

9. AUDIENCES, REFEREES AND LANDSCAPES: UNDERSTANDING THE USE OF MĀORI AND ENGLISH IN NEW ZEALAND DUAL LANGUAGE PICTURE BOOKS THROUGH A SOCIOLINGUISTIC LENS

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1. Introduction

When non-dominant perspectives are represented in children's literature, it is labelled multicultural, and this form of literature has much potential for altering existing power structures in society. Bishop (1990) first introduced the metaphor of multicultural children's literature offering the possibility of windows – an opportunity to see into others' worlds; mirrors – an opportunity to see your own world being reflected back; and glass sliding doors – an opportunity to step into a world through a book. However, to date, any exploration of the extent to which language diversity contributes to the representation of non-dominant perspectives in multicultural children's literature has been limited, and the use of sociolinguistic theories to frame and theorise such explorations almost non-existent.

The way in which languages are mixed within children's literature has been categorised into three kinds: interlingual (Semingson 2013), where single words from one language are borrowed into another language; parallel (Semingson 2013), where the story is presented in two languages within the same book, often with one language at the top of the page and the other at the bottom; and synchronous or sequential (Hadaway and Young 2013), whereby there are two versions of the same picture book with the same illustrations and design. In this chapter I will explore the use of te reo Māori and English text in interlingual picture books and parallel picture books published in Aotearoa/New Zealand using the sociolinguistic framework of linguistic landscapes (Landry and Bourhis 1997) and Bell's (1984; 2010) theories of audience and referee design. I suggest that the increased use of borrowed Māori words in interlingual texts and the linguistic landscape in dual language picture books reflects a change in the intended audience of these books (Bell 1984).

2. Loanwords in interlingual New Zealand English picture books

Many New Zealand picture books fall into the category of interlingual books, in that many New Zealand English language picture books use words borrowed from Māori in their text (Macdonald and Daly 2013). In this section of the chapter I present some research in which, together with my colleague Daryl Macdonald, I have examined to what extent loanwords are used in New Zealand English, discussing how Bell's audience and referee design (1984; 2010) might inform our interpretation of these findings.

2.1 Māori loanwords in New Zealand English

The use of Māori words in New Zealand English is one of its most defining characteristics (Deverson 1991), and research has shown that over the years the number of Māori loanwords (other than proper nouns) with which New Zealand English speakers are familiar has grown from 40–50 (Deverson 1991) to 70–80 (Macalister 2006a). The frequency of loanwords in a range of genres

has also been examined with regard to the rate of loanwords. Prior to the studies of the rate of loanwords in New Zealand English picture books (Daly 2007; Macdonald and Daly 2013), studies of Māori loanwords ranged from 6 per thousand in New Zealand School Journals (NZSJ) to 8.8 per thousand in a combined corpus of NZSJ, Hansard records, and newspapers (Macalister 2006b). The highest rate was shown in a study of Hansard records of debates concerning Māori issues only, which contained 25 Māori loanwords per thousand words of text (Macalister 2004).

2.2 Audience design

The notion of audience design was first proposed by Allan Bell (1984) in relation to his work concerning the use of language in the news media. Bell examined several phonological and syntactic variables in the speech of newsreaders who read the news for two different radio networks in Auckland, New Zealand. He found that even when the news scripts were identical, the newsreaders changed their speech according to the different audiences of the two networks. For example, for the station with the higher status audience, the readers used a higher status variant of the intervocalic /t/ than they did at the station with a lower status audience. Included in the notion of audience design is the idea that speakers not only shape the way they speak according to their immediate audience, they also adjust their speech in ways to reflect and represent their identity. This, Bell called *referee design*; he explains that as speakers we ‘are always positioning ourselves in relation to our own ingroups and other groups, and our interlocutors’ (2010: 46).

2.3 Analysis of interlingual books

A series of studies examining the frequency of Māori loanwords in children’s picture books (Daly 2007; 2008; Macdonald and Daly 2013) has shown that when books came out of a publishing company with a commitment to publishing Māori and Pasifika stories, the frequency of loanwords was much higher than in any other previously studied context, including Macalister’s (2006b) studies of NZSJ, newspapers and Hansard records. In my original study in this area (Daly 2007) the 13 children’s picture books written in

English and published by Huia Publishers between 1995 and 2005 were analysed in terms of the frequency of Māori vocabulary in proportion to the total words of the text. My findings showed the books ranged from 30 to 90 te reo Māori loanwords per thousand English words, with an average of 56 per thousand across the 13 picture books published by Huia in this time period.

It could be argued that this relatively high frequency of Māori loanwords in children's picture books was a direct result of the focus of Huia publishers on telling stories relating to Māori and Pasifika communities. Indeed, a little further investigation showed that all of the authors of the books in this study had Māori heritage (Daly 2007). If we think in terms of audience design, it could be suggested that because the stories presented had special significance for Māori communities, the use of a higher frequency of Māori loanwords was evidence of the writers adjusting their writing style to their audience (Bell 2010). As introduced above, Bell argues that in addition to audience design, 'referee design is an ever-present part of an individual's use of language' (p.46), and so it is also possible that these writers were using language to position themselves in terms of their ethnic and linguistic identity. Finding examples of other books written by the same authors for other publishers would provide a similar situation to that described by Bell (1984) in his first presentation and discussion of the notion of audience design with regard to radio announcers presenting the news in two different radio stations. This is an area for future research.

As well as dealing in numbers and relative frequencies, it is also interesting to consider how the Māori loanwords are presented typographically. Are they italicised? Are macrons used to indicate the phonologically salient long vowels? Macalister's (2000) investigations of italicisation in the text of NZSJ shows it was common practice in the 1960s to italicise Māori loanwords in English text. However, by the 1990s, italicisation was being used to indicate emphasis and borrowings from languages other than Māori, indicating an acceptance of the Māori loanwords as part of New Zealand English. Huia's house style does not use italics for Māori loanwords (Daly 2007), and none of the books in this study

marked out Māori loanwords in this way. In three of the books, glossaries translating Māori loanwords occurred at the back of the book. In Daly (2007) I argue that this allows for readers to find the meaning and then return to their reading without the loanwords being marked visually in any way.

Phonologically salient long vowels in Māori are represented typographically in three ways (Macalister 2005): with macrons, with double vowels and without either. The style supported by the Māori Language Commission (2017) is the use of macrons, and this is the style followed by Huia (Daly 2007). In 11 of the 13 picture books, macrons were used on all borrowed Māori words. However, they were not used in *The Little Kowhai Tree* (on kōwhai and kōtuku, Ihimaera 2002) and *The Puriri Tree* (on Hēmi, Tawhara 2000).

The move away from using italics to represent loanwords from Māori in the text of most of the books in this study is to some extent cancelled out by the use of macrons on long vowels, which identifies these Māori loanwords as being different from the other words in the English text. However, this use of macrons has a purpose other than simply identifying a vocabulary item as foreign; it allows for correct pronunciation and correct meaning to be attributed to the word. I suggest (Daly 2007) that the practice of using macrons on long vowels may allow writers to indicate their familiarity with the source language (in this case Māori), as is the case with the use of accents in French, which are used by some writers and not others in the word *café*, for example. In terms of referee design (Bell 1984; 2010), this may be interpreted as another example of writers of New Zealand English picture books using their linguistic repertoire to represent their identity in a way that references an audience that is not necessarily present at the time of writing or reading, but which nonetheless indexes an aspect of the linguistic identity of the writer.

The finding of very high frequencies of Māori loanwords in the 13 Huia-published picture books begged the question: would such a high proportion be found across all picture books published in New Zealand? Huia's commitment to telling stories from Māori and Pasifika perspectives, and the fact that all the authors of the books analysed had Māori heritage (Daly 2007), could explain the rela-

tively high proportion of loanwords found in this mini corpus. To explore this notion further, a follow-on study involving a survey of all picture books published in New Zealand between 1995 and 2005 was conducted with my summer scholar and now doctoral student, Daryl Macdonald (Macdonald and Daly 2013). The publication *New Zealand Books in Print* (NZBP), which records all books published in New Zealand each year, was used to identify all trade picture-books¹ published in New Zealand between 1995 and 2005 (Macdonald and Daly 2013). Four hundred and sixty-nine books were located (97% of all the trade books published in that period), and, as for the earlier study (Daly 2007), the number of loanwords as a proportion of the total number of words in the body of the picture book was calculated. Across this 11-year period, the frequency varied from 5 per thousand in 1997 to 25 per thousand in 1999. The overall average frequency was 13 per thousand. What was interesting was that in the set of 469 picture books, 67% featured no loanwords at all, which of course reduced the overall frequency of loanwords quite substantially. If we look only at the books that featured loanwords (33% of the total), the rate was 37 per thousand. Macdonald and Daly (2013) concluded that it seemed there were two kinds of picture books available: those that used loanwords frequently and those that used no loanwords at all.

Although much lower than the previously identified 56 per thousand identified in picture books published by Huia between 1995 and 2005 (Daly 2007), the overall rate of 13 per thousand found in the 469 picture books published in New Zealand between 1995 and 2005 is still much higher than the 6 per thousand identified by Macalister (1999) in his analysis of NZSJ published in the 1990s. While the ethnicity of the authors of the 469 picture books examined was not identified for analysis, it is nevertheless still possible that this increased use of loanwords is reflective of referee design. New Zealand authors may be using loanwords in increased frequency as a reflection of their identity as speakers of New Zealand English, a changing form in which Māori loanwords are continuing to increase (Macalister 2006a; 2006b).

Reasons for this higher frequency of Māori loanwords in New Zealand picture books may also include the affordances offered

to picture-book writers of accompanying illustrations, which can support the use of loanwords not familiar to all readers. It is also possible that this frequency is an indication of the changing and more inclusive perception of the typical audience for these picture books, and what their language looks like. If, as stated earlier, the general awareness of Māori loanwords among the general population is increasing (Macalister 2006a), and the status of *te reo Māori* is also increasing, it is quite probable that the audience at whom publishers are aiming would expect a higher frequency of Māori loanwords in the picture books they read to their children. Thus, we may expect increasing frequencies of loanwords used in more recent picture books published in New Zealand.

3. Dual language picture books

Very few dual language picture books featuring Māori and English are produced in New Zealand (Daly 2016a; 2016b). The synchronous or sequential format of having separate books for each language seems to be favoured. But it is in the dual language format that the relative status of the two languages is evident, and in this section the layout and comparative presentation of the two languages are explored in terms of size of font and order of languages, using a linguistic landscape lens (Landry and Bourhis 1997) to interpret the findings.

3.1 *Linguistic landscapes*

The field of linguistic landscapes was opened by Landry and Bourhis (1997) in their study of language attitudes and perceptions of ethnolinguistic vitality among French Canadian minorities in Canada. In this study, they drew academic attention to the importance of language in public spaces, and what this representation of language could tell us about a society's attitudes towards language in multilingual settings. According to Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25), a linguistic landscape includes 'the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs and public signs on government buildings.' Since then, the field of linguistic landscapes has blossomed and there have been studies of the linguistic landscapes across the

world, including Eastern Europe, Ethiopia, Taipei, Israel, Ireland (Shohamy and Gorter 2009), and New Zealand (Macalister 2010). Gorter (2006) notes that the study of linguistic landscapes reflects the reality of the interplay between languages, rather than the outdated idea of single discrete languages belonging to single and discrete nations.

3.2 *Analysis of dual language picture books*

Over the course of several studies analysing dual language picture books, both Māori/English (Daly 2016a; 2016b) and Spanish/English (Daly submitted), I have established the following approach for the analysis of the linguistic landscape using a qualitative content analysis (Mayring 2000), supported to some extent by the work of Scollon and Scollon (2003). The text of each book is analysed for the placement of the two languages in question in terms of order, size and font in three areas of the book:

1. the 'outer' (i.e. the front, back and flaps of the dustcover, or the front and back cover of the book if there was no dustcover);
2. the 'inner' (i.e. the front matter, including end papers, half title page, title page, dedication, acknowledgements; and the back matter, including appendices, glossary, author bio and end papers); and
3. the 'body' of the book (i.e., the main text, or everything other than the inner and outer).

During the analysis, assumptions are made about what aspects of the print layout indicate dominance, as follows:

- The text at the top of the page is considered to have more status than the text at the bottom of the page. This is based on the practice of reading top to bottom in Latin-based alphabet texts.
- The text on the verso (left hand) page is considered to have more dominance than the text on the recto (right hand) page. This is based on the Latin script convention of reading left to right.
- The relative size of text is assumed to indicate status also, with bigger size indicating more importance. While no research specifically relating to print size and importance in literature can be located, research on warning labels in product design

has shown that it is not the size of text per se which enhances the visibility of the warning, but its size relative to other print (Laughery 2006).

4. Books for analysis

Four books spanning across 25 years in their publication dates are now analysed using the approach described, based on my work (Daly 2016b). *Tangaroa's Gift* (Whaanga-Schollum and Keruru 1990) was one of the first dual language texts published in New Zealand. It was published just after the 1987 Maori Language Act, which gave legal official status to te reo Māori. There appears to be a gap in the publishing of dual language picture books after this in the 1990s, which may have been due to the time required to produce sufficient Māori language resources for the burgeoning Māori medium education system that began with the establishment of Kōhanga Reo in 1981, and led to the establishment of Māori medium educational facilities at primary and secondary levels (Garlic 1998).

In 2008 Tracy Duncan's *Kei te pēhea koe? How do you feel?* was published, and in 2014 *Mōtītī Blue and the Oil Spill* (McCauley and Waaka 2014) was self-published and won the best non-fiction book award in the 2015 New Zealand Book Awards for Children and Young Adults. The most recent book presented here, *Hush: A Kiwi Lullaby* (Cowley, Roberts and Burdan 2016), was released in November 2016 by Scholastic. It is a New Zealand version of the traditional lullaby 'Hush Little Baby' and was nominated for the Russell Clark Illustration Award in the 2016 New Zealand Book Awards for Children and Young Adults. These four books were not the only dual language picture books published across this time, but have been chosen here for analysis because of their contrasting features in the linguistic landscape.

On the front cover of *Tangaroa's Gift*, English and Māori titles are both given in the same size and same font, with English first. The author and translator are also both given in the same sized font. While the same size and typeface given to the two languages indicates an equal status, the fact that English comes first is indicative of a prominence given to this language. However, in the

body of the book, Māori is presented on the verso page and English on the recto page. Following the assumptions outlined earlier, that the verso page has precedence over the recto, the body of the book gives prominence to Māori. The lack of macrons on Māori words in the English text does not attribute the respect now given to Māori borrowings in written text, and may reflect that this book was published during the early years in the revitalisation of Māori language, when such conventions were not yet established.

This lack of macrons in *Tangaroa's Gift* contrasts with the use of Māori loanwords in the English text in the body of *Kei te pēhea koe? How do you feel?* in which macrons are used on loanwords in both the Māori and the English text. In this book, both on the outer and the body, the Māori text is placed above the English text, which is otherwise of the same size and in the same font, and thus Māori is given prominence over English. An information panel in English at the back of the book (part of the inner) giving advice in English about pronouncing Māori indicates that this book has pedagogic intent with regard to teaching English speakers te reo Māori.

The third of the picture books analysed here is *Mōtiti Blue and the Oil Spill*, which breaks new ground in presenting a dual-language non-fiction picture book. On the outer cover, English is given dominance in many ways. While the translator of the English text into Māori is given, it is in smaller font; there is no Māori title given for the book on the outer cover, nor on the inner pages. Within the body of the picture book, again English is given precedence; it is always placed on top of the Māori text, which is given in italics. In addition, while the narrative – concerning a little penguin who is affected by the oil spill in Tauranga Moana (a true event) – is given in both languages, the information panels giving factual information relating to the event are in Māori only. While this is quite a break from the tradition in New Zealand publishing of producing Māori and English versions of a story simultaneously, the linguistic landscape presented is one which heavily favours English.

The most recent of the four parallel dual language books chosen for this analysis is *Hush: A Kiwi Lullaby*. On the outer of the book

there is a large English title, but once again, no Māori title is given. The only indication that some Māori language may be included is the inclusion of the name of the translator on the front cover, using a Māori phrase, 'Nā Ngāire Roberts ngā kupu i whakamāori'. While the use of only an English title is similar to the approach used in *Mōtītī Blue and the Oil Spill*, the presentation of the two languages in the body of the book is done quite differently. The first 23 pages give the English text, surrounded by the richly coloured award-winning illustrations of Andrew Burdan across double-page spreads. Some Māori loanwords are included in the English text, but macrons are not used where appropriate, for example, 'And if the swan swims out to sea, Mama's going to give you a singing tui'. The Māori translation of the text is given separately in the last seven pages, accompanied by pale monochromatic versions of the early illustrations; because of the reduced number of pages, there are fewer illustrations with more text per page. This approach once again relegates Māori to second place, not only in order of appearance, but also in allocated space and quality of illustrations. If we return to the notion of linguistic landscape, English is given a spacious and colourful set of surroundings, compared with the monochromatic and more crowded context afforded to te reo Māori. It would be interesting to explore further with readers what messages this differential treatment imparts about the relative status of the two languages. Anecdotally, when I read this book to my four-year-old nieces, they continued to turn the pages for the Māori text at the same rate as was necessary for the earlier English text, which did not work.

It is clear that English dominates in three of the four books. Only in the book which appears to have the pedagogic intent of teaching Māori to English speakers (*Kei te pēhea koe? How are you?*) is Māori presented first in the outer section and body of the picture book. Even in this book, English dominates the inner pages, indicating an expectation that it is an English-speaking audience wanting to learn Māori who are being addressed. In the other three picture books Māori is consistently placed second and given less space. It is clear that the design of dual language picture books presents some challenges in relation to space and placement of

languages. If you place both languages on one page, one has to come first, and if you have two sections within a book, the 32-page limit of most picture books means there are decisions to be made regarding the space afforded each language. That the linguistic landscape of these three picture books favours English suggests that the audience expected by the publishers is English speaking. It may also reflect the lesser status of te reo Māori in New Zealand society.

5. Final discussion and conclusion

The use of te reo Māori and English within New Zealand children's literature (both interlingual and dual language) has been examined and considered in terms of Bell's (1984; 2010) theory of audience design and within the framework of linguistic landscape (Landry and Bourhis 1997). I suggest that the relatively high frequency of Māori loanwords in New Zealand English interlingual trade picture books could be considered a reflection of audience design, in that there may be a broadening understanding of the audience for picture books, and how loanwords figure in their English language usage. The highly frequent use of loanwords in the English language text created by the Huia authors (Daly 2007), who all identified as having Māori ethnicity, can also be seen as a form of referee design, whereby the authors (in the context of a publisher which specialises in telling stories from Māori and Pasifika communities) may be using a higher rate of loanwords as a way of identifying themselves with reference to their ethnic identity. Future study of the same authors published by different publishing houses is suggested as further exploration into the notion of audience and referee design in the world of children's literature.

The analysis of four parallel dual language picture books published between 1990 and 2016 featuring te reo Māori and English, using the lens of linguistic landscapes (Landry and Bourhis 1997), indicates the privilege afforded to English in such texts, except where there is a pedagogic intent regarding the teaching of te reo Māori (see *Kei te pēhea koe? How are you?*). Whether it be the placement of English first, the lack of a Māori language title, or the reduced space (and in one case reduced colour) given to the te reo Māori text by comparison with that given to English, the

message to readers is that Māori has secondary status; it matters less than English. The appearance of the two languages together in one book is a recent phenomenon in New Zealand publishing, and it seems that the more prevalent approach of producing two versions of the same book, one in English and one in Māori, has the advantage of avoiding the inevitable comparisons made when the two languages sit within the same book. If we consider the developing print literacy (Pullen and Justice 2003) of the children reading these picture books, this may present some challenges in terms of learning conventions. Even if the inconsistencies of how English and Māori are presented textually present no challenges to the reader, at the very least the reader is subtly being informed of the relative status and importance of these two languages, an aspect of print literacy that is not always acknowledged.

These findings indicate an increased awareness on the part of all those involved in creating these books (authors, publishers and designers) of the linguistic repertoire of New Zealand society; and an interest in recognising and reflecting these resources in their picture books. Because of the place that children's books have in contributing to children's language acquisition (De Temple and Snow 2003; Cunningham 2005), the use of loanwords in children's literature has a part to play in the changing face or sound of New Zealand English; these books are at the same time contributing to the maintenance of the linguistic resources upon which our children can draw when they themselves choose language to reflect who they are in society.

Notes

1. Trade picture books are those published without a specific educational intent, for sale to the general public rather than created as a resource for educational settings.

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