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YUMI TOK STORI: A PAPUA NEW GUINEA MELANESIAN RESEARCH APPROACH

CATHERINA BOLINGA
Waipapa Taumata Rau | University of Auckland

ABSTRACT: The tok stori research approach is described as a Melanesian informal meeting including a storytelling session that enables embedded information to be released through conversation and, as the literature suggests, is contextually flexible. This paper looks at using the tok stori approach in research contexts with Papua New Guinea (PNG) communities in Aotearoa New Zealand and endeavours to contextualise tok stori by explaining how it is used in the PNG community contexts from where it originated. When the term tok stori is used alone, it is a verb that indicates an informal storytelling meeting in a social context with conversation. When contextualising tok stori using PNG Tok Pisin in most group meeting settings, the term tok stori alone does not convey invitation and inclusivity; therefore, a pronoun must be added to convey this for an informal (or formal) meeting. In this case, the pronoun yumi (you and me, you and us) is used. Yumi tok stori can be used for one-on-one and group meetings. Writing about tok stori and its application in various contexts and situations will enable this approach to be revised and rendered relevant in its applicability rather than used only as a generic approach given the variations in the pidgin creoles spoken in the different pidgin-speaking countries in Oceania.

Keywords: yumi, pidgins, creole, Tok Pisin, Melanesian research methodology, Pacific research

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> Advocating for Melanesian methodology as a fit with Melanesian research is an act of decolonisation. (Sanga *et al*. 2018: 3)

This paper stems from my research experiences using the tok stori approach with Papua New Guinea (PNG) communities in Aotearoa New Zealand. This paper focuses not on my study's topic but rather on use of this approach in the study's information-gathering (data collection) phase. Tok stori is a Melanesian pidgin creole term meaning the act of storytelling, and it involves those participating, speakers and listeners, becoming part of one another's world as they exchange stories through talking or conversation (Sanga, Reynolds, Houma and Maebuta 2021: 379). The term is used in the western Pacific in the Melanesian countries where a pidgin creole is spoken (Sanga *et al.* 2018). These countries include PNG (Tok Pisin), Solomon Islands (Pijin) and Vanuatu (Bislama). In each of these countries, people use tok stori to communicate in various situations.

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Tok stori has been discussed previously in research, including its importance and suitability in Melanesia and the contexts where it is used (Sanga *et al.* 2018). Building on the recognition of tok stori as contextual and relational by Sanga and colleagues (Sanga *et al.* 2018; Sanga, Reynolds, Houma and Maebuta 2021: 379), this paper focuses on the importance of using contextual pronouns to signify meaning alongside the term tok stori in a specifically PNG Tok Pisin context, where the term tok stori may not convey an invitation to participate or share a story unless the pronouns yumi (you and me; you and us) and/or yupla (you all; you people) are used alongside it. For example, a person who will conduct a tok stori session says "yumi tok stori", "yumi stori" or "yupla kam yumi stori", which means "you all are invited to come to an informal gathering or story session". For my study's purposes, I used yumi tok stori as a way to invite participants to engage in an informal meeting, either one on one or in a group. The difference between tok stori and yumi tok stori is that the former is the root verb and the latter serves as an invitation to a meeting. The use of the term yumi tok stori in given contexts is important and links to cultural approaches, specifically through its association with being inclusive, inviting and hospitable.

Knowing the context in which one's research is conducted, taking into consideration one's relationships with the communities with which one interacts, and presenting oneself in culturally appropriate ways is crucial in any research situation, and this point needs to be constantly emphasised. In agreement with Fasavalu and Reynolds (2019), I emphasise my relationships with my research participants as a PNG woman in order to centrally position PNG epistemologies and support the decolonising and Indigenising of research in our Pacific region, as discussed by many scholars (Kelly-Hanku *et al*. 2021; Sanga *et al*. 2018; Smith 1999; Thaman 2003). My research walks the path paved by other Pacific scholars, especially those from Melanesian countries such as Bernard Narokobi, David Gegeo, Kabini Sanga and many others who have written about the Melanesian way of tok stori. In contributing to the decolonisation of research within the Pacific region, this paper builds upon the work of these scholars, contextualising the use of tok stori as a research approach with PNG communities in Aotearoa. This is how many of the Indigenous scholars or students such as me, engaging with our communities and writing about them, will contribute to the continued effort to Indigenise our research.

CONCEPTUALISATION OF MELANESIAN PIDGINS AND TOK STORI

Melanesian pidgins emerged from the region's colonisation, with scholars describing pidgin as a type of language that developed in colonial territories and trade forts (Mufwene 2015, 2020). The pidgin language Tok Pisin has become the lingua franca in PNG, sharing common words and similar

meanings with the pidgins of other countries in the region. One such shared term is tok stori, used by Melanesians to refer to communication in various situations. The art of storytelling is central to human experience, and, in Pacific communities, storytelling is a timeless way of passing information on to people and communities. It is relational and can be based on mutual genuine relationships (Iseke 2013; Sanga, Reynolds, Houma and Maebuta 2021: 381; Vunibola *et al*. 2022). Tok stori is an informal way of discussing and resolving issues via conversation and the sharing of a meal. The notion of tok stori was conceptualised as a research approach by Melanesian scholars. In the context of my research, it is a practical way of engaging with communities to converse and share stories and knowledge. Tok stori encourages togetherness and enables collective action, and in a research context, it enables the gathering of collective perspectives (Sanga *et al*. 2018). Like the Aotearoa Māori practice of manaakitanga (showing respect, generosity and care for others), tok stori builds mutually respectful relationships through sharing, love and kindness in hospitality and generosity to create good rapport, equality and empowerment (Rātima *et al.* 2022).

As a research method practised in many Indigenous cultures, storytelling validates the experiences and epistemologies of local people, as with the Kakala framework in Tonga, the Vanua framework in Fiji, Kaupapa Māori approaches in Aotearoa and the Aboriginal Dreamtime stories in Australia (Geia *et al*. 2013; Iseke 2013; Power *et al*. 2014). PNG philosopher Bernard Narokobi's (1983: 9) view that "unless we succeed in establishing a philosophical base, founded on our ancient virtues, we stand to perish as people of unique quality, character and dynamism" can be linked to the establishment of a Melanesian tok stori research method. Narokobi's call is to take advantage of western ways of recording and writing to document the authentic philosophy, doctrines, theologies and all other things Melanesian—including, in my view, our ways of information gathering and sharing, such as our Melanesian tok stori.

Variations in Pidgin Creoles and the Transformation of Tok Stori into Yumi Tok Stori

This paper endeavours to contextualise the use of tok stori approaches and, in doing so, note the variations in pidgin creoles in the different Melanesian countries resulting in differences in these approaches. In my research, I use the term yumi tok stori from a PNG context, where it conveys inclusivity and whereby individuals and groups can be included in informal tok stori sessions. The rationale for using this term from a PNG relational point of view is that the addition of "yumi" evokes invitation and inclusiveness and helps motivate people to participate in the tok stori session. When someone conducts meetings or interviews as part of research or information-gathering sessions that require people's time, attention and space, they need to use appropriate

language that is inviting and incites people's interest in attending. If the language used is not inviting or does not convey inclusivity, people can feel left out or may perceive that they are not welcome and may not participate.

The Melanesian pidgin creole varies across countries in the western Pacific where pidgins are spoken; in PNG, some Tok Pisin speakers say tok stori while others say yumi toktok (let's talk). The connotations of yumi toktok depends on the speaker's tone. A harsher tone can have negative connotations, translating to "let's talk because something is wrong" or "you have done something wrong and need to explain yourself". Instead I use the PNG Tok Pisin terms yumi tok stori or yumi stori, which are positive and welcoming in tone. Yumi tok stori can be a less formal way of discussing and resolving issues via conversation, betel nut chewing and sharing food such as sugar cane, cups of tea or cooked food. It can involve one-on-one conversations or group meetings and is usually informal with the conversations unrestricted and unstructured, although some can be formal. Overall, yumi tok stori is an effective informal way to engage with people in the community.

The approaches from this research highlight that the term tok stori used alone may not necessarily convey a sense of inclusivity and invitation, especially in group settings. This was displayed on two occasions where the participants mentioned that the invitation did not say yupla kam na bai yumi stori (you all come and we tell stories or have an informal meeting). The term yumi has not been included, meaning additional participants would not show up and that only the person to whom the invitation was sent would feel they could come. People would only come if the person playing the gatekeeping role or snowballing made it clear that it was a stori session.

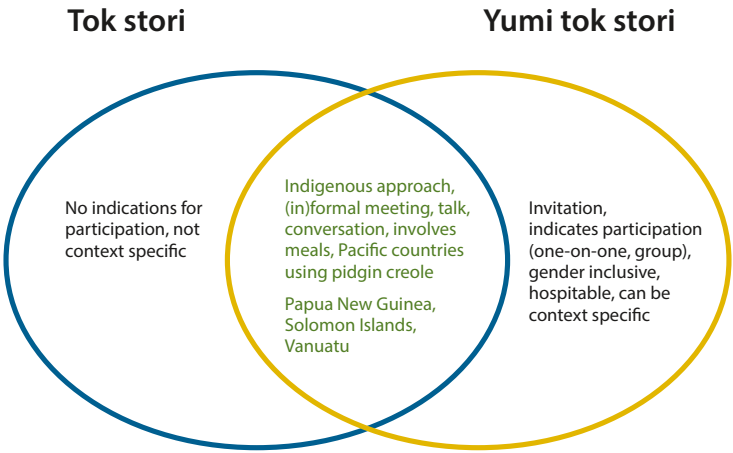

Figure 1. Comparison of tok stori and yumi tok stori.

I have made a simple diagram (Fig. 1) drawing a context-specific comparison of tok stori and yumi tok stori. This enabled me to revise my approach and use yumi tok stori. The diagram can also be seen as a way to enable continued revision of and engagement with our Pacific research methods and methodologies and allow researchers to compare them and choose culturally appropriate approaches applicable to their work.

This paper recognises the differences in pidgin creole variations and the need to contextualise tok stori's use, including pronouns, to bring out specific meanings. It aims to address some of the knowledge gaps on the tok stori approach in Melanesia and contribute to its application in various contexts and situations, as I have done by using the term yumi.

METHODOLOGY

My decision to use yumi tok stori as an approach to gathering information for my research was made before COVID-19 emerged, and I intended to meet the participants in person. This meant that conversations would take place over food and in settings that participants are familiar with and in which they feel comfortable. However, this was not possible with the COVID-19 situation becoming a global pandemic. I thus had to be flexible in terms of how I gathered data using the yumi tok stori approach, reflecting Sanga *et al.*'s (2020) discussion of how tok stori, as an informal or conversational meeting approach, possesses situational and contextual flexibility. This flexibility was relevant during my research data collection as people accepted that they could not meet in person and expressed their willingness to speak virtually.

The approach to collecting data or information gathering in this research is a function of context, relationality and my positionality as a PNG Melanesian person using the yumi tok stori approach. Yumi tok stori is a part of my research process, specifically in terms of data collection. Data collection is essential for research as it includes a series of interrelated activities that aim to gather the information that facilitates answering the research questions (Cypress 2018). The interrelated activities carried out in my research to elicit primary information as part of the data collection were done through yumi tok stori. The procedures involved in my yumi tok stori data collection are outlined in this section, starting with the factor of my own position as a PNG woman researcher.

Lukluk blo Mi yet (My Position)

My approach to data collection involved me positioning myself as a PNG woman who is part of PNG diaspora here in Aotearoa and who, as such, can be seen as an insider with knowledge about PNG as a country. Terms such as "insider" and "outsider" are used to signify where one is placed to gather knowledge, and each has its own advantages and disadvantages (Enari 2021). At the same time, because PNG is very diverse, with more than 800

languages and cultures and a diverse range of worldviews, I do not wish to impose fixed insider/outsider categories as I cannot make assumptions of any shared experiences with others in the PNG community.

From a general PNG context, I possess a culturally established understanding of the appropriate ways to conduct meetings, the power dynamics between genders and people's positionality. While I possess and maintain this information and traditional knowledge from my own specific area of origin, I acknowledge that my research participants have their own knowledge from their own areas which I cannot necessarily verify, given PNG's diversity (Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo 2001). This paper is about acknowledging the differences and commonalities and the relationships that we have, and that is the knowledge I want to contribute toward enhancing and building an understanding of our world (Naepi 2019; Ryan 2015). In agreement with Fasavalu and Reynolds (2019: 11), in my research I emphasise my relationships with my research participants as a PNG woman to centrally position PNG epistemologies in support of decolonising and Indigenising research in PNG and the Pacific. This is emphasised by Kelly-Hanku *et al.* (2021), who point out the role that PNG researchers can play in decolonising research practices, processes and institutions in PNG and beyond.

Luksave long Yumi Olketa (Recognising the Positionality of All)

Discussions on the positionality of Indigenous researchers and the appropriate means for conducting the collection of information for research are crucial. Indigenous researchers are thus enabled to position, think about and become aware of their Indigenous epistemology, supporting them to formulate their views in the context of the research and acknowledge the worldviews of others. In my case this is illustrated in the way I have interacted with other Indigenous peoples from PNG. There are also challenges or disadvantages in being part of the PNG communities, especially where there were complacencies and assumptions (Enari 2021). For example, the participants assumed that I, as a PNG Highlands woman doing a PhD in Melanesian ways of gifting and development, knew everything about the Highlands ways of gifting and reciprocity. Recognising these assumptions, I endeavoured to ask follow-up questions and validate what was discussed and made sure assumptions or other doubts were addressed. Furthermore, I tried to be conscious of my position as a PNG Highlands woman and of the position of my fellow PNG community members who were not necessarily from the Highlands; consequently, I consciously asked them about gifting from the parts of PNG they were associated with. I also tried to ask where people came from in PNG and tried to use appropriate examples of gifting from their respective provinces.

Using the yumi tok stori approach placed me as a PNG researcher in a position to consider both ontology and epistemology. I have my worldviews

and at the same time I use the yumi tok stori approach to gather specific information and gain knowledge from other Papua New Guineans relevant to my study. From an epistemological perspective I hold information and traditional knowledge from my area. As I conducted my research, I was aware of other Papua New Guineans and people with connections to PNG in Aotearoa and their ways of constructing knowledge from their worldviews based on their positions and places in PNG. Being aware of and knowing how participants in the research positioned themselves was an important point to consider, as it has enabled me to acknowledge each individual's position and the places they have a connection to. The yumi tok stori approach, like other Oceanic research data collection methods, can be seen as a way to approach communities with empathy and ethically and to engage in culturally appropriate ways (Farrelly and Nabobo-Baba 2014). It is important to recognise that people who hold knowledge can have their own worldviews and cosmology, and this must be considered as they can contribute meaningfully to research processes in providing both knowledge and information.

When I started talking to people about my research and how they, as people from PNG or with connections to PNG, would participate in it, one of my first experiences was that at first people were a little reluctant to engage, for various reasons. One of the main ones was their discomfort with speaking formally during interviews, especially when I met participants for the first time. As a PNG woman, I know that engaging with people for the first time formally can be uncomfortable, especially as a woman researcher with men I had not met before. I endeavoured to address this by asking informal questions or using other basic PNG approaches people are familiar with, such as making a popular PNG joke or asking about where in PNG they are from.

I am also aware that people can hold particular views about Indigenous people engaging in research, as some with colonial experiences have been taught to see research as tied to power, as outlined by Naepi (2019) as well as by Narokobi (1983: 4) who wrote about "know[ing] ourselves through books written by others". Enari (2021) suggested that when researching Pacific peoples, researchers must acknowledge the effects of colonisation on intellectual spaces and take proactive measures to decolonise research methodologies and interweave Pacific worldviews and knowledges into them, or what Sanga and Reynolds (2021: 536) referred to as emphasising common reality by actors weaving their creations cohesively using language that is culturally shared. The interweaving is done through social engagement, and this is the case for yumi tok stori, where the stori sessions provide a space for the communal construction of knowledge as people come together and talk from their own positions and perspectives.

The Approach to Data Collection

Initially, I wanted to use the focus group as my method for gathering information, but then I revised my approach and used yumi tok stori, given it is a term used and understood by our people. I note the points raised by Pacific scholars about replacing or using the Pacific words to describe a western research practice, as "offering a Pacific name does not necessarily ensure alignment with Pacific thought or practice" (Sanga and Reynolds 2017: 201). The use of yumi tok stori for my research was done on the basis that it is culturally appropriate for people of the western Pacific, especially PNG, as PNG Tok Pisin speakers are familiar with it and as it connotes being inclusive, inviting and hospitable as well the sharing of food/meals (most stori sessions involve food). In the yumi tok stori situation, the meeting is conducted in the language that people are familiar with, and the informal setting creates a relaxed environment for the meetings. In contrast, with a focus group, firstly, the term focus group is generally not familiar to people from PNG or Oceania (unless they encountered it through formal education); and secondly, it does not signify the informality and relaxed meeting environment that yumi tok stori signals to those being invited.

The storytelling (yumi tok stori) approach is used to meet with people, collect information, gain knowledge and gather specific information as part of the research design (Anderson 2002; Packer and Goicoechea 2000).

Research Tools and Data Collection

After obtaining the University of Auckland Human Ethics Committee clearance in November 2021, I was able to start gathering data for my research. I did this adopting the yumi tok stori approach alongside other standard research processes to ensure I gathered the relevant information specific to my study. These included the use of a guiding questionnaire with three sections of questions that were used consistently for all the participants during the stori sessions.

I spoke to a total of 44 participants (23 men and 21 women) all across Aotearoa, including PNG citizens in Aotearoa as students, PNG descent/diaspora community members and non-PNG citizens with personal connections to PNG, such as those married to Papua New Guineans or who have lived and worked in PNG.

The identification of participants in Aotearoa involved the snowball method, which was perfect for the PNG students' group. A PNG student representative was identified, and they contacted other PNG students under the New Zealand government's scholarship scheme. These student groups were involved because they maintain their personal connections and tribal affiliations in PNG through remittances and other support systems. Only those who opted to participate were contacted, and yumi tok stori sessions were conducted.

At the start of the yumi tok stori sessions with people I had not met before, I was conscious that it was superficial at first, but then, as the process unfolded and people became comfortable, more serious conversations developed. This has been expressed by other Pacific researchers, especially those who used informal meeting approaches like talanoa (Fa'avae *et al.* 2016). As a researcher, I needed to build rapport with the participants. As a PNG woman I made some adaptations without thinking too much about it during the research, which included speaking Tok Pisin at the beginning of the stori sessions and asking about general things like the weather or where participants were from, which gradually enabled them to feel comfortable and build rapport. Apart from building rapport, I had to adopt culturally appropriate ways of communicating with the participants. These included introductions and opening and closing meetings being done in culturally appropriate ways, which I did inevitably without thinking about it.

Yumi Tok Stori in the Year of COVID-19

The initial plan was to travel around Aotearoa to the main towns and cities and conduct the yumi tok stori sessions in person. This plan was disrupted when Auckland became a COVID-19 hotspot and went into lockdown, with internal travel restrictions for Aucklanders until 15 December 2021. This meant all the in-person tok stori sessions had to be conducted online, mainly using Zoom and Microsoft Teams sessions. Pacific societies, including PNG, are oral societies, and key to that is face-to-face interaction; and so when situations like COVID-19 force physical separation, there is need to modify the approach. Sanga, Reynolds, Ormond and Southon (2021) outline the renegotiation of methods in Pacific contexts and the navigation and shift to virtual or digital space depending on the realities of those participating in storytelling.

The online sessions still involved the yumi tok stori approach, which was useful where multiple participants were linked in. Using technology for qualitative data collection is becoming more prevalent and frequent among social researchers (Linabary and Corple 2019). The online meetings meant I could talk to people at times that worked for families, with most meetings conducted during evenings or weekends.

Despite the success of the online yumi tok stori sessions for data gathering, there were a few challenges. One of these was that there were technical issues, especially with Zoom and Microsoft Teams, as some people were unfamiliar with online technologies or platforms and were uncomfortable and reluctant to use them. This situation defeats one of the characteristics of yumi tok stori, where people should feel comfortable meeting and talking. To address this, in one instance phone calls were made to a family group, and in other instances people preferred group calls via social media platforms such as Facebook

Messenger or WhatsApp, which seemed accessible for most. These various options were explored and used because many people are familiar with them.

Another disadvantage of meeting online was that there was no food sharing, establishment of rapport or relationship-building before the meeting. The building of rapport before the meeting is important, especially when people have not previously met, as it allows for informal conversation to help people feel comfortable; in particular, conversation over food conveys a meeting's informality. To address this, time was set aside for people to introduce themselves and chat before beginning discussions focused on research. Also, as a Papua New Guinean, I was aware that the usual yumi tok stori session will involve food, and given this was not happening, it was only appropriate to let the participants know that kaikai moni (money for food) would be given in the form of a food voucher. This is also what is commonly referred to as luksave, or a culturally appropriate way of acknowledging people for their time and contribution and for sharing their knowledge. Acknowledgement is culturally appropriate in many societies, and the acknowledgement of participants for my research was done accordingly. During the COVID-19 period, even if meetings were conducted online I maintained the luksave by posting gift cards or vouchers to participants.

With the COVID-19 restrictions and most participants being at home, I endeavoured to ask them about their sense of privacy during the meeting; if they were uncomfortable with a video call, we would only do an audio call. However, many agreed to do video calls as that would serve the purpose of yumi tok stori as a way to hold face-to-face conversations, even virtually. The convenience of the latest technology, such as Zoom, included the possibility of using virtual backgrounds to ensure that only the families taking part in the yumi tok stori session were visible and the rest of the home space was kept from view.

After the COVID-19 restrictions were lifted, I started the in-person stori sessions involving a small number of participants in each session (fewer than ten), and these sessions did involve food. Most meetings held after restrictions were lifted were done so in person.

MANAGING THE YUMI TOK STORI APPROACH IN A PNG MELANESIAN WAY

When I told my participants that we would tell stories, one participant stated, "PNG em yumi lain blo stori" (Papua New Guineans, we are a storytelling people). This statement alludes to storytelling as a way of life in PNG and Melanesia, which has been written about by Melanesian scholars (Sanga *et al*. 2018: 9). People use storytelling to pass on an important message or, in most

cases, simply as an informal meeting and conversation. Tok stori is usually an informal, unstructured conversation, although the person who organises it may have a plan or agenda in mind. This was true in this research as I approached data collection using yumi tok stori sessions with my research objective in mind and a desire to discuss the research topic. This was also reflected by Tongan academic Semisi Prescott (2008), who was critical of the talanoa research approach. Prescott (2008) claimed that even if talanoa is to be used as a research method, the researcher is tasked with gathering specific information, so the conversation must flow with some guidance. For yumi tok stori, I did, as the person organising the meeting, let the participants know the reasons for or objectives of the meeting. The main characteristic of yumi tok stori is the free-flowing nature of the conversation; people are free to talk, but they know the reasons for the meeting. The participants and researcher are involved in the conversation and engage together in the co-construction of knowledge (Vaioleti 2013).

When I engaged with the different groups, one participant pointed to her signed consent form as she handed it back and said, "Mi ting yu mi stori nating na nogat pepa wok" (I thought we were only telling stories and no paperwork). This feedback illustrates that the term yumi tok stori is associated with informal meetings, as some people do not see filling out formal paperwork as characteristic of yumi tok stori. This experience raises the question of how yumi tok stori can be used as an academic research method. From my experience of this, the researcher must reach out to participants and provide background information before the interview sessions. I found in this research that providing details beforehand lets people know that it is an informal meeting but for a specific purpose and course of study, and ensures people are aware of what the meeting will be about and the fact that there will be paperwork.

One of the limitations of the informal nature of yumi tok stori is that conversations are relaxed, enabling people to talk on many topics; in doing so there may be a lot of time taken up with discussions not related to the objective of the research. To address this the researcher must cautiously facilitate the group and use the research question guide to steer conversations back to the topic and objective of the research. The researcher must also facilitate to ensure that everyone has the opportunity to talk or be part of the discussions if a few people are dominating the conversation and leaving others out.

The participants must be notified in advance to ensure they understand the purpose of the study. The notification of participants also fulfils the ethical requirements of the university by letting people know so they can opt out if they do not want to participate.

CONCLUSION

Many Indigenous research approaches have been described by various authors from Aotearoa, such as Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999), and from other parts of the Pacific, such as the educator Konai Helu Thaman (2003), who wrote about decolonising Pacific minds and recognising Pacific worldviews in higher-education settings. Indigenous research approaches are continuing to progress and grow as more Pacific people engage in research (Naepi 2019). There is much more to learn from Melanesian research methods and methodology, as there has been little engagement in that space. Melanesian scholars have pointed out that tok stori scholarship has been less developed in the conversational modes and spaces of Indigenous research than other methodologies, such as talanoa (Sanga, Reynolds, Houma and Maebuta 2021: 378), thus holding much potential. It is hoped the yumi tok stori approach can contribute to this and continue to be part of the advocacy for a Melanesian methodology as an act of decolonisation (Sanga *et al*. 2018: 3), and that writing about yumi tok stori and suggesting context-specific approaches will enlighten researchers and contribute to the knowledge of Melanesian research approaches that can be used by those wanting to conduct research in Oceania.

For those wanting to use the yumi tok stori approach, understanding the cultural context is essential, and it must be recognised that the context can vary and shift depending on where yumi tok stori is used and who with. There are also the challenging questions of whether yumi tok stori can be used by anyone and whether it requires someone with culturally located knowledge. The answer is yes to both. Yumi tok stori at its root is based on the positionality of the researcher who identifies as Indigenous and can use the appropriate approaches. For researchers who are not Indigenous but want to use it, the onus is on them to be aware of the culturally appropriate ways of using the storytelling approach specific to the geographic area they are working in. It is important to note that the Melanesian tok stori approach can be contextualised by using the appropriate pronoun or terminology rather than regarded as a generic approach, given the variations of pidgin creole in the region.

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GLOSSARY

The terms included in this glossary are Tok Pisin.

kaikai moni	money for food
luksave	acknowledgement
manaakitanga	showing respect, generosity and care for others (Māori)
tok stori	Melanesian informal meeting; storytelling session through conversation
yumi	you and me; you and us
yumi toktok	let's talk
yupla	you all; you people

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AUTHOR CONTACT DETAILS

Catherina Bolinga, Development Studies Centre, Waipapa Taumata Rau The University of Auckland, 58 Symonds Street, Auckland 1142, New Zealand. cbol019@aucklanduni.ac.nz