1444	86	0.616	573	95	0.744
Future	257	42	0.138	91	40	0.092

Note. Factor selected as having the most significant effect on occurrence of zero-marking for both non-stative and stative predicates). Non-stative: log likelihood= -953.296; total N=2644; centred input probability=0.745; p<0.0001. Stative: log likelihood= -292.013; total N=1284; centred input probability=0.871; p<0.0001.

Unlike what Bickerton predicts, there does not appear to exist a strong 'default' temporal reading of unmarked predicates in Bislama for past vs. present. However, since Bickerton's (1980) prediction involves a past/non-past distinction, in a separate run I consider the effect of the combined non-past category (keeping the rest of the predictors the same).

For non-stative predicates, Bickerton's prediction would appear to be borne out – past tense favours occurring with bare predicates, and non-past disfavours it. However, this is similarly the case for stative predicates. Where Bickerton predicts that zero-marked stative predicates will have a non-past 'default' interpretation, the data show that past tense is highly preferred, and stative predicates are more likely to have a 'default' past tense interpretation. In fact, this effect is even stronger than for non-stative predicates.

Though there does seem to be a tendency for bare predicates to favour occurring with past over non-past tense, this does not seem to be at all dependent on the lexical aspect of the predicate. Additionally, as the log likelihood shows, more variance is accounted for by distinguishing between past, present and future in the model.

Table 9.2

Rbrul weightings for tense of the clause for non-stative and stative predicates

	Non-stative			Stative		
Linguistic environment	N	%	F.W.	N	%	F.W.
Past	144	86	0.544	573	95	0.616
Non-past	1200	80	0.456	711	88	0.384

Note. Non-statives: log likelihood= -1100.383; total N=2644; centred input probability=0.819, p=0.00482. Statives: log likelihood= -368.832; total N=1284; centred input probability=0.936, p<0.0001.

3.2.1.2 A 'default' aspectual reading of unmarked predicates?

Despite literature suggesting that stativity is crucial for interpreting bare verbs, the results found for tense were not as convincing as I thought they would be. In order to assess how crucial stativity is for the interpretation of unmarked predicates, it is interesting to also investigate a possible aspectual reading of bare predicates. It is already known that perfective predicates refer to past situations, and imperfective to non-past situations for all verbs. Because of the interaction between lexical aspect, sentential aspect and tense already noted, it seems theoretically as likely that unmarked predicates may have a default interpretation of aspect that is dependent on stativity. We would expect to find that non-stative bare predicates have a default 'perfective' aspectual reading, and stative bare predicates have an 'imperfective' reading. When looking at all predicates, unmarked predicate forms highly favour occurring with perfective aspect, and imperfective aspect is highly disfavoured.

Table 10.1

Rbrul weightings for sentential aspect of the clause for all predicates

	Total N	% unmarked	Factor weight
Perfective	2218	90%	0.689
Imperfective	1695	82%	0.311

Note. Second strongest effect for all predicates). p<0.0001.

A different pattern arises when we subset the data into non-stative and stative predicates. Sentential aspect was the second most significant factor for non-stative predicates. It was not found to be significant for stative predicates, but the results have been included nonetheless. Where non-stative bare predicates do strongly favour occurring with perfective aspect, stative predicates appear to slightly favour occurring with imperfective aspect. The lexical aspect of a predicate thus appears to affect the aspectual interpretation of an unmarked predicate. This makes sense, as non-stative verbs tend to coincide with the default view of an event as a completed whole, where verbs denoting states tend to be ongoing. The results go to show that a perfective predicate having the default view of an event as a completed whole may *not only* be possible if the event is wholly in the past, and may be an implied effect of a non-stative predicate in general.

Table 10.2

Rbrul weightings for sentential aspect of the clause for non-stative and stative predicates

	Non-stative			Stative*		
Linguistic environment	N	%	F.W.	N	%	F.W.
Perfective	1878	89	0.711	346	91	0.491
Imperfective	766	69	0.289	938	92	0.509

Note. Non-statives: p<0.0001.

If we look at the raw data, the effect of stative predicates having an imperfective interpretation seems a lot stronger. As demonstrated in Table 10.3, there exists a very clear trend for unmarked non-stative predicates to occur with punctual aspect (76.2%), and unmarked stative predicates to occur with imperfective aspect (72.75%). Obviously, some of this variation is accounted for by other factors in the multivariate analysis. Nonetheless, the pattern is worth noting, and it may be interesting to explore further in future analyses of Bislama and other creoles, perhaps particularly for creoles where the lexical aspect of the verb does not affect the temporal reading of the clause.

Table 10.3

Marked vs. unmarked predicates for aspect by lexical aspect (of 3913 tokens)

	Punctual	Habitual	Continuous	Imperfective	Total
Non-stative					
Unmarked	1687	305	222	527	2214
	76.2%	13.78%	10.03%	23.8%	100%
Marked	187	82	148	230	417
	44.84%	19.66%	35.49%	55.16%	100%
Total	1874	387	370	757	2631
Stative					
Unmarked	321	72	785	857	1178
	27.25%	6.11%	66.64%	72.75%	100%
Marked	27	18	59	77	104
	25.96%	17.31%	56.73%	74.04%	100%
Total	348	90	844	934	1282

In summary, it looks like the stative/non-stative distinction does not overall have a strong effect on the 'default' interpretation of bare predicates in Bislama. If there is an effect, it appears to be stronger for the sentential aspect of the predicate. Even if the effect of lexical aspect on stative predicates is weak, this is in clear contrast to the strong preference for non-stative predicates to occur with perfective aspect. This effect is overall a lot stronger than the one we have observed for a past/non-past temporal interpretation.[27]

3.2.2 When is a predicate marked overtly in Bislama?

Though the effect of the stative/non-stative distinction on the interpretation of bare verbs was minor, I also investigate whether a marked predicate is required when the intended aspect of the sentence contrasts with its default aspect. That is, is a marker found more frequently when the intended aspect of the sentence goes against the default aspect of the predicate? This is something that I noticed while coding the corpus, and seems to be worth mentioning, even if the multivariate analysis showed the effect of lexical aspect to be not so salient overall.

Let us consider the imperfective marker *stap,* for example. If unmarked stative predicates were to have a default interpretation of imperfective aspect, we might expect *stap* to occur less with stative verbs, since marking imperfective aspect would be redundant. As seen in Table 11.1, *stap* is used a lot more frequently to mark imperfective aspect for non-stative

[27] This is even observed in the p. values for non-stative verbs, which are $p<0.0001$ for sentential aspect, and $p=0.00482$ for past/non-past.

verbs (22.59%) than for stative verbs (2.68%). This is as expected, seeing as non-stative verbs have a default perfective interpretation, and a deviation from this default aspect should be marked. The same pattern is found for the habitual marker *save*, which marks imperfective [habitual] aspect a lot more for non-stative (1.59%) than stative predicates (0.11%).

Table 11.1

Marker vs. unmarked predicates for aspect by lexical aspect (of 3913 tokens)

	Ø	*Bae*	*Bin*	*Finis*	*Jas*	*Save*	*Stap*	*Yet*	Total
Non-stative									
Imperfective	527	36	4	4	0	12	171	3	757
	69.62%	4.76%	0.53%	0.53%	0%	1.59%	22.59%	0.4%	100%
Perfective	1687	86	17	36	22	0	25	1	1874
	90.02%	4.59%	0.91%	1.92%	1.17%	0%	1.33%	0.05%	100%
Total	*2214*	*122*	*21*	*40*	*22*	*12*	*196*	*4*	*2631*
Stative									
Imperfective	857	31	1	9	0	1	25	10	934
	91.76%	3.32%	0.11%	0.96%	0%	0.11%	2.68%	1.07%	100%
Perfective	321	12	5	2	3	0	4	1	348
	92.24%	3.45%	1.44%	0.57%	0.86%	0%	1.15%	0.29%	100%
Total	*1178*	*43*	*6*	*11*	*3*	*1*	*29*	*11*	*1282*

Interestingly, *yet* occurs more often overall with stative predicates than non-stative predicates (as noted in section 3.1.3.4), and marks imperfective [incompletive] aspect more for stative (1.07%) predicates than non-stative predicates (0.4%). This is the opposite to what we found for the auxiliary imperfective markers *save* and *stap*. Though it appears to counter the preceding argument, this might actually lend support to the fact that *yet* does not behave like a grammaticalized auxiliary, but rather, an adverbial.

A similar case is found for *finis.* As a marker of perfective [completive] aspect, we would expect the opposite from markers of imperfective aspect. That is, if unmarked non-stative verbs have a default interpretation of perfective aspect, we would expect *finis* to occur less with non-stative predicates, and more with stative predicates. What we actually find is that *finis* occurs predominantly with non-stative predicates (78.43% of *finis* tokens), where it occurs most with perfective aspect (0.91%). However, when it occurs with stative predicates (21.57% of *finis* tokens), it occurs most with imperfective aspect (0.96%)[28].

[28] As I noted in section 3.1.3.3, a lot of these tokens may be better interpreted as having a perfective interpretation. This is likely not representative of *finis's* function as an aspect marker.

Interestingly it is similarly the case for past tense markers *bin* and *jas* that both occur predominantly with perfective aspect for both stative and non-stative (see Table 11.1). There is clearly an interaction with tense here. Because of the tendency for perfective aspect to correlate with past tense, stative and non-stative are both more likely to have default perfective aspect overall in the past tense. This means that perfective aspect would not need be marked as much overall in the past, especially for non-stative predicates. What this would suggest is *finis* may not need to be marked as much in past tense predicates, but would still need to mark perfective aspect in non-past predicates. However, this is not found to be the case. *Finis* more commonly marks perfective aspect in past tense utterances (85%) than non-past utterances (36.36%):

Table 11.2

Frequencies of finis with perfective/imperfective aspect by past/non-past

	Counts of *finis*	Proportion
Non-past		
Imperfective	7	63.64%
Perfective	4	36.36%
Total	11	100%
Past		
Imperfective	6	15%
Perfective	34	85%
Total	40	100%
Total	*51*	

There are other possible explanations for *finis* not conforming to the expected pattern. It may be due to the fact that the imperfective effect for statives was not so strong as the 'default' aspect when compared to perfective effect for non-statives. However, it could also lend support for *finis* behaving unlike other auxiliary aspect markers and as an adverbial. In further analysis, it would be interesting to see whether *yet* and *finis* have become grammaticalized particles in Bislama's TMA system, or behave more like adverbials.

In summary, the results presented in this section may lend support to the idea of a default perfective/imperfective reading for non-stative/stative predicates. If this is unconvincing, then it is at least clear that the imperfective aspect markers *stap* and *save* are used more when they occur with non-stative predicates which tend to have a perfective interpretation.

3.2.3 Type of subject

The type of subject of the clause was also found to have significant effect on the occurrence of zero-marking for all predicates. Where NP subjects neither favour nor disfavour occurring with zero-marked predicates, null subjects favour occurring with bare predicates, where contextual information is more 'given'. Pronoun subjects, which are less 'given' disfavour occurring with bare marked predicates.

Table 12

Rbrul weightings for subject type of the clause for all predicates

	Total N	% unmarked	Factor weight
Null subject	1404	88	0.539
NP subject	672	88	0.504
Pronoun subject	1837	85	0.457

Note. p=0.0246.

In Meyerhoff's (2000b: 140) analysis of null subjects in Bislama, she finds a clear preference for speakers to follow a null subject with another coindexed null subject. However, if the referent is not in the immediate context, speakers are most likely to use a pronoun. This makes sense as the referent is less likely to be easily retrievable or identifiable for the hearer. My results provide evidence that the use of zero-marking (where the tense/aspect information is implied) is found with null subjects, where other information (e.g., subject referent) is also implied. This may suggest that if temporal and aspectual information is encoded earlier in the discourse, no further marking is required. As far as I am aware there have not been any large-scale discursive analyses of Bislama TMA-marking patterns. Other analyses of tense and aspect marking only consider the use of markers per clause. These results show that it may be very beneficial to conduct a discoursal analysis in order to fully understand when TMA information is marked overtly or unmarked, and how the TMA system functions as a whole.

4. Implications and further directions

Though this study functions as a preliminary investigation into the TMA system of Bislama, there are many further directions that future study should assess. I have already mentioned some possible factors to investigate in the previous sections (3.2.2 and 3.2.3). Of course, though I touched on it briefly in section 3.1.1.1, future research must also consider the role of mood marking. There are also other 'markers' noted in the literature that were excluded from this discussion that should also be considered in future analyses. Future research could also consider how other linguistic and non-linguistic factors may affect when an utterance is marked or unmarked. Sociolinguistic information was available to me in this study (e.g., age,

sex, urban/rural, speaker origin, education), but time constraints did not allow me to include this information in the present report. Of course, it would be ideal to consider how tense and aspect is marked in contemporary Bislama, and investigate diachronic changes in the system I have described.

Another important facet to investigate in being able to describe the tense and aspect system as a whole is the role of other contextual information and adverbials present in the clause. Their role in the expression of the TMA system is a whole is something that remains to be investigated in future research. In section 4.1 below, I provide a brief description of how tense and aspect information is expressed through other contextual information in the clause.

4.1 Other ways of marking tense and aspect

We have seen that tense and aspect are not encoded very frequently overall using overt T/A markers in Bislama. However, it is presumed that most of the time the wider context will make the tense and aspect of a bare predicate clear, and T/A markers will only be used when it is unclear or more clarification is needed (as suggested by Crowley 2004). To investigate this question, it is necessary to understand how other information in the clause (e.g., adverbials and prepositional phrases) may contribute temporal and aspectual information.

4.1.1 Tense

In Bislama, temporal information can be expressed through the use of temporal adverbials, prepositional phrases, and other information that indicates the temporal location of the clause. There is a large group of adverbs that express time. According to Crowley (2004: 140), these tend to be rather free in where they can appear in a sentence (at the beginning or end of a sentence, or between other constituents)[29].

Contextual information can indicate that a situation occurs in the past. *Yestede* or *yestedei* ‘yesterday’ is only used in past tense sentences, similar to *las wik* ‘last week’, *las manis* ‘last month’ and *las naet* ‘last night’. These forms can refer to not just the night before the speech event, but also the night before the reference time, for example:

(71) *Oli katem evri rop* ***las naet.***

‘They'd cut all the wires the night before.’ (S-95-15, Rinette)

Dates involving days of the week (e.g., *long Fraede* ‘on Friday’), months of the year (e.g., *long septemba* ‘in September’), and specific years or dates (e.g., *long 1989* ‘in 1989’ or *namba*

[29] Crowley (2004:140) describes temporal adverbials *laeftaem* 'for life', *fogud* 'forever', *delaet* 'daybreak; all night, until daylight’ and *olbaot* 'any time' but these are not attested in the corpus. *Olbaot* is only found with the meaning ‘all over, all around’.

twante 'on the 20th'), are used most often to refer to past situations and events in the corpus, but it is not impossible for dates to refer to present or future situations.

(72) *be **Wenesde** mifala i stap dring ia.*

'but on Wednesday we were drinking there.' (S-95-13, Sikal)

Wan taem 'once, one time' occurs predominantly in the past, often referring to a situation in the distant past. It is commonly used in the corpus as it is a common way of beginning a narrative, and *i gat wan taem* is similar to 'once upon a time' in English.

(73) ***I gat wan taem** wan smol boe hem i stap go wokbaot long bus.*

'Once upon a time there was a small boy who went walking in the bush.' (M-95-21, Petre)

Where *long naet* 'at night' tends to refer to events in the past (e.g., 'last night'), other parts of the day are more variable. *Long moning* 'in the morning' and *long aftanun* 'in the afternoon' most often occur with past events, but are also used with ongoing or future events.

Though the future is the most overtly marked tense in Bislama, it can also occur with a temporal adverb or other prepositional phrase (PP) which locates the event in the future. *Nekis wik* 'next week', for example, only ever occurs with future tense. In the following example, the use of *tumora* 'tomorrow' seems to resolve the need for the future to be marked by *bae:*

(74) ***Tumora** long moning yumi go long epot.*

'Tomorrow morning we're going to the airport.' (S-95-6, Elsina)

Tumora blong hem 'the next/following day' can also be used in referring to past situations:

(75) ***Tumora blong hem** mi tekem plen tu.*

'The next day I caught another plane.' (S-95-6, Elsina)

Wan dei can be used to refer to a future or hypothetical event (#76a), but can equally be used in the past or present (b).

(76) a. ***Wan dei** bae mi drong.*

'One day I'll be drunk.' (S-95-13, Sikal)

b. *Be **wan dei** taem mi go ia...*

'and one day when I went eh...' (S-95-11, Juliet)

There are few adverbs or PPs that refer explicitly to the present tense, suggesting it is left to be interpreted from the lack of any reference to future or past tense. For instance, *tede* 'today' most commonly refers to past situations than present ones, though it is still possible in the present:

(77) ***Tede*** *yumi kam long kot.*

'and today you come to court.' (S-94-4, Simeon)

There are two words for 'now' in Bislama: *nao* and *naoia. Naoia* functions similar to English 'now', as in 'at the moment':

(78) ***Naoia*** *mi stap wet long wan mesej blong mi.*

'So at the moment I'm waiting for a message for me.' (M-94-7, Tarip)

Nao can be used with this meaning too, locating an event in the present (see #79a), but it is more commonly used as adverb meaning 'and then' or 'so' (and also as a focus marker), where appears for all tenses (see #79b).

(79) a. ***Nao*** *ale oli tingting blong gobak.*

'Now it occurs to them to go back.' (Lisa, S-95-9)

b. *Afta* ***nao*** *afta nao man i kam.*

'So then so then the man came.' (M-93-2, Susana)

Nao very frequently occurs alongside *afta*. As *afta* means 'then' as well as 'afterwards, later', it is very commonly used in the past tense in the corpus, but also occurs in present tense utterances. *Bifo* 'beforehand, earlier', though a lot more uncommon, patterns likewise. *Fastaem* also means 'beforehand, earlier' (see #80), but also has other functions[30].

(80) *I mas savsave abaot tingting blong mi* ***fastaem****.*

'They should understand my way of doing things first.' (S-94-1, Timothy)

Wantaem has the meaning of both 'together, at the same time' (Crowley 2004) and 'immediately, straight away' (Crowley 2003: 290)[31].

[30] To mean 'initially, to begin with' or to add politeness or tentativeness to an instruction or request (Crowley, 2003:81).

[31] *Wantaem* is also used with the meaning of 'the very one, precisely' and as a comitative (Crowley, 2003:290).

(81) *Be i askem trak* ***wantaem****.*

'and he immediately asked for the truck.' (M-95-18, Atesolo)

Other PPs like *afta long lanis* 'after lunch' work to locate a situation in time, though require more context as to when the event occurs in relation to the speech event.

4.1.2 Aspect

Other parts of the clause can also provide aspectual information. Adverbials that we have described for tense, especially those which express situations in the past, often occur with punctual aspect. Forms like *afta* and *nao* express sequences of one off, completed events.

It is very common for habitual aspect to be expressed through the use of adverbials. Though habitual aspect is the most uncommon aspectual distinction in the corpus, there are three different forms that are used very often with habitual: *oltaem, samtaem*, and *plante taem*. *Oltaem* (from 'all the time') only occurs with habitual sentences. It has the meaning of 'always' (Crowley 2004) but in the corpus it also appears with the meaning 'usually'.

(82) *Mi miksimap* ***oltaem****.*

'I always get you confused.' (M-93-2, Lolan)

Plante taem 'lots of times' is also used to indicate habitual aspect:

(83) ***Plante taem*** *mitufala i save agu.*

'Lots of times the two of us have argued.' (S-94-1, Timothy)

Samtaem 'sometimes' occurs predominantly with habitual aspect (#84), though in some instances it is translated as 'someday' where it occurs with punctual aspect (and future tense, see #85).

(84) a. *O,* ***samtaem*** *mi kasem sikis taosen.*

'oh, sometimes I get 6000 [vatu].' (M-95-8, Starlin)

b. ***Samtaem*** *long naet nomo i kambak.*

'Sometimes she'd only come home at night.' (S-95-11, Juliet)

(85) a. *Bae* ***samtaem*** *olsem mi save karem wan fren blong mi kam luk yu?*

'Someday like could I bring a friend of mine to see you?' (S-95-10, Rebeka)

Other phrases are used frequently to indicate an iterative or habitually repeated event, such as *evri moning* 'every morning', *evri taem* 'every time', or *evri dei* 'every day'.

Continuous aspect is also often expressed through other clausal information. *Longtaem* is used to indicate that an action has been ongoing 'for a long time', as in (#86). Though it is also frequently used in the negative (*i no longtaem*) with the meaning 'not long after' in punctual clauses (#87).

(86) *Se mi mi lukaotem hem* ***longtaem****.*

'I said I'd been looking for him for a long time.' (S-95-6, Elsina)

(87) *I no* ***longtaem*** *dakdak i kam*

'A short time later a duck comes along.' (M-95-20, Iawia)

Wan wik and *wan yia* 'for a week/one year' are used to emphasise the duration of a state:

(88) ***Wan yia*** *i stap longwe.*

'She was over there for a year.' (S-95-11, Juliet)

Gogo, a reduplicated form of the verb *go*, can be used as a post-verbal modifier indicating continuous aspect. With a non-stative verb, it indicates that something happens on and on (Crowley 2004):

(89) *Yestedei mifala i wok wok wok* ***gogo****.*

'Yesterday we were working away.' (M-95-18, Atesolo)

It is also used to indicate that a state pertains to an excessive amount (see #90). According to Crowley (2004), this is a colloquial usage used especially by younger speakers.

(90) *I gud* ***gogo****.*

'[it's] fine and dandy.' (S-94-4, Simeon)

It is common for *gogo* to be repeated on and on to indicate the extent to which an action is drawn out. The most it is repeated in this corpus is four iterations of 'go', but this can be drawn out much longer if the speaker wishes:

(91) *Bae tufala i stap gogogogo.*

'The two of them would wait and wait and wait.' (S-95-11, Juliet)

Though it is less common, *gogo* can also be used to indicate a habitual repetition of an event:

(92) *Hem i stap mekem **gogo.***
'She would [always] go on like that [having to ask first].' (M-95-11, Bretian)

As seen in examples (#91-92), *gogo* can occur alongside repetition or reduplication of the verb form[32]. However, such repetition can appear without *gogo* for a similar function.

(93) a. *Mifala i save stap stap stap ful aftenun.*
We can stay on the court all afternoon. (M-95-11, Bretian)
b. *Hem i plei plei plei.*
'He played and played.' (S-94-2, Lily)

4.1.3 Contextual information in marking tense/aspect

As we can see in the examples above, though it is possible for the tense and aspect markers described above to occur with other contextual information contributing T/A information to the clause, it appears to be more common for extra clausal material to not occur alongside T/A markers. That is, the presence of adverbials (and other contextual information) make marking less necessary.

A characteristic of markers is that they exhibit high redundancy. It is expected of pidgins, which have less systematic grammatical systems than creoles, that the tense and aspect of an utterance will be heavily dependent on adverbs, contextual clues, and discourse structure. Labov (1990[1971]) states of pidgin tense systems:

> If time is expressed with optional adverbs, then it is only necessary to signal the time once at the beginning of a narrative or for as long as we are in the same sequence of events. But with a tense system, we have to use the tense marker over and over again. (Labov 1990[1971]: 18)

Though it remains for future study to investigate the discourse structure of the appearance of tense and aspect markers in Bislama, it would appear that T/A markers, even those which have grammaticalized into auxiliary position, occur infrequently when there are adverbials in the clause that provide aspectual information.

To provide a brief investigation of this, I consider how often imperfective markers *stap* or *save* occur with information I have described as providing imperfective aspectual information (e.g., *oltaem, samtaem, gogo*, etc.). Table 13 shows that of 84 instances of contextual information indicating imperfective aspect, almost all of these clauses occur with no other marker present

[32] Repetition of the predicate marker is also possible, though is much less frequent:
- *Tufala i ron i ron* 'They ran and ran.' (S-95-9, Lisa)

in the clause. Only three tokens occur with *stap* and one with *save*. It therefore seems as though temporal adverbials and other prepositional phrases not just add temporal and aspectual context to a clause, but mark T/A information, seem to make use of another auxiliary T/A marker redundant.

Table 13

Frequency of T/A markers occurring in clauses where imperfective (habitual/continuous) information is expressed through adverbials and prepositional phrases

	Imperfective advPs and PPs
Ø	77
Bae	2
Bin	0
Finis	1
Stap	3
Save	1
Jes/Jas	0
Yet	0
Total	84

Though I have provided a description of some adverbials and other contextual information that provide temporal and aspectual information, it remains to be explored in further study the extent to which such information forms part of the TMA system of Bislama as a whole.

5. Conclusion

This paper provides some answer to the question 'how are tense and aspect expressed in Bislama?' Through descriptive, quantitative, and multivariate analyses, I have demonstrated that tense and aspect information can be expressed in Bislama through pre-verbal auxiliaries, post-verbal and clause-initial markers. These include three overt tense markers – *bin* (past: anterior or simple), *jes/jas* (recent past), and *bae* (future) – and four markers of aspect – *stap* (imperfective), *finis* (completive), *yet* (incompletive) and *save* (habitual). Tense and aspect is also expressed through bare predicate forms, and with extra contextual information (e.g., adverbials). It is evident that Bislama shares features that are characteristic of creole syntax. It does not 'lack' tense or aspect, and makes use of TMA markers, rather than relying solely on context or adverbials to convey such distinctions (as has been typically described for pidgins cf. Parkvall & Bakker 2013: 41).

In this paper, I have evaluated whether Bickerton's (1980) predictions are borne out in Bislama, summarised below:

(1) *Does a zero form mark simple past for action verbs and non-past for state verbs?* No. Both stative and non-stative predicates favour occurring with past tense, and bare forms are most likely to have a present tense interpretation overall (for both stative and non-stative predicates). The effect for a default aspectual reading for non-stative versus stative predicates seems more salient.

(2) *Does a marker of anterior aspect indicate past-before-past for action verbs and simple past for state verbs*? Though *bin* can have both a past-before-past and a simple past interpretation, this does not seem to be dependent on the lexical aspect of the predicate.

(3) *Does a marker of irrealis aspect indicate 'unreal time' for all verbs?* Though investigating mood was not a main focus of this study, we have nonetheless noted that *bae* does have other irrealis functions besides marking future tense, and that it seems to occur relatively equally for both stative and non-stative predicates.

(4) *Does a marker of nonpunctual aspect indicate durative or iterative aspect for action verbs? Stap* marks imperfective aspect for non-stative verbs. It can also co-occur with stative predicates, though this is a lot less frequent, and it may be the case that *stap* marks habitual aspect for stative verbs. *Stap* appears to be indifferent to the past/non-past distinction.

(5) *Can all three markers combine, but in an invariant ordering of 1. Anterior. 2. Irrealis. 3. Nonpunctual?* Though I have shown there are more than just three markers of TMA in Bislama, if we only consider *bin, bae* and *stap*, these still do not appear in this order. *Bin* and *stap* both occur in auxiliary position, never in the same clause, and *bae* either occurs in a subject-initial position, or in a pre-verbal position preceding the auxiliary slot.

As I noted in section 1.4, as the language has had an unusual and prolonged development, Bickerton's predictions may have never been able to predict Bislama's TMA, and this may be why Bislama does not seem to behave like a prototypical creole as described by Bickerton (2016). However, other 'typical' creoles have also been shown to not behave in the predicted way. Velupillai (2015: 396-402) finds that where Bickerton states that creole languages only have one marker each of tense, mood, and aspect, most creole languages have more than one marker for each TMA category. The vast majority of creole languages in her sample also do not conform to the proposed prototype with respect to the internal ordering of TMA markers. For most of the languages, it is a feature that does not apply, which is similarly the case for Bislama where TMA markers rarely co-occur. Even more, in one third of creole languages, like Bislama, the lexical aspect of the verb does not affect the temporal reading of the clause (Velupillai 2015: 401-402).

This study has provided an in-depth discussion of the tense and aspect system of Bislama. It provides a fresh take on a system which has had little attention in the literature, and an evaluation of what previous analyses exist. It provides a wide-scale quantitative analysis of Bislama's TMA system, demonstrating the use of variationist, multivariate methods on a descriptive approach to understanding syntactic systems, especially when considering factors like tense, mood and aspect which are inherently interconnected. This research will provide

a stronger base for future work on Bislama's TMA system, and one for further cross-linguistic study of TMA in pidgins and creoles to draw from. I am excited to see more analysis in the future taking on the challenges that arise from Bislama and its tense, mood and aspect system.[i]

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[i] The title of this paper *Taem i stap go* occurs in the corpus with the meaning ‘time was passing’.

The Sexual Other: Discursive constructions of migrant sex workers in New Zealand media

Matilda Neyland

Abstract

Sex workers comprise one of the most marginalised and stigmatised groups in society, alternately framed as diseased, immoral criminals, or as victims of abuse and exploitation. New Zealand is one of only two jurisdictions worldwide with a decriminalised sex industry, a system shown to reduce harm and improve workers' rights. However, people in the country on temporary visas are still prohibited through immigration law from doing sex work.

Recognising the power of the media to reproduce hegemonic ideologies, particularly in representations of socio-politically disempowered groups, in this study I apply a critical approach to discursive constructions of migrant sex workers in the media. Following other critical discourse scholars who have incorporated corpus linguistic methods in their analysis of media texts, in this study I combine quantitative and qualitative methods to analyse a corpus of recent New Zealand newspaper articles relating to sex work. The research aims to examine how the media discursively constructs migrant sex workers in ways that contribute to their marginalisation and stigmatisation.

The findings indicate that the discourse routinely constructs migrant sex workers as Other, drawing on existing narratives that associate sex work with disease and crime. Also evident are trafficking and anti-immigration Discourses, which construct migrants as either vulnerable victims or as cunning tax evaders taking jobs from locals. In the Discussion, I argue that the media displays Orientalist tendencies, betraying New Zealand's own anxieties around sex work and immigration. By highlighting the discursive stigmatisation and marginalisation against migrant sex workers, I provide support for the current campaign to change the discriminatory law excluding migrants from decriminalisation.

1. Introduction

Sex workers comprise one of the most marginalised and stigmatised groups in society. Historically, they have been associated with crime, disease, deviance and moral corruption; more recently, some have framed sex workers as victims of patriarchal exploitation, often conflating sex work with trafficking. Perceptions may be changing as sex workers continue to advocate for their work to be respected and as their rights in some territories improve. Within sex worker communities globally, Aotearoa New Zealand is upheld as a world-leader, being one of only two jurisdictions to have decriminalised sex work (along with New South Wales

in Australia[33]). Following a long campaign by the New Zealand Prostitutes Collective (NZPC), the Prostitution Reform Act (PRA) was passed in June 2003 with the purpose of decriminalising sex work. The evidence in the years since indicates that the law has improved sex workers' health and safety, working conditions and relations with police (Abel et al. 2007), as well as their legal empowerment, as illustrated in a landmark case in which a sex worker won a sexual harassment lawsuit against her manager (Duff 2014).

Amid the praise of the New Zealand model, an important caveat is often glossed over: the protections and benefits associated with decriminalisation are only afforded to some sex workers. Section 19 of the PRA deems it illegal for those in the country on temporary visas to work in the sex industry and threatens them with deportation if found to be involved[34] (Prostitution Reform Act 2003: 10-11). At the time the law was passed, the motivation for including this clause stemmed from concerns among some in Parliament that allowing migrants to do sex work would encourage trafficking. However, research suggests that this Section in fact *facilitates* the conditions that make sex workers vulnerable to exploitation (Abel & Roguski 2018). Under the threat of deportation, migrants have less power in negotiations with employers, and minimal recourse against abusive clients who may take advantage of a worker's reluctance to report violence for fear of immigration authorities (Armstrong 2018). Claiming the reductive concept of trafficking as a justification for this clause fails to recognise the wider context of global migration, labour markets and borders, and the various personal and economic forces that lead people to travel and sell sex (Agustín 2007). Additionally, by locating the villain in shadowy 'traffickers', the New Zealand Government obscures its own role in facilitating harm against those it purports to be concerned about (cf. Smith & Mac 2018).

Migrants are the only population prohibited from selling sex in New Zealand[35], and sex work is the only industry those on temporary work visas are excluded from. Given this particular legal corner occupied by migrant sex workers, amplified by the entrenched stigma attached to sex work generally, the question arises as to how the media treats this group. A critical approach to language recognises that socio-political structures of inequality are both reflected and reproduced in discourse[36], which can in turn influence attitudes, behaviour and even policy. The media wields particular power in reproducing hegemonic ideologies, due both to its mass audience and to the privileged access elite social groups have in controlling it. Critical discourse studies (CDS) has the emancipatory agenda of exposing and countering

[33] Since the time of writing, two further Australian jurisdictions have either implemented decriminalisation (The Northern Territory) or announced a plan to do so in the near future (Victoria). Additionally, Mexico City congress voted in 2019 to decriminalise sex work in that city.

[34] It is not a *criminal* offense for migrants to work in the sex industry, although it does constitute a breach of visa conditions. In practice, the law means only citizens and permanent residents of New Zealand and Australia are permitted to work in the New Zealand sex industry. I refer to this group as 'New Zealand sex workers' or 'citizen sex workers', and those on temporary visas as 'migrant sex workers'. Additionally, Section 19 of the PRA states that 'no visa may be granted … to a person on the basis that the person … has provided, or intends to provide, commercial sexual services' (Prostitution Reform Act 2003: 10). This means border officials can refuse entry into New Zealand to people they suspect to be (former, current or future) sex workers.

[35] Aside from people aged under 18 (Prostitution Reform Act 2003: 11).

[36] In this study, I employ Gee's (1990) concept of d/Discourse. 'Little d discourse' refers to everyday talk and text, or language in use. 'Big D Discourse' denotes wider societal narratives; dominant ways of thinking and talking about the world.

this 'discursive injustice' (van Dijk 2009), particularly as perpetrated by the media. Some CDS scholars have fruitfully applied corpus linguistic methods to the analysis of media discourse surrounding other marginalised groups such as refugees, as a way of providing systematicity and warranting for interpretations. Following this approach, in the current study I combine quantitative and qualitative methods to analyse a corpus of New Zealand newspaper articles relating to sex work, spanning a recent period of 26 months. The research aims to examine how the media discursively constructs migrant sex workers in ways that contribute to their marginalisation and stigmatisation.

The goal of CDS is not to uncover an inherent 'truth' about the world, but rather to examine how discourse *constructs* reality, to consider how it functions to empower certain groups and disempower others, and to 'unmask' embedded ideologies that are often hidden by the force of hegemony (Wodak & Meyer 2016: 8). The purpose of this study is therefore not to seek some fundamental 'truth' about prostitution or to reveal the 'reality' of experiences within the sex industry, but rather to critically analyse how the media uses language to construct migrant sex workers[37] in ways that deepen their existing disempowerment. By showing how the illegal status of their work permits the media to discursively stigmatise and marginalise them, the aim of this study is to provide support for the current campaign to change the discriminatory law that excludes migrant workers from decriminalisation. The questions the study asks include: how are migrant sex workers discursively constructed as Other? How are they positioned as an outgroup to New Zealand communities, including 'acceptable' sex workers? What are the discursive strategies involved in this positioning? How does the discourse perpetuate stigma and deny agency to migrant sex workers? What is the influence of the wider sex work Discourses identified by previous research, such as those associating sex workers with disease and criminality? And how does the media draw on trafficking narratives and anti-immigration sentiment in its portrayals of migrant workers?

To address these aims, the present study first reviews the relevant literature on media discourse, corpus-informed CDS and sex work Discourses. After identifying a gap in the field to motivate the research questions for the study, I present the data and methodology used. The subsequent analysis is divided into three chapters. Chapter 4 applies corpus linguistic tools to identify salient trends and patterns across the data, which indicate the existence of wider Discourses at play. In Chapter 5, I present an analysis of Voice to compare the speech attributed to migrant sex workers with other groups in articles, as a measure of the agency and representation afforded to them. With these trends as a starting point, in Chapter 6 I use the discourse-historical approach to conduct a detailed qualitative analysis of the various ways in which migrant sex workers are discursively constructed as Other in the data. With Othering as a salient focus throughout the analysis, the Discussion chapter applies a lens of Orientalist theory to illuminate the Orientalist tendencies apparent in the discourse, such as ambivalence and anxiety. I conclude with a note on the social, theoretical and methodological implications of the study, and suggestions for future research.

[37] *Migrant* is a term I use somewhat reluctantly, aware that it is rarely used to describe White English-speaking people, and of its potentially dehumanising effect on those it is applied to, as convincingly argued by Malone (2015). In the context of a global border system that favours the West and disadvantages those from elsewhere, there is no politically neutral way to describe people of colour who travel for work (cf. Stubbs 1996). Still, *migrant sex worker* remains the least problematic (and clearest) option for referring to people who sell sex in New Zealand while on a temporary visa.

2. Literature review

This study applies a critical lens to the construction of migrant sex workers in the media. In order to situate the research, in this chapter I summarise the existing literature on sex work discourse, including the construction of sex workers in the news. To this end, it will be necessary to look to feminist theory, sociology and media studies. First, however, I review the linguistic scholarship informing my theoretical and methodological approach within critical discourse studies. The literature gap I identify in this review will motivate three research questions for the study.

2.1 Discourse, media and the critical approach

Underpinning my research is a conception of discourse as social practice (Fairclough & Wodak 1997), that at once constitutes and is constituted by socio-political reality (van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999). Speaking to this notion is Foucault's (1972: 49) foundational definition of discourse as 'practices which systematically form the objects of which they speak'; that is, social actors, events, and institutions are constructed discursively. Combining this understanding of discourse with concepts of critique, power and ideology (Wodak & Meyer 2016), critical discourse scholars highlight the ways discourse functions to both reflect and reproduce structures of inequality. Critical discourse studies (CDS) is a research program that recognises the dialectical relationship between discourse and society, and can be used to uncover the power structures underlying language use. Formerly referred to as critical discourse *analysis*[38], CDS emerged in Europe in the 1980s (van Dijk 1991: 6) as a network of scholars interested in critiquing power relations in society. Since then it has grown into an established discipline, regularly drawn on when questions of language and power intersect (Wodak & Meyer 2016: 5).

Influenced by Critical Theory, CDS research takes a 'problem-oriented' approach, based on the premise that by reproducing the domination by certain groups over others, some forms of text and talk are *unjust* (van Dijk 2009: 63). With this 'discursive injustice' in mind, CDS approaches the study of language with the overt political agenda of not only describing societal power structures but critiquing and ultimately changing them (Wodak & Meyer 2009: 6-7). Two central questions of CDS are: (1) how do (more) powerful groups control public discourse; and (2) how does such discourse control the mind and action of (less) powerful groups, and what are the social consequences of such control, such as social inequality? (van Dijk 2001: 355). These consequences are the motivation for the CDS program, which asserts that discursive domination and discrimination are not innocuous, but capable of contributing to tangible, material harm against certain populations (e.g., Luke 1997).

A consistent site of scrutiny for CDS scholars is media discourse, since mainstream media institutions wield significant power in shaping constructions of social reality (Fairclough 1989). As van Dijk (2000: 36) argues, the media is the central source of the 'knowledge,

[38] Van Dijk (2009, 2013) makes the case for this shift in terminology, arguing that 'critical discourse *studies*' emphasises the important role of critical *theory*, and avoids the misconception among some scholars that 'critical discourse *analysis*' refers to a specific methodology rather than a general attitude.

attitudes and ideologies ... of ordinary citizens'. Its power arises from the privileged access elite social groups have in controlling the media (van Dijk 1996), the mass audience that it reaches, and the uncritical manner in which the news is usually consumed (Santa Ana 1999: 189). The propensity among readers to accept the news as an authoritative voice of truth (Richardson 2001: 148), and the tendency of mass media institutions to reinforce dominant ideologies (van Dijk 1991), contribute to the 'hidden' power of media discourse (Fairclough 1989: 54), where hegemonic Discourses or 'common-sense' ways of viewing the world can become 'naturalised' through repetition (Fairclough 1989: 75; Lazar 2005). CDS aims to expose the linguistic strategies involved in this process.

CDS is not a concrete method of analysis but rather a critical attitude and political stance towards discourse (van Dijk 2009: 62). It is multidisciplinary; its practitioners adopt any analytic method that allows them to answer their particular research questions and reveal the power structures and ideologies underlying text and talk. One methodological approach that has been effectively applied to discursive representations of marginalised groups is corpus-informed CDS.

2.2 Corpus-informed critical discourse studies

As Baker (2006: 47) points out, 'language is not a random affair … words tend to occur in relationship with other words.' Utilising corpus linguistic (CL) methods within the critical approach can trace these relationships between words by identifying patterns of language use, in what Baker (2006: 13) calls the 'incremental' effect of discourse, where the meaning of a word accumulates by repeated use in particular contexts. Hoey (2005: 13) expresses this idea through the concept of lexical priming: 'every word is primed for use in discourse as a result of the cumulative effects of an individual's encounters with the word', while Stubbs (2001: 215) concludes 'repeated patterns show that evaluative meanings are not merely personal and idiosyncratic, but widely shared in a discourse community'. With this understanding of discourse as a constellation of patterns, corpus-informed critical discourse studies (CICDS)[39] combines the quantitative insights offered by CL with critically-focused qualitative interpretations. A key method favoured among CICDS researchers is the discourse-historical approach (Reisigl & Wodak 2016), which forms the basis of the qualitative analysis in this study.

The 'research synergy' (Baker et al. 2008) of CICDS has been demonstrated in a number of studies that examine the discursive constructions of marginalised groups. The corpus-informed approach was pioneered by Paul Baker and colleagues in the RASIM project at Lancaster University, which compellingly illuminates the discursive discrimination against refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants in the UK press (e.g., Baker & McEnery 2005; Baker et al. 2008; Gabrielatos & Baker 2008)[40]. The same approach has been fruitfully applied to similar data from New Zealand (Greenbank 2014; Salahshour 2017), and has been

[39] Within CICDS, some scholars distinguish between corpus-*driven* and corpus-*based* approaches, while others consider this distinction overstated (McEnery & Gabrielatos 2006: 35); here I simply use corpus-*informed* in order to remain agnostic on this point. Different again is *corpus-assisted discourse studies*, a term disfavoured by CICDS practitioners for its implication that the corpus analysis is subservient to the qualitative component (Baker et al. 2008: 274). See Flowerdew (2012: 178-180) for a discussion of these different approaches.

[40] See Gabrielatos (n.d.) for a complete list of publications associated with the RASIM project.

usefully extended to the constructions of other disempowered groups such as Muslims (Baker et al. 2013), gay men (Baker 2004) and trans people (Baker 2014). For sex worker representations, Hunt and Hubbard (2015) apply CICDS to South African news articles, providing a helpful reference point for corpus analysis of sex work discourse, however the qualitative component of their analysis is lacking in detail. McEnery and H. Baker combine corpus methods with historical analysis to examine 17th-century discourse around both female (2017) and male prostitution (H. Baker & McEnery 2018), although these findings are based in history and are somewhat limited in their applicability to contemporary texts.

The incorporation of CL methods into CDS, demonstrated in the above studies, arose as a response to the criticism that CDS scholars 'cherry-pick' data to suit their agenda (Koller & Mautner 2004: 225; see also Baker 2012). CL methods can serve as a form of triangulation (Baker 2006: 15-6) or warranting for qualitative interpretations: if the findings emerging from two different methods of analysis correspond, then the researcher can be more confident in their claims (Baker 2012). While Baker (2006: 10) warns against false belief in complete analyst objectivity, this systematicity provided by CL helps to check the cognitive biases researchers may have (Baker 2006: 10-11). Additionally, CL can process large quantities of data, revealing the consistent linguistic trends that point to the existence of wider Discourses (Baker 2006: 13; Baker & McEnery 2005: 98). The identification of Discourses from CL can provide a 'way in' to the data (Baker 2012: 248); a starting point for in-depth qualitative analysis, by indicating the salient themes across the corpus.

In addition to the critique that practitioners of CL may exaggerate its potential for objectivity, issues arise in the *decontextualised* use of corpus analysis, that is, undue emphasis on the micro, word-level detail provided by CL without its crucial contextualisation within wider Discourses and socio-political setting (Mautner 2016: 173). CL provides *tools* to be operationalised within a framework but is not a framework in itself: as Baker (2006: 18) points out, 'corpus data does not interpret itself' and the researcher maintains an important role in making sense of the findings, drawing on their knowledge of the layers of context within which the discourse operates. The CICDS approach as implemented in the studies summarised above, where CL findings are contextualised within a critical frame and warranted with detailed qualitative analysis, makes a convincing case for the strength of this combined approach. Frequently utilised in the analysis of news discourse around marginalised groups, it is ideally suited to be applied in the context of media representation of sex workers.

2.3 Sex workers in the Western cultural imagination

Sex work has long attracted controversy. Victorian-era depictions portrayed prostitutes as Other along gender and class lines: first, patriarchy establishes women's inferiority to men, then a 'respectable'/'disreputable' dichotomy divides women along lines of sexual behaviour, with commercial sex representing the ultimate deviance because it is commercialised, non-monogamous and non-reproductive (McLaughlin 1991: 250-1). While historic ideas of 'fallen women' (1991: 252) continue to fuel contemporary depictions of sex workers as morally destitute deviants, a parallel discourse positions sex workers as victims (Doezema 2001). Anti-

prostitution feminists since the 1970s have viewed sex work as inherently harmful to women (e.g., Jeffreys 1997), labelling it 'paid rape' (Raymond 1995), and rising concerns around the notion of sex trafficking have led to its conflation with consensual sex work (Bettio et al. 2017). Some scholars have compellingly characterised the anti-trafficking movement as a moral panic (Hill 2011; Weitzer 2007; see also Cohen 1972), based on myth and fed by cultural anxieties around sexuality (Doezema 2000). Key throughout this history is the dominance of the victim-criminal dichotomy, which is consistently identified in analyses of characterisations of sex work (Hoefinger & Srun 2017; Majic 2014). Meanwhile, the sex worker rights movement continues to agitate for a conceptualisation of sex work as a legitimate form of labour, in which workers exercise agency and choice within the constraints of capitalist structures (Smith & Mac 2018).

2.4 Sex workers in popular media

> Our lives are almost always sneered at, or pitied, or used as a symbol of inevitable tragedy (Moore 2016).

The overwhelming negativity of representations of sex workers in popular entertainment is well-attested (Mendes et al. 2010; Weitzer 2018: 721). The media plays an influential role in shaping the stigma associated with sex work, peddling narratives that are generally morally rather than empirically driven (Benoit et al. 2018: 461) and fuelling the conflation of sex work and trafficking (Weitzer 2018). The above quote is from an essay by British sex worker and writer Audrey Moore, which laments that if sex workers appear on television, it is usually either as a mutilated victim of violent crime, or used as a punchline, and frequently referred to in whorephobic slurs such as *hooker*. In video gaming, feminist critic Anita Sarkeesian (2014) argues sex workers are inserted as background props to infuse 'gritty or racy flavouring' into game worlds and to titillate presumed straight male players. These representations in popular culture are part of a wider discursive landscape that constructs sex workers in various negative ways. These representations feed into individuals' mental representations of sex workers (van Dijk 2009), facilitating discrimination and dehumanisation: they make it possible for university students to joke about becoming strippers[41], for the public to dismiss and ridicule porn stars[42] and for a Prime Minister to snigger about phone sex workers[43]. They can also carry more serious material consequences, such as police officers' reluctance to believe reports made by sex workers[44], hiring practices that discriminate against (former) sex workers (Boyajian 2018), and globally high rates of violent crime, including murder, against sex workers (Smith & Mac 2018).

[41] See Ferguson (2016) https://wearyourvoicemag.com/body-politics/joking-drop-sex-work

[42] Public discourse surrounding the Stormy Daniels / Donald Trump sex scandal frequently fixated on Daniels' work in pornography, arguably a strategy to undermine her voice and symptomatic of wider cultural refusal to take sex workers seriously. See MacMillen (2018) https://www.allure.com/story/stormy-daniels-porn-career-does-not-discredit-trump-allegations

[43] In 2014, then-Prime Minister of Australia Tony Abbott was recorded on camera winking and smirking in response to a 67-year-old pensioner radio caller saying she 'work[s] on an adult sex line to make ends meet'. See S. Anderson (2014) https://www.sbs.com.au/news/tony-abbott-winks-as-sex-line-pensioner-talks-on-radio

[44] A UK police chief commented that he was less likely to believe a complaint by a 'drunken prostitute'. See Hamilton (2018) https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/edward-heath-inquiry-police-chief-mike-veale-in-drunken-prostitute-slur-5d7nw5sfc

2.5 Sex workers in the news

As well as popular media, the news is a powerful source of the discursive disempowerment of marginalised groups. Acknowledging this, a number of researchers have investigated representations of sex workers in the press. A survey of relevant literature identified five studies (Easterbrook-Smith 2018; Hallgrímsdóttir et al. 2006; 2008; Hunt & Hubbard 2015; Strega et al. 2014) which examine datasets of news articles from three countries. With different disciplinary groundings, but all with a critical approach, each of these studies establishes dominant narrative themes (or Discourses). The findings are summarised in Table 1, with the most salient themes described below.

Table 1

Narrative themes identified in five studies on discursive representation of sex workers in news media

	Hallgrímsdóttir et al. 2006; 2008 (Canada 1980-2004)	Strega et al. 2014 (Canada 2006-2009)	Hunt and Hubbard 2015 (South Africa 2009-2010)	Easterbrook-Smith 2018 (NZ 2010-2016)
Culpability -victimhood -criminality	✓	✓	✓	✓
Contagion & Containment -moral pollutant -disease/vermin	✓	✓	✓	✓
Deviant (racialised) female sexuality	✓	✓	✓	✓
Individual danger/risky lifestyle	✓	✓	✓	
Enslavement; predatory pimps	✓			
Community failure	✓			
Police harassment			✓	
Human rights			✓	

In culpability narratives, articles position sex workers as either savvy criminals flouting the law or helpless, exploited victims in need of rescue; both characterisations are presented as morally unsalvageable (Easterbrook-Smith 2018; Hallgrímsdóttir et al. 2008). These dual constructions emerge across all the studies, corresponding to the pervasive victim-criminal dichotomy mentioned above. Victimhood discourse links to enslavement narratives, which draw on ideas of trafficking (see Doezema 2000) through voyeuristic descriptions of innocent young girls lured or forced into prostitution by predatory pimps. Also common to all the studies are contagion narratives, which construct sex workers as vectors of moral and/or medical contagion, positioning them as a threatening Other to 'decent people' (Hallgrímsdóttir et al. 2006, 2008), and frequently likening them to vermin (Strega et al. 2014).

This story type, linked to historical ideas about social hygiene (Strega et al. 2014), is closely related to that of containment, where workers are characterised as a 'problem' needing to be 'dealt with' by police and legislators in the interest of urban aesthetics (Hallgrímsdóttir et al. 2008: 125).

Another striking similarity across these studies is the underlying cultural anxiety surrounding female (particularly non-white) sexuality. In the media construction of Asian sex workers as savvy manipulators (Easterbrook-Smith 2018), their sexuality is framed as deviant by virtue of their choice to profit from it (cf. McLaughlin 1991). Alternatively, many media texts construct an infantilised image of a naïve non-white victim tricked or forced into prostitution and in need of rescue (Hallgrímsdóttir et al. 2008). Meanwhile, risky lifestyle narratives focus on individualised accounts of drug use, violence and 'lifestyle choices', reflecting neoliberal ideologies around personal responsibility (Strega et al. 2014: 16). Of the studies reviewed, only Hunt and Hubbard (2015) find evidence of a human rights approach to the industry, with one of the newspapers they examine offering a pro-decriminalisation stance, indexed by use of the more agentive term *sex worker* in place of the negatively-connoted *prostitute* (see Chapter 3 for further discussion of this lexical choice).

Taken together, these studies highlight the entrenched stigma attached to sex work globally, with the media drawing on familiar tropes of workers as diseased, immoral and lacking agency. Seminally defined as a 'deeply discrediting' social attribute that 'reduces the bearer from a whole and usual person to a tainted and discounted one' (Goffman 1963, cited in Hallgrímsdóttir et al. 2006: 268), the concept of stigma is related to Othering. Salient throughout the literature is the construction of sex workers as Other (Bell 1994: 2; Easterbrook-Smith 2018; Hallgrímsdóttir et al. 2006), a discursive process which outcasts a particular group due to a perceived deviant characteristic, marginalising them from an imagined ingroup community (Staszak 2009). Other CICDS work identifies Othering as a salient discursive strategy in the media's construction of minority groups such as Muslims (Baker et al. 2013) and refugees (Greenbank 2014), and the links between deviance, Othering and stigma are established in Toft's (2014) analysis of the discursive construction of homeless people in policy documents.

The findings from this literature suggest that rather than helping sex workers, dominant Discourses are ultimately concerned with controlling women's sexuality and 'shor[ing] up social, ethnoracial and gender inequality' (Hallgrímsdóttir et al. 2008: 134). The studies also argue that news articles routinely offer gratuitously voyeuristic insights into sex workers' lives under the guise of concern, described by Doezema (2010: 3) as 'combin[ing] salaciousness with moral righteousness – causing in the reader a discomfiting but also pleasurable mix of outrage and titillation'. Even in a decriminalised environment, Easterbrook-Smith (2018) demonstrates how New Zealand media constructs only some sex workers as 'acceptable', while those deemed 'unacceptable' – including street-based workers and people on temporary visas – remain stigmatised. They argue that New Zealand media variably or simultaneously portrays migrant workers as exploited victims and cunning manipulators of the visa system (2018: 153). The discourse also draws on anti-migrant sentiment by expressing economic concerns, namely that migrant sex workers are defrauding the tax system, taking their earnings overseas and undercutting 'local' workers in their pricing (2018:

153). This apparent stigma around sex work persisting in New Zealand, particularly in the case of migrant sex workers, is yet to be addressed from a linguistic perspective.

2.6 Research questions

This gap motivates the research questions for the current study. To ground my work within CDS, and to frame the purpose of the research as providing evidence from a linguistic perspective that the current law contributes to discursive injustice, the overarching question for the study is:

> *How do New Zealand media's discursive constructions of migrant sex workers contribute to their marginalisation and stigmatisation?*

This is operationalised in two sub-questions:

1. *What discursive trends surrounding sex workers, particularly migrant sex workers, emerge from the corpus?*
2. *How does the media discursively construct migrant sex workers as Other?*

The first of these is addressed in Chapter 4 using tools of corpus linguistics, and in Chapter 5 which analyses the distribution of Voice. Chapter 6 considers the second sub-question through a lens of discursive Othering.

3. Methodology

3.1 Data

The corpus for Chapter 4 was compiled in line with the definition offered by McEnery et al. (2006: 5): a corpus is 'a collection of (1) *machine-readable* (2) *authentic* texts […] which is (3) *sampled* to be (4) *representative* of a particular language or language variety (emphasis in original). Machine-readability and authenticity are easily achieved in the case of electronically available news articles.[45] Following other corpus-informed CDS research in New Zealand (Greenbank 2014; Salahshour 2017), articles were first sourced from Newztext (The Knowledge Basket 2019), an online repository of New Zealand newspapers. Initially the ten most widely circulated newspapers were considered, as I expected articles in regional papers might offer relevant data. It became apparent, however, that articles about migrant sex work in these smaller publications were almost all duplicated from one of the three largest daily papers, so following Greenbank (2014), I limited my data collection to these: the *New Zealand Herald* (NZH), *The Press* (TP) and the *Dominion Post* (DP). Information on these publications is summarised in Table 2.

Table 2.

[45] Although, as Mautner (2016: 162) points out, satisfying the machine-readability requirement necessarily inflicts a semiotic reduction on the data by excluding multimodal information (van Leeuwen 2015) which may compromise the texts' authenticity. See Chapter 8 for further discussion of the images accompanying articles.

New Zealand print media publications

Publication	City	Circulation (Sept 2018)	Owned by	Founded
The New Zealand Herald	Auckland	108,790	NZME	1863
The Press	Christchurch	43,225	Fairfax	1861
The Dominion Post	Wellington	42,703	Fairfax	2002

Note. Taken from New Zealand Audit Bureau of Circulations 2018

Within these newspapers, a top-down sampling technique (Mautner 2016: 163) was used, based on the criterion that the texts should reference sex workers. The search terms were therefore *sex work** and *prostitut**[46], which returned any and all articles containing either or both of these terms in any context, creating a 'specialised' corpus: texts of a particular genre which refer to a specific topic (Baker 2006: 26). A preliminary survey of data from the regional *Bay of Plenty Times* (owned by NZME) had identified several syndicated articles relating to migrant sex workers, that were credited to NZH and although not apparent in the Newztext dataset[47], they were published on the NZH website. Alerted to the fact that potentially not all relevant articles had been returned in the original search, I retrieved further items by entering *sex work* and *prostitute* in the NZH website's search tool, and added the resulting articles (from within the date range of my study) to the corpus, until I felt confident that I had coverage of all relevant articles, satisfying the final criterion of representativeness. The same issue did not arise for other publications; after checking *Stuff* (the Fairfax NZ online news outlet) I was confident there were no online articles that did not also appear in TP and/or DP.

To avoid duplication of articles appearing in both TP and DP, these were collapsed into a single Fairfax sub-corpus, which additionally gives a combined readership figure closer to that of NZH. Newztext search results from the Sunday editions of the newspapers were collapsed with their daily counterparts: NZH's *Herald on Sunday* and Fairfax's *Sunday Star Times*. While Sunday papers may present stylistic differences (e.g., longer form, human interest-style articles), a comparative analysis of daily and weekend papers is not my aim here, and the collapsing was done in parallel across the two outlets to maintain consistency.[48]

The final search spanned 1 January 2017 to 5 March 2019. This period continues from where Easterbrook-Smith's (2018) data on sex workers in New Zealand media (2010-2016) left off, and ends at the date of collection in order to provide as current a picture as possible. The period also includes the fifteenth anniversary of decriminalisation (Prostitution Reform Act 2003) and captures a number of key events surrounding sex work (see below), while producing an appropriate number of articles and words for a study of this scope. My inclusion of letters to the editor in the corpus recognises the legitimation of the views they express,

[46] Terms with stars search for all words with the given root, for example *prostitut** returns results containing *prostitute*, *prostitution*, *prostituted* etc.

[47] A check of the relevant dates in online news database PressReader confirmed that these articles had not been published in the print version of NZH.

[48] A contrastive analysis of the different papers is not my aim either, however it is worth noting that New Zealand newspapers are primarily delineated by region; their political distinctions are less clearly defined than in other countries where certain outlets are known to reflect variously conservative or progressive views.

and therefore their contribution to discourse, afforded by their publication in newspapers (Richardson 2001: 148). The final dataset is summarised in Table 3.[49]

Table 3

The corpus

	Articles (% of total)	**Occurrences of *prostitut**[50]**	**Occurrences of *sex work****	**Words (% of total)**
NZH	220 (41%)	312	344	139,236 (39%)
Fairfax	312 (59%)	433	462	215,095 (61%)
Total	532 (100%)	745	806	354,331 (100%)

Following Hunt and Hubbard (2015), metadata (reporter name where possible, date of publication, newspaper section, photo and reporting credits) was deleted as this could cloud the corpus results.[51] Remaining were headlines, subheadings (reporter names are sometimes embedded in these), body and photo captions. This cleaning process allowed me to skim through the data and identify broad trends. Several events/topics emerged as key, with recurrent articles addressing them:

- A residential brothel in Auckland upsets neighbours; it is suggested that the sex workers are migrants (August-September 2018)
- Sex work added to skilled employment list by Immigration New Zealand (INZ) then removed (April-May 2018)
- Deportation of 27 migrant sex workers in INZ 'crackdown' (June 2018)
- New Zealand citizen sex workers, led by Lisa Lewis, lodge complaint with INZ about migrant sex worker advertisements (April 2018) and write open letter to the Government rejecting the New Zealand Prostitutes Collective (NZPC) and calling for Minister of Prostitution (June 2018)
- Concern about human trafficking and exploitation of migrant workers in general (April 2018)
- Tensions between street based sex workers and residents in Christchurch (ongoing)
- Trial of Sainey Marong over 2016 murder of Christchurch sex worker Renée Duckmanton (February-July 2018)
- Catherine Healy, national coordinator of the NZPC, awarded a damehood in the Queen's Birthday Honours (June 2018)
- Not For Sale fundraising campaign run by NZH and World Vision to prevent 'exploitation of girls in Asia' (September-November 2018)
- Anti-sex trafficking legislation in US causing ban of websites sex workers use to advertise (April 2018)

[49] As the proposed research uses publicly available electronic data whose creators 'would realistically be aware of its availability to third parties', it does not require review by the Human Ethics Committee (Victoria University of Wellington 2018: 4-5; 10).

[50] Excluding occurrences of *New Zealand Prostitutes Collective* or *Prostitution Reform Act*. These uses of *prostitut** as part of a proper noun unit arguably do not contribute to discursive constructions of sex workers in the same way as other uses do; including them would skew the impression given by frequency of *prostitut** in comparison to *sex work**.

[51] Newztext presents results with this information for every article; if this metadata was left in, words such as *herald*, *news*, or particular reporter names would likely appear as keywords in the corpus analysis since they occur so frequently.

- Focus on the rise of sugaring in New Zealand (late 2018-early 2019)
- Allegations involving US President Donald Trump and Russian sex workers (April 2018)
- Scandal surrounding Oxfam staff accessing services of sex workers (February 2018)

These key issues provide the contextualisation that quality corpus linguistics (CL) requires (Mautner 2016: 173), that is, the corpus analysis is guided by an understanding of the broader discursive and societal context in which the articles were written. The first five items on the list are most relevant to my overarching research question about migrant sex workers; articles relating to these topics are central to the analyses in Chapters 5 and 6 (see Appendix for a numbered list of these). Further categories in the corpus include crime reporting (usually where a sex worker has been killed or violently assaulted), and articles about homelessness or drug abuse.

More articles still had unrelated topics but mentioned one of the search terms in passing. Such articles are not irrelevant to the analysis; on the contrary, I argue that the ways sex workers are talked about – or often simply *used* for effect – when they are not the focus of attention can be particularly revealing of ideologies around sex work, whereas more care might be expected to be taken when they are in focus. The in-passing references in the corpus tend to associate sex workers with a sense of urban decay (examples 1-2), petty criminal behaviour and disadvantage (3-4), or otherwise negatively (5). These themes echo findings of previous studies around sex work in the media, such as containment narratives (Hallgrímsdóttir et al. 2008) which position sex workers as a problem in need of control, and those that construct workers as urban pests threatening social hygiene. The inclusion of these articles with in-passing mentions in the CL analysis, in line with Greenbank (2014), captures a better picture of the broader media discourse around sex workers.

(1) …the complex attracted squatters and prostitutes and was vandalised and tagged (TP, 17 Apr 2018, 'No sign of hotel redevelopment')

(2) …one of Canada's worst neighbourhoods characterised by high rates of violent crime, prostitution, drugs and alcohol (NZH, 15 Jul 2017, 'Artist shuns "stable" life for path through back streets')

(3) Depardieu began running with bad company early on, hanging out with prostitutes before himself working as a rent boy (TP, 1 Sept 2018, 'French cinema's leading man is accused of rape')

(4) Sexually abused as a child, she turned to prostitution in her teens and became addicted to meth (DP, 30 Sept 2017, 'I want to fix the streets I poisoned')

(5) She said: 'I felt like a prostitute, an utter disappointment.' (DP, 24 Oct 2017, 'Movie director faces sex claims')

Interestingly, in-passing mentions appear to favour the term *prostitute* as opposed to *sex worker*. A key tenet of CDS is the understanding that language is not neutral; the choice of using one word over another is frequently an ideological one (Stubbs 1996: 107), whether conscious or not (Baker 2006: 48). The lexical choice between *sex worker* and *prostitute* can reveal a political stance, as Hunt and Hubbard (2015) indeed concluded in their corpus analysis of South African newspapers. *Prostitute* carries heavy negative connotations

(Pheterson 1993), with dictionary definitions of the verb including 'to sell oneself, talents or integrity for low or unworthy purposes' (Collins 2019) and 'to devote to corrupt purposes; debase' (Merriam-Webster 2019). As Law (1999: 525) puts it, 'the word "prostitution" both describes and condemns'. Further, the common use of *prostituted* as an adjective – as in *prostituted women*, the term abolitionist feminists such as Julie Bindel (2018) use to describe sex workers – suggests prostitution is something done *to* a person, rather than an agentive act. For these reasons, many sex workers consider *prostitute* to be a slur (Easterbrook-Smith 2018: 26), preferring *sex worker*[52] as a term that emphasises their agency (the suffix *-er* denoting a person who acts) and their labour (Smith & Mac 2018). Considering the contrasting ideologies underpinning each term, the use of *prostitute* in the media may index a hostile stance towards sex workers, and using the terms interchangeably, as many articles do, neglects to appreciate their different political connotations.

3.2 Methods

Corpus-informed CDS is a mixed-methods approach; using at least two different methods to arrive at similar findings provides warranting for interpretations. My analysis is divided into three chapters: Chapter 4 presents the CL analysis, taking as its data the entire corpus described above. I use the freely available CL software AntConc (Anthony 2018), used in similar studies (Greenbank 2014; Hunt & Hubbard 2015). The CL tools of frequency, keywords, collocations and concordances provide mostly quantitative measures to indicate salient trends across the dataset and illuminate the semantic prosody attached to the search terms.

The subsequent two chapters each analyse a subset of the corpus, focusing on articles specifically relating to migrant sex workers. These articles are referred to in the analysis by numbers; see Appendix 1 for a numbered list of these. In Chapter 5 I present an analysis of Voice, following the methods of Barclay and Liu (2003), to look quantitatively and qualitatively at the amount of speech attributed to different social actors, as a measure of agency and representation afforded to them. In Chapter 6 I draw on the various tools of the discourse-historical approach (DHA), set out by Reisigl and Wodak (2016), in an in-depth qualitative analysis of the various ways in which migrant sex workers are constructed as Other in the data. This detailed method places great emphasis on the importance of context in discourse analysis, and distinguishes four levels thereof: text-internal; intertextual and interdiscursive; social and institutional; and broader socio-political and historical (Weiss & Wodak 2003: 22). For example, to situate the data in an interdiscursive context I link the salient themes to wider sex work Discourses identified by previous research, such as contagion narratives, while the list of key topics and events identified earlier in this chapter form the socio-political and historical context. I also highlight the particular discursive strategies (nomination, predication, argumentation and perspectivisation), established by the DHA (Reisigl & Wodak 2016: 33), that the articles use to Other migrant sex workers. These methods are demonstrated in greater detail alongside the analysis in the following chapters.

4. Corpus analysis

[52] The term *sex work* was coined in 1978 by US sex worker and activist Carol Leigh (Smith & Mac 2018: 1).

4.1 Introduction

As discussed in my review of the relevant literature, using corpus linguistic (CL) methods within the critical approach is a useful way to gain quantitative insights into a large range of data, revealing the linguistic patterns that point to the existence of wider Discourses (Baker 2006: 13; Baker & McEnery 2005: 98). In this chapter I present the findings from the CL analysis, using the tools of frequency, keywords, collocations and concordances. This chapter takes as its data the entire corpus of articles from the search period containing either of the terms *sex work** or *prostitut**, in order to capture the widest discursive context in which sex workers are referred to. As mentioned in Chapter 3, this means most of the 532 articles do not specifically discuss migrant sex workers; that smaller set alone would provide fewer than the minimum 25,000 words recommended for a corpus analysis (Baker et al. 2008: 275). I begin by asking what discursive trends around sex workers *in general* emerge via corpus techniques, with a later emphasis on the patterns that relate specifically to migrant sex work.

4.2 Frequency and keywords

Measuring lexical frequency is a helpful starting point for corpus analysis. To generate a frequency word list, the CL software AntConc compiles a list of every word in the corpus and ranks them by how many times they occur. The resulting high-frequency words tend to be function words such as prepositions and articles. Since these are largely not relevant to understanding discursive patterns, following Baker (2006: 54) the function words were manually removed from the list in order to provide a clearer picture. The remaining content words are presented in Table 4.

High-frequency words indicate salient semantic domains in the corpus (Hunt & Hubbard 2015); Table 4 suggest these domains surround sex, New Zealand, (sex) work(ers), women and police. However, the list also includes words (*says*, *said*, *told*) that would naturally be expected to occur frequently in news articles which report the views of informants. A stronger statistical measure of saliency is provided by keyness (Baker 2006: 125). This tool calculates how likely a word is to occur in the corpus under investigation compared to a reference corpus, with the resulting top keywords indicating the 'aboutness' of the corpus (Baker 2006: 127). Because news discourse is a specific genre, it was decided to use a corpus of news articles rather than a general corpus such as the British National Corpus (Baker 2006: 43; McEnery et al. 2006: 15). This comparability helps account for words that occur frequently in news texts, in order to indicate what is 'key' in this particular corpus compared to news discourse generally. The reference corpus used here was a file of 628,736 words compiled from online news articles, downloaded from the frequently-used and freely available Leipzig Corpora Collection (Deutscher Wortschatz 2018) and imported into AntConc. The top 25 keywords in my corpus are given in Table 5.

Table 4

Frequency word list

Rank	Freq	Word

1	1895	said
2	1461	sex
3	1054	new
4	868	people
5	709	year
6	683	years
7	678	says
8	661	police
9	648	time
10	645	work
11	640	zealand
12	579	workers
13	527	women
14	503	life
15	494	first
16	406	woman
17	400	told
18	388	back
19	386	found
20	380	old
21	370	day
22	369	sexual
23	356	prostitutes
24	344	family
25	344	made

Table 5

Keyword list

Rank	Freq	Keyness	Keyword
1	1461	+2426.79	sex
2	2579	+1540.69	her
3	2660	+1296.95	she
4	640	+1148.52	zealand
5	4464	+870.04	was
6	579	+717.74	workers
7	356	+680.04	prostitutes
8	323	+583.39	prostitution
9	1783	+550.24	had
10	270	+520.8	christchurch
11	255	+473.55	auckland
12	235	+463.95	marong
13	369	+449.51	sexual
14	188	+371.15	prostitute
15	251	+359.01	worker
16	2986	+329.48	he
17	661	+297.48	police
18	527	+293.43	women
19	406	+293.13	woman
20	146	+288.22	duckmanton
21	147	+279.14	brothel
22	131	+239.71	wellington
23	131	+214.93	trafficking

24	206	+205.19	murder
25	106	+198.84	healy

The keywords *sex(ual)*, *worker(s)*, *prostitute(s)/tion*, *brothel* and *healy*, as well as *zealand*, *christchurch*, *auckland* and *wellington* indicate the corpus is 'about' sex work in New Zealand (Healy being the surname of the director of the New Zealand Prostitutes Collective). Four of the top keywords (*her*, *she*, *women* and *woman*) directly index femininity, while only one indexes masculinity (*he*). This may suggest the corpus is gendered in some way: when talking about sex workers we are talking about women, which corresponds with the historical and persisting notion of the gendered nature of the sex industry (McLaughlin 1991), and aligns with the finding of McEnery and H. Baker (2017: 169) that 17th-century prostitution discourse was gendered feminine. There is also a thread of crime-related terms such as *police* and *murder*; *marong* and *duckmanton* are the perpetrator and victim names respectively in the case of a murdered sex worker. Terms relating to immigration do not feature as top keywords, likely because they also occur frequently in the reference corpus in reporting about migrants in general, although *trafficking* does, suggesting salience of both migration and sex work.

4.3 Collocations

Collocations, defined as the 'above-chance frequent co-occurrence of two words within a pre-determined span' (Baker et al. 2008: 278), are a key measure of the linguistic patterns in a corpus that lead to the identification of the Discourses underlying it (Baker 2006: 13). This is because frequent collocations contribute to semantic prosody (Louw 1993; Baker et al. 2008: 278), or how the 'connotational meaning of one word can be passed on to its frequent collocates' (Louw 2000: 9). For example, while the lemma *cause* is theoretically neutral in isolation, it has been shown to overwhelmingly occur in relation to negatively evaluated events (Stubbs 2001: 65), creating a negative aura around the word itself (Louw 1993: 157).[53]

Tables 6 and 7 present the top 25 collocates of *sex work** and *prostitut** respectively, to five words on either side of the search term, following Sinclair (1991: 170). Collocates are ranked by Mutual Information (MI) score (following Hunt & Hubbard 2015), an AntConc calculation which favours low frequency words in order to measure the likelihood of the collocate, with scores of 3 or more deemed statistically significant (Baker 2006: 101). This test can however favour low frequency words too strongly, assigning high scores to words that may only occur alongside the search term once (2006: 102). It was therefore decided to set a minimum frequency of 5 in order to avoid these less relevant collocates. It was also determined that the collocates *collective*, *reform*, *act* and *nzpc* were best removed from the list, as their high MI score arises predominantly from frequent occurrence of the phrases 'New Zealand Prostitutes Collective' and 'Prostitution Reform Act'. These uses of *prostitut** as part of an unanalysed, proper name unit are not in focus here as they arguably do not contribute to the semantic prosody of the term in the way other uses do. Including these collocates would overstate their importance and skew the result.

[53] Some scholars distinguish *semantic prosody* from *discourse prosody* and some use the terms interchangeably. The differences are rather technical; in this discussion I refer only to semantic prosody for reasons of clarity. Another related concept is *semantic preference*, which is less relevant here. See Baker (2006: 86-8) for a more detailed explanation of the distinctions between these three terms.

Table 6

Collocates of sex work*

Rank	Freq	MI	Collocate
1	5	7.93607	larissa
2	10	7.35111	tensions
3	5	7.25800	occupational
4	8	7.12872	lisa
5	8	7.02918	skilled
6	33	6.93607	migrant
7	70	6.74343	based
8	7	6.74343	abel
9	5	6.67304	restrictions
10	9	6.58244	lewis
11	15	6.31940	asian
12	6	6.27311	prices
13	10	6.21361	stigma
14	5	6.17054	advocate
15	79	6.10030	street
16	5	6.01007	strategy
17	5	6.01007	chat
18	14	5.98854	foreign
19	8	5.93607	korean
20	29	5.89924	illegal
21	6	5.82060	suspected
22	26	5.81633	rights
23	12	5.79301	renee
24	7	5.78912	murdering
25	9	5.71357	escort

Table 7

Collocates of prostitut*

Rank	Freq	MI	Collocate
1	5	9.97297	decriminalising
2	9	9.68347	decriminalised
3	5	9.29490	gambling
4	20	9.29490	coordinator
5	9	9.14290	legalised
6	5	9.12497	preventing
7	13	9.02956	prevent
8	5	8.83547	bylaws
9	29	8.72243	catherine
10	7	8.69286	soliciting
11	5	8.48754	regulate
12	5	8.48754	allegation
13	22	8.28266	areas
14	29	8.08949	forced
15	5	8.04697	pimps
16	22	7.98946	residential
17	30	7.98504	illegal

18	26	7.94549	healy
19	10	7.93735	underage
20	5	7.83547	motel
21	5	7.77134	ring
22	5	7.77134	lewis
23	6	7.75058	review
24	8	7.72504	involving
25	5	7.70994	decriminalisation

To understand the Discourses underlying these results, the collocates can be categorised by the contexts in which they appear. Using the list of key topics and events in the corpus in Chapter 3, these contexts were identified by examining the concordance lines for the collocations. Several collocates in these lists refer to specific people (NZPC coordinator Catherine Healy, Hamilton sex worker Lisa Lewis and murdered sex worker Renée Larissa Duckmanton). A strong category of collocate arises from numerous articles in the corpus discussing community debate over street-based sex work in Christchurch: *tensions*, *street*, *based*, *restrictions* and *prices* collocate with *sex work**, while *prevent(ing)*, *bylaws*, *regulate*, *areas*, *residential* and *soliciting* collocate with *prostitut**. Some of these words (*restrictions*, *prevent(ing)*, *bylaws*, *regulate*) belong to a semantic field of control, in a link to containment narratives (Hallgrímsdóttir et al. 2006, 2008) that suggests sex work is constructed in this corpus as a problem causing 'tension' and requiring regulation and restriction by authorities. This Discourse has a long history, with McEnery and H. Baker (2017: 169) reporting that in data from Early Modern English *whore* collocates consistently with terms relating to those exercising control over sex workers.

Some of the collocates of *sex work** suggest a more rights-based approach (*stigma*, *advocate*, *rights*) and professional language (*occupational*, *skilled*, *escort*). This aligns with an understanding of sex work as a legitimate form of labour in capitalist societies (Smith & Mac 2018), and supports Hunt and Hubbard's (2015: 41) finding that the lexical choice of *sex work** as opposed to *prostitut** is associated with human rights Discourse. *Legalise* and *decriminalis(e/ed/ing)* collocate with *prostitut**, predominantly in the context of articles' explanations of the function of the Prostitution Reform Act. Other collocates of *prostitut** suggest petty criminality or seediness (*gambling*, *soliciting*, *motel*, *pimps*), and more serious crimes (*forced*, *ring*, *underage*, *murdering*, *allegation*, *suspected*). By routinely referring to sex work within contexts of criminality and danger, the discourse creates a semantic link which may prime the reader to associate the two concepts (Hoey 2005), as argued by Hunt and Hubbard (2015: 41) who similarly found collocations between *prostitut** and *forced*, *underage*, *murder* and *illegal* in their corpus analysis of South African newspapers.

This semantic association with criminality is bolstered by the strong collocation of *illegal* with both search terms (30 occurrences with *prostitut** and 29 with *sex work**), suggesting an influence of culpability narratives (Hallgrímsdóttir et al. 2006; 2008) which construct sex workers as criminals. Because sex work is decriminalised in New Zealand, the use of *illegal* might be expected to refer to those excluded from decriminalisation, i.e. migrants. This suspicion is confirmed by examining the co-occurrences as they appear in context, which include 'foreign, illegal prostitutes' and 'illegal migrant sex workers' (discussed further in the concordance analysis below). A semantic field of foreignness arises in the top collocates of *sex work** (*migrant*, *foreign*, *asian*, *korean*), which, along with *illegal*, suggest the corpus is

significantly concerned with migrant sex work. As this is the central topic of the current study, in the following section I use concordance analysis to focus specifically on discourse around migrant sex work in the corpus.

4.4 Concordances

Examining occurrences of a particular term alongside its immediate co-text can help to identify repeated patterns of language use and understand how semantic prosodies develop through repetition. The concordance tool (also called Key Word In Context) in AntConc provides a list of occurrences of either a single search term, or of collocations between two items, presented in the adjacent context. Since the collocation analysis found a strong link between *illegal* and *prostitut**, I examined the concordance lines for this collocation, reproduced in Figure 1 (words in analytical focus are underlined for clarity). When these terms co-occur, a semantic field emerges of nationality, immigration and its associated controls: *Asian*, *Chinese*, *foreign*, *migrant*, *temporary*, *visas*, *Kiwis*, *New Zealanders*, *local*, *deportation*, *outnumbered*, *Immigration*, *INZ*, *police*, *crackdown* and *raids*. This strengthens the association between *sex work** and nationality found in the collocation analysis, suggesting the semantic fields of illegality and immigration are linked.

This argument is triangulated by the concordance lines for the collocation between *foreign* and *sex work** (Figure 2). Here, there are several references to *illegal(ly)*, as well as other terms indirectly indexing criminality such as *suspected*. These repeated co-occurrences between the semantic domains of sex work, illegality and immigration arguably work to associate these concepts in the reader's mind through semantic prosody (Baker 2006: 87). The high frequency of *foreign* is notable considering its xenophobic undertones in immigration discourse (Salahshour 2017: 167) and the existence of an alternative in the (somewhat) more neutral *migrant*. As with the interchangeable use of *prostitut** and *sex work** despite those terms' different political connotations, articles appear to use *migrant* and *foreign* as synonyms. This echoes Baker et al's (2008: 287) finding that terms for distinct groups (refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants) are used as near synonyms.

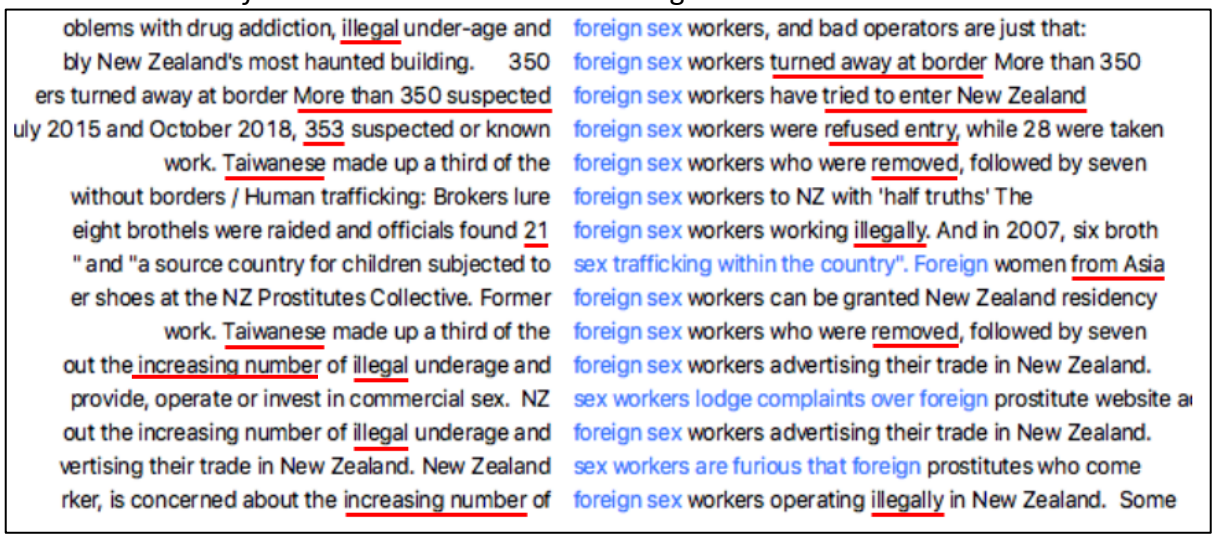
Figure 1

*Concordance lines for the collocation between illegal and prostitut**

her opposition to the current US administration.	Illegal prostitutes working 'terrified' The one occupation forbidden
herine Healy said pimps had "almighty power" over	illegal migrant prostitutes. Some illegal workers had been served
cation of the Immigration Act, section 19, in the	Prostitution Reform Act deems it illegal for any temporary
hedonistic heyday was the 1980s, and 90s - when	prostitution was illegal - but a series of vanishings and
I spoke to likened golf in China to	prostitution. That's illegal, too. But there are still
progressing initiatives to resolve the concerns. "	Prostitution is not illegal in New Zealand and there
y police in Singapore and accused of facilitating	illegal prostitution in Malaysia. Sugar dating is where an
about the company in South East Asian states.	Prostitution itself is not illegal in Singapore, but prostitution
e criminalised. Soliciting and brothels were also	illegal in Malaysia, and prostitution activities were punishable with
. For people in New Zealand on student visas,	prostitution is illegal. Sugar relationships may also breach temporary
boo in the conservative, Muslim-majority country.	Prostitution is illegal. Trump 'ordered Cohen to lie to
New Zealanders have been able to work as	prostitutes since 2003, it is illegal for people on temporary
down on illegal trade An Immigration crackdown on	illegal prostitution has resulted in the deportation and voluntary
. Although Kiwis have been able to work as	prostitutes since 2003, it is illegal for people on temporary
he was "not against" officials cracking down on	illegal prostitutes but he believed most raids were being
how local sex workers could help to end	illegal prostitution. Immigration confirmed it had received allegation
hristchurch sex worker Amber O'Hara said foreign,	illegal prostitutes now outnumbered New Zealanders in the industry
NZPC for using taxpayer money to "knowingly aid"	illegal prostitution. New Zealand legislation specifically excludes mi
both the ministry and NZPC are knowingly aiding	illegal forms of prostitution in New Zealand, and using
also been dancing, took her to a club.	Prostitution is illegal in most parts of the US,
the view that random raids on brothels were	illegal. The Prostitution Reform Act 2003 had made it legal
to New Zealand. But they were not told	prostitution was illegal for people here on work, visitor,
the illegal service is wrong." She said the	illegal prostitutes have an edge also because they were
against" INZ and the police cracking down on	illegal prostitutes but believed most raids were being conducted
of 10 times the cops don't have one."	Illegal prostitution crackdown: 27 Asian sex workers deported Chinese
e. An Immigration New Zealand (INZ) crackdown on	illegal prostitution has resulted in the deportation and voluntary
. Although New Zealanders are able to work as	prostitutes since 2003, it is illegal for people on temporary
sher stance against migrant sex workers. Although	prostitution is decriminalised, it is illegal for temporary migrants,

Figure 2

Concordance lines for the collocation between foreign *and* sex work*



oblems with drug addiction, illegal under-age and	foreign sex workers, and bad operators are just that:
bly New Zealand's most haunted building. 350	foreign sex workers turned away at border More than 350
ers turned away at border More than 350 suspected	foreign sex workers have tried to enter New Zealand
uly 2015 and October 2018, 353 suspected or known	foreign sex workers were refused entry, while 28 were taken
work. Taiwanese made up a third of the	foreign sex workers who were removed, followed by seven
without borders / Human trafficking: Brokers lure	foreign sex workers to NZ with 'half truths' The
eight brothels were raided and officials found 21	foreign sex workers working illegally. And in 2007, six broth
" and "a source country for children subjected to	sex trafficking within the country". Foreign women from Asia
er shoes at the NZ Prostitutes Collective. Former	foreign sex workers can be granted New Zealand residency
work. Taiwanese made up a third of the	foreign sex workers who were removed, followed by seven
out the increasing number of illegal underage and	foreign sex workers advertising their trade in New Zealand.
provide, operate or invest in commercial sex. NZ	sex workers lodge complaints over foreign prostitute website a
out the increasing number of illegal underage and	foreign sex workers advertising their trade in New Zealand.
vertising their trade in New Zealand. New Zealand	sex workers are furious that foreign prostitutes who come
rker, is concerned about the increasing number of	foreign sex workers operating illegally in New Zealand. Some

Figure 3

Concordance lines for temporary

fied' The one occupation forbidden for those with	temporary work visas is leaving some migrants very vulnerab
reports. Migrant prostitutes working illegally on	temporary visas are "terrified" they will be deported if
. Sex work is the only occupation migrants on	temporary visas are not legally allowed to take up.
However, migrants who have entered the country on	temporary work, visitor, holiday or international student v
all sex workers in New Zealand were on	temporary visas. She and other women sex workers were
all of the prostitutes were working illegally on	temporary visas, she said. One woman working on a
sociology study. Half of them were here on	temporary visas. Most of the illegal sex workers told
just be told to stop sex work?" Often	temporary migrants, particularly international students, we
Prostitution Reform Act deems it illegal for any	temporary migrant to work as a prostitute or invest
want to be identified said prostitutes working on	temporary visas knew it was illegal, but they were
ew Zealand's prostitutes are working illegally on	temporary visas. Catherine Healy says pimps have huge powe
Shiite cleric who she said had sought a	temporary marriage with her, a tradition in Shiite communit
tation. The Prostitution Reform Act 2003 bans any	temporary visa holder in this country from performing sexua
ved deportation liability notices to 38 people on	temporary visas who were found to be engaging in
titutes Collective says the law barring people on	temporary visas from engaging in sex work is discriminatory
e said. The Prostitution Reform Act 2003 bans any	temporary visa holder in this country from performing sexua
manger Peter Devoy said the agency was aware	temporary migrants who breached their visa conditions by wo
change the "discriminatory" law to allow those on	temporary visas to engage in sex work. Catherine Healy
fore travelling. In the same period, 38 people on	temporary visas were found to be engaging in sex
9 of the Prostitution Reform Act, which prohibits	temporary migrants working as prostitutes. Sex work is lega
on New Zealand that such relationships may breach	temporary visa conditions for international students and ri
the law, it was illegal for people on	temporary visas to provide commercial sexual services. Immi
service and would be a breach of a	temporary visa. Immigration also said there was no visa
n is illegal. Sugar relationships may also breach	temporary visa conditions and students risk being deported,
ules for international students or any migrant on	temporary visas to legally work in the sex industry.
n liability notices were served on 38 people with	temporary visas and 27 have been deported - either by force
minister." The letter claimed migrants coming on	temporary visas to work as prostitutes were "taking money
ostitutes since 2003, it is illegal for people on	temporary visas to do sex work. "NZPC's current
ostitutes since 2003, it is illegal for people on	temporary visas to do sex work. Taiwanese made up
iability notices have been served on 38 people on	temporary visas found to be providing commercial sexual ser
$1m programme used 'from time to time' by	temporary visa holders Illegal sex workers are accessing a
egislation specifically excludes migrants holding	temporary visas from being able to lawfully work in

The frequent occurrence of *temporary* in the concordances for *illegal* and *prostitut** encourages examination of the concordances for this term, shown in Figure 3. Again, a semantic field of law, transgression and control emerges: *breach*, *forbidden*, *deported*, *illegal(ly)*, *deems it illegal*, *law barring*, *bans*, *excludes*, *served*, *deportation liability notices*, and *breached their visa conditions*. These words are associated with legal discourse (Eades 2008), perhaps because 'temporary visa' is the terminology the Prostitution Reform Act uses for those prohibited from working in the sex industry. *Illegal** and *temporary* are strong collocates (MI score 9.53, frequency 15), again creating a link between migrant status and illegality. These three concordance examples reveal the prevalence of other dimensions of immigration discourse in the corpus, with their emphasis on numbers of migrants: *350 foreign sex workers*, *21 foreign sex workers*, *27 Asian sex workers*, *38 people on temporary visas*, *increasing number*, and *outnumbered*. Baker et al. (2008: 286) identified 'numbers' as a dominant category of collocate associated with refugees, and the dehumanising effect of this quantification has been attested by CDS scholars (Baker & McEnery 2005; Rheindorf & Wodak 2018). Other categories identified by Baker et al. (2008: 286) are also evident in these concordances: 'entry and return' (*refused entry*, *tried to enter*, *removed*, *deported*) and 'provenance' (*Taiwanese*, *Chinese*, *Asian*, *from Asia*).

Contrasting this emphasis on criminality and migrant influx is the Discourse of vulnerability that also emerges. *Trafficking* was found to be a keyword in the corpus (*traffick** occurs 164 times in total), and although it does not appear in the top 25 collocates for either search term, it has significant MI scores as a collocate of the search terms (3.71 as a collocate of *sex work** and 6.40 for *prostitut**). This suggests a significant strand of sex work discourse in New Zealand is concerned with trafficking; it therefore merits some attention. The collocates for *traffick** include *exploitation* (MI score 8.68), *forced* (7.67), *slavery* (8.46), *victims* (7.14), *child* (7.65), *girls* (6.98), *women* (5.37), *suspected* (8.71), *prevent* (8.36), *scale* (8.96) and *millions* (8.42). These suggest people who are trafficked belong to vulnerable populations (*child*, *girls*, *women*) that lack agency (*forced*, *slavery*, *victims*), while *scale* and *millions* suggest trafficking is occurring on a large scale. A semantic field of vulnerability and passivity also arises in the collocates of *migrant*, constructing migrants as acted upon: *deceived* (11.88), *exploitation* (8.98), *vulnerable* (8.76) and *concerns* (8.53); however other collocates such as *illegal* (9.18), *ban* (8.65) and *authorities* (8.64) speak more to the discourse of legality (Baker et al. 2008: 286) discussed above.

The dual Discourses of illegality and vulnerability evident in the corpus results align with a consistent finding in other literature on sex work discourse: sex workers are routinely constructed as both deviant criminals and passive victims (Easterbrook-Smith 2018; Hallgrímsdóttir et al. 2006; Hoefinger & Srun 2017; Majic 2014; McLaughlin 1991). Criminal constructions in this corpus are perhaps assisted through the priming of readers (Hoey 2005) to associate sex work with crime, by regularly situating prostitution within contexts of (petty) criminality and delinquency, and drawing on containment narratives to construct sex workers as a problem requiring restriction. Also apparent is anti-immigration discourse, evident in the preoccupation with Asian nationalities and 'foreignness' of migrant sex workers, the numbers in which they enter New Zealand, and the control over them exercised by immigration authorities. These salient domains within which sex workers are situated indicate an overall negative semantic prosody attached to sex workers in New Zealand media. The trends identified by CL tools provide a starting point for Chapter 6's qualitative analysis of how the media discursively Others migrant sex workers. First, however, in the following chapter I present an analysis of Voice to illustrate one way in which the discourse denies migrant sex workers agency.

5. Voice

As van Dijk (1996: 91-4) points out, minority groups are frequently the object of public discourse, but have little control over their representations in it. Due to unequal distribution of *access* to discourse (van Dijk 1996), this means speakers from minority groups are less quoted in the media than members of more powerful groups (van Dijk 1991), which affords them less opportunity to participate in the construction of their own identities and narratives (Baker 2006: 74). When they are quoted, their viewpoints are often framed in terms of suspicion and distance (Teo 2000: 18). Building on Fairclough's notion of 'voices' (1995: 14), the concept of Voice is useful here. Analysing the distribution of attributed speech can provide a measure of the access (van Dijk 1996), representation (Coupland 2010) and agency (Ahearn 2001) afforded to different social actors in media discourse. It can also give an indication of what the discourse-historical approach terms *perspectivisation strategies*, which consider whose views and perspectives are represented in discourse (Reisigl & Wodak 2016:

32). Media publications, wielding significant political power – what Carvalho (2008: 168) calls 'framing power' – position themselves in alignment with views of those they give Voice to (Baker et al. 2008; Reisigl & Wodak 2016); by privileging majority perspectives over marginalised ones, they contribute to the reproduction of structural inequalities.

Acknowledging this link between Voice and agency, several CDS scholars have measured the perspective afforded to marginalised groups in media discourse. Baker et al. (2008) argue that refugees are provided little space in British news texts about them. Teo (2000) reports that in news items concerning issues in the Sydney Vietnamese community, less than a quarter of quotes are attributed to Vietnamese people, in favour of White 'expert' voices. In media reporting of the 1995 occupation by Māori of Pakaitore/Moutua Gardens in Whanganui, Barclay and Liu (2003) demonstrate that Māori voices are outweighed by Pākehā, while for New Zealand news articles about refugees, Greenbank (2014) found that only a quarter of the total words of represented discourse in her corpus are attributed to refugees. Teo (2000) and Greenbank (2014) both connect lack of Voice to the media's Othering of marginalised groups. Using a simplified version of Barclay and Liu's (2003) method, in this section I present an analysis of Voice in articles from the corpus about migrant sex workers, measured by number of words of quoted speech or 'discourse representation' (Fairclough 1995: 54).

5.1 Demonstrating Voice

To demonstrate the relevance of Voice, two example articles discussing migrant sex workers are presented in Figures 4 and 5, with the quoted discourse highlighted. Article (i) is about a group of New Zealand citizen sex workers expressing anger about their migrant counterparts; Article (ii) relates to a residential brothel – where the workers are coded as Asian migrants – arousing disquiet among neighbours. The content of these articles is not the primary focus here (both are analysed in more detail in Chapter 6), however the colours provide a visual impression of the overall distribution of Voice.

Figure 4

Discourse representation in example article (i)

NZ sex workers lodge complaints over foreign prostitute website advertisements
Lisa Lewis, a sex worker, is concerned about the increasing number of foreign sex workers operating illegally in New Zealand.
New Zealand sex workers are furious that foreign prostitutes who come on temporary visas can advertise their services here despite it being illegal for them to work.
High profile escort Lisa Lewis is one of several who have taken their complaints to Immigration New Zealand (INZ) and the Minister of Immigration Iain Lees-Galloway - calling for a harsher stance against migrant sex workers.
Although prostitution is decriminalised, it is illegal for temporary migrants, such as those on student or work visas, to provide sexual services in New Zealand.
"There are laws in place regarding who can and cannot work as a prostitute in New Zealand," Lewis said.
"But why is there no questions being asked when migrant sex workers advertise their services on websites and the back pages of newspapers here."
She wants INZ to shift its focus from just deporting migrant sex workers to punish those that profit from helping the promotion of these illegal sex workers.
Lewis said the increase in number of foreign prostitutes coming over has hit local sex workers in the pocket.
"Many of the girls no longer meet the same quota as they did a few years ago," she said.
These foreign girls were also offering services such as "natural" acts or unprotected sex, Lewis said, which is unlawful under prostitution laws here.
"These not only put their health and safety at risk, but also clients' health and safety at risk," she said.
Lewis, who has been involved in sex work for the last 10 years, said she has seen the number of advertisements by migrant prostitutes more than double over that time.
Some advertisements openly declare that the sex workers had "just arrived" or "here for a short time" along with their foreign nationalities. Others openly say they offer specials like "natural" sex acts.
Another sex worker, who spoke to the *Herald* on the condition of anonymity, said her income had halved from about $12,000 weekly to about $6000 in the last two years.
In 2015, a 27-year-old Korean sex worker who came to New Zealand and was caught by police after working for 20 days was found to have earned $32,875 over that time.
Police found she had 196 customers and charged up to $100 extra for special services, including unprotected sex.
"We can't compete with the type of services they offer, and besides it is illegal for us to do so," she said.
"But the fact is, every dollar that these migrant prostitutes make is a dollar taken from the back pockets of New Zealand working girls."
The Auckland-based sex worker is hoping the complaints will lead to stronger enforcement of the laws.
"The laws are there for a reason. What's the point of having them if they are not being policed," she added.
Amber Ohara, a sex worker from Christchurch, is calling for a sex worker registration system similar to the one in Victoria, Australia.
"There every sex worker must have a registration number showing on her advertisement or the advertiser gets fined," Ohara said.
"This would wipe out large numbers of the illegal ladies overnight."
INZ has received eight complaints in relation to migrants using the services of websites, including newzealandgirls.co.nz.
"The nature of the complaints were in relation to allegations that migrants were using these and other websites to advertise their services," said INZ spokeswoman Emma Murphy.
Murphy said the complaints had been made anonymously.
INZ said no investigation had been undertaken as a result of these allegations as there was "insufficient evidence to warrant further immigration action".
The *Herald* has approached newzealandgirls.co.nz for comments.

Figure 5

Discourse representation in example article (ii)

Northcote 'home brothel': Women 'sex workers' have moved out, neighbours say
Sex workers in a suspected home brothel under investigation by Auckland Council have moved out of the Northcote property, neighbours say.
The residential brothel at the top of a cul-de-sac is said to be operating with up to eight prostitutes, which is in breach of council rules.
A neighbour said the women were seen being moved out of the three-bedroom house from Monday.
A sign on the main gate, saying "opening hours from 8am to 7pm", had also been removed.
"If they have actually moved on then it's brilliant," the neighbour said.
"We're keeping an eye to make sure they don't move back in."
Residents living on the street had complained about security concerns and traffic congestion caused by the brothel operation.
Council compliance officers met residents on Tuesday.
Regulatory compliance manager Steve Pearce however would not say if the brothel had ceased operations.
"We're still investigating the compliance issues," Pearce said.
"There is nothing additional to add at this stage."
An occupant at the property, who denied the house was being used as a brothel, had earlier told the *Herald* it was a rental accommodation for international students from China.
Immigration New Zealand's acting general manager compliance, risk and intelligence services Jock Gilray said it would be against the rules for migrants on temporary visas, such as international students, to legally work in the sex industry.
Gilray said the agency did not have any investigation under way into activities at the Northcote address.
But he is urging anyone who knew if the women were being forced to work in New Zealand illegally to contact the agency on 0508 558855 or the Labour Inspectorate on 0800 209020, or contact Crimestoppers anonymously.
"Immigration NZ recognises that some migrants have been reluctant to come forward to report exploitative practices by employers," Gilray said.
"This has been particularly the case where the migrant is in breach of their visa condition or overstaying."
Under the Prostitution Reform Act, only New Zealand citizens and residents can legally work in the sex industry.
"INZ does not grant either residence or temporary entry visas to a person who has provided or intends to provide commercial sexual services," Gilray said.

Blue highlighted text is speech attributed to sex workers with New Zealand citizenship, yellow is Immigration New Zealand (INZ) officials, green is residents living near the 'home brothel', orange is an Auckland Council representative, and purple is 'an occupant' at the brothel – in

these cases, the only voice representing migrant sex workers. A paler colour indicates paraphrasing as opposed to direct quotes.

As these examples indicate, articles about migrant sex workers in New Zealand media heavily feature represented discourse, but rarely the voices of the group being discussed. The actors whose perspectives are represented are ingroup members (New Zealand sex workers[54] and local residents) or representatives of authority (Council and INZ). These groups are in opposition to migrant sex workers; some express hostility (citizen sex workers calling them 'illegal ladies' and residents declaring the sex workers' departure from the street 'brilliant') while those representing authorities speak to the restriction and policing of migrant workers' behaviour. Despite migrant sex workers being the subject of both articles, a voice representing them appears only once, in the form of an unnamed 'occupant' at the brothel property (not necessarily a sex worker themselves). This quote, reproduced in (1), frames their perspective in terms of anonymity (*an occupant*), suspicion (*denied*), and distance (*had earlier told*), all of which presents the paraphrased claim as dubious. This corresponds with Baker et al.'s (2008: 294-5) contention that in mainstream media, outgroup members are predominantly only provided a voice when they can be represented as inarticulate, illogical or threatening (cf. Teo 2000: 18).

(6) An occupant at the property, who denied the house was being used as a brothel, had earlier told the Herald it was a rental accommodation for international students from China.

5.2 Quantifying Voice

These example articles illustrate the power of the media to legitimise the perspectives of socially dominant ingroups and undermine those of less powerful outgroups (Barclay & Liu 2003: 5). With this understanding of Voice, I conducted a quantitative analysis of represented discourse in 18 articles from the corpus (see Appendix 1 for a numbered list of these). These were selected manually on the criteria that they directly discuss migrant sex workers and include quotations. Social actors were categorised according to their stance towards migrant sex workers and level of institutional or social power, resulting in the following groups:

- INZ: representatives of Immigration New Zealand (the vast majority of this group), police and Ministry of Health
- NZPC: representatives of New Zealand Prostitutes Collective (the vast majority of this group) and other sex worker rights advocates
- NZSW: sex workers with New Zealand citizenship
- MSW: migrant sex workers
- Other

[54] The positioning of New Zealand sex workers as an ingroup is discussed further in Chapter 6.

In order for the analysis to be meaningful, the number of groups was kept small, therefore the 'other' group included a somewhat disparate array of speakers (each one featured infrequently) who could not otherwise be logically categorised[55]; for the same reason, articles about the residential brothel were excluded as 'neighbours' could not be reasonably grouped. The 'home brothel' articles are nevertheless important, and are analysed in Chapter 6. Direct quotes were counted by the number of words inside quotation marks, and paraphrased speech by words following explicit attributions of speech (following Greenbank 2014).[56] In ambiguous cases of paraphrasing, for example where it was unclear whether a comma separated a single string of attributed speech or ended it, decisions were kept conservative and consistent, counting only the words before the comma. I initially considered direct and paraphrased quotes separately, however they patterned closely with one another, therefore here I present only the results of total Voice (direct and paraphrased combined). See Appendix 2 for the percentages of speech attributed to each group in each article.

As Table 8 shows, INZ is the dominant group in these articles, being quoted in all but two articles and afforded over a third of the total attributed speech. NZPC, New Zealand sex workers and migrant sex workers have fairly similar quantities of Voice, with attribution in 7-9 out of 18 articles and between 10-14 per cent of the total Voice. With 18 articles there are insufficient data points to reliably test the statistical significance of the different numbers; according to the central limit theorem, the minimum required is 30 items. Further, the abnormal distribution of the data and the prevalence of zeros (due to the fact that not every group is quoted in every article) make even a simple statistical test difficult. However, each group's percentages of total represented discourse in the articles can be plotted[57] (Figure 6) (R Core Team 2018; Wickham 2009). This plot suggests that the speech attributed to INZ is significantly greater than the other groups (excluding Other), with the differences between the three middle groups unlikely to be statistically significant.

[55] The 'other' group consists of: Tuariki Delamere (immigration adviser), an unnamed 'immigration expert', representatives of various organisations (Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Auckland, New Zealand Association of Migration and Investment, NetSafe, Ecpat Child Alert NZ, Streetreach), Bob McCoskrie (director of Family First NZ), US sex workers, Joy (a hospitality worker on a temporary visa), Oubonwan Tan and Cherry Chia (massage parlour owners), Queenstown Lakes District Council, A Queenstown businessman involved in adult entertainment.

[56] These terms were *say*, *tell* (as in 'she told the *Herald*'), *confirm that*, *argue that*, *insist that*, *warn that* and *according to*.

[57] Thank you to Hannah White for helping with this plot.

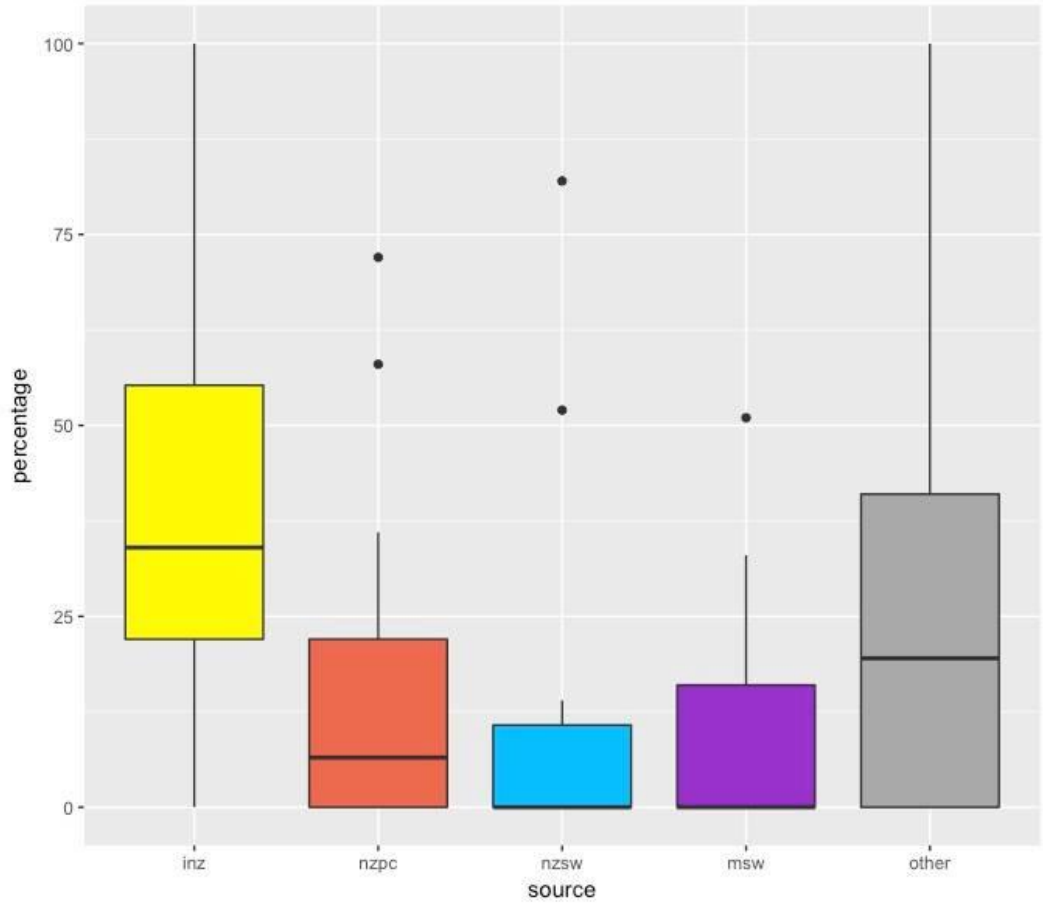
Table 8

General distribution of Voice

Group	**Articles featuring their voices**	**Percentage of total attributed speech**
Immigration New Zealand	16	36
New Zealand Prostitutes Collective	9	14
NZ sex workers	7	10
Migrant sex workers	7	13
Other	12	27
Total	*18*	*100*

Figure 6

Distribution of Voice across 18 articles



5.3 Legitimate voices

The finding that New Zealand sex workers and migrants are afforded similar amounts of Voice is unexpected based on the pattern in the example article in Figure 4. The most probable explanation for this is that citizen sex workers feature heavily in two articles, and moderately in another four (see Appendix 2), while migrant sex workers appear mostly in a different set of articles, which relate primarily to trafficking and exploitation. Qualitative analysis of these instances suggests that the roughly equal quantitative attribution of Voice does not necessarily equate to equal agency. When citizen sex workers are quoted talking about migrant sex workers, they express hostility towards them, as shown in examples (2-4): in paraphrased or direct quotes, two New Zealand sex workers refer to migrants as 'foreign girls' and 'illegal ladies'. Use of their full names (Lisa Lewis; Amber O'Hara) and introductions such as 'high profile escort' and 'sex worker from Christchurch' grant these workers insider subjectivity and give legitimacy to their perspectives. When migrant sex workers are quoted (5), details such as their age and nationality are given in place of their names[58], and they are referred to as 'prostitutes' (in this case the speaker is a 'former prostitute with permanent residency' so is in fact no longer either a temporary migrant nor a sex worker).

(7) High profile escort Lisa Lewis is one of several who have taken their complaints to Immigration New Zealand … calling for a harsher stance against migrant sex workers. (Article 11)

(8) These foreign girls were also offering services such as "natural" acts or unprotected sex, Lewis said, which is unlawful under prostitution laws here. (11)

(9) Amber O'hara, a sex worker from Christchurch, is calling for a sex worker registration system similar to the one in Victoria, Australia … "This would wipe out large numbers of the illegal ladies overnight." (11)

(10) A 24-year-old Chinese former prostitute with permanent residency who did not want to be named, estimated about 40 per cent of all sex workers in New Zealand were on temporary visas … "They say, 'You really need to do this or … you won't get any more jobs'. They persuade you until you give unprotected oral sex." (19)

(11) Immigration New Zealand's acting general manager compliance, risk and intelligence services Jock Gilray said it would be against the rules for migrants on temporary visas, such as international students, to legally work in the sex industry. (2)

(12) INZ assistant general manager Peter Devoy confirmed a Chinese woman caught in a brothel raid was among those who were voluntarily removed. (8)

(13) New Zealand Prostitutes' Collective co-founder Dame Catherine Healy previously said bylaws such as Queenstown Lakes' were unduly restrictive, inhibitive and pushed the sex industry underground. (22)

The content of quotes from migrant sex workers typically relates to negative industry experiences of exploitation, abuse or deception, usually in the context of articles conflating sex trafficking and labour exploitation (e.g., Articles 16, 18 and 19 in Appendix 1). Meanwhile, quoted INZ representatives declare what the 'rules' are (example 6) and police migrant sex workers (7). Along with their long official titles, these authoritative statements contribute to

[58] Although they do have a particular need for anonymity.

an 'expert' status, constructing a Voice that *decides* (van Dijk 1996). This pattern echoes Greenbank's (2014) finding that when refugees are afforded Voice in articles about them, this serves a primarily affective function, drawing on emotion and personal experience, while refugee 'issues' are left for 'experts' to speak on. Van Dijk (2000: 39) also argues that if minority voices are permitted in news texts to 'speak alone', this is usually followed by an 'expert' voice that supports or contradicts their statements. For migrant sex workers in this corpus, these experts are INZ voices providing reminders of the law, or less frequently, representatives of the NZPC (8) who take a supportive stance towards them.

This preliminary analysis is not able to capture the complete picture of Voice distribution in the corpus; there are other dimensions of Voice that remain avenues for future investigation. These include the pattern within texts of which groups are quoted more at the beginning of articles, as these are likely to be read by more people (van Dijk 1991: 50), as well as length of quote (Barclay & Liu 2003). The quantitative results do however indicate that voices representing immigration authorities are quoted significantly more than other groups, affording them perspective, representation and agency. The content of their quotes construct them as authoritative actors and official titles legitimise their views. In one set of articles, Voice assists in constructing New Zealand sex workers as an ingroup while migrants are demonised. Greenbank (2014) and Teo (2000) both use analysis of quotation patterns in media texts to convincingly argue that denying Voice to minority groups is a powerful strategy that entrenches their status as outsiders. The same argument can be made about this data: that migrant sex workers are Othered through patterns of Voice distribution that largely deny them meaningful control over their own narratives in New Zealand media, in favour of authoritative voices that repeatedly emphasise the illegality of their behaviour and hostile voices emphasising their unwelcome presence. With this trend of Othering established, in the next chapter I examine more closely the various ways migrant sex workers are discursively constructed as Other in the data.

6. Discursive Othering

6.1 Introduction

The corpus linguistic analysis presented in Chapter 4 reveals patterns across the dataset that contribute to an overall negative semantic prosody attached to migrant sex workers, with evidence of anti-immigration Discourse emerging though emphasis on their illegality, Asian nationalities, arrival numbers, and immigration controls. The Voice analysis in Chapter 5 suggests migrant sex workers are rarely afforded meaningful opportunities to construct their own narratives in New Zealand media, which contributes to their status as Other. Taking these trends as a starting point, in this chapter I examine more closely the principal ways in which migrant sex workers are discursively Othered, through their positioning as an outgroup to three different but overlapping ingroups. Firstly, they are constructed as Other to residents and families, through discursive strategies that portray them as vectors of moral and literal contagion and as threatening to safe neighbourhoods. Secondly, there are articles that position migrant sex workers as Other to moral, law-abiding people by emphasising their perceived sexual deviance and their illegal behaviour. Finally, they are constructed as an outgroup in relation to New Zealanders, with strong evidence of anti-immigration discourse

and 'us' and 'them' dichotomies emerging. Here, migrant sex workers are framed as foreign outsiders attempting to benefit from New Zealand's public services while taking work from locals.

I argue that these three ingroups overlap to create an image of an 'ordinary', 'good' citizen: somebody who belongs in New Zealand, obeys the law, and behaves 'normally': a figure in whom the reader is expected to see themselves. The various steps and tools offered by the discourse-historical approach (DHA) as set out by Reisigl and Wodak (2016) underlie my analysis, informed by a lens of discursive Othering (Coupland 2010). Othering is a process by which outgroups are defined in opposition to ingroups, and undesirable qualities are located in the Other as a way to construct the identity of the Self (Staszak 2009), usually resulting in the marginalisation and disempowerment of the Othered group (Coupland 2010).

In order to centre this qualitative analysis specifically on migrant sex workers, the corpora were searched for the terms *migrant*, *immigration* and *visa* to identify all articles referencing both sex work and migration. From these, articles relating directly to migrant sex workers were selected. This produced 18 articles from NZH and six from the Fairfax corpus (including one letter to the editor and one news-in-brief item) which provide the data for this chapter. See below for a numbered list of the articles (reproduced with author names and URLs in Appendix 1)[59]; I refer to them in the analysis by their number alone for reasons of clarity and space. The article titles provide a sense of both topics covered and thematic patterns that arise: a particular 'home brothel' in Auckland (Articles 1-3), INZ's relationship with the sex industry (4-7), sex worker deportations (8-10), complaints from New Zealand sex workers (11-13), and stories of exploitation and trafficking (15-23). These correspond with the five key topics and events that contextualise the corpus, established in Chapter 3.

(1) Home brothel where 'up to eight prostitutes work' upsets Northcote neighbours (NZH, 12 Aug 2018)

(2) Northcote 'home brothel': Women 'sex workers' have moved out, neighbours say (NZH, 16 Aug 2018)

(3) Auckland Council orders Northcote brothel to cease operations (NZH, 19 Sep 2018)

(4) Sex work/escort is on skilled employment list, Immigration NZ confirms (NZH, 25 Apr 2018)

(5) Immigration New Zealand pulls sex worker from skilled employment list checker (NZH, 4 May 2018)

(6) INZ: Ex-sex workers can be granted NZ residency, despite immigration rules saying no (NZH, 19 Sep 2018)

(7) Immigration NZ officials asking sex workers for a 'coffee and a chat' (NZH, 1 Sep 2018)

(8) Illegal prostitution crackdown: 27 Asian sex workers deported (NZH, 5 Jun 2018)

(9) Migrant sex workers finding ways to evade visa crackdown (NZH, 14 Jun 2018)

(10) Sex tricks used [news-in-brief] (NZH, 15 June 2018)

(11) NZ sex workers lodge complaints over foreign prostitute website advertisements (NZH, 22 Apr 2018)

(12) Sex workers turn back on collective and seek Minister of Prostitution (NZH, 12 Jun 2018)

[59] As mentioned, a contrastive analysis of the different newspapers is beyond the scope of the current study, however it is notable that three quarters of the articles directly discussing migrant sex workers come from the *New Zealand Herald*, despite data from this paper making up only 40 per cent of the total corpus (in fact, these articles were all written by one person, NZH reporter for diversity, ethnic affairs and immigration Lincoln Tan). This may suggest a disproportionate preoccupation with migrant sex workers on the part of Tan and/or NZH, as Easterbrook-Smith (2018: 125) argues.

(13) Illegal sex workers access million-dollar taxpayer-funded health programme (NZH, 31 May 2018)

(14) Genuine therapists fight 'tainted' massage sector image (NZH, 18 Apr 2018)

(15) Human trafficking: Brokers lure foreign sex workers to NZ with 'half truths' (NZH, 17 Apr 2018)

(16) Human trafficking: Lured migrants face dark reality (NZH, 16 Apr 2018)

(17) International student caught in police brothel raid told sex work is 'legal' (NZH, 16 Apr 2018)

(18) Exposed: Human trafficking happening right here in NZ (NZH, 16 Apr 2018)

(19) Illegal migrant prostitutes too 'terrified' to report exploitation (DP, 18 Mar 2018)

(20) Migrant sex workers abused (DP & TP, 18 Apr 2018)

(21) Prostitutes deported amid trafficking fears (DP & TP, 7 Jun 2018)

(22) More than 350 foreign sex workers turned away at New Zealand border (TP, 22 Jan 2019)

(23) Calls for legal migrant prostitution after research finds some exploited (DP & TP, 11 Oct 2018)

(24) Who we let in [letter to editor] (DP, 20 Apr 2018)

6.2 Migrant sex workers as Other to residents and families

Several articles in the corpus construct migrant sex workers as a literal or symbolic threat to the safety and decency of New Zealand communities. To this end, texts draw on contagion narratives and position migrant sex workers in contrast to families. For example, although the issue reported in Articles 1, 2 and 3 is ostensibly a 'home brothel' in an Auckland suburb breaching bylaws and 'upsetting' neighbours, the workers at the 'suspected' brothel are coded as migrants through repeated references to their Asian appearance and a suggestion they are 'international students from China'. Evidence of the construction of an ingroup and outgroup first emerges through the *nomination strategies* (Reisigl & Wodak 2016: 33) used to refer to each group. The residents are referred to as 'neighbours'[60] (examples 1, 3, 5) and situated in a semantic domain of local community and safety, with references to their wealthy suburb and 'cul-de-sac' (1) and their 'once-quiet residential street' (2) References to families and children (3) construct the residents as 'ordinary', family-oriented citizens, with whom the reader is expected to relate.

(30) Neighbours in a Northcote suburb are up in arms about a residential brothel operating at the top of their cul-de-sac, which they say is breaching council rules. (Article 1)

(31) The man said "strange characters" had appeared on the once-quiet residential street since the brothel opened. (1)

(32) Another neighbour, a father with a 10-year-old daughter, said he no longer felt safe letting the girl play in the yard or walk down the street. "She's asking me if she can walk to school on her own but I don't feel safe letting her do that," he said. (1)

(33) The woman, who gave her name as Candy, denied the house was being used as a brothel. (1)

[60] Italics and inverted commas are variously used in this chapter to directly quote from the data. Italicised text highlights particular terms or phrases used in articles; inverted commas are used to incorporate phrases from the data into my argument. When directly referencing one of the examples this is indicated by its number in brackets, e.g., (1). In the examples, phrases in analytical focus are bolded.

(34) However, one neighbour told the Herald she believed the business operated late into the night "judging from the cars that come and go". (1)

(35) The house had a high-wooden fence with the curtains fully drawn. (1)

In contrast, nomination strategies firmly position workers at the brothel as Other: they are repeatedly referred to as 'prostitutes' (see Chapter 3 for a discussion of the negative connotations attached to this term) and framed in terms of suspicion by phrases such as *suspected home brothel* and inverted commas in the headline *women 'sex workers'*, a use of punctuation which Bishop and Jaworski (2013: 262) identify as a strategy of de-authentication. This perception of untrustworthiness is exemplified in (4), which implies a woman at the house gave reporters a name that is likely false. Clients are indirectly painted as shadowy figures through phrases such as *'strange characters'* (2) and *'the cars that come and go'* (5), while the property's fence and closed curtains (6) are suggested to be evidence of unsavoury or illicit activity.

6.3 Contagion

The effect of this ingroup/outgroup dichotomy is strengthened by the construction of migrant sex workers as posing a threat to the local community. For this, articles draw on the contagion narratives identified in previous studies on media representation of sex workers (Easterbrook-Smith 2018; Hallgrímsdóttir et al. 2006; 2008; Strega et al. 2014). These frame sex workers as vectors of disease: either as spreaders of a moral malaise that threatens to infect decent society and corrupt children, or as literal carriers of sexually transmissible infection. Evidence of both types of contagion narratives in the present study emerges consistently across articles about migrant sex workers[61], employing the topos – the persuasive strategy or 'location' of an argument (Wodak 2001: 74) – of 'danger and threat' to justify their Othering.

(36) A sign outside massage and beauty shop Mind, Body and Soul reads: "Baby & Child friendly". Owner Cherry Chia said this was to differentiate it from Asian massage shops which provide sexual services for extra money. Besides the signage, Chia's spa on Apollo Drive also has a children's play area. (14)

(37) Chia said some Chinese and Thai massage shops had tainted the sector and many New Zealanders now associated oriental massage and massage therapists with sex. (14)

(38) Residents there had complained of parking issues and safety concerns since the brothel started operating. (3)

(39) Residents on the street often faced parking problems … "And it will continue to be bad right until close to midnight," she said. (1)

[61] There is also a thread in the corpus of non-migrant sex workers being framed as vectors of contagion. This occurs in relation to street-based workers, particularly in several articles published in *The Press* which report tensions between outdoor sex workers in Christchurch and the residents in the areas where they work. Such articles routinely refer to condoms being found in residents' front yards (indirectly invoking literal contagion) and workers and clients keeping children awake at night (implying a moral threat and danger to children). An analysis of these articles is beyond the scope of this study; see note in Conclusion.

Articles position migrant sex workers as a symbolic threat by invoking the presence of children. In (3), a resident laments that he 'doesn't feel safe' allowing his daughter to play outside or walk to school because of the nearby brothel. The reader is expected to make the link – that sex workers and/or their clients are dangerous – necessary to understand this statement and sympathise with the man. The precise threat posed by sex work is ambiguous and left to the reader's imagination; perhaps the girl will meet a sex worker and be inspired to become one herself, be lured into work at the brothel, or be approached for sex by a client. Implicit in this option is the assumption that people who pay for sex are naturally predatory or abusive. In (7), babies and children are similarly invoked in juxtaposition to the presumed seediness and menace of a sex workplace. This pattern directly aligns with Strega et al (2014: 15) and Easterbrook-Smith (2018: 94-5), who highlight suggestions in the media that children will be corrupted upon any contact with sex workers. Further evidence of contagion narratives arises in lexical choices such as *tainted* (8), suggesting contamination, and *safety concerns* (9).

Interwoven with this sense of threat are links to containment narratives (Hallgrímsdóttir et al. 2006, 2008), where sex workers are constructed as a problem of urban aesthetics; a symbol of societal degradation that must be 'cleansed' (Easterbrook-Smith 2018: 106). The disturbance of a safe neighbourhood by migrant sex workers is represented in (2, 5, 9, 10), where the residential brothel is portrayed as having attracted a hive of shadowy activity to the 'once-quiet' street. O'Neill et al (2008) discuss how the Othering of street sex workers in Britain emerges from 'moral panic' (Cohen 1972) surrounding specific groups, 'with [D]iscourses of disorder and deviance fuelling efforts by the dominant to exclude these groups from their proximity' (O'Neill et al. 2008: 74). These concerns over proximity and order are evident in this set of articles; citing unspecified 'safety concerns' and traffic congestion characterises the problem as a practical one, while phrases such as 'once-quiet street' suggest the deeper issue underlying these articles is fear of crumbling social fabric and dismay over sharing physical space with a deviant population.

As well as moral corruptors threatening social order, migrant sex workers are constructed as vectors of literal (sexually-transmitted) disease. Examples (11-14) achieve this by suggesting they have unprotected sex with clients, which is prohibited under Section 9 of the Prostitution Reform Act (2003: 6-7). Repeated occurrences of *health and safety* in collocation with *risk* create an image of migrant sex workers as dangerous carriers of disease, posing a threat to community wellbeing, calling on wider Discourses which discursively link sex workers with vermin (Strega et al. 2014). The inverted commas around *'extras'* in (11) is Othering; whereas 'extra' is the normal word used in the sex industry to refer to any service that incurs additional payment[62], by immediately following *disregard health and safety rules* here it implies an illegal or dangerous act.

(40) She said the illegal prostitutes have an edge also because they were prepared to disregard health and safety rules and offered "extras". (9)

[62] These services could include any number of (often ordinary) acts, such as kissing.

(41) These foreign girls were also offering services such as "natural" acts or unprotected sex, Lewis said, which is unlawful under prostitution laws here. "These not only put their health and safety at risk, but also clients' health and safety at risk," she said. (11)

(42) Some advertisements … openly say they offer specials like "natural" sex acts. (11)

(43) A 27-year-old Korean sex worker … charged up to $100 extra for special services, including unprotected sex. (11)

These repeated linguistic patterns solidify migrant sex workers' position as Other, while the reader is invited to identify with the ingroup of residents and families and feel threatened by the presence of this outsider. This 'us' and 'them' distinction is deepened in a second Othering strategy which implicitly defines the ingroup as 'normal' people.

6.4 Migrant sex workers as Other to moral, law-abiding people

Throughout the data, migrant sex workers are routinely constructed as Other along two lines of deviance: firstly, due to their perceived immorality, which is expressed as sexual deviance, and secondly to their status as law-breakers. Feeding into contagion narratives' depiction of migrant sex workers as vectors of disease and moral corruption is their construction as sexually different to 'ordinary' people. In (11-14), which associate migrant sex workers with dangerous sexual behaviour, it is their alleged *willingness* to offer unprotected services which frames them as deviant. Phrases such as *prepared to disregard, offering services* and *openly say* suggest migrant sex workers are agentively and happily engaging in these activities, either because they are devoid of the sexual morals that render such acts taboo, or because they have a blatant disregard for the law that deems such acts illegal in a commercial context. Both explanations relegate migrant sex workers to a position of outsider; people unlike the upstanding and law-abiding citizen to whom the reader is expected to relate.

6.5 Sexual Othering

As well as their transgressive sexual behaviour of offering unprotected services, migrant sex workers are positioned as deviant by virtue of their perceived promiscuity. Articles often reference how many clients a worker might see over a particular time frame, as in (15-17). At first glance, (15) might be seen as evoking pity at the gruelling plight of the workers, but an alternative reading implies they are sexually available and promiscuous, and allows the reader to take pleasure in the image it creates of young Asian women having copious amounts of sex. The woman discussed in (16) is framed as entirely deviant and morally corrupt: not only does she offer unprotected sex, but she is a nymphomaniac, having sex with 196 people in 20 days. Additionally, she is portrayed as financially greedy, earning an extravagant sum of money, and charging for the extras she provides. In (17) it is even suggested that it is eyebrow-raising to have sex on a weekday morning. The portrayal of Asian women as a sexual Other is bolstered by their sexualisation in the discourse: in (18), the gratuitous, salacious detail of the woman's clothing serves no other purpose than to titillate, as does the description in (19) of the humiliation of a sex worker at the hands of police.

(15) The most popular prostitutes worked 12-hour shifts, often having sex with nine clients a day, before spending the night with another. (19)

(16) A 27-year-old Korean sex worker who came to New Zealand and was caught by police after working for 20 days was found to have earned $32,875 over that time. Police found she had 196 customers and charged up to $100 extra for special services, including unprotected sex. (11)

(17) It was just after 11am on a Friday when the Herald went to the street, and at least five men were seen coming and going from the property in less than half an hour (1)

(18) A young Chinese woman dressed in pink lingerie answered the door. (1)

(19) A Chinese woman caught in a brothel raid was … found at a Ponsonby brothel naked and with a customer. According to police, the woman was given an opportunity to fully dress before they spoke to her. (8)

Further discursive strategies which position Asian sex workers as sexually deviant and morally corrupt are exemplified in Article 14, 'Genuine therapists fight "tainted" massage sector image'. Here, they are constructed as Other to massage therapists who do not offer sexual services. The owner of a massage parlour, Cherry Chia, is quoted discussing the problem of sexual harassment from clients who expect additional sexual services as a result of parlours which do offer them. Chia's desire to differentiate her business from 'Asian massage shops which provide sexual services for extra money' (example 7) designates an ingroup and outgroup. Those workers offering sexual extras are constructed as illegitimate opportunists earning 'extra money' in the shadowy grey economy (Agustín 2007: 20) and 'tainting' the sector, while Chia is described in legitimating detail (Bucholtz & Hall 2004) as having worked in 'England, Malaysia and in a five-star-hotel in Auckland before starting her own boutique spa business on Auckland's North Shore'. Notably, blame for the sexual harassment of 'genuine' therapists seems to be attributed to the workers who have allegedly created the expectation for sexual acts, rather than to the clients who are perpetrating the harassment.

6.6 Illegality

Migrant sex workers are also discursively constructed as deviant law-breakers. In (20-22) they are depicted as cunning manipulators, deviously and intentionally 'evading' New Zealand laws with 'tricks' and 'moves'.[63] Short of incorrectly labelling migrant sex workers as criminals[64], these repeated lexical choices work to *imply* criminality through a semantic prosody (Stubbs 2001) that associates them with law-breaking and deviousness. The INZ representative quoted in (24) links migrants who have overseas prostitution offenses with criminality and implies they are not of 'good character', while in (25), the phrase *caught by police* and legalese terms (Eades 2008: 122) like *charged* and *operating* suggest criminal culpability. These examples employ *argumentation strategies* that invoke the topos of 'law and right' to

[63] The expression 'sex tricks' in (22), from the headline of Article 10, seems deliberately misleading: the body of the short article makes clear *tricks* refers to the same 'moves' described in (21) that is, migrant sex workers' strategies to avoid deportation. However, 'sex tricks' could easily be interpreted as exotic sex acts unfamiliar to New Zealanders (Easterbrook-Smith 2018: 136), a further way to sexually Other Asian women.
[64] See footnote 2.

construct migrant sex workers as the opposite of law-abiding citizens and justify their positioning as Other. This links to culpability narratives, which emphasise the criminal status of sex workers, identified in other studies in jurisdictions where sex work is (partially or fully) criminalised (Hallgrímsdóttir et al. 2006, 2008; Hunt & Hubbard 2015; Strega et al. 2014).

(20) Migrant sex workers finding ways to evade visa crackdown (9)

(21) Using NZ residents and citizens to front for advertisements…these are some of the moves illegal sex workers are using to evade Immigration NZ's visa crackdown. (9)

(22) Sex tricks used (10)

(23) Some advertisements openly declare that the sex workers had "just arrived" or "here for a short time" along with their foreign nationalities. (11)

(24) "Because providing commercial sexual services is illegal in many other countries, visa applicants … may have criminal convictions." Foreign nationals who applied for a visa to come to New Zealand must be of good character, he said. "People with criminal convictions … will generally not be granted a visa." (6)

(25) She was caught by police … and was jointly charged with her broker and pimp for… operating a prostitution business … and aiding a person to breach their visa conditions for material benefit. (15)

(26) "Compliance officers may enter any premises, whether a brothel or private property, without a warrant in order to serve or execute a deportation liability notice or order." (9)

(27) Eight brothels were raided and officials found 21 foreign sex workers working illegally. (16)

(28) A brothel raid resulted in three sex workers being served deportation liability notices. (16)

(29) INZ compliance officers visited the property and found two Chinese nationals on visitor visas who were working unlawfully in the sex industry. (22)

In (25-29) and many other examples across the dataset, references are made to the authority (in the form of the police, Immigration New Zealand, and the law itself) that exists to control and punish those acting illegally (van Dijk 1991: 96). These references also draw on containment narratives (Hallgrímsdóttir et al. 2006), constructing sex workers as a disorderly population; a 'problem' needing to be 'dealt with' by state powers. Such characterisations further entrench migrant sex workers' outsider status, with their construction as 'illegal' and unlike 'ordinary' citizens leading into a third category of discursive marginalisation, located in the figure of the immigrant.

6.7 Migrant sex workers as Other to New Zealanders

The discursive constructions of migrant sex workers presented thus far, as sexually deviant criminals infesting communities, correspond strongly with the Discourses established by existing literature. However, there is a further category (still in line with Easterbrook-Smith's (2018) findings) which draws on anti-immigration discourse and frames the 'problem' of migrant sex work in xenophobic, protectionist terms. This discourse emphasises their foreignness and positions them as taking jobs from local sex workers and defrauding the tax system. This characterisation appears to be unique to New Zealand: decriminalisation for sex workers with citizenship allows them to be portrayed favourably as an ingroup under threat from outsiders.

In Articles 8, 11, 12 and 13, the dichotomous positioning of sex workers with citizenship as 'good' and migrant sex workers as 'bad' is evident in the nomination strategies used to refer to these two groups, listed in Table 9. Citizen sex workers are referred to in ways that index national belonging (*Kiwis*, *New Zealand*(*ers*), *local*, *Hamilton*, *Dunedin*) and legitimacy (*legal*, *escort*, *high profile*, giving full names). Such lexical choices exemplify the contrast between the two groups; New Zealand sex workers are referred to as 'escorts', denoting high income and relative privilege within the sex industry, while those on temporary visas are 'prostitutes'. Meanwhile, strong semantic domains emerge in constructions of migrant sex workers: illegality (*illegal*, *unlawfully*, *not legally able*), un-belonging (*temporary*, *visa*, *deported*, *those unlawfully in NZ*), foreignness and Asian-ness (*foreign*, *migrant*, *internationals*, *Asian*, *Taiwanese*), as well as untrustworthiness (*suspected*). Details such as age and nationality are given in place of their names. As van Leeuwen (1996: 48) notes, when social actors are not named, they are 'treated as distant "others" rather than as people "we" have to deal with in our everyday lives', while naming citizen sex workers affords readers a 'point of identification' with them (1996: 53-4).

Table 9

Nomination strategies in constructions of different categories of sex workers in Articles 8, 11, 12 and 13

Ingroup	**Outgroup**
Kiwis, New Zealanders, local sex workers, a local sex worker, New Zealand sex workers, New Zealand working girls, legal sex workers, legal and local sex workers, legal New Zealand sex worker, Hamilton sex worker Lisa Lewis, high profile escort Lisa Lewis, Amber O'Hara, a sex worker from Christchurch, the Auckland-based sex worker, male escort Connor Green, Dunedin escort Dahlia Cypher	Illegals, illegal prostitutes, foreign prostitutes, foreign illegal prostitutes, sex workers, migrant sex workers, foreign sex workers, illegal underage and foreign sex workers, illegal sex workers, illegal migrant workers, migrant prostitutes, illegal ladies, foreign girls, foreign nationalities, internationals, those unlawfully in NZ, those unlawfully here, sex workers who are not legally able to work in New Zealand, people on temporary visas, 38 people on temporary visas found to be providing commercial sexual services, temporary migrants, temporary visa holders, 312 suspected prostitutes, 27 Asian sex workers, Asians, Taiwanese, Hong Kong, Malaysian, Indian, Thai, a Chinese sex worker, a Chinese woman, the deported Taiwanese sex workers, a 27-year-old Korean sex worker

6.8 Infestation and invasion

The repeated indexing of Asian nationalities, which occurs across the dataset, contributes to an overall coding of migrant workers as Asian, obscuring the fact that those working in the New Zealand sex industry on temporary visas come from many parts of the world, including other Western countries (Abel & Roguski 2018; Armstrong 2018). The nomination strategies in Table 9 also extend the findings from the corpus analysis in Chapter 4, revealing the repeated co-occurrences of *illegal* with *foreign/migrant* and *prostitute/sex worker*, which creates a powerful semantic association between migrant sex workers and illegality. There is also a repeated focus on the numbers of migrant sex workers thought to be in or entering the country: *38 people on temporary visas*; *312 suspected prostitutes*; *27 Asian sex workers*, with further examples in (30-31). As noted in Chapter 4, CDS scholars investigating immigration

discourse (e.g., Baker & McEnery 2005; Rheindorf & Wodak 2018) have argued that this strategy of quantification dehumanises migrants and portrays them as a vast and chaotic population.

(30) More than 350 suspected foreign sex workers have tried to enter New Zealand in the past three years. (22)

(31) In the past year, 136 migrants suspected of coming here to carry out sex work were denied entry (19)

(32) Christchurch sex worker Amber O'hara said foreign, illegal prostitutes now outnumbered New Zealanders in the industry (8)

(33) Lewis said the increase in number of foreign prostitutes coming over has hit local sex workers in the pocket. (11)

(34) "[A registration system] would wipe out large numbers of the illegal ladies overnight." (11)

Adding to this quantification are expressions such as *tried to enter New Zealand* (30), *coming here* (31) and *denied entry* (31), which characterise migrants as opportunists attempting to enter the country. These discursive strategies feed into metaphors of increase, infestation and invasion (32-33), where migrants are represented as a growing presence that threatens to 'outnumber' or inundate local communities. Further, the desire expressed by Christchurch sex worker Amber O'Hara in (34) to 'wipe out' migrant sex workers arguably recalls ethnic cleansing.

6.9 Jobs and tax

Further evidence of anti-immigration discourse is evident in depictions of migrant sex workers as taking jobs from non-migrant sex workers, and/or draining publicly-funded services. Migrants are positioned as directly competing with, and undercutting, New Zealand sex workers (11, 33, 35-36), who are portrayed as victims suffering financial losses (37-38). These examples clearly draw on racist discourse that depicts migrants as actively harming 'locals'. This depiction is usually accompanied by a contradictory belief that migrants are also simultaneously abusing public services (Mehan 1997: 249), as demonstrated in (39-40), which discuss the fact that the services of the NZPC (referred to as a 'million-dollar taxpayer-funded sex programme') are available to all sex workers in New Zealand, meaning they are at times accessed by those on temporary visas. Here, the appeal to the 'taxpayer', i.e. the reader, routinely used to stoke anti-migrant sentiment (van Dijk 1991: 96), invokes a sense of injustice that migrants working illegally may benefit from such services. The figure of the taxpayer appears again in a letter to the editor (41), which locates the problem in the cost of sex worker deportations they are forced to bear. The issue of taxation resurfaces in (36), suggesting migrant sex workers are defrauding the New Zealand tax system. These examples draw on several topoi identified by Wodak (2001: 74) as discursive justifications for anti-migrant arguments: 'burdening', 'finances' and 'numbers'.

(35) "Every dollar that these migrant prostitutes make is a dollar taken from the back pockets of New Zealand working girls," [an Auckland-based sex worker] said. (11)

(36) The letter claimed migrants coming on temporary visas to work as prostitutes were "taking money off legal sex workers, not paying tax and going home with the money". (12)

(37) "Many of the girls no longer meet the same quota as they did a few years ago," she said. (11)

(38) Another sex worker … said her income had halved … in the last two years. (11)

(39) Illegal sex workers are accessing a million-dollar taxpayer-funded sex programme (13)

(40) "The fact that the ministry and NZPC are using taxpayer dollars to assist illegals is appalling," Lewis said. (13)

(41) The sex workers came here because they heard they could make more money here… Perhaps if we paid more attention to who we let into this country, taxpayers would have to spend less on deportation costs. (24)

Anti-migrant sentiment is also evident in the frequent use of *illegal* as an adjective to describe migrant sex workers themselves, rather than their actions. As noted earlier, in (34) New Zealand sex worker Amber O'Hara is quoted referring to migrant sex workers as *illegal ladies*; this structure is repeated in recurrent phrases such as *illegal prostitutes* (see Table 9). The adjective *illegal* when attached to people who migrate, in phrases such as *illegal immigrants* or *illegal aliens*, can be understood as an offensive, misleading and xenophobic term (Rosa 2012; Santa Ana quoted in Gambino 2015). This phrasing actively alienates and Others people who migrate, and obscures the reality that no human being is or can be 'illegal'. New Zealand sex worker Lisa Lewis takes this further in (40) by using the noun *illegals*, an anti-migrant slur (Easterbrook-Smith 2018: 126; see also Baker 2006: 48), to refer to those on temporary visas. This adjectival and nominal use of *illegal* is a strong example in the data of a *predication strategy*, or attribution of negative traits used to discursively qualify social actors (Reisigl & Wodak 2016), although negative predication occurs throughout.

The three ingroups against which migrant sex workers are discursively constructed as Other (families, upstanding citizens and New Zealanders) are artificially separated here for analytic purposes; in reality, they are extensively overlapping. They combine to form an ideal ingroup figure: a family-oriented, neighbourly, moral, law-abiding New Zealand citizen; in sum, an 'ordinary' person in whom the reader is expected to see themselves. The discursive strategies employed in the articles also overlap across these distinctions, for example the sexual deviance of migrant sex workers distances them from 'moral people', but also strengthens New Zealand sex workers' ingroup status where unprotected services (the root of migrant workers' perceived deviance) are presented as something 'local' workers would never offer. The overall effect of this repeated Othering is deeply stigmatising. It feeds cultural perceptions of sex workers as deviant women while shifting the burden of this representation onto a group still excluded from the protection and legitimisation afforded by decriminalisation. After establishing migrant sex workers as Other and portraying them as unlike an imagined 'us' – as sexually different, disease-spreaders, child-corruptors and law-breakers – it is acceptable to commit such discursive injustice against them. Before beginning a discussion of these findings, I highlight a further category of Othering in the data: victimhood narratives.

6.10 The other Other: Migrant sex workers as victims

> Much as immigrants are seen as lazy scroungers while somehow also stealing the jobs of 'decent people', sex workers are simultaneously victim and accomplice, sexually voracious yet helpless maidens. (Smith & Mac 2018: 18)

Within the critical frame of the DHA, one goal is to 'discover inconsistencies, (self-)contradictions, paradoxes and dilemmas in text-internal or discourse-internal structures' (Reisigl & Wodak 2016: 25). An internal contradiction salient in several articles in the dataset is the variable or simultaneous construction of migrant sex workers as both deviant actors and passive victims. This dichotomy, which Smith and Mac (2018) point out parallels the depiction of migrants as both job-takers and dole-bludgers, has been identified in other studies on sex worker representation (Easterbrook-Smith 2018; Hallgrímsdóttir et al. 2006, 2008; Nead 1988; Strega et al. 2014). Hallgrímsdóttir et al. (2006) track this dichotomous trope of sex workers as 'fallen women and rescued girls', noting how in victimhood narratives:

> Instead of being culpable, sex workers appear to be legally and morally incapacitated, incapable of making safe and reasonable choices for themselves … while contagion narratives suggest that workers pose a risk to innocent others, victimhood narratives tend to locate and bound risk within the confines of the sex industry … Victimhood/risk stories are often racialized and highlight the vulnerability and youth of the women involved; references to global trafficking of women and children from less-advantaged countries. (Hallgrímsdóttir et al. 2006: 272)

Long-held conceptions of sex workers as victims rely on the assumption that no woman would freely choose to sell sex, unless she was a morally corrupt, sexually depraved criminal (McLaughlin 1991: 251). Several articles in the dataset become the site of this 'discursive struggle' (Smart 1999), where the discourse appears ambivalent as to whether sex workers are victimised or deviant, and so dually frames them in terms of vulnerability and suspicion. Examples (42-44) begin with migrant sex workers as victims (*deceived*, *coerced*, *victims of trafficking*, *protect vulnerable people*, *sex trafficking*) but immediately switch to a semantic domain of illegality (*police*, *caught*, *deported*, *suspected illegal sex workers*, *deports illegal sex workers*). This pattern is reversed in (45) which begins with *suspected foreign sex workers* then shifts to referring to them as *vulnerable people*. Immigration authorities and their representatives (in these examples, Immigration Minister Iain Lees-Galloway and INZ assistant general manager Peter Devoy) are key actors in negotiating this discursive struggle; these state bodies are constructed as both 'protector' (*protect vulnerable people*, *worried*, *extremely concerned*) and punisher/controller (*raids*, *deported*, *stamp out*, *prevented, kicked out*).

(42) Migrants who had been deceived or coerced to work in the sex industry would be treated as suspected victims of trafficking, Immigration New Zealand said … Immigration NZ and the police have a long history of brothel raids and many migrant workers have been caught and deported that way. (15)

(43) Lees-Galloway said he was worried about sex trafficking and sex worker exploitation … "It's a matter that Immigration New Zealand takes very seriously and I'm satisfied they're making good efforts to stamp out these practices. Eliminating the exploitation of migrants is one of my top priorities. We must make every effort to protect vulnerable people while they are in New Zealand," he said. In the year to February 2018, 132 suspected illegal sex workers had been prevented from entering New Zealand. (21)

(44) Immigration Minister Iain Lees-Galloway says he's "extremely concerned by the numerous allegations of sex trafficking", as Immigration New Zealand deports dozens of illegal sex workers. (21)

(45) More than 350 suspected foreign sex workers have tried to enter New Zealand in the past three years and 38 have been kicked out of the country…The rule [Section 19 of the PRA] intended to "remove any incentives for … vulnerable people to enter New Zealand for the purpose of providing commercial sexual services", Devoy said. (22)

'Sex trafficking' is mentioned several times in these victimhood narratives without elaboration, suggesting it is a topic with which the reader is expected to be familiar. Despite compelling critique of the notion of trafficking from several scholars (e.g., Agustín 2007; Doezema 2000, 2010; O'Connell Davidson 2006; Weitzer 2007; see Chapter 7 for further discussion), it remains a pervasive and hegemonic cultural narrative and is therefore available for articles to draw on without explanation or qualification. In the above examples, the link between migrants and trafficking occurs in the context of articles where migrant exploitation is the specific topic; in other instances, the link is stretched much further.

6.11 Sex work and trafficking: From discursive links to discursive leaps

In some cases, the notion of sex trafficking is introduced in articles about apparently unrelated topics, in what I term a 'discursive leap'. Article 2 (example 46) discusses a brothel alleged to be exceeding the maximum number of people permitted by local bylaws to work out of a residential property, as well as neighbours' complaints and a subsequent investigation by Auckland Council. Just over half way through the article, after indirectly implying the workers may be 'international students from China', it shifts to a discussion of sex work law in New Zealand, suggesting the brothel may be a site of forced prostitution:

(46) An occupant at the property, who denied the house was being used as a brothel, had earlier told the Herald it was a rental accommodation for *international students from China*.
Immigration New Zealand's acting general manager compliance, risk and intelligence services Jock Gilray said it would be against the rules for migrants on temporary visas, such as international students, to legally work in the sex industry.
Gilray said *the agency did not have any investigation* under way into activities at the Northcote address.
But he is urging anyone who knew if *the women were being forced to work in New Zealand illegally* to contact the agency on 0508 558855 or the Labour Inspectorate on 0800 209020, or contact Crimestoppers anonymously.

> "Immigration NZ recognises that some migrants have been reluctant to come forward to report *exploitative practices* by employers," Gilray said. (2)

In an even more tenuous leap, Article 14 (47) begins with a discussion of the problem of sexual harassment in the massage industry. Here, women working at 'Asian massage shops' who provide sexual services are framed as illegitimate, deviant and the cause of the harassment. About half way through, the article switches inexplicably to concerns expressed by Family First over 'vulnerable people', 'a huge market for trafficking' and 'sexual abuse' (for context, the line of text preceding the leap is included here):

(47) Tan, who had worked at several other Thai massage centres … said therapists were often propositioned for sex acts.
Family First New Zealand is … opposed to calls to allow international students and other temporary migrants to work legally in the commercial sex industry.
"Allowing migrants on student visa or work visa to work as prostitutes will simply open up a *huge market for trafficking and exploitation* which, based on anecdotal evidence, is already happening," said spokesman Bob McCoskrie.
"More and more *vulnerable people* are becoming *victims* because of the flawed decriminalisation of prostitution."
…"How can we be serious about *reducing sexual violence against women* when the state legitimises the *sexual abuse and exploitation of vulnerable people*," he said. (14)

Within these articles, two separate issues are conflated. In Article 2, titled 'Northcote "home brothel": Women "sex workers" have moved out, neighbours say', the 'problem' is presented as a brothel disrupting the community, while in Article 14, 'Genuine therapists fight "tainted" massage sector image', the topic is sexual harassment in the massage sector. By the end of each, the problem in focus is the 'exploitation' or even 'trafficking' of 'vulnerable people'. How are readers supposed to make sense of this contradiction, and those in examples (42-45)? I argue that this discursive leap functions by relying on the reader's presumed understanding of trafficking. Here, the concept of the 'ideal reader' (Fairclough 1989) is useful. The ideal reader is someone 'with particular intertextual experiences … who will indeed make the "right" inference' (1989: 52; 153). The intertextual experiences necessary to make the correct inference in these articles come from Discourses around sex trafficking, which rely on the infantilising trope of a vulnerable victim easily tricked into exploitation and in need of rescue from others (Doezema 2001: 17).

This trope provides the key that helps the reader make the inference necessary to follow the leap. Crucially, the articles execute the leap after having coded the workers as Asian: Article 2 suggests the brothel workers are international students from China; in Article 14, it is 'Chinese and Thai massage shops' that are said to have 'tainted the sector'. Having evoked the image of an Asian sex worker – a figure recognised by the ideal reader as a victim lacking agency – it is not too far a leap to suggest that the workers are somehow being forced, trafficked or exploited. Thus, even when constructed as victims, migrant sex workers are Othered: they become what Doezema (2001: 16, 23) calls the 'damaged' or 'suffering Other', whose rescue is the self-appointed mission of anti-prostitution campaigners. The apparent fascination with the figure of the Asian sex worker that has emerged so saliently throughout this analysis, as well as the ambivalence expressed towards her in text-internal dilemmas of

victimhood/deviance, recalls Orientalist theory. To extend this chapter's focus on *discursive* Othering, the following discussion explores the concept of the Other in a more philosophical sense, by applying a lens of Orientalism.

7. The sexual Other: An Orientalist anxiety

7.1 Introduction

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, New Zealand media discourse appears to express a simultaneous fascination and condemnation towards migrant sex workers. This discourse-internal dilemma is evident in articles' focus on Asian sex workers' sexuality and the sexual nature of their work, often reported in voyeuristic and salacious detail, as well as the repeated attribution of negative qualities such as immorality and illegality. This ambivalent attitude, expressed by a powerful Western media institution towards a marginalised and disempowered group, along with the strong presence of 'us' (Self) and 'them' (Other) distinctions throughout the data, invokes Orientalism as a useful lens to critically examine the ideologies behind the discourse. This theory, introduced by Edward Said in *Orientalism* (2003[1978]), offers a critique of the power imbalance inherent in European depictions of the East.[65] Using concepts afforded by Orientalist theory, I argue in this chapter that the media's Othering representations analysed in the previous chapter reveal more about New Zealand society than they do migrant sex workers themselves. Specifically, the ambivalence evident in the discourse points to dual cultural anxieties around both sex work and immigration.

Despite the developments in postcolonial studies and associated critiques of Orientalism in the decades since the first publication of Said's seminal work *Orientalism* (e.g., Bhabha 1994; Young 2004), the theory provides an enduringly useful framework for critical analysis of texts produced by Western societies about non-Western ones. Orientalist theory considers power imbalance to be produced discursively (cf. Fairclough 1989; van Dijk 2000). Critical discourse scholars in recent years have similarly applied Orientalism to the analysis of US political speeches about the 'war on terror' (Lazar & Lazar 2004), promotional tourist material about Oman (Feighery 2012), portrayals of Pakistani Muslim women in *Time* magazine (Rahman 2014) and BBC news' treatment of Somali piracy (Way 2013). Here I make use of Orientalism's relevant core concepts to frame media constructions of Asian sex workers. In the previous chapter I demonstrated the discursive Othering of migrant sex workers in New Zealand media. In order to make sense of the analysis, I begin this chapter by contextualising this Othering within broader societal Discourses that construct Asian sex workers as an ultimate deviant Other. I then introduce Orientalist theory, followed by its application to the present data: in the ambivalent colonial gaze; the Orientalist attitude of trafficking discourse; the anxieties provoked by sex workers and migrants; and the desire to control this threatening Other.

7.2 Sex workers of colour: Compound Othering

[65] 'Orientalism' may refer to the genre of post-Enlightenment European art and literature depicting the Middle East and northern Africa, or to Said's theory of Orientalism (as set out in his book *Orientalism*) in which he critiques that genre.

To situate the discursive construction of migrant sex workers as Other in this study's dataset of New Zealand media texts, it is necessary to understand the Asian sex worker as a symbolic figure in the Western imagination. This trope, whose importance is evident in its role as the key to make sense of the 'discursive leaps' within articles (examples 42-47 in Chapter 6), operates within rich and intersecting discursive, historic and cultural contexts that position women, people of colour and people who sell sex as Other. Sex difference is a primary site of Self/Other distinction (Freud 1913). In seminal feminist text *The Second Sex* Simone de Beauvoir contends that:

> Humanity is male, and man defines woman, not in herself, but in relation to himself … she is the inessential in front of the essential. He is the Subject; he is the Absolute. She is the Other (1953: 6).

In parallel with feminist theory, postcolonial scholarship has examined how the European gaze towards non-White cultures has worked to construct people of colour as Other through racist stereotypes (Bhabha 1994; Staszak 2009). These two forms of Othering combine to create numerous tropes of women of colour. Scholars in various disciplines have noted the ways in which non-White women, particularly Asian women, are presented as simultaneously vulnerable and sexually threatening. Marchetti (1993: 105) in film studies notes how depictions of Asian women in American cinema play into the 'Yellow Peril' racist stereotype, portraying 'Asian femininity as alluring, provocative, and mysterious as well as passive, yielding, and vulnerable … reconciling the impossible duality of femininity as both unobtainable Madonna and sexually available whore'. This seductive yet vulnerable figure is embodied in the present data, for example in the 'young Chinese woman dressed in pink lingerie' (example 18 in Chapter 6). Hannis (2009) has pointed out the existence of the Yellow Peril stereotype in New Zealand, where he argues the media 'typically depicts Asians in New Zealand as a mysterious Other, often involved in crime' (2009: 117). The linking of Chinese immigration and crime that Hannis identifies in New Zealand media provides a context to understand the findings in Chapters 4 and 6 of this study; that Asian sex workers are routinely situated discursively in contexts of criminality and illegality.

Alongside the Othering of women of colour, there is a parallel and intersecting discursive history that portrays people who sell or trade sex as Other. The Othering of sex workers has its roots in the Other status of women, of the working classes, and of people whose sexuality is considered deviant. The prostitute in Victorian Britain was a symbol of society's moral degeneration, a figure embodying chaos to be feared and controlled by the middle classes (Nead 1988). The perceived aberration of sex work is closely linked to homophobic discourse, with both commercial and gay sex accumulating in deviance by virtue of being non-reproductive, (often) non-monogamous, and occurring outside marriage (Cameron & Kulick 2006: 165; Lucas 1995: 48; McLaughlin 1991: 250-1). Like sex workers, men who have sex with men are portrayed as a threat to decent society. As in contagion narratives, expressed in the dataset via repeated emphasis on 'health and safety' and unprotected sex (examples 11-14), this threat may be of physical disease, such as in the homophobic moral panic surrounding the HIV/AIDS epidemic which promoted fear of gay men (Nead 1988: 122). Alternatively, it may invoke a danger to children, a symbol of society's innocence, such as in the conflation of homosexuality with paedophilia (Clark 2006).

As well as the deviant characteristics listed above, commercial sex has the added feature of being paid, the ultimate insult to hegemonic ideals of female sexual morality (Nead 1988). This provides an explanation for the media's apparent outrage at the earnings of migrant sex workers as an added layer of deviance, such as the woman in example (16). The apparent anger or discomfort provoked by members of marginalised groups earning a comfortable income goes to the heart of class and gender hierarchies within capitalist systems, as argued by feminist scholar Heather Berg (2019):

> …part of the anxiety around sex work is the ability of sex workers to make money outside the traditional wage relationship … part of the power and the force seems to be that predominantly women and queers can make money without a single boss or a husband-daddy.

As McLaughlin (1991: 251) summarises, 'the perception of the prostitute's deviant sexuality was so powerful that she became an icon for deviant sexuality in general … society's anxieties were deflected by mythologizing the prostitute and situating her as [O]ther.' Like representations of Asian women, sex workers are commonly positioned as either vulnerable or threatening (or both) (Doezema 2000: 28), as evident in examples (42-45). Racism, misogyny, classism and whorephobia thus combine to produce a representation of the Asian sex worker as the ultimate deviant Other, a representation similarly identified in other investigations of sex work media discourse (Easterbrook-Smith 2018: 136; Hallgrímsdóttir et al. 2008: 128).

7.3 Orientalism and Self/Other

Said's theory of Orientalism developed as a critique of European artistic and literary representations of the Middle East that, throughout the post-Enlightenment period, had portrayed the Arab societies colonised by Europe as uncivilised, backward and dangerous. The theory provides a lens for understanding the production of knowledge by Europeans about non-Europeans, which emerges from this unequal relationship between 'the West and the Rest' (Hall 1992), with Orientalism defined as:

> the corporate institution for *dealing with* the Orient – dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views on it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it … a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and *having authority over the Orient.* (Said 2003: 3; emphasis added)

Said employs Foucault's concept of *discourse* as 'practices which systematically form the objects of which they speak' (Foucault 1972: 49) in order to understand Europe's *production* of the Orient as a discursive feat, achieved by 'describing' or 'making statements about it' (Said 2003: 3). Texts[66] therefore mediate and entrench the unequal relationship between the Western gazer and the non-Western object of its gaze. Combining this with the CDS view of discourse as socially constitutive (Fairclough 1995; van Leeuwen & Wodak 1999: 92), and media discourse as particularly powerful in reproducing unequal power relations (van Dijk 2000), the data in my study can be understood as texts ripe for Orientalist interpretation: they

[66] For Said, texts may be paintings; for this study, they are news articles.

are produced by a powerful Western institution (New Zealand mainstream media) about a systematically disempowered group (migrant sex workers). The relationship between Europe and the East goes to the heart of fundamental psychic distinctions: subject/object, coloniser/colonised, Self/Other. By describing the Orient, the West discursively places it in the realm of Otherness, defined by Staszak as:

> the result of a discursive process by which a dominant in-group ('Us', the Self) constructs one or many dominated out-groups ('Them', Other) by stigmatizing a difference – real or imagined – presented as a negation of identity and thus a motive for potential discrimination. To state it naïvely, difference belongs to the realm of fact and otherness belongs to the realm of discourse. (2009: 43)

Central to Said's argument is that the construction of the Orient – not a reality but an 'invention' of the European imagination – is in fact an identity project (Bucholtz & Hall 2005) for the West itself. That is, by locating undesirable qualities in the Other, Europe is able to construct itself as a morally superior subject:

> The Orient … has helped to *define Europe* (or the West) as its *contrasting image*, idea, personality, experience … European culture *gained in strength and identity by setting itself off* against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self'. (Said 2003: 1-3; emphasis added)

Echoing this notion, Laclau (1997: 298) argues that 'community' is an impossible ideal, because a community's sense of identity can only be realised in relation to a 'constitutive outside', with Staszak (2009: 43) adding, 'the out-group is only coherent as a group as a result of its *opposition to* the in-group … The Other only exists relative to the Self, and vice versa.' This view is useful in understanding the construction of ingroups and outgroups in the data of the current study. Chapter 6 analysed how migrant sex workers are constructed in media discourse as an outgroup to various ingroups, these being residents and families, law-abiding 'ordinary' people, and New Zealanders. These ingroups are more implicit than the outgroup; positioned as the 'default' against which the deviance of the outgroup is contrasted (cf. S. Neyland 2014). An Orientalist approach therefore suggests that by defining and redefining migrant sex workers as outcasts ('them'), the discourse reassures the reader of their status and belonging in the implicit ingroup ('us').

Taking this further, Bhabha (1994) argues that Orientalist texts in fact reveal more about the culture producing them (the coloniser-gazer) than the one they ostensibly depict. In this sense, the articles in my dataset illuminate more about New Zealand cultural values and anxieties than they do about migrant sex workers. Speaking to the notion that the Orientalist pursuit is in fact a self-assuring identity exercise for the West, Said states that 'the Oriental is irrational, depraved (fallen), childlike, "different", thus the European is rational, virtuous, mature, "normal"' (2003: 40). This expression bears strong applicability to the media's discursive constructions identified in Chapter 6, where for example, workers at the residential brothel (Articles 1-3) are portrayed as irrational or untrustworthy (example 4) and depraved (by having sex all day) (17), while residents are constructed as reasonable (9-10) and 'ordinary'. By repeatedly emphasising migrant sex workers as dangerous, diseased and immoral, as well as naïve, New Zealand media discourse is in fact effectively working to

construct the reader, and thus the imagined national community (Anderson 1983), as the opposite of those things, creating a 'moral distance' (Burke 2002) between them. Bhabha (1994) explains this urge to outcast the Other and thereby define the Self as a symptom of the inherent instability of colonial identity, which must perpetually reassure itself of its sovereignty and moral superiority (cf. S. Neyland 2014: 63).

7.4 The ambivalent gaze

Borrowing from psychoanalytic theory, a central concept of postcolonial studies (the discipline founded by the publication of *Orientalism*) is the ambivalent nature of the West's relationship with the Orient. The Other evokes both fear and delight in the gazer, who is at once fascinated and repulsed (Bhabha 1994; Fanon 1986). This critique shows how Orientalist texts serve to fulfil a European desire to gaze upon yet distance itself from the Other. For example, paintings such as *Odalisque with a Slave* (Ingres 1839-40), which depicts a sexual slave in an Arab setting, invite the European viewer to derive pleasure from looking at the nude while simultaneously condemning the backwardness of the scene and thereby confirm their own culture's moral superiority. In linguistics, a similar dynamic existed between past European language scholars and the 'exotic' yet 'primitive' languages they studied (Bolton & Hutton 2000).

This function of Orientalism can be seen playing out in the present dataset, in articles that serve to titillate the reader while giving them an opportunity to morally condemn their content, and additionally in the 'discursive struggle' (examples 42-45) where the text seems ambivalent as to whether migrant sex workers are victims or deviant. The Asian sex worker is presented as sexually available: through the mention of her pink lingerie (18), emphasis on her willingness to have unprotected sex (11-14), and her portrayal as sexually vulnerable (19, 42). These discursive strategies invite the reader to *look at* the Asian sex worker and derive sexual pleasure from her image. At the same time, in order to retain moral superiority over her, the reader-gazer must be able to condemn the situation in which she appears. The discourse offers two routes to this condemnation, which correspond to the deviant/victim dichotomy identified in Chapter 6. The reader may distance themselves from her by pointing to her deviance (as promiscuous, disease-carrying, corrupt, breaking the law, defrauding the tax system and harming local workers), or by pitying her as helpless and naïve, her victimisation a symptom of the patriarchal, backward Asian culture she belongs to (Lyons 1999). In order to function, this second option relies on the reader being familiar with trafficking Discourses.

7.5 'Suffering third world prostitutes': The role of trafficking narratives

The dataset of articles about migrant sex workers contain several unelaborated references to 'trafficking' (examples 42-47), which suggests that readers are expected to be familiar with this notion. This assumption is situated within a wider cultural fixation on sex trafficking or 'trafficking in women' (Doezema 2000), which since the 1980s has received increasing global attention from feminists, conservative groups and governments, and in turn, the press and the public. The 'victimising' discourse of trafficking (Agustín 2007: 8) has evidently become hegemonic: so strong is its tie to the image of the vulnerable 'third world prostitute' –

assumed by the Western gazer to be lacking agency and in need of rescue – that news articles discussing Asian sex workers are able to make these uncontextualised references to trafficking, recalling Baker's (2006: 19) point that 'a sign of true power [in hegemonic discourses] is *not* having to refer to something, because everybody is aware of it'. This apparent fascination with trafficking, coupled with the condemnation attached to it, points to Orientalism as an illuminating approach to this discourse.

Several scholars (e.g., Agustín 2007; Doezema 2000, 2010; O'Connell Davidson 2006; Smith & Mac 2018; Weitzer 2007) have compellingly critiqued the notion of 'trafficking', arguing that it is a poorly defined concept, fed by moral panic and anti-prostitution ideology rather than reliable data, and which obscures the complex realities of sex, work, and borders. This literature also argues that by locating the 'villain' of trafficking in shadowy figures of pimps and smugglers, governments disguise their own role in creating the conditions that make migrants vulnerable to harm, namely immigration law and border control (Smith & Mac 2018: 67). This plays out in the present data, which constructs Immigration New Zealand (INZ) as a 'protector' of migrants (examples 43-44) while failing to highlight the violent nature of the police raids and 'humanitarian' deportations they inflict on those they claim to be concerned about (Smith & Mac 2018: 78).

This identity construction of Western authorities as a saviour of vulnerable migrant sex workers points to an Orientalist attitude in the discourse. In a similar way, by positioning the 'third world prostitute' as a 'damaged Other' (Doezema 2001), the victim of an uncivilised, barbaric culture (Lyons 1999), anti-trafficking groups can be understood as constructing themselves as 'benevolent helpers' (Agustín 2007: 7). By producing knowledge *about* non-White women and portraying them as child-like and naïve (Doezema 2000), Western feminists position themselves as civilised authorities equipped to save this helpless Other. Meanwhile, they deny agency to those they purport to be helping, treating migrant sex workers as 'passive subjects rather than as normal people looking for conventional opportunities, conditions and pleasures, who may prefer to sell sex to their other options' (Agustín 2007: 8). Critiquing this self-construction of Western anti-trafficking feminists as enlightened to patriarchal systems, Doezema (2001) traces this identity project to Victorian-era English feminists who employed the Orientalist image of the 'backward, helpless' Indian prostitute as a prop to further their self-construction as worthy subjects of political enfranchisement (2001: 17). In a similar way, articles in the dataset can be viewed as working to construct New Zealand society (represented by the Government, police and INZ) as protector and rescuer of migrant sex workers.

7.6 Sex, borders and anxiety

One explanation for the prominence and influence of the notion of sex trafficking is that it provokes two powerful and intertwining anxieties in the Western imagination: female sexuality and immigration; both are embodied in the figure of the migrant sex worker (Agustín 2007; Doezema 2010; Easterbrook-Smith 2018). Doezema (2000) argues that because women's sexual virtue has historically symbolised national honour (Nead 1988: 92), fear of the prostitute Other and fear of the migrant Other each represent disorderly threats to national identity, morality and boundaries (see also McLaughlin 1991: 252; Yuval-Davis 1997: 45-6). This view helps to make sense of discussions in the data around migrant sex workers'

willingness to have unprotected sex (examples 11-14). Here, this deviant act is presented as something citizen sex workers such as Lisa Lewis would never do, which keeps New Zealand's sexual morality and national innocence intact, while the problem is located in the foreign Other. This positioning of citizen sex workers as innocent and moral may be surprising as they are still sex workers (generally speaking, a heavily stigmatised group), however as Easterbrook-Smith (2018) showed, in decriminalised New Zealand they are the *right* kind of sex workers: White, working independently and indoors, described as 'escorts' rather than 'prostitutes' and afforded a voice in the media.

The connection between prostitution and borders is elaborated by Kulick (2003), who contends that the Swedish law criminalising the purchase of sexual services in fact grew out of a fear of migration: 'anxiety about Sweden's position in the EU is articulated through anxiety about prostitution' (2003: 199). Kulick describes such immigration panic as (homophobic) 'fear of penetration', echoing Rheindorf and Wodak (2018) who argue that in Discourses of refugeehood, nation states construct themselves as 'bodies … to be protected from invasion, penetration, infection or disease' (2018: 21). This perspective frames the dual preoccupations in the data around increasing numbers of migrant sex workers (examples 30-33) and spreading disease (11-14) as representative of these underlying invasion/infestation anxieties.

The strong thread of anti-immigration discourse in the data (30-41) is evidence of immigration fears, while the fascination with the sexualities of sex workers (11-19) may be evidence of some kind of sexual unease. Part of the socio-political and historical context in which the discourse is situated (Weiss & Wodak 2003: 22) is the ongoing immigration panic surrounding 'migrant crises' as a result of worsening economic, political and military situations in the Global South and 'boundary crisis' as a backlash to multiculturalism in the West (Yuval-Davis 1997). This fear may be pronounced in New Zealand (like Australia) by its status as an island nation with a violent colonial past (cf. Burke 2002; S. Neyland 2014) making it particularly vulnerable to invasion or 'penetration'. Parallel to this threat is unease around the topic of sexuality in New Zealand society (Kirkman & Moloney 2005: 9). Thus, media discourse may be seen as displacing discomfort around sex onto deviant migrant sex workers in such a such a way that it allows the 'problem' of sexuality to be located in the Other, accomplishing the additional feat of demonising immigrants by framing them as taking jobs and evading tax (35-41).

7.7 Controlling the Other

These anxieties produced by the perception of (sexual and racial) difference demand that the Other be controlled, which is one function of the Orientalist pursuit: the act of describing and gathering knowledge about the Other is a way to exert dominance over it and reinforce the West's own power (Said 2003: 3). This understanding offers an explanation for the copious references in the present dataset to control over migrant sex workers (examples 25-29). This focus can be demonstrated quantitatively: in the 24 articles discussing migrant sex work analysed in Chapter 6, *immigration* occurs 97 times, *deport** 65 times, *INZ* 56, *police* 40, *raid** 22, *liability notice** 19 and *compliance* 16. Thus, after alarming the reader over the pending chaotic invasion of a sexually corrupt Other, with these references the discourse offers a

comforting reminder of the state force that exists to control, surveil and punish this disorderly population, in the form of police and immigration authorities.

This promise of state force against migrant sex workers is mirrored by a more subtle promise to the reader of sexual dominance over them. Sexualising details (example 18) present the Asian sex worker's body as sexually available, while references to the numbers of clients she might see (15-17) permits the reader to imagine themselves as one of those clients, or at least as a voyeuristic witness to the scene: a sex worker alone with a client, or even being humiliated when 'caught … naked' by police (19). These discursive strategies allay the fear of the foreign Other invoked in the (presumed White) reader by promising them sexual dominance over her, while at the same time evoking outrage at either her promiscuity (15-17) or at the external 'evil' forces inflicting such injury on the prostitute body (15, 42-45) (Doezema 2001).

7.8 Conclusion

The discursive Othering, dichotomies and ambivalence that emerge from the analysis in Chapter 6 point to Orientalism as an illuminating approach to interpret New Zealand media discourse surrounding migrant sex workers. Orientalist theory provides another lens for what we already know from CDS: discursively producing 'knowledge' about the Orient is what gives the Occident its power (cf. Fairclough 1989). Employing the concepts offered by this theory, in this chapter I have argued that New Zealand media discourse perpetuates an Orientalist gaze towards migrant sex workers, and in doing so is revelatory of New Zealand society's uncomfortable attitudes towards sex (work) and Asian migration. While the destigmatising effect of decriminalisation appears to have filtered through in more agentive portrayals of 'acceptable' sex workers (Easterbrook-Smith 2018) (discussed in Chapters 5 and 6), the apparent lingering discomfort provoked by those with deviant sexualities is displaced onto migrants, who are rendered acceptable targets for xenophobic demonisation by repeated emphasis on their illegal behaviour (examples 20-29).

With Asian sex workers firmly positioned as Other by compounding wider Discourses, the reader-gazer is free to attribute negative qualities to this figure: dangerous, diseased and deviant, yet exotic and alluring. Thus the discourse executes a textbook Orientalist move: portraying the female body of the Other as sexually available yet judged for its attachment to a morally suspicious culture, thereby fulfilling a colonial desire to gaze upon yet distance itself from the colonised Other. Trafficking narratives further facilitate this gaze by portraying migrant sex workers as naïve victims and allowing New Zealand society, represented through state authorities, to construct its own identity as morally right. Finally, by promising sexual and state force over the 'disorderly bodies' (Smith & Mac 2018: 131) of migrant sex workers, the discourse assuages the dual anxieties around prostitution and immigration that this group embodies. In the next chapter, I consider the real-world implications these findings hold for the sex worker rights movement and the law in New Zealand.

8. Conclusion

This study has used methods of corpus-informed critical discourse studies to analyse the construction of migrant sex workers in New Zealand newspapers. Chapter 4 draws on corpus linguistic tools to identify salient patterns and trends in the data. The findings suggest sex work carries a semantic prosody linked to crime and degeneracy, and point to a significant focus on migrant sex workers and illegality, with evidence of anti-immigration and trafficking Discourses emerging. Chapter 5 uses Voice as a measure of the agency and representation afforded to different social groups, demonstrating that immigration officials speak most about migrant sex workers, who themselves are given relatively little opportunity to create their own narratives. Building on these trends, Chapter 6 examines the various ways in which migrant sex workers are constructed as Other, a strategy of marginalisation and stigmatisation. They are routinely positioned as a deviant outgroup that poses a threat to local communities including children, local ('acceptable') sex workers and their livelihoods, and law-abiding, taxpaying New Zealand citizens. These themes draw on Discourses of containment, contagion, culpability and immigration.

Building on the link established by other literature (e.g., Toft 2014), I have shown how deviance, Othering and stigma are linked. A deviant characteristic (for example, migrants' alleged willingness to offer unprotected sexual services) is used to construct a group as Other, which serves to deepen the stigma attached to their identities. I also identify 'discursive leaps' within articles, which presume the reader's familiarity with hegemonic trafficking Discourses in order to portray migrant sex workers as victims. The analysis finds evidence of racist stereotypes in New Zealand, such as those linking Asian migrants to crime, and portraying Asian women as sexually different; simultaneously vulnerable and threatening. This duality, along with the focus on concepts of Self and Other, motivates Orientalism as a relevant theoretical lens to apply to the data. I argue in Chapter 7 that the discourse's apparent ambivalence – the simultaneous desire in the Western reader to gaze upon and distance themselves from the figure of the Asian sex worker – reveals dual cultural anxieties around both sex (work) and immigration. At the same time, the discourse serves to construct New Zealand's own identity in opposition to the deviance of migrant sex workers: by Othering the Other, the Self is reinforced.

In contemporary multicultural Western democracies such as New Zealand, it might be expected that the racist stereotypes, anti-migrant sentiment and Orientalist perspectives that permeate the data in this study would be unacceptable in mainstream media. After 15 years of decriminalisation, it may have become less acceptable to New Zealand readers to stigmatise and dehumanise sex workers in ways that persist elsewhere (e.g., Hunt & Hubbard 2015).[67] However, there evidently remains an undercurrent of anxiety in New Zealand around both immigration and sex, which is expediently displaced onto migrant sex workers, with the added effect of demonising migrants. This manoeuvre is facilitated by the law, which by deeming their work illegal, provides justification for the discursive marginalisation and stigmatisation of migrant sex workers.

The most important implication of this research is therefore a social one. The study's aim has been to provide support for the current campaign, led by the New Zealand Prostitutes

[67] Although, as suggested by the articles about street-based sex workers in Christchurch, and by Easterbrook-Smith's (2018) study, this is only the case for those workers deemed 'acceptable' (White, cisgender 'escorts' working indoors) (see discussion below).

Collective and supported by leading researchers in the New Zealand sex industry (e.g., Abel & Roguski 2018; Armstrong 2018; Roguski 2013) to repeal Section 19 of the Prostitution Reform Act in order to extend to sex workers on temporary visas the safer working conditions and legal empowerment enjoyed by non-migrants. The finding that the media indeed perpetrates 'discursive injustice' against migrant sex workers, using the illegal status of their work as a justification to peddle racist and whorephobic attitudes, provides support from a linguistic perspective for the argument that the law should be changed.[68]

As Mautner (2016: 162) points out, corpus-building necessarily inflicts a semiotic reduction on the data: in satisfying the requirement for machine-readability, multimodal information is lost such as typography, colour and images, which form an integral component of meaning-making (van Leeuwen 2015). A preliminary survey of the images accompanying online versions of the articles in the dataset suggest a multimodal analysis would be a fruitful avenue for future research. For example, the articles centring New Zealand sex workers' views, such as 'NZ sex workers lodge complaints over foreign prostitute website advertisements' (Article 11), feature an image of citizen sex worker Lisa Lewis facing the camera, affording her subjectivity and individualised representation. Meanwhile, articles such as 'Migrant sex workers finding ways to evade visa crackdown' (Article 9) are frequently accompanied by stock photographs of anonymous street-based sex workers at night-time, showing only their silhouettes or legs. As well as conflating migrants with stereotypical representations of street-based work, these images suggest migrant sex work is shadowy, seedy and illicit. One article about sex trafficking, 'Human trafficking: Brokers lure foreign sex workers to NZ with "half truths"' (Article 15), is accompanied by a photograph of a Pleaser (a type of platform heel worn by strippers). This is a clear example of how the media appropriates sex industry motifs to titillate readers, even when the content of the article relates to exploitation and abuse.

It should also be acknowledged that hierarchies exist within the sex industry that privilege some workers over others, and this study has not taken into account every construction of sex workers in the corpus. By focusing specifically on migrant sex workers, I have only examined citizen sex workers when they are positioned as a normative ingroup in opposition to migrant outsiders. However, New Zealand sex workers are by no means a homogenous group, nor are they constructed as such. Easterbrook-Smith (2018) identifies a hierarchy of 'acceptability' in New Zealand media discourse around sex work, where privately-working White 'escorts' are represented favourably as 'elite' and agentive businesspeople, with street-based sex workers (along with migrant sex workers) demonised. My corpus indeed features a strong media focus on street-based sex work, emerging through numerous articles from *The Press* about ongoing tensions between street-based sex workers in Christchurch and the residents in the areas where they work. These articles draw heavily on contagion and containment narratives to construct outdoor sex workers as a nuisance and a disorderly threat to community safety.

[68] From a theoretical perspective, another contribution of this research is to demonstrate the usefulness of Orientalism as an illuminating lens with which to critically analyse this kind of discourse. This study has also added to the body demonstrating the methodological synergy of CICDS, combining contextualised quantitative corpus measures within a critical approach, especially in application to discursive constructions of marginalised social groups.

This point serves as a reminder that despite the celebrated Prostitution Reform Act, hegemonic structures of class, gender and race continue to permeate ideologies around sex work in New Zealand. This suggests the 'problem' of street-based work is not actually about neighbourhood safety, just as the 'problem' of migrant sex work is not really about sex trafficking. Rather, these discourses are ultimately concerned with shoring up the ongoing disempowerment of marginalised populations who refuse to conform to capitalist and sexual norms. When ethnic, gender and sexual minorities manage to profit and prosper outside these normative structures, more privileged social groups would do well to reflect on the root of their own discomfort rather than deepening stigma against the oppressed.

9. Appendices

Appendix 1

List of articles analysed in Chapter 6 (stars refer to those also analysed in Chapter 5). Slash used where print version and online version have differing headlines.

1. Home brothel where 'up to eight prostitutes work' upsets Northcote neighbours (NZH [online only], 12 Aug 2018, by Lincoln Tan) URL: https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12104510
2. Northcote 'home brothel': Women 'sex workers' have moved out, neighbours say (NZH, 16 Aug 2018, by Lincoln Tan) URL: https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12108200
3. Auckland Council orders Northcote brothel to cease operations (NZH [online only], 19 Sep 2018, by Lincoln Tan) URL: https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12127704
4. *Sex work/escort is on skilled employment list, Immigration NZ confirms (NZH [online only], 25 Apr 2018, by Lincoln Tan) URL: https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12039013
5. *Immigration New Zealand pulls sex worker from skilled employment list checker (NZH [online only], 4 May 2018, by Lincoln Tan) URL: https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12045198
6. *INZ: Ex-sex workers can be granted NZ residency, despite immigration rules saying no (NZH [online only], 19 Sep 2018, by Lincoln Tan) URL: https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12127717
7. 'Coffee and chat' with sex workers / Immigration NZ officials asking sex workers for a 'coffee and a chat' (NZH, 1 Sep 2018, by Lincoln Tan) URL: https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12116847
8. *27 deported in prostitution blitz / Illegal prostitution crackdown: 27 Asian sex workers deported (NZH, 5 Jun 2018, by Lincoln Tan) URL: https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12064121
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24. Who we let in [letter to editor] (DP [print only], 20 Apr 2018)

Appendix 2

Percentage of total attributed speech (direct and paraphrased) of different actors across 18 articles.

Article	INZ	NZPC	NZ sex workers	Migrant sex workers	Other
1	100	-	-	-	-
2	30	15	14	22	20
3	35	-	12	11	43
4	31	-	11	-	58
5	86	-	-	-	14
6	18	-	82	-	-
7	-	22	52	-	27
8	53	22	10	-	15
9	-	-	-	-	100
10	58	-	-	13	30
11	35	-	-	17	48
12	33	14	-	-	53
13	44	4	-	33	19
14	19	27	3	51	-
15	20	58	-	22	-
16	64	36	-	-	-
17	56	9	-	-	35
18	28	72	-	-	-
Total	36	14	10	13	27

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Breaking Frames with Babish:
How community boundaries are managed through humour on a professional YouTube channel

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Abstract:

Community belonging is a central focus of sociolinguistic research. While early workplace research focused on 'background' interactions amongst 'intact' teams using the Community of Practice model (Wenger 1998), this paper addresses a trend in the field calling for more attention to 'frontstage' interactions and online workspaces. Identifying YouTube as an appropriate research site, I focus on humour as a discourse strategy for signalling community membership. Following a Multimodal Interactional Analysis paradigm, I collected and analysed data from a popular professional YouTube channel, Binging with Babish. I argue that by observing the strategies Babish uses to produce humour, we can identify multiple, overlapping layers of imagined communities within his intended audience. Exploring the 'modes of belonging' to a community reveals how shared practices develop amongst people who do not share 'interactive co-presence' (King 2019). This data-driven approach serves as a pathway to investigating the complexity of norms in frontstage interactions.

1. Unpacking norms in understudied worksites

Demonstrating that you belong within the boundaries of a community is a central focus of sociolinguistics (Angouri 2016). The shared social 'norms' that define membership in a speech community (Labov 1972) are also at the heart of the Interactional Sociolinguistic (IS) paradigm (Gordon & Kraut 2017). This approach recognises that failure to acquire these shared norms can lead to exclusion and unconscious bias (Van De Mieroop & Schnurr 2017; Wodak 2008).

Building on this research, workplace discourse scholars investigate how norms are used to manage ingroup/outgroup boundaries and develop a sense of belonging amongst workplace teams (Angouri et al. 2017). Following in the ethnographic tradition of IS, most workplace research has focused on 'backstage' interactions (Goffman 1959) amongst 'intact' teams of workplace colleagues (Holmes et al. 2011; Vine & Marra 2017). This approach aims to ensure that recording consent is granted by every participant to ensure that all ethical requirements are satisfied. This kind of research also lends itself towards the Community of Practice (CofP) framework (Vine & Marra 2017; Wenger 1998) in which the criteria of mutual engagement, joint enterprise, and shared repertoire are all able to be met.

However, recently scholars have questioned the implicit assumption that these kinds of teams and interactions represent all workplaces by addressing the need to broaden the array of worksites under investigation. In particular, they call for more attention towards frontstage interactions in which 'limited moments of co-presence' (J. Coupland 2000) form

the majority of talk. I aim to address this trend in the field by investigating how community boundaries develop in the public space represented by online interactions. Identifying online workplaces, and YouTube in particular, as an understudied site of analysis, I explore the ways in which a YouTube content creator, namely, the creator of Binging with Babish, uses humour on his channel to negotiate community boundaries.

2. Belonging and communities in sociolinguistics

Early research on communities in this area made use of the popular concept of speech communities (Gumperz & Hymes 1972) to describe groups of people that shared certain language norms which distinguished them from other groups. This framework was widely used to categorise speakers into broad demographics (e.g., age, status, gender, or region) to answer questions on language variation and change. But a lack of felt-commonality (N. Coupland 2010; see also King 2019) in the framework has caused critics to ask how it is that speakers come to share a language variety and are motivated to exhibit 'evaluative behaviour' (Labov 1972: 120) over what determines an authentic speaker (King 2019; N. Coupland 2010). That is, the framework does not explain how the boundaries of a speech community are formed and negotiated in real-life interaction.

To address this, many scholars have made use of the Community of Practice model developed by Lave and Wenger (1991). By focusing not on what a community *is* but on what people actually *do* in interactions (Angouri 2016), this model helps explicate how broad social patterns are realised and negotiated in micro-level interactions. In this way, CofPs provide the 'mediating ground between social structure and linguistic agency' (King 2019: 47). This approach has many affordances for workplace research where it has been widely used to illustrate how the mutual engagement of members in a joint enterprise can develop shared practices and ways-of-doings things (Wenger 1998). In this way, workplace scholars do not presume *a priori* the existence of a community, but rather through in-depth, ethnographic field work, they investigate the way the shared practices of a workplace team contribute towards a mutual sense of belonging. Furthermore, the central concept of 'legitimate peripheral participants' reveals the different degrees to which people can belong to a CofP and usefully illustrates how a 'newcomer' can successfully become an in-group member by adopting the localised practices of that CofP (Wenger 1998).

However, as previously mentioned, there is room in the field for investigating workplace interactions between people who do not belong to the same CofP. Linguistic research on service encounters suggests that customer/employee interactions are formulaic and guided by implicit shared norms (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2006; Kuiper & Flindell 2000; Vine & Marra 2017). Despite having little to no prior interactional experience, the process of purchasing something from a shop or café is typically completed without complications. An option for interpreting this success has been explored by the Language in the Workplace Project (LWP) team who have applied the 'nexus of practice' (Scollon 2001) framework to explain how social actors' mutual understanding of the rules of certain practices like handing something over or purchasing a coffee are used to guide their (inter)actions (Vine & Marra 2017). However, this approach does little to explain how this knowledge comes to be acquired. In the case of ad-hoc encounters however, the CofP model is not suitable as the criteria of mutual engagement and joint enterprise are not met. This paper aims to address the need

to move beyond the CofP approach to investigate what belonging entails in these interactional contexts. In order to expand the focus of the field beyond white and blue-collar workplaces, I focus my analysis on the understudied worksite of YouTube. Online spaces are typically public environments - content creators recognise that their videos are available for anyone to view all over the world - and as such, YouTube epitomises the frontstage of interaction.

3. The YouTube workplace

Most research on YouTube has focused on its function as a user-generated content (UGC) platform and social networking site (SNS) (Burgess & Green 2009; van Dijck 2009). Scholars typically associate YouTube with other popular SNSs that also rely on UGC like Facebook and Instagram while reflecting on the unique features of YouTube that differentiate it from these other platforms, most notably the use of video (Androutsopoulos & Tereick 2016; Kerry 2019). Yet despite YouTube's global influence and the large revenue streams that popular content creators have through advertising, the popular video-sharing site remains understudied by workplace scholars.

Investigating how a content creator has intentionally designed their videos to attract a loyal, regular base of viewers can reveal the content creator's perceptions of what their audience base may look like. This speaks to the notion of 'audience design' (Bell 2010), a framework which facilitates the explanation of stylistic shifting in a speaker in relation to a listener (imagined or otherwise). Style is associated with a group and 'indexing' that style marks inter-group relations (Bell 2010). While mostly used to explain micro-level stylistic choices like allophonic variation, the same overarching principles of audience design have been applied to explain broader discursive actions e.g., language choice in a multilingual social networking context (Androutsopoulos 2014).

Designing interaction for an online space and the peculiarities that that entails, have led some scholars to challenge the application of community to this area. Gee's 'affinity spaces' (2005) model for example, arose to explain spaces (online or offline) in which people are bound not by a shared sense of belonging but by bonding over a 'common passion' (Hayes & Gee 2009: 187). By focusing on how the mutual interest shapes interactions, this approach avoids the complicated task of delineating the borders of a community. In a similar vein, the concept of 'Participatory Culture' (Burgess & Green 2009; Jenkins 2006) was developed as a way of explaining the explosion of mutual participation oriented activity such as fan interest sites on the internet. The model has been used to explain the multiple ways of participating that UGC sites like YouTube provide and how mutual participation in these sites develops shared ways of interacting. However, while useful for describing this cultural movement, the Participatory Culture framework is simply too vague to provide any explanations for how to delimit groups of people online. Jenkins himself notes that the framework does not really answer the question, 'participation in what?' (Jenkins & Carpentier 2013: 272). Kerry (2019) introduced these ideas into linguistics by combining the two models to describe interactions in the YouTube comments section. Her 'Participatory Spaces' model recognises the constraints of YouTube and how these constraints mediate interactions amongst groups of people with little shared background. However, while suitable for analysing micro-level interaction amongst commenters, Kerry's focus on self-

referencing stances does not explore the workplace interest of belonging to a community. To address this, we must draw the connection between how micro-level interactions index membership in broader communities.

4. Using humour to signal group membership

One way in which the researcher can identify community membership is through humour. As Holmes argues, 'shared humour is an important ingroup/outgroup boundary marker' (2000: 159). In-group members recognise and understand the humour while out-group members are excluded through their lack of access and knowledge.

Humour scholars recognise that while the form always relies on incongruity, the functions are multiple (Holmes 2000). Amongst workplace scholars, humour has been shown to: ease tension in awkward or difficult situations; negotiate complex power dynamics; and to signal ingroup status (Holmes 2000; Holmes & Marra 2002, 2006; Schnurr & Plester 2017; Westwood & Rhodes 2007). Functionalist discourse approaches, widely used in workplace research, typically apply the notion of 'frames' to make sense of how interlocuters successfully interpret utterances as humorous (Schnurr & Plester 2017). Frames shape the way that listeners understand language. Prosody, body language, and unique linguistic expressions amongst others can all serve as 'cues' which indicate to the listener that the following utterance is framed as humorous (Lampert & Ervin-Tripp 2006).

While these linguistic cues are not always visible in text, the use of humour as a marker of ingroup solidarity remains central to boundary negotiation in online communities. For example, humorous group-specific phrases and indexical markers have been identified as crucial to indexing ingroup status in online discussion boards (Baym 1995). Contemporary research increasingly recognises the importance of memes to negotiating boundaries online (Weitz 2017). Memes are 'digital items' which share characteristics and are circulated on the Internet by many users (Shifman 2014: 41). As McCulloch puts it, 'making and sharing memes is about policing what's in and what's out of internet culture' (2019: 241). The process by which memes are shared is frequently explained through the concept of 'entextualisation' which involves decontextualizing an idea or discourse from one context, and recontextualising it into another (Leppänen et al. 2013). The entextualised product then includes both its original meaning and new meaning that it acquires when used in a different context. It is in understanding the original meaning of the meme and how the entextualisation process has changed this meaning that in-group membership is developed. Research on memes, and internet communication more generally, raises several important issues regarding humour in online spaces: timing; humour responses; and recognising humour. The role of timing in humour, which has always been considered integral to face-to-face joking, must be reconsidered when analysing asynchronous interactions where responses to humour can occur long after the original post (Weitz 2017). The dominance of text-based communication online has led to a proliferation of internet-specific response forms, like transcribed laughter and smiling emojis (Weitz 2017). These same indexical features can also be used as markers of humorous intent to account for the lack of prosodic or gestural cues online.

Yet, despite the widespread use of image macros and videos in producing memes, most of the literature on online humour continues to focus primarily on language (Schnurr & Plester 2017) with little room for how these visual cues are used to produce humour.

5. Theoretical stance

Recognising the contributions of other modes like these visual cues in identity construction in interactions, I approach my research through a Multimodal Interaction Analytic (MIA) lens (Kuśmierczyk 2013; Norris 2011). This approach highlights the importance of gesture, gaze, and layout in meaning-making and provides methodological and analytical tools for investigating these.

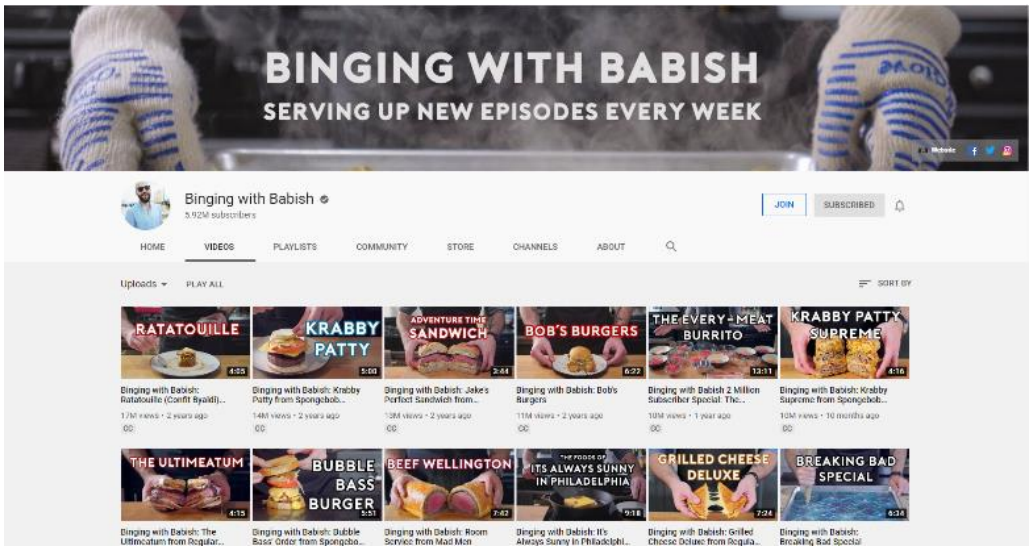
However, much of the research conducted under this paradigm is purely descriptive, largely intended to illustrate how these modes influence meaning-making in interaction with little attention paid to the impact of broader societal constraints. In order to address my own critical approach to research, I adopt a 'realist' stance (Holmes et al. 2011). This theoretical stance has been profitably used by workplace scholars to illustrate how macro-level societal structures and meso-level institutional constructs can impact and constrain discursive choices in micro-level interactions. It aims to strike a balance between social structure and individual agency. When applied to the YouTube context, this stance recognises how particular features of YouTube shape how interactants engage with one another.

6. Binging with Babish

The data for this project comes from an educational cooking show on YouTube, Binging with Babish (BWB). Created by, and starring, the eponymous Oliver Babish (real name: Andrew Rea), this show follows a semi-structured format in which Babish faithfully recreates food items from popular movies and TV shows in his own kitchen. This can be seen in itself as a form of entextualisation. Babish *decontextualizes* food items from their original context in movies and TV shows and *recontextualizes* them by reproducing them in his own kitchen (see Figure 1).

Figure 1

BWB videos sorted from most to least popular



Note. Multiple references to food items from popular cartoons such as Spongebob Squarepants.

If the original recipe is poor, or even just unexceptional, Babish creates a better version following his own expertise. This changes the food's meaning; the focus is now not on what the food means in relation to the film, but on its quality and presentation.

The show premiered 4 years ago and now has over 6 million subscribers, over 1 billion total channel views, and two published cookbooks based off recipes from his channel. This widespread popularity and success mean this choice helps me align with the LWP team's philosophy in committing to an 'appreciative inquiry' (AI) approach (Vine & Marra 2017). AI involves looking at what is going well in a workplace in order to encourage the extension of those strengths.

To augment the video data and provide warrants for my analytic interpretations, I also made use of data drawn from: the comments section of Babish's videos; his website; twitter feed; various interviews that he's conducted over the years; and my own understandings of the show based on long-term familiarity. This approach draws inspiration from the Interactional Sociolinguistic paradigm within which much of workplace research is conducted (Holmes et al. 2011). IS research involves 'locating discourse in its socio-cultural context and drawing on the analysts' knowledge of the community and its norms to understand what is going on' (Vine & Marra 2017: 184). This provides both an emic and etic perspective to analysis, which reduces the researcher's natural bias and affords a more nuanced interpretation of the data (Marra & Lazzaro-Salazar 2018).

While this is publicly available data, there are still some ethical considerations to keep in mind. The blending of public/private spaces online poses complex questions for what constitutes appropriate best practice (Androutsopoulos 2013; Kerry 2019). Where possible, I have aimed to hide user's online names to mitigate the possibility of tracing this information to their offline, private presence.

7. Analytic process

BWB contains three different 'series': the original 'BWB' videos; 'Basics with Babish' which involves short cooking classes on various food items and popular meals; and 'Being with Babish' a vlog-style series. Following a standard MIA approach (Kuśmierczyk 2013; Norris 2019) and in order to provide the depth of analysis required for qualitative research, I restricted my data set to include only the original BWB videos. This was followed by viewing and briefly annotating the top 15 most popular videos on BWB (as can be seen in Figure 1, all were part of the original series). By focusing on the most popular videos, this step builds on the AI approach mentioned earlier while also avoiding over-saturating the data set. The annotation process involved demarcating observable higher-level actions in order to assist with making sense of the data. Two representative videos were selected for the next step of detailed analysis. This involved identifying individual tokens of humour and unpacking the strategies used to produce this humour.

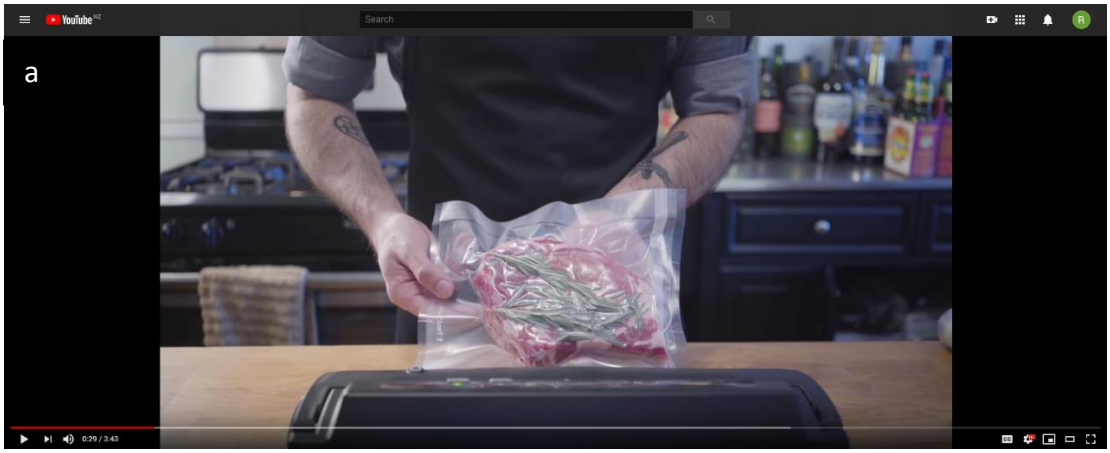
8. Strategies of humour

Of the strategies Babish uses to produce humour that I identified in the analysis, I focus on two which stood out as salient: breaking frames (Mifdal 2019) and entextualisation (Tsakona 2017). The former brings together multiple strands of theories concerning the production of humour. As argued by Mifdal (2019), breaking frames epitomises the incongruity central to the production and interpretation of humour. Because breaking frames is not only a discursive but also visual process, it addresses the lack of attention to multimodality research in existing studies.

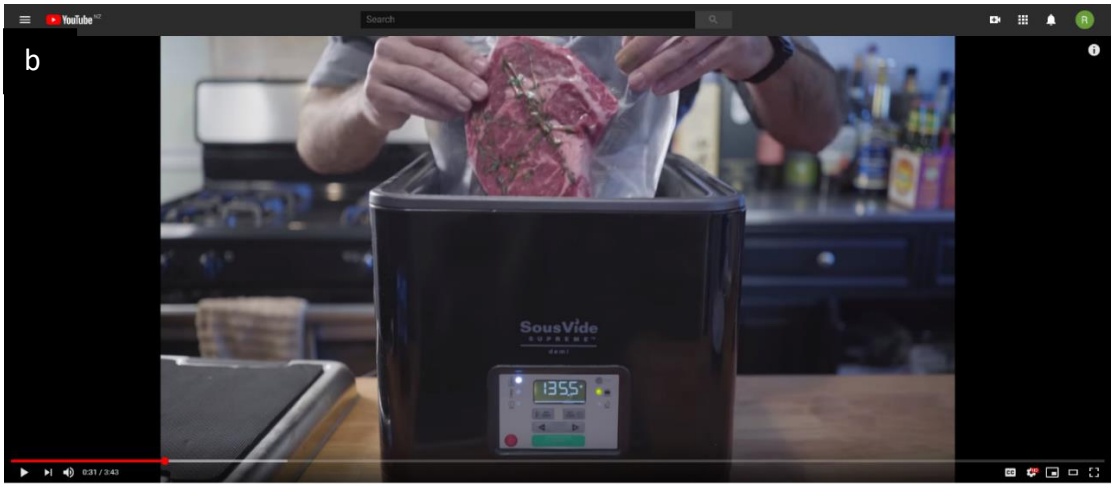
An example of the way Babish uses breaking frames can be seen in Figure 2. below. In this example, Babish describes how to properly sous-vide (a method of cooking where food is vacuum sealed and placed in a water bath at very low temperatures) a steak as part of his recipe for making 'Jake's Perfect Sandwich' from the popular cartoon show 'Adventure Time' (see appendix for transcription conventions).

Figure 2

Babish guides the viewer through the process of how to sous-vide a steak



(0:28) we're going to vacuum-seal it.



(0:30) place it in a 135-degree sous vide.

(0:32) ↑ normally i'd wanna go for more like 115

(0:34) but ↓ hey jake's the sandwich expert not me.

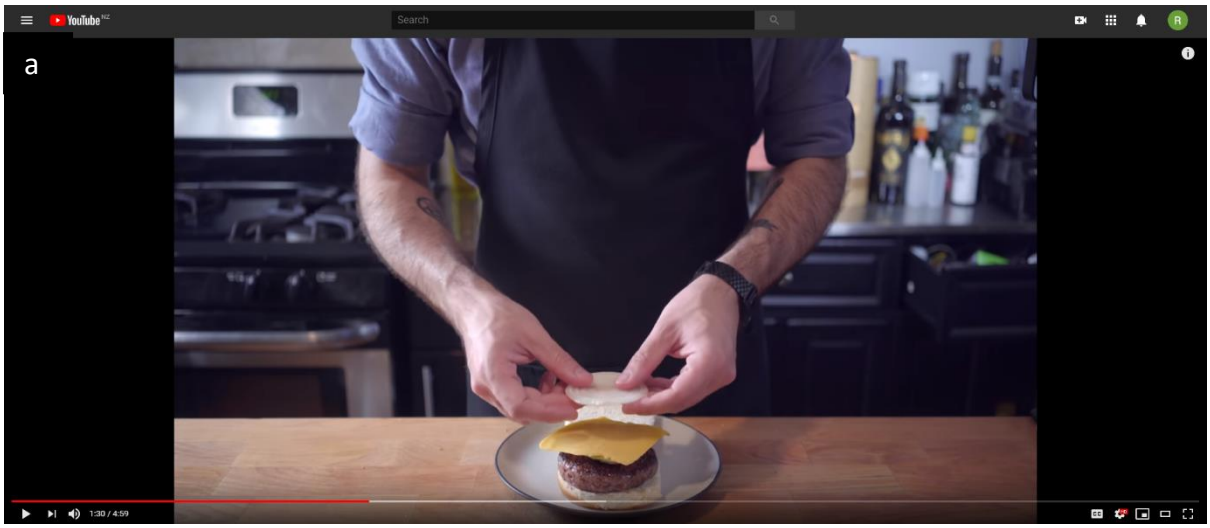
This example begins in a serious tone. The use of technical language (e.g., *vacuum-seal* and *sous-vide*) frames it as a cooking show similar to many others popular on Food network television (Ketchum 2005; Matwick & Matwick 2019). As is typical for his videos, each instruction delivered by the voiceover (vacuum-sealing and placing in sous-vide) is accompanied by a cut in the video corresponding to the described action being performed.

Where no instruction is being performed but further information remains to be conveyed, Babish fills in the visual space with a playful hand gesture (as in Figure 2.d where he gently taps the sous vide a couple times). The use of the casual word *hey* (Figure 2.d) invites the audience to switch to a 'play' frame (Holmes & Marra 2002) thereby interpreting the following utterance as humorous. The playful tapping then not only fills in the visual 'silence' but also serves to reinforce the play frame. Although the audio is a voiceover and is edited over the top of the video, viewers see and hear these actions simultaneously. As such, the performance created by the overlapping of these actions can be interpreted as one action. The play frame is created by the juxtaposition with the otherwise serious frame of cooking show; this causes the incongruity that is the source of the humour. This incongruity is further reinforced by the utterance itself which presumes that a talking cartoon dog (i.e. the Jake referred to in Figure 2.d) is more knowledgeable about cooking steak than a widely respected, real-life cook.

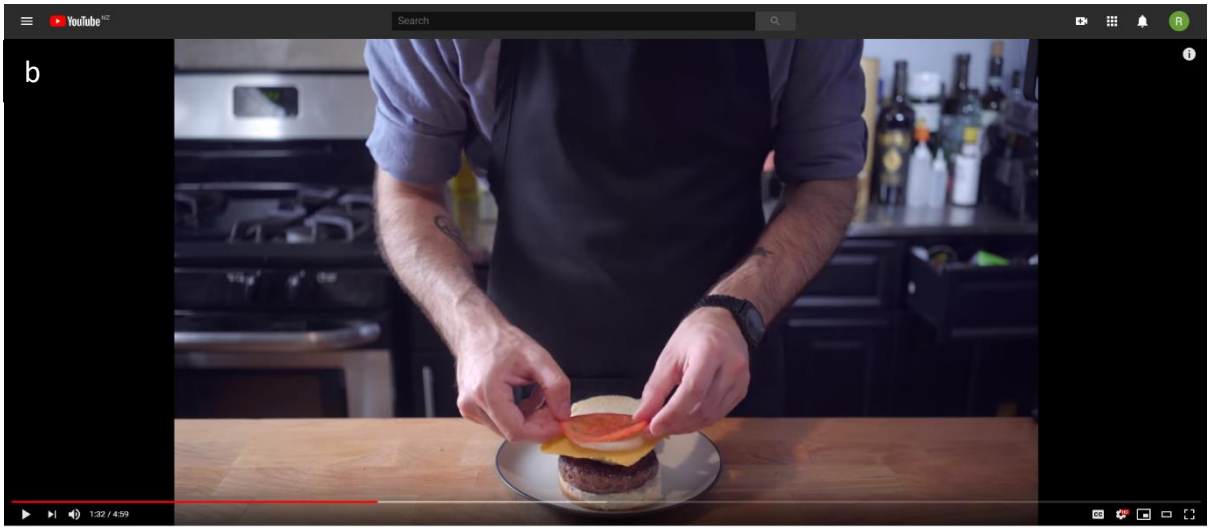
While the premise of the show can be seen as a form of entextualisation, this process also occurs at a micro-level to produce humour as well, as seen earlier in the reference to Adventure Time. A more developed example of this occurs in an episode in which Babish recreates the famous 'Krabby Patty' burger from the popular children's cartoon show 'Spongebob Squarepants'. In this example, Babish has prepared and cooked all the ingredients required to faithfully replicate the burger and is undergoing the process of plating. I begin transcription from halfway through this process.

Figure 3

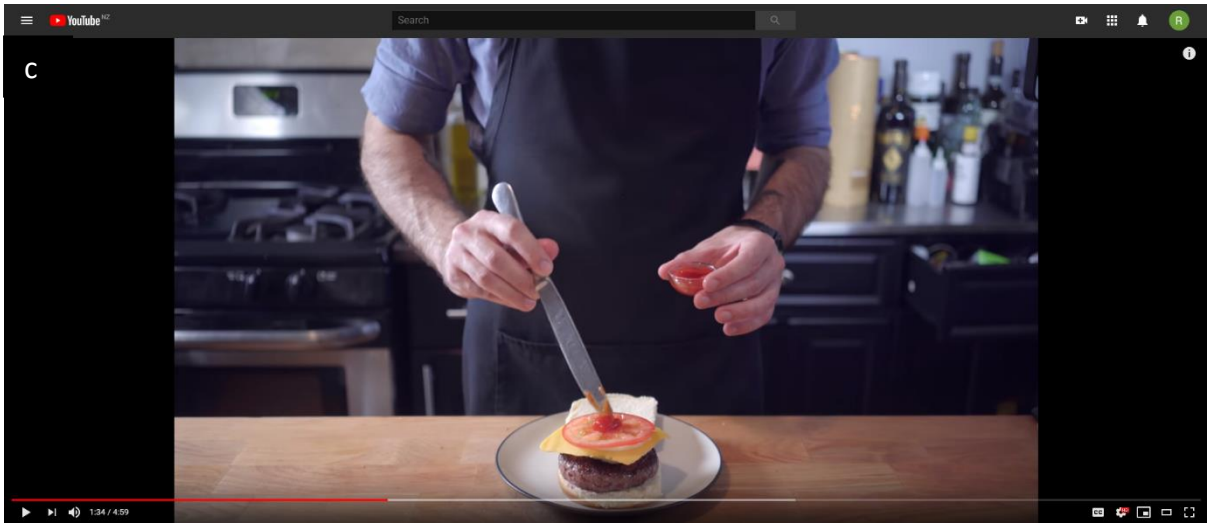
Babish builds the burger from prepared ingredients



(1:30) then we're going to single slice of yellow american single slice of vidalia onion.

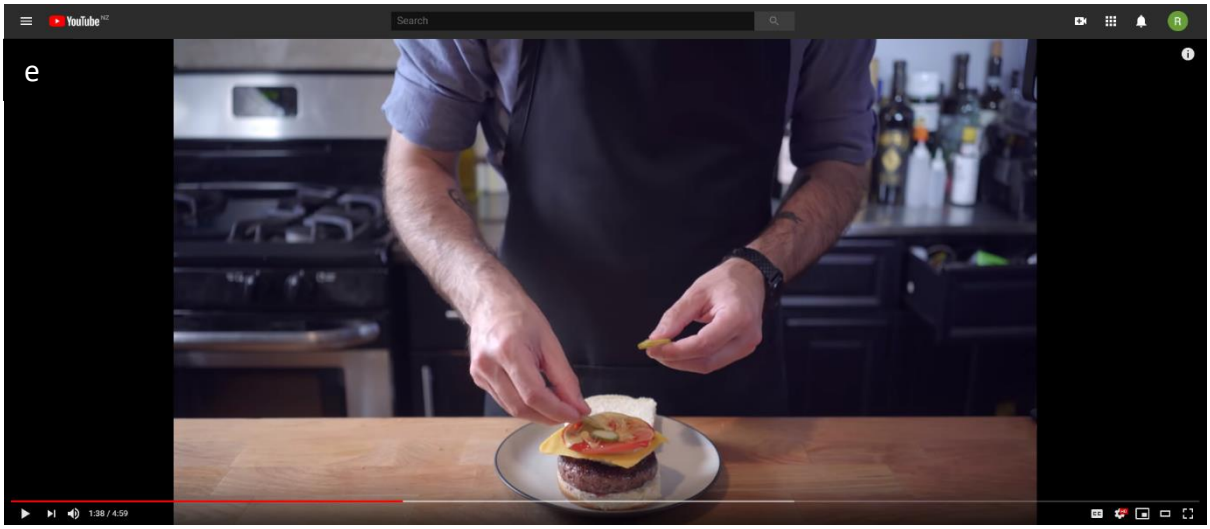


(1:33) tomato.



(1:34) ketchup.

(1:35) mustard. and the ABSOLUTE MOST IMPORTANT PART



(1:37) do NOT forget the pickles. you don't want bubble bass doing that god awful laugh of his

Here Babish exaggerates the importance of remembering to place the pickles on the burger through a reference to a particularly demanding customer from Spongebob, Bubble Bass (Figure 3.e). This refers to a plot line from one episode where the titular character forgets the pickles and his failure to get it right sends him into a spiralling depression. This joke is not only recontextualised into BWB but also modified and added to through the reference to Bubble Bass' *god awful laugh* (Figure 3.e). As viewers of the show, we are expected to recognise and understand the reference and its humorous intent.

Intriguingly, when referencing the show, Babish does not provide the audience with additional context. This suggests that the intended audience is already familiar with the original show which positions them as knowledgeable and witty in their evaluation of this humour. This 'positive appraisal' (Baym 1995) reinforces group solidarity. These implicit references also serve to exclude out-group members who have no knowledge of the show which Babish is referencing. While particular discursive clues (e.g., the emphasis in Figure 3.d and 3.e) indicate that there are multiple layers at play, recognising how these are humorous requires insider knowledge. This indicates that Babish can reach multiple audiences which provides the large viewer base required for YouTube success; even if viewers do not understand the humour, they can recognise that there is humour. This suggests that the audience is made up of multiple 'imagined communities' (Anderson 1991) of fans.

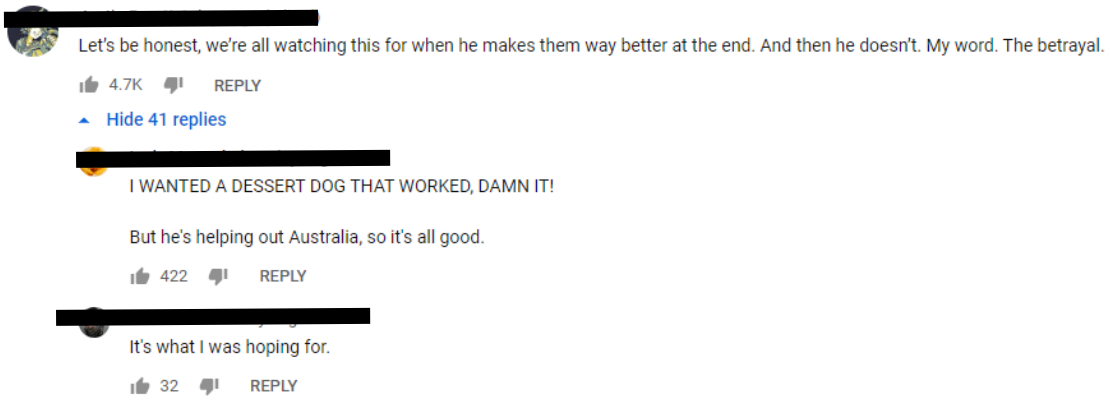
9. Layers of imagined communities

The term imagined communities (Anderson 1991; Wenger 1998) refers to an aggregate of people who are bound by an *imagined* sense of belonging to a community. The notion of imagination reflects the understanding that the individuals within this community are too widely dispersed to mutually engage with another on a regular basis. However, they collectively believe that what they do share (e.g., sexual identity, nationality, or, as in contemporary definitions of the speech community framework, discursive patterns (Jones 2016)) is an important component of their identity.

In a Yahoo Finance interview (2019), one of the interviewers described Babish's audience as 'a merger between foodies and cinephiles'. While cinephiles is perhaps too narrow a term to describe the wide array of movie and TV show fanbases to which Babish aligns on his channel, the point stands that the content of the show is shaped by Babish's indexing of these multiple overlapping imagined communities. In Figure 2, we can see how the humour emerges out of breaking traditional 'foodie' norms (Johnston & Baumann 2009), that of the serious tone typical of other popular cooking shows. Understanding that humour relies on having insider knowledge of the 'generic expectations' of such shows (Tsakona 2017: 494). This 'foodies' community is further reinforced by other indexicalities. The 'headless' camera shot is a conscious attempt by Babish to focus the viewer's attention on the food rather than the person making it (www.bingingwithbabish.com/faqs). This is in response to other YouTube cooking shows (and it can be said, celebrity cooking shows on popular television channels like Food Network (Ketchum 2005) which emphasise the chef's personality over the food itself (Matwick & Matwick 2019). Other features include the 'layout' (Norris 2013); the show occurs in Babish's modern kitchen with ovens, chef knives, cutting boards and other paraphernalia constantly in the background. Babish's tattoos, a chef's knife and whisk among others, also index a passionate association with food, as does Babish's standard attire of a chef's apron. The existence of this sub-community is further revealed through interactions with fans such as in the comments section of his videos as seen in Figure 4. below:

Figure 4

Top comment (as of 12/01/2020)



Note. Comment extracted from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=chil75Ip-3w

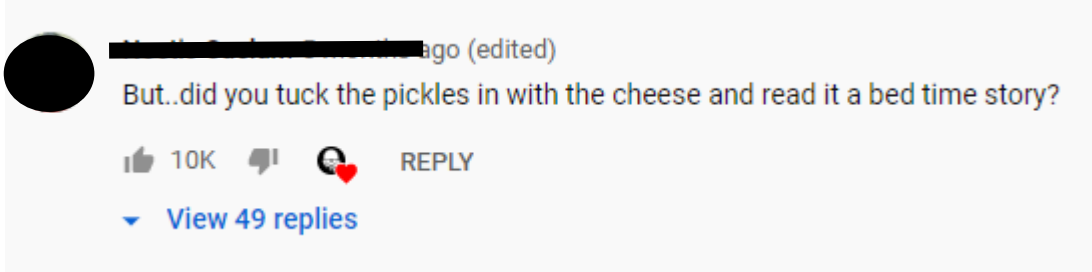
In this example, we can see that fans react negatively to the breaking of the genre expectation of remaking poor-quality food. The degree of passion to which these fans attribute towards seeing an exceptional remake reveals the extent to which BWB fans align with the 'foodie' group. The existence of this community is further evidenced by the use of the collective pronoun 'we'.

The entextualisation of jokes from popular movie and TV shows is not the only thing which indexes that imagined community. As mentioned previously, the entire premise of BWB is a form of entextualisation. References to shows assume that the viewer has knowledge of those shows, indicating that Babish is designing his content towards an imagined audience

of fans of those shows (Bell 2010). This is evidenced through interactions in the comments section as fans reproduce humour using ingroup references as in Figure 5. This is a comment under the same Krabby Patty video from Figure 3 referencing another pickle-related joke from Spongebob Squarepants.

Figure 5

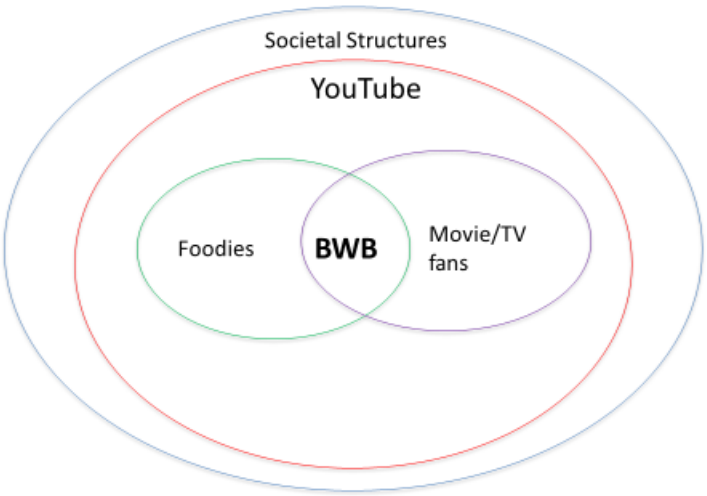
Pickle-related joke comment



By collaborating with Babish on pickle-related jokes, the commenter is illustrating that they recognise and understand the humour in BWB. This can be seen as an example of 'supportive' humour, an important tool for developing workplace relationships (Holmes & Marra 2002).
Collectively, the combination of these imagined audiences creates the imagined fanbase of BWB, as indicated in Figure 6. below:

Figure 6

Model of the overlapping of multiple layers of imagined communities which comprise the BWB audience



This model recognises that these imagined communities are mediated by the mutual access point (Gee 2005), YouTube. I acknowledge that they do not emerge out of YouTube, originating as they do in the offline world. This stance recognises that the near omnipresence of the internet in our day-to-day lives blurs the lines between online/offline

spaces to the point where such binary distinctions are inherently misguided (Angouri 2016; King 2019; Reyes 2019). Contemporary scholars researching what are now commonly referred to as 'online communities' argue that this research should reflect on the unique affordances and demands of modern technology and investigate how such affordances shape or guide interactions online. This approach also reflects a 'realist' stance which recognises that the impact of societal structures may have a greater effect on online communication than the medium through which it occurs. For example, amongst fans of BWB, the shared practices and understandings of this community emerge from mutual interest in food and various pop culture references. These discourses, created and negotiated in offline interactions, are then reproduced in the online space. This interest has not developed over mutual engagement nor is there any joint enterprise to which members of these communities attend. Rather, the unique features of YouTube – the comments section, sharing and liking videos, its widespread popularity (thereby accessible to a wide range of audiences) – all influence the way in which these offline communities interact online and shape the discourses therein. These discursive patterns are in turn impacted by broader societal structures. For example, English is the accepted *lingua franca* and all measurements are given using the American imperial system as opposed to metric (see e.g., Figure 2.b – c). The link between how these broader social structures affect the real-life discursive patterns observed in the data can be explained through the 'modes of belonging' concept (King 2019; Wenger 1998).

10. Modes of belonging

Modes of belonging is a concept which describes how a person aligns with a community e.g., through mutual engagement, alignment, or imagination (Wenger 1998). These shape the way that practices are enacted and negotiated between members of that community. In my data, the paucity of mutual engagement or alignment over a joint enterprise amongst participants encouraged the idea that an *imagined* sense of belonging to a community (or communities in this case) is what binds these people and develops shared ways of interacting.

What this suggests is that the researcher must remain data-driven to ensure that the focus of their analysis remains on the practices that are relevant to the participants and communities under investigation (Angouri 2016). Early linguistic research which made wide use of the CofP model aimed to challenge top-down, structuralist notions of gender, power and ethnicity which had previously dominated the field (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992). Taking a bottom-up approach by focusing on the micro-level discursive practices of participants, revealed that what had previously been taken for granted as defining characteristics of macro-social demographics were actually continuously under negotiation in day-to-day interactions (Holmes & Stubbe 2003). But as Bell astutely points out, scholars must 'challenge neo-orthodoxies as well as the orthodoxies against which they are a reaction' (2017: 594). This notion aligns with King's (2019) critique of early workplace research which he argues did not sufficiently address whether the practices of the community under observation emerged locally through the mutual engagement of its members or whether through alignment with broader imagined communities. This critique brings to light the important understanding that CofPs do not emerge in isolation but rather act as meso-level 'bridges' between micro-level interaction and macro-level imagined

communities (Jones 2016). That is, we all belong to multiple, overlapping communities of various sizes. As argued by Rodney Jones:

> It is through the mutual engagement of members of these more concrete communities [i.e. CofPs] that the imagining of these more abstract communities becomes more possible. At the same time, the idea of these imagined communities is circulated back into these more concrete communities, become a part of the ways that members talk, of the genres they use to take social actions, and of the practices they participate in together. (2016: 80)

This point neatly draws together recent critiques of the neo-orthodoxy that is the CofP model and my own argument laid out in this paper. Rather than throwing the baby out with the bath water however, King rightly argues that the CofP model, when used in conjunction with other appropriate frameworks, can create 'new synergies in research' (2019: 1). The CofP model is helpful for illustrating micro-level attention to discursive practice but fails to account for how broader social practices impact discourse. On the other hand, macro-scale models like the speech community and communities of Imagination struggle to explain how belonging in such a community is revealed in day-to-day interaction.

By highlighting the role of modes of belonging in developing community boundaries, this small-scale study addresses the critiques raised by King and Bell and offers a pathway for others to look at the complexity of norms in frontstage workplace contexts. It also draws attention to the affordances and limitations of online spaces for workplace research. When investigating interactions unbounded by space, place and time, these concepts are brought to the forefront of the analyst's focus. There is also much room for future workplace research to explore how the overarching structures of YouTube constrain the negotiation of practices in that context, thereby restricting what is considered acceptable behaviour (Wilkinson & Berry 2019).

11. Appendix

Transcription Conventions

Full stop (.)	*a short pause*
↑	a rise in pitch
↓	a fall in pitch
CAPITALS	*emphasis*

12. References

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