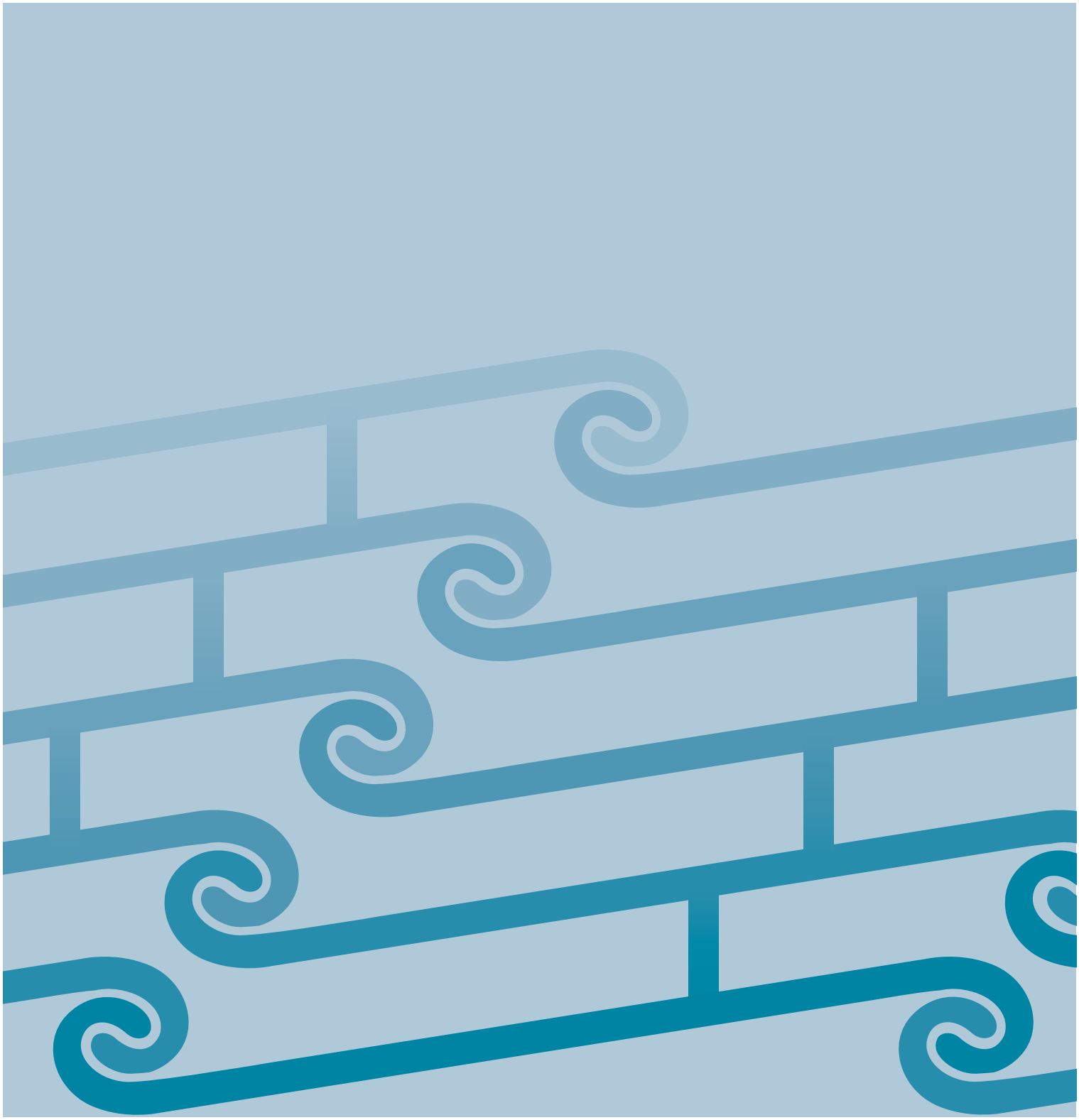
Te Kāwanatanga o Aotearoa

Te Puni Kōkiri
MINISTRY OF MĀORI DEVELOPMENT

Literature Review

Perceptions of the Health of the Māori Language 2015



Whakataukī

Ko taku reo taku ohooho,
ko taku reo taku māpihi mauria

My language is my awakening,
my language is the window

to my soul

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Prepared by Anne Hardman

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Executive Summary

Purpose and Aims

The purpose of this literature review is to provide an in-depth analysis of the health of the Māori language. Specifically, the review aims to examine language loss and the factors that influence this. It will also touch on planning and policy actions and activities related to language loss or shift, revitalisation and maintenance. The literature review also aims to provide an overview of the journey of te reo Māori from its homeland to the current time.

The overall purpose of this literature review is to provide an evidence base to support policy.

An extensive search of library databases and online for information was undertaken. The results provided the basis for the thematic analysis that follows.

Key Findings

Iwi traditions identify the homeland as Hawaiki, that tīpuna arrived at various times and that journeys were planned. Research supports the traditions, finding evidence that suggests tīpuna arrived in Aotearoa at the Wairau Bar, approximately 700 years ago, that they were part of a reasonably large, though not a particularly homogenous group, and that their journey was planned.

The deluge of Europeans in the early-to-mid 1800s led to significant and long-ranging changes to Māori, their culture and language. The first recording of te reo Māori dates to the late 1770s and recording aspects of te reo Māori and its dialects is a practice that has continued, to varying degrees, since the early 1800s.

Colonisation and related policies designed to disengage Māori from their land, culture and language formed an assimilation ethos that was cemented in education acts and legislation. Its success, however, was accomplished through socio-economic drivers that resulted in the urbanisation of Māori.

Educational policies that prioritised English over te reo Māori were often supported by tribal elders, leaders, mātua and their communities. This support was often given in the belief that their children might have improved educational and social success in the Pākehā mainstream world[1].

1 Peterson 2000

The 1930s is identified as being the turning point in the decline in use by Māori of te reo Māori due to harsh education policies and to the belief that English would serve tamariki and rangatahi better in the Pākehā world. Urbanisation of Māori coincides roughly with the language's greatest decrease in the numbers of speakers and was the policy that achieved what all others had been attempting. This is the period when the biggest disconnect of Māori to te reo Māori and traditional ways of being occurred.

By the 1970s, te reo Māori played a marginal role in the upbringing of Māori children, resulting in te reo Māori being in serious strife. Māori protest and education initiatives resulted in a 'true revival', but by the 2000s, te reo Māori was again 'in a state of renewed decline' and continues to be a language under threat.

Te reo Māori is measured primarily through surveys and censuses that show the numbers and proportions of speakers and collections of attitudes of Māori and non-Māori New Zealanders to te reo. Other means include noting the take-up of te reo Māori from Kōhanga Reo age to Wānanga.

The biggest issue in language revitalisation efforts is in building the groundswell needed at all levels to achieve the planned-for outcomes. The biggest barrier has been identified as being too few Māori learning and using the language, especially intergenerationally.

Conclusion

The literature review provided an overview of the journey and perceptions of the health of te reo Māori, from its beginnings as an Austronesian language, to its development from the time of the new arrivals, to its current state. Factors that led to its decline in use were also identified.

The literature identified issues that have direct impact on the ongoing development of te reo Māori that include:

- the falling numbers of speakers in the youngest age groups;
- efforts to increase the numbers of speakers in the parent groups;
- changes in te reo Māori that appear to be the consequence of the dominant influence of English; and
- impact of English on the teaching and learning of te reo Māori and the language's development.

Part One – Introduction

Purpose and aims

This literature review has several purposes, primarily to provide an in-depth analysis of the health of the Māori language. Specifically, the review aims to examine language loss and the factors that influence this. This will also touch on planning and policy actions and activities related to language loss or shift, revitalisation and maintenance. The literature review also aims to provide an overview of the journey of te reo Māori from its homeland to the current time. However, the overall purpose of this literature review is to provide an evidence base to support policy.

An extensive literature review of library databases and from online searches was undertaken. This provided the basis for the thematic analysis that follows.

Rationale

This project aligns with long-term outcomes for Māori as identified in the 2014 Te Whanake Māori[2], in particular Outcome 3. This outcome focuses on strengthening Māori cultural wealth, in particular that 'Te reo Māori remains a crucial cultural asset for Māori'[3].

The Research

Methods

Literature was sourced from electronic and manual searches of relevant library databases through Te Puni Kōkiri library and online website searches. The 'Google' search engine was used to look for domestic and relevant international data (including reports – published and unpublished – and other information) concerning the 'health' of the Māori language.

Analysis of Data

A thematic analysis of the material gathered was completed, based on a report structure (or framework) that was developed to guide the review's development. The framework identified the areas of interest and provided the guide for the main chapter headings and sub-themes during the information collection process. Data was manually ordered according to the themes identified and others that emerged during the reading and analysis processes[4].

2 Te Puni Kōkiri 2014d

3 Te Puni Kōkiri 2014c

4 While there are electronic programmes available to help with the theme identification process, to this time, none is able to cope with te reo Māori.

Scope

The questions the literature review aims to address include:

- What are the factors that led to te reo Māori being in a state of language endangerment?
- How is the 'health' of te reo Māori measured?
- What is the profile of speakers of te reo Māori?
- Why save te reo Māori and its dialects?
- What have Iwi and Government responses been to the endangerment of te reo Māori?
- Are there evaluative measures used for assessing initiative effectiveness?
- If so, what are these evaluative measures used for assessing effectiveness?
- What future potential scenarios could impact the revitalisation of te reo Māori?

The review's focus was on language revitalisation as it pertained to te reo Māori, however, discussion of general language revitalisation topics occurred. Such discussion has not been in depth as this was not in scope. Identifying revitalisation strategies that have or have not worked well for te reo Māori and other languages was also out of scope. In addition, no comparisons were made between te reo Māori and any other language considered to be in need of being revitalised.

While the term 'language' refers to several means of communication, this literature review will focus mainly on the spoken variety with limited reference to the written. Discussion of te reo Māori is also relevant to te reo Moriori, though te reo Moriori is not as 'advantaged' in terms of historical written and other resources.

Review format

The literature review is in six main parts as follows.

Part One – Introduction and Research

As above.

Part Two – Historical Background

Part two of the literature review is in three parts. The first provides a brief overview of the origins of Māori, their voyaging to, arrival in and settlement of Aotearoa; followed by a note on the whakapapa o te reo Māori, i.e. the origins of te reo Māori. The second part discusses the newcomers and the subsequent effects of colonisation and policies directly related to te reo Māori. The final part focuses on the 1900s, a time of decline in the use of te reo Māori, and culminates in Māori activism and initiatives to address the decline and Government supportive actions.

Part Three – The Current Time

Following this, the review then moves to the topic of revitalising te reo Māori. This section provides an overview of Government language policy and planning, as well as an attempt to identify the funding aspects of implementation. Other topics in this section include a brief discussion about ideal numbers of speakers needed to move a language from endangered to safe; who should be focussed on in efforts to increase the number of speakers; and who are the agents of change in revitalising te reo Māori.

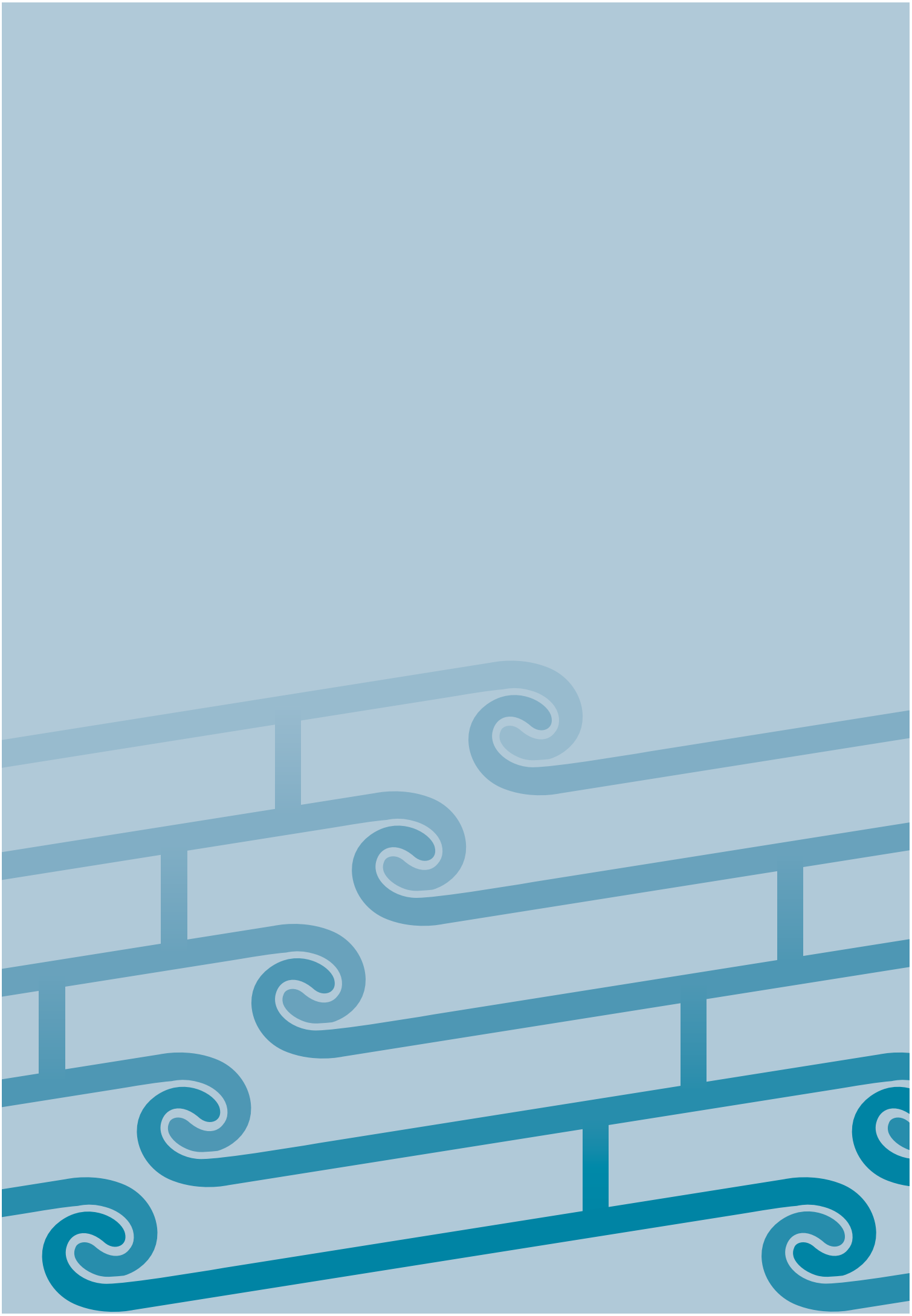
Part Four – Going Forward

This final section discusses aspects of potential planning issues. These issues focus on changes occurring in the language that have: implications for its ongoing development; implications for teaching and learning; and standardisation of languages as part of revitalisation efforts.

Part Five – Conclusion

This section contains a list of issues identified in the research and some concluding main points.

References and Appendices



Part Two – Historical Background

Te rerenga ki Aotearoa

Many iwi traditions handed down through the generations identify Hawaiki as the homeland. Traditions differ from iwi to iwi regarding the ancestors who discovered Aotearoa and means of travel here. Ancestors were, for example, Kupe for the Muriwhenua iwi[5] and Rongomaiwhenua for Moriori[6]. Means of travel, some of which were unique, included tīpuna having 'flown, swum or travelled on taniwha'[7]. The traditions provide descriptions of reasons for migrating; discuss two-way journeying for various reasons, including trade[8]; essential foods and provisions for the journey and settlement[9]; sailing instructions[10] and the exploits of tīpuna as they travelled around the islands. These accounts have not, however, agreed on a 'date of arrival, who arrived, the number of vessels, or the exact point of departure in Polynesia'[11].

Earliest Māori arrival in Aotearoa had been dated from the 10th to the 13th century by the early European ethnologists, though the methods for that dating are now debunked[12]. Recent 'analyses of radiocarbon determinations from excavated New Zealand archaeological sites'[13] have identified that the first arrival of tīpuna was the late 13th century. This is approximately 150 years later than that proposed by Percy Smith who identified arrival at approximately 1125[14]. Genetic research of tīpuna from the Wairau Bar site, the earliest site yet found in New Zealand, has determined that these ancestors arrived in New Zealand approximately 700 years ago[15]. Williams (2004) points out that the voyaging ancestors were believed or assumed to be Māori. It is now recognised, however, that they were Polynesians 'who became what is now recognised as Māori in response to the New Zealand environment'[16].

5 Taonui 2005 (in Muriwhenua tribes)

6 Davis and Solomon 2012

7 Prendergast-Tarena 2008

8 Williams 2004; Irwin and Walrond 2012; Taonui 2005 (In Canoe Traditions)

9 Prendergast-Tarena 2008

10 Williams 2004

11 Howe 2005: 3

12 Ethnologists and historians from the 19th century have been criticised for the methods they used when recording Māori traditions and dating Māori arrival to Aotearoa (see Taonui 2012). 'In the 1960s, the ethnologist David Simmons effectively demolished Percy Smith's Great Fleet theory' (see Howe 2005).

13 Wilshurst et al. 2008: npn

14 Pybus 1954

15 Higham and Hogg. 1999; Wilmshurst et al. 2008; Knapp et al. 2012

16 Williams 2004: 26

Tīpuna DNA revealed that the settlers were part of a reasonably large group, suggesting the migration was planned. The research also found that the Polynesian populations were not as genetically homogeneous as previously thought. Their mtDNA[17] showed considerable variety 'suggesting the voyage was undertaken by a variety of family groups'[18]. At this point, the exact origin or origins of the settlers to this country is unknown, but evidence points to the homeland being in Eastern Polynesia[19].

What is known of Māori settlement of Aotearoa has been passed down through oral traditions, described as being 'rich and detailed'[20] histories. Archaeology has identified many sites around the motu that have been proposed as being the earliest sites of Māori settlement. McAloon et al. discuss Kaikōura as being a site clearly 'favoured by early Māori [where] settlement was based around fishing and the hunting of moa, seals, and other birds'[21]. Māori society developed into the sophisticated tribal system evident in Cook's time and described by him and Banks in their journals[22].

Te whakapapa o te reo Māori

Te reo Māori is in the Austronesian[23] family of languages the origins of which continue to be debated. The prevailing theory proposed by linguists in the mid-1970s was that the Austronesian languages originated in Taiwan[24]. Te reo Māori is part of the 'Polynesian sub-family of languages. This sub-family forms a "very closely related group spoken for the most part within the Polynesian triangle" identified as the Malayo-Polynesian sub-family'[25]. Te reo Māori is in the greater eastern Polynesian sub-group (the other being western) and is closely related to 'Rarotongan, Tahitian, Hawaiian, and all languages of the islands of French Polynesia'[26]. Te reo Māori is the furthest south of the eastern Polynesian sub-group of languages about which Anaru comments:

> *Te reo Māori* and indeed the whole Māori culture is, thus, 'the *pekepoho*' (youngest sibling), the Māui (Māori and Polynesian demigod) who, according to Māori creation narratives, was the youngest in his family, the last in a great line of explorers of the Austronesian language family.
>
> Anaru 2011: 13

17 Mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA) is used to trace the evolution and migration of human species. See http://www.talkorigins.org/faqs/homs/mtDNA.html

18 Pincock 2012, Mutch 2013

19 Kinaston et al. 2013

20 Wilson 2015

21 McAloon et al. 1998: 1

22 Captain James Cooks' journals can be found at: http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks/e00043.html; those of Joseph Banks's can be found at: http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks05/0501141h.html

23 McLintock 1966b. The Malayo-Polynesian family of languages, of which te reo Māori is a 'daughter', is a sub-family of the Austronesian languages family that now contains upwards of 1250 languages and 'an estimated 311,740,132 speakers with a median of 3,384 speakers per language' . It is 'one of the most geographically far spread language families'. 'The Austronesian family of languages spreads halfway around the world, covering a wide geographic area from Madagascar to Easter Island, and from Taiwan and Hawai'i to New Zealand' and 'has four sub-groups: Indonesian, Melanesian, Micronesian, and Polynesian'. See, also, Thompson 2013.

24 Solheim 1984, Bellwood 1984-5

25 McLintock 1966b

26 McLintock 1966b

The newcomers – the 1800s

This was a time of great change for Māori in Aotearoa with the arrival of the newcomers (the sealers and whalers, missionaries and settlers). This section outlines some of the policies implemented that created such major upheaval in Māori society. It is in this century that the Treaty was signed, the New Zealand wars occurred (1840s to the 1870s) and the Māori population diminished significantly with the introduction of European diseases. It is also during this century that Māori protest against the incursions against Māori began, beginning with Papahurihia as early as 1833[27].

Cook's journey in search of the 'fabled continent'[28] brought him to what became known to the western world as New Zealand and the Chatham Islands. His journey and exploration of the motu paved the way for three major 'groups' of Europeans[29] to journey to New Zealand. From the late 18th century, the intention of those groups was to utilise the country's natural resources. The first major group was sealers and whalers, followed by the missionaries and then the settlers. From this point on – starting in the early 1790s with the arrival of the first whaling ship – te reo Māori began to experience what was to eventually cause an almost complete displacement by the English language.

These newcomers 'encountered a Māori world'[30] that required the majority to develop competencies in te reo Māori to varying degrees. Communication between Māori and the earliest Europeans was, initially, via a pidgin Māori/English or English/Māori[31]. However, for those intending to settle on a permanent basis, it was necessary to develop a degree of fluency in order to be able to communicate effectively with Māori. This was because, for some time, they were dependent on Māori for many things, such as trade, for religious purposes and to fill the mission schools. Concurrently, Māori bilingualism was developing as Māori were interacting with English-speakers. Māori bilingualism developed further when, for example, visiting Australia and England (mostly for trading purposes, but also to acquire muskets) and when working in various industries, for example, whaling and sealing[32].

Māori were quick to appreciate the technology and new ideas that came with contact. Literacy became an increasingly important feature of Māori culture, and Māori throughout the country were soon teaching each other to read and write, using whatever materials they could find when paper and pens were not available[33]. 'Missionary introduction of the written word and the development of a written Māori language represented a massive change that had far-reaching consequences'[34], but Māori were keen students. By the mid-1840s, Māori were very literate with three-quarters able to read and two-thirds being able to write in te reo Māori[35]. Most formal learning was in te reo Māori and run by the missionaries in mission schools.

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27 Binney 2013: 6

28 Wilson 2015

29 Not counting others, for example, escaped convicts – see Wilson 2015.

30 Ministry for Culture and Heritage 2014a

31 Derby 2011: 1

32 Keane 2012: 2

33 Derby 2011

34 Ministry for Culture and Heritage 2014a

35 Calman 2012

Colonisation and education acts

Colonisation can be said to have begun in 1837 with the development of the New Zealand Company whose 'programme of "systematic colonisation" was designed to attract the optimal mix of migrants'[36]. Māori agreed to sign the treaty in 1840 on the understanding they would be assured their rangatiratanga that included control of their lands. It was, however, the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 that led to the floodgates of colonisation opening[37].

Within a short space of time after the signing of the Tiriti, the increasing numbers of Europeans and their greed for land led to increasing hostilities between Māori and the British troops who were soon at war[38]. In 1847, the first Education Act (the Education Ordinance Act[39] – the first overtly assimilative policy) required the use of the English language for instruction in every school supported by public funds[40]. Following this, the Native Schools Acts of 1858 and 1867 were instituted.

The 1867 Act saw an even greater shift in policy that required English as the only language used in the education of Māori children[41]. If the school inspector was satisfied that this was occurring 'as far as practicable', funding would be received[42]. The Act also legislated for the withdrawal of government support for the rebuilding of mission schools. This effectively put education for Māori in government control, specifically with the Department of Native Affairs[43]. The schools 'offered secular, state-controlled, primary schools to Māori communities who petitioned for them'[44]. In these instances, Māori were to provide the site and significant financial costs (which remained the status quo for many decades[45]) and government would provide the teaching materials[46]. These schools became known as Native Schools and the system provided education for Māori and Māori children, usually in remote communities[47].

This Act, the 1867 Native Schools Bill, was passed a few days before the Native Representation Act that meant Māori could sit in Parliament and vote. The emphasis was on 'civilising' Māori, and that, in the opinion of members discussing the Bill, could not happen using te reo Māori[48]. It was also thought that if Māori were not fluent in English the Representation Act would be 'a farce'[49]. The 'lone voice' of one member suggested that 'Māori should first be taught to read and write in their own language'[50]. This is a curious comment given Māori

36 Ministry for Culture and Heritage 2012

37 The Tiriti was agreed to by Māori on the understanding they would be assured their rangatiratanga that included control of their lands.

38 Keenan 2012: 1

39 Office of the Auditor General 2012

40 Calman 2012

41 See Appendix 3 – Timeline of events that impacted on te reo Māori

42 Peterson 2000

43 Barrington 2008

44 McLintock 1966: npn – Government Control

45 Barrington 2008

46 Barrington 2008

47 Swarbrick 2008: 2

48 Barrington 2008: 20

49 Barrington 2008: 20 – see also page 315 for the reference

50 Barrington 2008: 20

had been experiencing exactly this since the early part of the century, when the first missionary schools were established[51].

The 1880[52] Native School Code introduced standardisation and prescriptiveness in several educational matters[53]. Further, in 1887, the Native Schools Act decreed that English should be the only language used in the education of Māori children[54]. The 'primary mission was to assimilate Māori into European culture'[55] through European education and the promotion of European ideals, culture and language[56]. Tamariki Māori were able to attend the Pākehā schools and vice versa, Pākehā children were able to attend Native Schools. This was a rare occurrence in the experience of overseas visitors, i.e. 'the two races being schooled together', but even in Aotearoa it was not particularly common[57]. Barrington notes that 'Pākehā children in native schools rarely rose above 10 percent'[58].

In 1894, education for Māori children became compulsory, which meant all Māori tamariki and rangatahi would have to be taught through the medium of English only[59]. Higgins and Keane note that 'children were sometimes punished[60] for speaking te reo Māori at school'[61]. Native schools 'remained distinct from other New Zealand schools until 1969, when the last 108 native schools were transferred to the control of education boards'[62]. Whānau Māori from the outset of 'state' schooling were also free to send their tamariki to these schools. Everything there was geared toward the colonial culture and teaching was all in English; tamariki/rangatahi numbers in these schools increased throughout the 20th century.

Māori were generally supportive of their children learning English because they saw benefits in being able to work with Pākehā. However, it would seem the long-term damage caused to te reo Māori by this was not considered[63] or understood.

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51 A count of schools in Aotearoa in the early years of missionary activity (approximately, 1820s to 1860s) is beyond the scope of this literature review. Schools were usually attached to missions and the first school was established in the Bay of Islands by Thomas Kendall (an Anglican missionary) in 1816, though had closed by 1818. The Ministry for Culture and Heritage notes that, by 1840, 'there were some 170 CMS [Church Missionary Society] missionaries [primarily Anglicans] and their families and approximately 69 Wesleyan missionaries.' A count of 239 missionaries and, potentially, mission schools. Numbers of Catholic, Methodist and other religious missionaries are not included. See 'The Christian missionaries', page 6 in **https://nzhistory.govt.nz/culture/the-missionaries.**

52 Calman 2012

53 Calman 2012: 3

54 See Appendix three – Timeline of events that impacted on te reo Māori

55 Calman 2012: 3

56 Higgins and Keane 2015

57 Barrington 2008: 15

58 Barrington 2008: 15

59 Victoria University 2012 Press Release

60 A mid-1970s survey of Māori language use found that 40% of the adult respondents had been punished personally for speaking Māori when they were at school, in some cases as late as the 1950s and 1960s' See Peterson 2000.

61 Higgins and Keane 2015

62 Swarbick 2008

63 Ministry for Culture and Heritage 2014b

Te Reo Māori in the 1900s

Introduction

The next period, from the late 1800s, continued to be a time of cultural upheaval for Māori. At the end of the 19th century, the Māori population had declined dramatically through causes that included introduced European illnesses, e.g., measles, typhoid, cholera, tuberculosis and the Spanish flu. The Māori population had fallen from an estimated 100,000 in 1769 to 56,049 in 1858 (the first official census) and to 42,113 in 1896[64].

This section skims the period from the late 1800s to the late 20th century, focussing on the continual cultural upheaval and adjustment of Māori to the new world. It looks at the effects on te reo Māori of various government policies, particularly in education and migration of Māori to the cities. Māori response to the threat of loss of te reo Māori is briefly discussed and the results of their protest are briefly described.

The decline in use of te reo Māori

The 1930s is identified by Benton and de Bres[65] as being the time when the use by Māori of te reo Māori began to decline rapidly. This was due to the belief that English would serve their children better[66] in the Pākehā world. While Māori remained the predominant language in Māori homes and communities, the use of English was already increasing. Some Māori leaders were supportive of English-only education[67]. Sir Āpirana Ngata was one of these Māori leaders in support of English-only education. He 'reversed his stand when he realised that bilingualism was leading to the replacement of Māori by English within the family and Māori community, but the process, once initiated, seemed irreversible'[68]. Benton wondered what caused Māori parents to favour the use of English rather than te reo Māori with their children in their homes and communities.[69]

As the rate of Māori living in urban areas increased, their use of te reo Māori declined. Peterson[70] states that 'the overwhelming influence of English meant that there was a dramatic loss of fluency in all generations of Māori and especially with young school children'[71]. By the 1970s te reo Māori played a marginal role in the upbringing of Māori children and, by the late 1970s, te reo Māori was in serious strife[72].

The graph below shows the steep increase of Māori living in urban areas between 1926 and 2006. The steepest increase of approximately 27 percent was between 1956 and 1966 when the increase rose from approximately 35

64 McLintock 1966 adds: '... of whom 38,269 lived in the province of Auckland, but the published tables included the precautionary phrase, 'as far as can be ascertained''. Pool and Kukutai (2011) provide similar information.

65 Benton 1997 and de Bres 2008

66 de Bres 2008

67 Prendergast-Tarena 2008

68 Benton 1997: 18

69 Benton 1997: 30

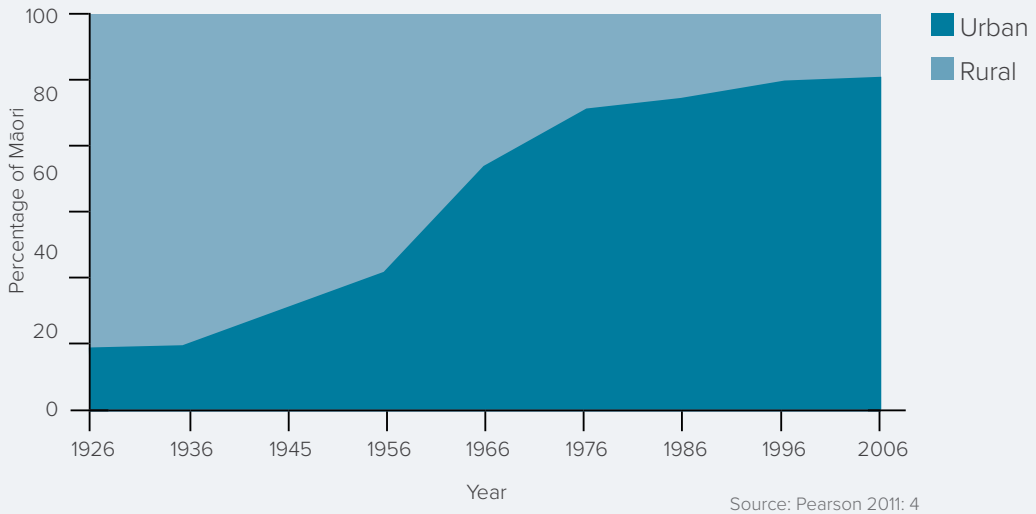
70 Peterson 2000

71 Peterson 2000

72 Benton 1979a

to 62 percent. The urban migration of Māori has been described as the most rapid movement of any population[73]. In 1945, 26% of the Māori population lived in the towns and cities, by 1956 this had increased to 35%. Mass migration continued into the early 1960s. The urban population grew to 62% in 1966, and reached nearly 80% by 1986. As a result, many rural villages were depopulated[74]. Currently, 84% of Māori live in urban areas, with the majority living in Auckland[75].

Figure 1: Rural and urban Māori, 1926–2006[76]



Source: Pearson 2011: 4

The first Māori language survey

The first Māori language survey, 'Survey of Language Use in Māori Households and Communities 1973–1978' was led by Richard Benton of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research. The research 'interviewed members of 6,470 Māori families throughout the North Island [with a total of] 6,915 household heads' participating[77].

The survey estimated the proportion of fluent speakers at 18 percent who were mostly in the kaumātua generation, i.e. those aged 55+[78]. Māori living rurally, though able to maintain traditional patterns of Māori language use for a longer period, were also shifting to English as discussed by Benton[79]. Benton lists factors that he considers contributed to language shift. These factors were: 'widespread electrification, television, increased mobility through improved roading and transport systems, and improved access to monolingual English relatives'[80] living

73 Meredith 2005

74 Meredith 2005: 1

75 Meredith 2005

76 Pearson 2011:4

77 Benton 1997:5

78 The Ministry of Social Development 2010

79 Benton 1980

80 Benton 1991

in bigger towns and cities. It would seem that, given Benton makes no mention of it, the impact of the migration on te reo Māori cannot have been identified. The intention to assimilate had, however, been clearly described in the Hunn report of 1961[81].

English had made significant inroads into children's use of te reo Māori as early as 1913[82]. Dalley, referring to Durie (1996), explains: 'Figures provided by Dr Bruce Biggs showed that 90 percent of Māori schoolchildren could speak Māori in 1913; by 1953 the figure had dropped to 26 percent and then fell again to less than five percent by 1975'[83]. Children's use of te reo Māori is being discussed because those figures are available, whereas those for adults are not. In addition, children's use of a language evidences the language's 'health'[84].

The following table and graph track the journey of tamariki able to speak te reo Māori to the current time. While some of the early figures might be argued for their accuracy or robustness of methodology, they provide an indication of the effects of loss of intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori.

Table 1: Proportions of Māori tamariki <15 years of age speaking te reo Māori over a 100 year period between 1913 and 2013[85]

Year	Proportion %
1913	90
1930	96.6
1950	55
1953	26
1975	5
1996	22.5
2001	20
2006	18.1
2013	16.6

81 See Meredith (2005: 1) who reports on government policy: 'After the Hunn Report of 1961, which made recommendations on social reforms for Māori, the 'relocation' of Māori became official policy. Rural Māori families were encouraged to move to the cities with the provision of accommodation, employment and general assistance in adjusting to a new life'. Meredith (2005) also notes (below the image of the report cover) that 'this report was supposed to have been a review of the Department of Māori Affairs, but it went way beyond that into the realms of social engineering for Māori'.

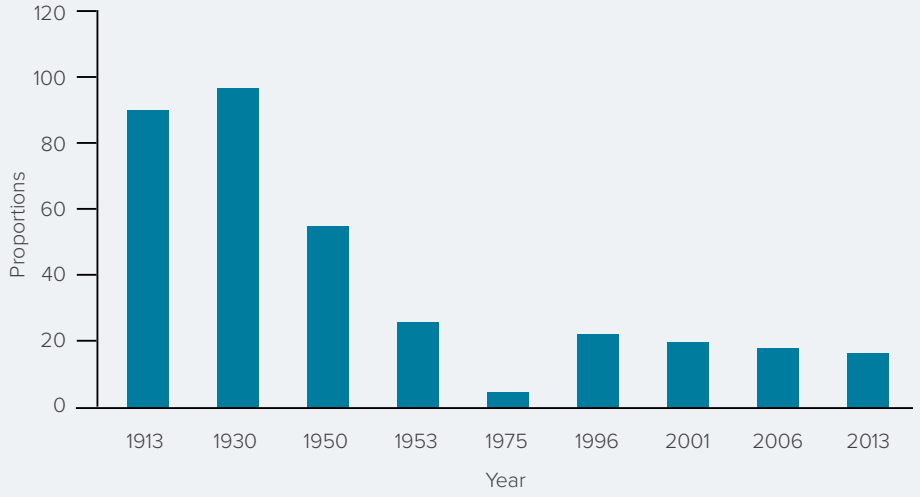
82 Dalley 2012: 10

83 Dalley 2012: 10

84 Fishman 1991

85 Sources for these figures: •Waitangi Tribunal 1986: 11 3.3.2 record the data provided by Dr Bruce Biggs (1913, 1953 and 1975 @ 90%, 26% and 5% respectively); •May 2005: 367 for the 1930 figure of 96.6%;• Te Ara Encyclopedia and the Waitangi Tribunal for the 1950 proportion of 55%; and • Statistics NZ 2013e (1996, 2001, 2006 and 2013 @ 22.5%, 20%, 18.1% and 16.6% respectively).

Figure 2: Proportions of tamariki te reo Māori speakers between 1913 and 2013



Sources: Waitangi Tribunal, Statistics NZ, May 2005

Figure 2 provides a visual of the table above and identifies when the language was in a dangerous state, given so few tamariki could speak te reo Māori.

At this time, in the 1970s, the Tribunal notes that Benton found 'the youngest child was rated as fluent in te reo Māori in only 4 per cent of Māori households with resident children'[86]. The initiatives that were driven by Māori between 1975 and 1996, when the first language question was asked in the census, resulted in an equally dramatic rise. This rise within a much shorter timeframe of 21 years, from five to 22.6 percent, was an increase of approximately 17 percentage points.

The Waitangi Tribunal (2011[87]) provides a very succinct summarised timeline of the decline in use of the Māori language in the twentieth century:

- During the first quarter century, children spoke Māori at home but, on pain of punishment, only English at school.
- During the second quarter century, many adult graduates of those schools spoke Māori with other adults but not to their children, for whom English became their first language.
- During the third quarter century, monocultural schooling and mass urbanisation produced a generation who had little or no te reo Māori.

Educational policies that prioritised English over te reo Māori were often supported by tribal elders, leaders, mātua and their communities in the belief that the children might have improved educational and social success in the Pākehā world[88]. Benton describes what he considered to be powerful factors that influenced the rapid shift to English by tamariki. In the city, where the majority of children were speaking English and where the general attitude to other languages was often hostile, children soon realised that speaking English would be more socially advantageous to them. These children were, as Benton explains

86 Waitangi Tribunal 2011: 394

87 See pages 393-394

88 Peterson 2000

'likely to refuse to speak [te reo Māori] at home even if his [sic.] parents continue to speak mainly in Māori'[89]. He notes that older siblings were becoming more fluent in English as their years in the Pākehā education system increased. They spoke in English with their younger siblings who, in turn, developed a preference for English[90]. The result of all this was that linguistic interaction using te reo Māori as the medium between adults and their children decreased[91]. Children, although often spoken to in Māori, were much more likely to respond in English. English also dominated interactions between kaumātua and their mokopuna[92].

The turning point in the decline of te reo Māori – Māori response

In 1972, the Te Reo Māori Society[93] had gathered more than 30,000 signatures on a petition presented to Government, 'calling for the introduction of Māori language into schools'[94]. This petition marked the beginning of the revival of the Māori language. The immediate success of several significant initiatives driven by Māori that focussed on revitalising te reo Māori showed strong indications of a 'true revival'[95]. These initiatives were in law, broadcasting, policy[96] and education. Educational initiatives included: Te Ataarangi, Māori immersion and bilingual programmes from early childhood level[97] and the establishment in 1981 of Te Wānanga o Raukawa at the tertiary level. Through these initiatives, the decline was reversed. The Waitangi Tribunal describes the actions of 'the Māori movement [as] incredibly successful at a grass-roots level [particularly those] in education'[98].

89 Benton 1979b: 7

90 Benton 1980: 24

91 Benton 1980: 468

92 Benton 1980: 9

93 See Te Rito 2008: 1 – The Te Reo Society was a Wellington-based group of young Victoria University students who conducted the petition in Wellington and environs. See Benavidez, L. et al. 2007: 14 – A group of people in various roles in the Indigenous Language Institute visited Maori during their trip to Aotearoa in 2007. They described the people who participated in the 'Māori Movement as showing 'an unprecedented level of self-awareness [and current Māori leaders] seemed to have a sense of historical mission [...] to fully own their culture, language and their history and are empowered by that knowledge'.

94 Te Rito 2008: 3

95 Waitangi Tribunal, 2011: 439

96 See Appendix three – Timeline of events that impacted on te reo Māori

97 Calman 2012: 5

98 Waitangi Tribunal 2011: 39

Part Three – The Current Time

Introduction

'By the 1996 Census[99], the proportion of Māori who could hold a conversation in te reo Māori had risen[100] from the 18–20 percent of mostly elderly fluent Māori speakers (as reported by Benton 1979) to 25 percent of all ages and was still at that level in 2001'[101]. Most of the fluent speakers were in the kaumātua age group as had been found in the 1970s. In the 2006 and 2013 censuses that followed, the proportions dropped to 24 percent and 21 percent respectively. The proportion of people (Māori and non-Māori) speaking te reo Māori between 2001 and 2013 dropped from 4 percent of the population to 3 percent[102]. Ahu, quoting the Wai 262 report of 2011, describes te reo Māori as being 'in a state of renewed decline'[103]. More recently, the language has been described as being 'under threat'[104] and currently as 'at a critical juncture'[105].

O'Laoire (2010) emphasises the importance of recognising that it is the speakers who change their language. It is a fact that language cannot change itself. The universality of human languages is that they are in a constant state of change in all societal groups in all parts of the world. Why this happens as a natural phenomenon is not well understood[106].

99 This is when the question regarding use of te reo Māori was first introduced – 20 years after the NZCER survey.

100 NZCER 1973–78 national survey shows that only about 70,000 Māori, or 18–20 percent of Māori, were fluent Māori speakers, and that most were elderly.

101 Ministry of Social Development 2010: 88

102 Ethnic Affairs 2014

103 Ahu 2012: 5

104 Higgins and Rewi 2014: 10

105 Keegan and Cunliffe 2014: 396

106 Ó Laoire 2008

Measuring the health of te reo Māori

Romaine states: 'The 'unplanned' and 'spontaneous' use of a language by the speech community is the real arena where a language changes, and is the only means of measuring the efficacy of a language policy'[107]. However, the simple measure of the health of te reo Māori has been gauged by survey and census results (all self-reporting). Other measures include, for example, Fishman's 'Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale' (GIDS) and, more recently, UNESCO's and Ethnologue's expansion of the Fishman scale, 'Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale' (EGIDS)[108]. Both of these scales are, however, used to indicate a language status based on the degree to which intergenerational transmission is occurring in homes and in the community (again, self-reporting). Te reo Māori has been found to be at EGIDS 6b[109], which means it is 'In trouble' because:

> Level 6b represents the loss of that stable diglossic arrangement with the oral domains being overtaken by another language or languages. At Level 6b, many parents are transmitting the language to their children but a significant proportion are not, so that intergenerational transmission is partial and may be weakening.
>
> Lewis & Simons 2009: 13

The Waitangi Tribunal considers that participation in Māori-medium education and the learning of Māori as a subject in the mainstream school system can be used to indicate progress in relation to the health of te reo Māori[110]. For example: in 1993, 'half of all Māori in early childhood education were at kōhanga', but this participation fell on an almost annual basis from 1994 until 2008. In addition, the report explains that the number of Māori tamariki attending early childhood education (i.e. using other ECE options) had risen by 27 percent, meaning that 'kōhanga [in 2010] have a much smaller share of a much larger market'[111].

In the first eight years, kōhanga reo averaged an 'increase … of 75 kōhanga reo and 1,250 mokopuna a year'[112]. The Waitangi Tribunal described this growth as being by 'any standards … explosive [and] was driven by the energy of many Māori communities across the nation and their sense of urgency in acting to preserve te reo me ngā tikanga Māori'[113]. This all changed from 1993.

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107 Romaine 2002: 158

108 Lewis and Simons, 2009: 2 – 'The Fishman's 8-level Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) has served as the seminal and best-known evaluative framework of language endangerment for nearly two decades. It has provided the theoretical underpinnings for most practitioners of language revitalisation. More recently, UNESCO has developed a 6-level scale of endangerment. Ethnologue (2015a) uses yet another set of five categories to characterize language vitality. In this paper, these three evaluative systems are aligned to form an amplified and elaborated evaluative scale of 13 levels, the (Expanded) GIDS (i.e. EGIDS). Any known language, including those languages for which there are no longer speakers, can be categorized by using the resulting scale (unlike the GIDS). A language can be evaluated in terms of the EGIDS by answering five key questions regarding the identity function, vehicularity, state of intergenerational language transmission, literacy acquisition status, and a societal profile of generational language use. With only minor modification the EGIDS can also be applied to languages which are being revitalised'.

109 Ethnologue 2015d

110 Waitangi Tribunal 2010

111 Waitangi Tribunal 2010: 21

112 Rautia 2012: 21

113 Waitangi Tribunal 2010: 26

Table 2 shows the growth and fall in numbers of kōhanga reo around the country between 1982 and 2015.

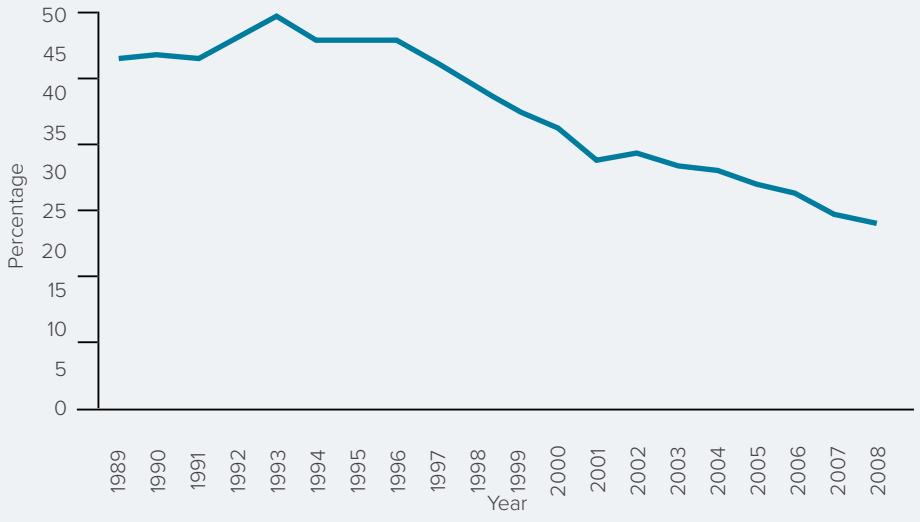
Table 2: Growth and fall in numbers of kōhanga reo centres and mokopuna attendance

Year	Kōhanga reo	Mokopuna
1982	1[114]	To be identified
1985	400	6,000
1987	512	8,000
1990	616	10,108
1993	809	14,514
2011	471	9,364
2015	260	9,000+

Numbers of kōhanga reo centres peaked in 1993, then reduced dramatically by roughly three quarters by 2015. The largest number of mokopuna attending kōhanga reo at 14,514 was also recorded in 1993, but also dropped by approximately a third to 9364 in 2011. These numbers have been maintained between 2011 and 2015.

Figure 3 below illustrates the remarkable growth in tamariki attending kōhanga reo and the subsequent fall off. Half of all Māori tamariki were attending, but by 2008, the figure had fallen to less than 25 percent[115].

Figure 3: Percentage of all Māori in Early Childhood Education at Kōhanga Reo, 1989–2008



Source: Waitangi Tribunal 2010: 22, Figure 5.3.1

114 The first kōhanga reo opened at Pukeatua Marae in Wainuiomata.

115 Waitangi Tribunal 2010: 21

The Waitangi Tribunal noted three phases in the evolution of the Te Kōhanga Reo that was established in 1982. Initially, the Department of Māori Affairs was the lead agency responsible for the kōhanga reo initiative and, during that time, expansion was rapid in both kōhanga and participation of tamariki. The rise continued through to 1993 where it reached its peak with almost 50 percent of Māori in early childhood education attending kōhanga reo. The decline began in 1994 (soon after the Ministry of Education had taken over from the Department of Māori Affairs) and continued until 2008. 'Marginalisation and further decline' was experienced from 2003 until 2008 within a 'rapidly expanding early childhood education … sector'[116]. As noted above, the current number of 'established kōhanga reo … is 260, catering for more than 9000 mokopuna'[117].

The Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust Board commented:

> Since Kōhanga Reo was brought within the ECE regulatory framework, there has been a steady decline in both numbers of Kōhanga and numbers of mokopuna. What started out as a development initiative by Māori people for Māori people has been driven to conform to an early childhood education model.
>
> Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust 2011: 23

A point to note is that early childhood education and care options increased significantly from the 1970s until the current time. The number of working parents who needed 'full-day childcare arrangements, not the sessional programmes provided by kindergartens and playcentres'[118] increased. This was mainly due to the increase in women joining the workforce[119], particularly in the 1970s[120]. In the 1990s, kōhanga reo represented 10 percent of education and early childhood care options, but by 2010, that proportion had declined to five percent[121]. This continued to be the rate in 2013[122]. While enrolments in kōhanga reo fell by 11 percent in 2013, 20 percent of all Māori tamariki and mokopuna were in kōhanga reo, thus 'fewer [are] in education & care services as a consequence'[123].

Hornsby offers another way to assess the endangerment level of a language: 'the number of speakers currently living; the mean age of native and/or fluent speakers; and the percentage of the youngest generation acquiring fluency with the language in question'[124]. He admits that there are many other factors that influence a language's level of endangerment and that this simple scale is merely a 'rule of thumb'. He highlights that the most significant factor in language endangerment is, however, 'when the children in a community are being spoken to in a language other than that of their parents'[125].

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116 Waitangi Tribunal 2010

117 Adamson 2015 npn

118 Pollock 2012: 3

119 This reflected the women's liberation movement that saw childcare as an important issue allowing women to join the workforce. (Pollock, 2012)

120 Large commercial providers (such as Kindercare) emerged in the late 1970s and, in 1989, early childhood education and care were integrated through the 'Before Five' reforms that resulted in more choices for parents (Pollock 2012).

121 Pollock 2012

122 Ministry of Education 2014: see Figure 5

123 Ministry of Education 2014

124 Hornsby n.d -b: npn

125 Hornsby n.d -b: npn

Profile of speakers of te reo Māori

More commonly in Aotearoa, census and survey data are used to measure the strength of language use. The following tables show the findings of the four censuses between 1996 and 2013; and the five surveys between 1973 and 2013. The first language question in the census appeared in 1996. Despite the differences in measures used, this very simple comparison provides a snapshot of the results; though the comparison must be treated with caution.

Table 3: Comparison of Census and Survey Results of Te Reo Māori Speakers – 1970s–2013

Year	1970s	census '96	census '01	census '06	census '13
able to hold a conversation	no information	25%	25%	24%	21%
Year	**survey '73–8[126]**	**survey '95[127]**	**survey '01**	**survey '06[128]**	**survey '13[129]**
1973 'fluent' vs 1995–2013 'speak well or very well'	18–20%	17%	9%	14%	11%

Table 3 for census results shows a small fall off in proportions of Māori who can hold a conversation in everyday situations that went from 25% in 1996 to 21% in 2013. Census results are for the total NZ population who answered the questionnaire on the night of the census.

Survey results in this table are also somewhat consistent, though less so than for the census results. This is partly due to the first survey results being Benton's 1973–1978 that related to elderly Māori rather than for all age groups. Overall, results in these surveys show a gradual falling in proportions of 'fluent' speakers. The varying numbers of respondents in these surveys might be impacting the results and, in addition, the veracity of some of the surveys' methodology is questioned.

126 A national survey shows that approximately 70,000 Māori, or 18-20 percent of Māori, are fluent Māori speakers, and that most of these are elderly'. The Māori language: selected events 1800-2013. Parliamentary Library Research Paper. See **https://www.parliament.nz/resource/en-nz/00PLSocRP2013041/a2f2308cb8e4b292dc7e979a4c098f3e3aa7b5e9 **

127 Bauer 2008: 34 - After it was carried out, the 1995 survey was discovered to be unreliable...

128 The 2006 Health of the Māori Language Survey was commissioned by Te Puni Kōkiri and undertaken by Research New Zealand (**http://archive.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/people_and_communities/maori/measuring-te-reo-maori-speakers/data-sources.aspx**). Bauer 2008 found problems with the methodology used in this survey, including sampling. Thus, she warns that the results of this survey need to be treated with caution. See also de Bres 2008 and Waitangi Tribunal 2011 for issues identified with this particular survey. Nonetheless, the overall findings are presented here because they do not differ greatly from the census results for that same year.

129 Statistics NZ, Te Kupenga 2013f

The first survey of speakers of te reo Māori was undertaken in the early 1970s[130] and confirmed that the Māori language was in very serious state with only 18 percent of those surveyed describing themselves as fluent speakers. Most of the 18 percent were in the older age groups[131] with 'another 30,000 people who could understand conversational Māori quite well, but were not confident speakers'[132]. This finding has some comparability with the subsequent surveys and census in terms of the terminology used. These figures need to be treated with caution, given discussion on what constitutes fluency at that time compared to how it has developed from the 1990s. The kaumātua Benton was referring to were likely to have been born as early as the late 1800s to the 1920s when high levels of fluency were common and the majority of Māori were being born and living in rural homelands.

Twenty years later, in 1995, the next collection of similar data occurred and was undertaken by the Māori Language Commission who had been contracted by Te Puni Kōkiri. The survey was the 1995 National Māori Language Survey, Te Mahi Rangahau Reo Māori and was the first in a series of 5-yearly surveys. This survey seemed to confirm the dire findings of the New Zealand Council of Educational Research survey, but it was later found to be unreliable[133]. Despite this, the results are presented here and, as with the 2006 survey, the results should be treated with caution. Statistics New Zealand reports that:

> This survey showed that 59 percent of all Māori adults spoke the Māori language to some extent. This 59 percent is made up of 43 percent who spoke the Māori language with low fluency, 9 percent with medium fluency and 8 percent with high fluency. Of those who spoke with high fluency, one-third were aged 60 years or over.
>
> Results showed that 42 percent of Māori aged 15 years and over (136,700 people) have some Māori language speaking skills – that is, they could speak more than a few words or phrases in Māori. This can be further divided into 9 percent who could speak Māori 'well' or 'very well', and 33 percent who could speak Māori 'fairly well' or 'not very well'. The remaining 58 percent could speak 'no more than a few words or phrases'.
>
> Statistics NZ 2002

The surveys that followed in 2001 and 2006 were based on a modified questionnaire (de Bres, 2008), but the 2006 survey was found to have problems in its methodology. Their findings, therefore, though they are consistent with those of the 2006 Census, need to be treated with caution[134].

130 This research was carried out between 1973–1978 by Benton through the New Zealand Council of Educational Research.

131 The nature of the report is such that a breakdown of ages and speaking competencies is not available.

132 Benton 1997: 29. While Benton describes those speakers in this way, lacking confidence does not equate to an inability to be 'able to hold a conversation about everyday things in te reo Māori'.

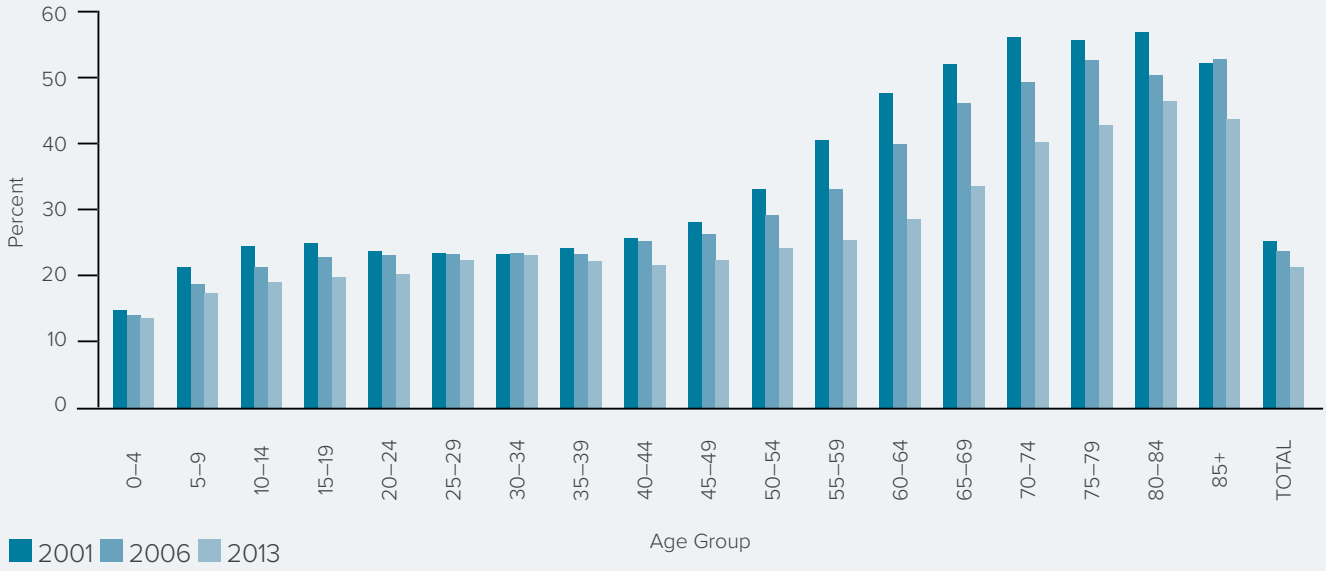
133 Bauer 2008: 34 reports that, as a result of a personal communication with Te Puni Kōkiri, the 1995 survey was discovered to be unreliable, though why is not explained.

134 Statistics NZ 2008 reports, 'Te Puni Kōkiri has now advised data users to exercise caution when interpreting results from the 2006 survey, due to limitations in the survey design (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2008)'. See Statistics NZ 2014b. In addition, Bauer 2008 found problems with the methodology used in this survey, including sampling. She warns that the results of this survey need to be treated with caution. See also de Bres 2008 and Waitangi Tribunal 2011 for issues identified with this particular survey). Nonetheless, the overall findings are presented here because they do not differ greatly from the census results for that same year.

The following section focuses on Census results for the years 2001–2013 for speakers of te reo Māori by age groups and sex both in graph and table form. Māori speakers of te reo Māori in Australia are also mentioned briefly.

Census data shows that the percentages of Māori speakers of te reo Māori (without indicating the degree of fluency) has, with the exception of the 0–4 and 5–9 age groups, tended to remain above 20 percent since 2001. This is a slight increase from the NZCER 1973–1978 survey result of 18 percent. Figure 4 shows that the older the speaker is, the higher the proportion of speakers, but also the greater the reductions over the three census years.

Figure 4: Proportion of Māori Speakers in the Māori Population by 5-year Age Groups, 2001–2013



Source: Statistics NZ, Census of Population and Dwellings 2013

The five-yearly census results presented in Table 4 shows consistency in decline in proportions of speakers of te reo Māori across all age groups, with the exception of those aged 30–34 where there is very little change between 2001 and 2013. Declines become more pronounced in the older age groups, 55–59 to 85+, particularly the 60–64 year olds, with a percentage drop of approximately 24 points for that age group. Overall, the decline of te reo Māori speakers was approximately four percentage points.

The age group spanning 55–64 years in Figure 4 is where the most significant reductions in speaking te reo Maori occurred between 2001 and 2013. Those in this age group were born between 1932 and 1958 in the following 5-yearly cycles:

- in 1996, they were born between 1932 and 1941
- in 2001, they were born between 1937 and 1946
- in 2006, they were born between 1942 and 1951
- in 2013, they were born between 1949 and 1958

Many of those born between 1942 and 1958 were among those whose whānau were heading to the big towns and cities, looking for employment and advancement in the Pākehā world. The literature review found that Government policy in the 1960s encouraged Māori to move from their traditional homelands and ways of life to towns and cities and then 'pepper potted' them among non-Māori homes. This review also found that this was particularly effective in disrupting the inter-generational transmission of te reo Māori.

Hamer's analysis of 2006 Statistics NZ census data provides a profile of who is speaking te reo Māori by sex and occupation that resonates somewhat with Benton's comments above.

Table 4: Māori speakers of te reo Māori in New Zealand by sex and occupation, 2006

Occupational Class	Sex	Speakers	Total Maori	% Speakers
Managers	M	2,724	13,491	20.2
	F	2,292	10,368	22.1
	Total	5,016	23,859	21.0
Professionals	M	3,438	10,392	33.1
	F	6,618	18,507	35.8
	Total	10,056	28,899	34.8
Technicians and trades workers	M	3,861	20,496	18.8
	F	969	5,094	19.0
	Total	4,830	25,590	18.9
Community and personal service workers	M	2,005	7,113	28.9
	F	3,825	15,399	24.8
	Total	5,880	22,512	26.1
Clerical and administrative workers	M	1,086	4,680	23.2
	F	3,483	17,724	19.7
	Total	4,569	22,404	20.4
Sales workers	M	894	5,550	16.1
	F	2,004	12,003	16.7
	Total	2,898	17,553	16.5
Machinery operators and drivers	M	4,590	18,339	25.0
	F	696	3,183	21.9
	Total	5,286	21,522	24.6
Labourers	M	6,261	26,607	23.5
	F	3,981	16,938	23.5
	Total	10,242	43,545	23.5
Total	**M**	**24,912**	**106,526**	**23.4**
	F	**23,865**	**99,222**	**24.1**
	Total	**48,777**	**205,748**	**23.7**

Source: Hamer 2010:45

Hamer's findings show that Māori women and men working as professional employees in New Zealand are '... the likeliest to be able to converse in te reo'. Proportions for women were 35.8 percent and for men 34.8 percent. The women also 'reported sole Māori ethnicity (no less than 53.4 percent of that group, or 4,770 out of 8,940)'[135].

Where those who worked in community and personal services were concerned, more men spoke te reo Māori at 28.9 percent than women at 24.8 percent. The two occupational groups with the lowest proportions of speaking te reo Māori were: technicians and trade workers, with women at 19.0 percent and men 18.8 percent; and sales workers, with women at 16.7 percent and men at 16.1 percent.

While Hamer found that those who spoke the most te reo Māori in 2006 were professionals, Kukutai and Pawar[136] found that:

> ... a number of studies have shown that those who identify exclusively, or primarily, as Māori tend to have significantly poorer socio-economic outcomes than those whose Māori identification is part of a more complex designation ... Those with an exclusive or primary Māori identification also tend to be more likely to speak Te Reo Māori, partner with other Māori, and live in areas with a high Māori concentration.
>
> Kukutai and Pawar 2013: 32[137].

135 Hamer 2010: 45

136 While the paper's title is about Māori in Australia, this particular section on page 32 (2nd paragraph) discusses findings related to NZ – please note final sentence of the 2nd paragraph.

137 Kukutai and Pawar (2013) note: In 2006, the regions with the highest proportions of people with conversational Māori skills were:

- Gisborne (32 percent),
- the Bay of Plenty (31 percent),
- Northland (28 percent) and
- Waikato and Hawke's Bay (each 26 percent).

Though 2013 Census data shows the order a little differently, i.e. 'Gisborne, Northland, and Bay of Plenty have the highest proportion of Māori speakers per population group [overall, however,] Auckland has the highest number of speakers.'

Revitalising te reo Māori

Ngāpō (2011, quoting Te Taura Whiri 2007) points out: '... it can take many decades even in favourable conditions for any language that has declined [in use] to be successfully regenerated. Language regeneration may therefore appear to be a lengthy and somewhat overwhelming process'[138].

Are (2015), commenting on Crystal's (2000) view, explains that efforts '... would primarily involve getting all the relevant statistics about the languages in question and then implementing six steps'. The following steps are a slight embellishment of Are's[139].

1. increasing the prestige, wealth, and political power of language speakers among its speakers relative to the dominant group;
2. the language has a strong presence in the education system;
3. a written form of the language is devised by its speakers who also encourage literacy;
4. electronic technology is utilised;
5. a strong emphasis on descriptive linguistics and fieldwork[140]; and
6. the need to build a rounded 'revitalisation team', involving a broad range of community leaders, teachers, and other specialists as well as linguistics[141].

Again citing Crystal (2000), Are states that the steps are '... based on observations of interventions in different parts of the world towards reversing language shift. This approach is significant as it involves a practice-based blue print for intervention.' (Are, 2015: 17)

Fishman's (1991) advice is to focus on intergenerational transmission in the home. For Māori, this refers to 'the use of te reo Māori at a whānau level ... by the Māori speaking population in the home and in the community'.[142] Ideally, this would mean children who are living at home have opportunities to communicate in te reo Māori with their mātua and kaumātua on a regular basis. The reality seems to be that these opportunities are not occurring. Reasons for this could include, for example: the majority of Māori adults do not speak te reo Māori; the majority of children and teenagers living at home spend most of their days in educational institutions that are not Māori-specific; kōhanga reo (as an example of a Māori-specific option) reduced dramatically in numbers of centres and tamariki attending (Waitangi Tribunal 2011); and, for various reasons, teachers with the fluency required are difficult to engage[143].

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138 Ngāpō 2011: 133

139 Are's simpler list (2015: 17):
1. Increasing the prestige of the threatened/ endangered language among its speakers
2. Economically empowering the speakers relative to the dominant groups
3. Politically empowering the speakers
4. Giving the language a presence in education
5. Putting the language into writing (if this is not yet done), and
6. Using electronic technology as may be required to document

140 See, for example, Yamada 2007

141 Ditto – Yamada 2007

142 Te Puni Kōkiri 2006b

143 Waitangi Tribunal 2011

Currently, specific issues involved in the revitalisaton of te reo Māori include:

1. Is there a way of identifying how many speakers are needed to revitalise te reo Māori?
2. Where should the focus be when planning to increase numbers of te reo Māori speakers (including, numbers of speakers versus proficient speakers/ fluency).
3. How has language planning at government-level progressed?
4. Is there a preferred approach to the teaching and learning of te reo Māori?

The number of speakers needed for successful language revitalisation – projections

The series of surveys on attitudes toward te reo Māori undertaken by Te Puni Kōkiri have identified that the attitudes of Māori and non-Māori to te reo Māori are generally positive – more so for Māori[144]. However, despite the very positive attitude of Māori, their uptake of te reo does not match their positivity. This is evidenced in the findings of Censuses and Surveys that show, at most, a quarter of Māori are speaking te reo Māori to varying degrees of ability. Higgins and Rewi comment on what they describe as 'an extreme cohort' referring to those who believe there is little relevance for the Māori language in the future and that it should remain in the past[145].

A critical mass of speakers of te reo Māori that would tip the language forward past revitalisation into revitalised has been discussed since the 1980s 'when the call went far and wide', encouraging people to 'have a go' at the reo regardless of how correct their reo might be[146]. Benavidez et al. (2007) argue that, 'culture is contagious [and] once a community has reached a level where people begin thinking and living according to that cultural tradition, i.e. when a critical mass has been achieved, use of the heritage language [should] follow suit'[147]. This moment could be termed the 'tipping point' where te reo Māori flows out and into the wider community.

Ruckstuhl and Wright (2013) refer to a growing international trend that uses statistical language modelling to identify 'language inputs that will model the trajectory of … Māori language over several generations'[148]. The question the writers ask themselves is, 'Can you get 80% of Māori speaking te reo Māori by 2050?'[149] Ruckstuhl notes that this was the goal of the Māori Language Strategy[150], Te Reo Mauriora[151] and that it was supported by Minister Flavell[152]. Ruckstuhl concluded that, to reach that target (which they consider ambitious),

144 For example, Te Puni Kōkiri 2006a, 2006b, and 2010.

145 Higgins and Rewi: 2014: 26

146 O'Regan 2012: 94

147 Benavidez, L., et al. 2007: 61

148 Ruckstuhl and Wright 2014: 123

149 Ruckstuhl and Wright 2014: 123

150 See Ruckstuhl 2011, Submission on the Government's proposed Māori Language Strategy (see https://www.tpk.govt.nz/docs/mls/submissions/Dr-Katharina-Ruckstuhl.pdf)

151 Te Puni Kōkiri 2011

152 See Scoop Parliament, The Māori Party 2014. Flavell: Māori Education Agenda is a Development Agenda. http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PA1403/S00114/flavell-maori-education-agenda-is-a-development-agenda.htm

it 'would require that 16% of the population speak Māori [which, according to their calculations, equates to] 4.4 hrs per day per whānau'[153].

Kandler et al. (2010), in writing about the Scottish Gaelic situation, used a mathematical model[154] to estimate language shift[155] reversing from English monolingualism to English-Gaelic bilingualism. They estimated that, to 'alter the shift dynamics', the number of English monolinguals needed each year to learn Scottish Gaelic and become bilingual was roughly 860 (or 0.3 percent). This 'number was based on a Highland population of about 315,000 individuals'[156].

In 1997, Benton[157] hoped for '... a total of 83,000 Māori speakers (fluent and potentially fluent)' by 2011. Whether or not his 'projection' was based in statistical analysis is not obvious. A rough calculation finds that 80,000 represents 13.3 percent of the 2013 population of Māori that was 598,605[158]. Statistics NZ's terminology to assess degrees of fluency asks respondents to rate themselves against these statements: 'could speak about almost anything or many things in Māori' or 'speak te reo Māori very well or well'. If these statements are akin to 'fluent and potentially fluent', then the count in 2013 [based on a count of 50,000, representing 11 percent[159]] was just over half of what Benton hoped for[160].

The Waitangi Tribunal used a different mechanism for what might be a prediction:

> If the 1993 rate of Māori participation in kōhanga had been maintained, the number of tamariki at kōhanga reo would have increased to 18,300 by 2008. In reality, in that year the enrolment at kōhanga was only 9,200, including 8,700 Māori children – 9,600 fewer Māori children than there would have been had the 1993 share been maintained.
>
> Waitangi Tribunal 2011: 21

De Bres explains:

> ... for Māori to be a viable living language it needs a critical mass of fluent speakers of all ages, who use the language on an everyday basis, and it needs to be passed on as the first language in the home of a large number of families. ... it needs the support not just of its own speakers but also of majority language speakers in New Zealand.
>
> de Bres 2008: 26

153 Ruckstuhl 2011: slide 16 (Conclusion) Whether this means 16% of the Māori population or total NZ population is not specified. The use of the term 'per whānau' is vague in this context.

154 See Kandler et al., 2010: 3862 for a description of the Diglossia model.

155 Grin and Vaillancourt 1998: 9 note: 'Strictly speaking, there is no such thing as 'language shift', because changes in the use of a language reflect patterns of behaviour by language users, that is, individuals that belong simultaneously to a variety of implicit or explicit social groups. Speaking of language shift therefore could be interpreted as a reification of language; if unchecked, reification runs the risk of introducing a bias in policy analysis, and to yield inappropriate policy recommendations. Caution requires, therefore, that all stages of a policy analysis on language problems be structured around an explicit theory of speakers' and non-speakers' behaviour. Nevertheless, we shall often mention 'language shift', it being clear that the term is used for shorthand only.'

156 Kandler et al. 2010: 3860

157 Benton 1997: 30

158 Statistics NZ 2013f

159 Statistics NZ 2013f Te Kupenga 2013: In 2013: 598,605 people identified with the Māori ethnic group; 668,724 people were of Māori descent

160 Benton 1997: 29

What this section emphasises is that, whatever models are devised or programmes put in place, what is needed is a groundswell of interest and commitment to using te reo Māori.

Who should be focused for efforts in the revitalisation of te reo Māori?

Groups of people to be considered when planning for revitalisation of te reo Māori are Māori speakers of te reo Māori, Māori non-speakers of te reo Māori and non-Māori, i.e. all New Zealanders. Also, focus could be, as Bauer (2008) suggests, on communities in which there are already significant cohorts of speakers. Higgins and Rewi do not, however, support a 'community-focussed' approach. In their opinion, the concept of 'targeting Māori communities' as part of the revitalisation approach 'echoes traditionalist notions of Māori' and renders the rest of New Zealand as 'passive observers'[161]. King also questions the focus of te reo Māori revival planners on speakers as being simply instruments 'for maintaining the viability of the language, that is, speakers are mostly of interest in terms of what they can do for the language'[162].

May 'proposes that policy should specifically include work to improve attitudes among the majority[163] [because revitalisation will only be achieved] if at least some degree of favourable majority opinion is secured'[164]. He points out, however, that the 'extent to which majority speakers … participate in indigenous language revitalisation'[165] is determined by the budget allocated to the exercise.

Albury refers to King who considers that 'members of each culture ought to be fluent in each other's language'[166]. The attitudes surveys undertaken by Te Puni Kōkiri generally indicate that Māori did not envisage a significant role for non-Māori in the language. Only 14% [in 2009 felt] that non-Māori should learn the language through the education system, and 16% felt that non-Māori should 'encourage and help all generations to learn Māori language and culture. … The survey also revealed that 17% of respondents were classified "uninterested Māori who themselves" place little importance on the Māori language'[167].

The role of non-Māori is to show goodwill to the language which means that 'Māori alone would carry the responsibility' of acquiring and using it. This is evidenced in the 'range of Māori community-oriented language programmes for whānau and iwi … launched by the government'[168]. Albury considers that this:

> … ideology seems to justify why the language remains excluded from the list of compulsory school subjects. While Māori students mandatorily study English, non-Māori students need not study Māori, meaning that policy in effect does not see Māori as theoretically important..
>
> Albury 2014: 9

161 Higgins & Rewi 2014: 12. Note: Higgins & Rewi, in using this terminology, were reacting to the 'specific mention of marae' in the context of targeting domains in the revitalisation of te reo Māori.

162 King 2007: 341

163 The 'majority' presumably being non-Māori.

164 May 2000: 379

165 Albury 2015: 5

166 Albury 2015: 6

167 Albury 2015: 8

168 Te Taura Whiri n.d.

Bauer's comments relate to both who should be targeted and how many speakers are needed. She is in favour of communities speaking te reo Māori, considering that it is, in fact, 'communities, rather than individuals that speak languages'[169]. She is also of the opinion that '... more than 70% of a community needs to be able to speak Māori for the odds to be better than even'. She qualifies this by stating: 'This does not necessarily mean more than 70% of the entire population of NZ, but more than 70% of a Māori speaker's natural social grouping needs to be able to speak Māori for Māori to be regularly used'[170].

Bauer believes that the best strategy for saving te reo Māori 'would be to put our efforts into fostering Māori in those communities which have the best chance of delivering eighty percent of the community able to speak Māori'. She bases this on the belief that these are the communities who 'could live their lives in te reo' as much as possible and will be in a strong position 'to support language revitalisation'[171].

Census (2013[172]) data shows the top five regions (of a total of sixteen) with the highest proportions of speakers who spoke only te reo Māori. These were: Auckland with the highest proportion at 19.2 percent as well as the largest proportion of the total population of Māori; the Waikato at 17.2 percent; the Bay of Plenty at 16.6 percent; Northland at 10.3 percent; and the Hawke's Bay at 7.8 percent. While not a region, Census (2013) data also shows that, since 2010, the Māori speaking population of Ōtaki has reached 46.3%[173]. This result appears to support Bauer's (2008) comments on the importance of focussing on communities in language revitalisation.

Fluency

Ratima and May, referring to Benton 2007 and Bauer 2008, point out that there is no evidence of 'growth in the numbers of proficient speakers of te reo'. They also point out that 'there is no empirical baseline data on rates of acquisition and ultimate proficiency amongst second language learners of te reo'[174]. For the purposes of their research, Ratima and May provided a 'working definition of the highly proficient adult Māori language speaker' or, in other words, a fluent speaker:

> A highly proficient Māori language speaker is able to speak, listen, read and write in te reo Māori. Communication with other fluent speakers is spontaneous. Furthermore, the highly proficient speaker is able to express all of their thoughts, opinions and emotions according to the context and with whom they are interacting.
>
> Ratima and May, 2011:

169 Bauer notes: 'There is evidence from the Ministry of Education (Earle, 2007, 26) that the extent to which people participate in tertiary courses in te reo is dependent on the amount of Māori spoken in their community. Earle writes: '...the more Māori speakers of te reo there are in a region, the more students are likely to be enrolled in a te reo Māori programme' (Bauer 2008: 37).

170 Bauer 2008: 63

171 Bauer 2008: 67

172 Statistics NZ 2013b

173 Statistics NZ 2013 a

174 Ratima and May 2011: 1

This definition[175] is narrower/more specific than that of Statistics NZ who measure 'speakers' of Māori as being those 'able to hold a conversation about everyday things in te reo Māori'[176]. In addition, 'Whakamātauria Tō Reo Māori/National Māori Language Proficiency Examinations' (administered by Te Taura Whiri) identify candidates' level of proficiency in te reo between 1 and 5. Level 1 being 'basic routine language' to level 5 that is 'complete proficiency'[177].

What are the implications of the Statistics NZ findings based on the disparity between the three descriptions/definitions/measurements? Closely related to this, Bauer suggests that an investigation is required into self-reporting based on the question of the consistency and/or accuracy of such a measure. In addition, she points out that a younger person might consider themselves to be fluent, but this description could well be quite different to how an older native speaker would determine fluency[178]. Their description might represent a higher level of competency.

De Bres's main concern in 2008 was that 'the proportion of fluent speakers[179] of Māori [was] dangerously low for language maintenance'[180]. Most of the highly fluent speakers of te reo Māori since the 1970s have been in the older age groups, i.e. those aged 45 years old or older and these groups are slowly diminishing. Benton (1979)[181] reported that, in the 1970s, 80 percent of Māori kaumātua (elders) were fluent speakers of te reo Māori. By 2013, the proportion is 32 percent and, as noted above, 'fluency'[182] is a 'fluid' definition. This, coupled with the 'majority of medium and low fluency speakers [being] less than 35 years old' (see Figure 5 below), does not bode well[183] if efforts are dependent on this cohort[184].

175 Ratima and May 2011: 1

176 Statistics NZ 2013e

177 Te Taura Whiri n.d.: 5–8

178 Bauer 2008 see pages 62 and 54.

179 However, defining fluency in te reo Māori is fraught because as, Statistics NZ notes their data 'does not measure fluency because this is subject to variations in people's assessment of their own ability'. Statistics NZ (2008).

180 de Bres 2008: 25

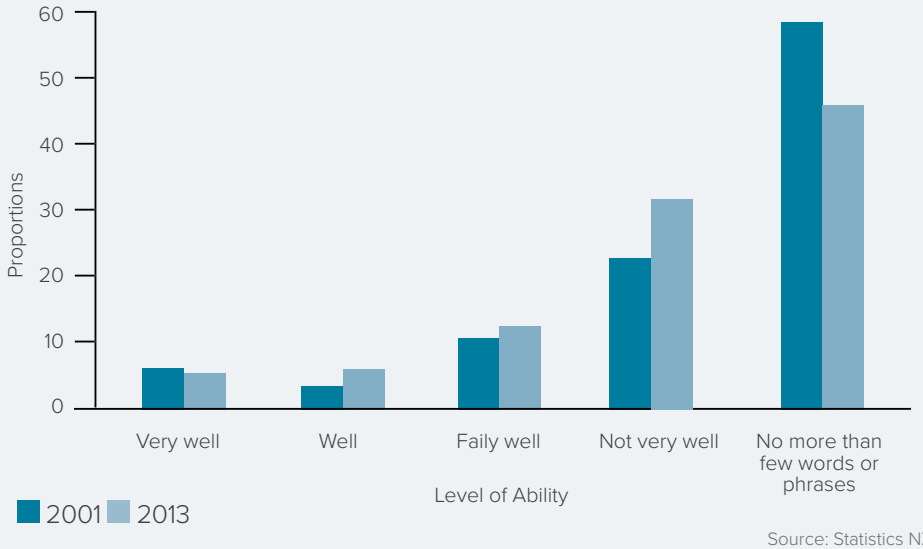
181 See Waikato University 2012: Better, but not there yet – public lecture looks at te reo in New Zealand. Available from: **http://www.waikato.ac.nz/news-events/media/2012/better,-but-not-there-yet-public-lecture-looks-at-te-reo-in-new-zealand)**

182 See Christensen 2001: 128

183 Peterson 2000

184 Ministry of Social Development 2010: 88

Figure 5: Te reo Māori speaking ability by level of ability, 2001 and 2013



Source: Statistics NZ

The Waitangi Tribunal warned in 2010 that if the trend continues 'over the next 15 to 20 years, the te reo speaking proportion of the Māori population will decline further[185]' despite speaker numbers slowly climbing. If the absolute numbers of te reo speakers increases during this timeframe, it is likely they will be 'less fluent than speakers now[186]'.

185 Waitangi Tribunal 2010: 41

186 Waitangi Tribunal 2010: 41

Overview of government language planning and policy

Significant actions and activities of successive governments since the 1970s that have impacted on te reo Māori are briefly discussed below[187].

> The main goal of any language policy should be a change that would result in spontaneous language use by a large community of speakers [considered] the only indicator that can measure the efficacy of a language policy. All other factors – legislation, policies, strategies, funding, [all the high-level] discussions and meetings, the number of courses available in any number of educational institutions at any level of education, the numbers participating in the courses – are not indicators.
>
> Derhemi 2002: 159

Government actions in response to Māori protest can be seen as being in two phases. Phase 1 was described by de Bres as 'unplanned and erratic'[188] and occurred between 1972 and the late 1990s. During this phase, actions and activities were reactive, but despite that, several initiatives were established that have contributed to reversing language shift. The second phase, from the late 1980s to the current time, has been described by de Bres as 'a turning point for the Government's involvement in Māori language regeneration, marking a change to a more coordinated and strategic focus across government'[189]. This phase marked the beginning of formal language policy and planning at government level[190].

The majority of actions undertaken by government in the first phase were mainly supportive of initiatives by way of funding for, for example: Māori language day and week; the Waitangi Tribunal; organising consultation hui with Māori; establishing Te Taura Whiri i te reo Māori and Māori TV; and formally recognising Māori education and tertiary institutions through the Education Act of 1989. These activities that, according to de Bres 'amount to a significant amount of policy activity relating to the Māori language'[191], sparked the development of the Māori language strategy, i.e. formal language policy and planning. The first Māori language strategy (Toitū te Reo) was developed in 1995–1996 and was designed to 'coordinate the Māori-language sector'[192]. The Māori Language Strategy 2003–2008 was the next step in harnessing language-related activities and 'focussed on increasing language usage in specific domains'[193].

187 See de Bres (2008), the Waitangi Tribunal (2011) and Office of the Auditor General (2007) for more in-depth analysis of issues related to Government language planning.

188 de Bres 2008

189 de Bres 2008: 11 Appendix four

190 Minister of Māori Affairs, Pita Sharples (talking on the Review of Maori language strategy and sector) stated that 'we need a more coordinated approach ... [and] a strategy that will empower Iwi/Māori to take control of the Māori language'. See NZ Government Press Release, 29 July 2010 **http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PA1007/S00491.htm**

191 While no single strategy document was signed off by Cabinet at this time, Cabinet adopted 'a series of overarching Māori language policy objectives' in 1997. The strategy (Te Tūāoma – The Māori Language: The Steps That Have Been Taken) was adopted in 1998, released in 1999 and was made up of these policy objectives and several Cabinet papers - de Bres 2008: 10 (Appendix four).

192 Higgins and Keane 2015

193 Higgins and Keane 2015

These two Māori language strategies have been criticised for the failure of their activities designed to support the revitalisation of the Māori language. Several writers[194] refer to the ineffectiveness of government language planning and strategy implementation. Some key factors that may have influenced this failure as identified in the literature review are listed here:

- The 1997 strategy:
  - lacked a clear vision statement, specific outcomes and implementation strategies;
  - was developed in isolation from Māori communities;
  - was completed by Te Puni Kōkiri who took over the writing from the Māori Language Commission, and
  - was not ratified/signed off by Cabinet.
- The 2003 MLS was similarly criticised by the Waitangi Tribunal for[195]:
  - 'a lack of partnership with Māori' (though the need for 'an enhanced role for iwi in language planning and implementation' was identified);
  - failure to proactively undertake 'Māori language policy and planning over many decades';
  - failing to 'adequately implement the Tribunal's recommendations on the Māori language claims; and
  - repeated failures in policy development, implementation and resourcing'[196].

While these strategies have received considerable criticism, the 2003 strategy 'continues to be the only measure of language policy in the country … and has been adopted by Māori themselves as a guide to supporting language revitalisation efforts'[197]. Review of the 2003–2008 strategy began in 2010 by Te Paepae Motuhake and resulted in the current Te Rautaki Reo Māori Language Strategy 2014.

194 For example: de Bres 2008, Timms 2013, the Office of the Auditor General 2007, Albury 2015 and Skerrett 2007.

195 Timms 2013, referring to Waitangi Tribunal reports 2010 and 2011

196 Waitangi Tribunal 2010

197 Higgins and Rewi 2014: 11

Te Rautaki Reo Māori (Current Māori Language Strategy) and Māori Language (te reo Maori) Bill

> This Bill repeals the Māori Language Act 1987 and Part 4A of the Broadcasting Act 1989. It establishes an independent entity, Te Mātāwai, to provide leadership on behalf of iwi and Māori regarding the health of the Māori language.
>
> New Zealand Parliament 2014

Te Mātāwai is an independent statutory entity, established to:

> ...act on behalf of iwi and Māori and give practical effect to the kaitiakitanga of iwi and Māori over the Māori language. ... Te Mātāwai is a significant part of the Māori language strategy because it is an instrument which allows Māori/iwi to lead and direct Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, Te Māngai Pāho and the Māori Television Service, and to provide a vehicle to represent their role as kaitiaki in relation to te reo Māori, it's health and wellbeing. ... Te Mātāwai will consist of twelve members, with seven members appointed by regional clusters of iwi, three members appointed by a Māori language stakeholder group and two members appointed by the Minister of Māori Affairs, on behalf of the Crown.
>
> New Zealand Parliament – Sharples 2014: npn

The two main aims of the Māori Language Bill are 'to strengthen the recognition of the Māori language and the leadership roles of iwi and Māori' and to thereby 'transfer' the authority '... from the Crown to tribes and Māori people'[198]. Ownership of te Reo Māori will be returned to its people and how the recognition of the Māori language will be strengthened will be decided primarily by them[199].

The major issues raised in public submissions as identified by the Minister's (Minister Flavell) Advisory Group[200] in their proposal[201] are summarised as:

- a perception that the Crown is stepping back from its responsibility;
- the narrow focus of Te Mātāwai;
- the membership of Te Mātāwai. Concerns included heavy weighting toward iwi, absence of urban Māori, and Crown appointments;
- insufficient focus on improving the cross-government response; and
- unclear lines of accountability for the entities in the Bill.

The current Māori Language Strategy (Te Rautaki Reo Māori) was released in 2014 and is the result of past reviews[202] that 'identified some common themes, including: the ongoing fragile state of the Māori language; the need to support iwi and Māori leadership of Māori language revitalisation; the need to strengthen Crown-Iwi and Māori relationships in this sector; and the importance of support

198 Sharples 2014: npn

199 Brown 2014, Māori Television

200 The Advisory Group was charged with analysing the current Māori Language Bill

201 Te Puni Kōkiri n.d.

202 See Te Puni Kōkiri 2011 and Waitangi Tribunal 2011

for whānau, hapū and iwi language development'[203]. Te Rautaki Reo Māori, though having addressed many of those themes, has received mixed 'reviews'. Iwi (for example, Whanganui, Ngāti Porou, Waikato-Tainui, Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Kahungunu[204]) and the PSA[205] are in support of the revisions and approve the structure of Te Mātāwai[206]. While other comments reflect concerns as reported by Te Manu Korihi:

- 'Te Mātāwai would not have any power over Crown agencies with responsibilities to revitalise the language it would need to engage with, such as the ministries of Education and Culture and Heritage.
- It should be the responsibility of Te Mātāwai to involve the Māori community, because the nation was founded on a partnership through the Treaty of Waitangi.
- The Māori Council is arguing that Te Reo Māori is a taonga (treasure) and no minister has the right to delegate it to somebody else; also, the Māori Language Commission was hard fought for by Māori, and was already [being] run by Māori.
- There [is] also opposition from the Mana Party [that] said 'the grim reality is that iwi leaders are simply not capable of managing such an important taonga'. It also said rūnanga (tribal councils) had other corporate priorities.'

Godfrey 2015: npn

Godfrey comments that, on the basis of the opposition of Māori leaders who have spent a lifetime working for language revitalisation, 'the Māori Language (Te Reo Māori) Bill could be on the wrong track ...the Bill focuses on structures and funding; [and] is aggravating the 'disarray' in Māori communities'[207]. These concerns echo those of Thomas relating to Te Mātāwai 'which is meant to provide leadership on behalf of iwi and Māori'[208]. Godfrey continues, explaining that Te Mātāwai, as a single entity, 'centralise[s] control of the language' as iwi input is through Te Mātāwai iwi representatives. This 'goes against the trend in recent legislation of devolving power to iwi'. The state will continue to control 'the resources for protecting and promoting the language'[209]. Godfrey considers that the 'greatest problem [seems to be] that Māori are being subjected to more state control, not less'[210].

203 Te Puni Kōkiri 2014d

204 Wanganui Chronicle, 2014

205 Public Service Association (PSA) 2014

206 Thomas 2014

207 Godfrey 2015: npn

208 Thomas 2014

209 Godfrey 2015: npn

210 Godfrey 2015: npn

Funding

An attempt is made here to outline Government funding for te reo Māori since 1998. This can only be an indicative exercise because, as Peterson (2000) explains:

> The Estimates of Appropriations and other official publications do not go into sufficient detail to isolate all of the components of Crown expenditure that relate to promotion of the Māori language, particularly if one wishes to focus on expenditures that are additional to what would occur regardless of the language involved (e.g. significantly different from baseline school resources or broadcasting funding).
>
> Peterson 2000: 7

When considering what revitalising a language may cost, it is important to note that language revitalisation is, relatively speaking, still in its infancy. Little is known about the process because, as Romaine points out, 'language policies have not been analysed in relation to the functional and structural characteristics of endangered languages[211]' (that is apart from the two theoretical Fishman volumes published in 1991 and 2001). However, policies in relation to educational settings have been 'thoroughly questioned and evaluated'[212]. The main work in educational settings Romaine refers to are Skutnabb-Kangas 2000 and Schiffman 1996. They argue 'that the preservation of endangered languages is very costly and even if one decides to spend what is necessary, the result is not cost-effective'[213]. Language revitalisation is complex, requires immense efforts and expenses are very high[214]. However, if set against the costs to cultural, economic and social wellbeing of the people affected and keeping in mind the time taken to reduce the language to endangerment status, perhaps a different reckoning is needed.

The following tables provide: a breakdown of the te reo spend for 2009; and how the funds have grown between 1999–2006 and 2014. While the first table relates to one financial year, i.e. 2009, it is presented as an example that could be extrapolated to apply to other years in terms of where the funding is generally funneled. It also provides an indicative figure of costs involved.

211 Romaine 2002: 153

212 Romaine 2002: 153

213 Romaine 2002: 154

214 Romaine 2002: 158

Table 5: A breakdown of expenditure on te reo Māori for the year to June 2009

	Government department	Sub-totals	Dollar spend (millions)	Percentage of total
1	Education		502.2	84.25
2	Broadcasting		80.6	13.52
	Māori Language Broadcasting Commission	56,659,693		
	Māori Television Service	13,011,000		
	Ministry of Culture	10,889,240		
		80,559,933		
3	Community		8.1	1.36
	Ministry of Māori Development	4,698,400		
	He Kāinga Kōrerorero – 1,500,000.00			
	Community funds – 3,198,400.00			
	Māori Language Commission	3,416,577		
	Community funds – 1,613,821			
	Mā te Reo – 1,802,756			
		8,114,977		
4	Culture		2.9	0.49
5	Strategy, Policy, Planning and Research		2.2	0.03
	Māori Language Commission	2,084,519		
	Ministry of Māori Development	162,230		
		2,246,749		
	Grand totals		596	99.65

Source: Te Puni Kōkiri, 2011: 87-88

Most of this following table is derived from data in the Waitangi Tribunal Report that discusses State funding for the years 1999 to 2006[215]. The last row is from a publication by Te Puni Kōkiri about the new Māori Language Strategy[216].

215 Waitangi Tribunal Report 2010: 20

216 Te Puni Kōkiri 2014b

Table 6: Expenditure on te reo Māori between 1999–2006 and 2014

Year	Description	Budget – million
1999	State's resourcing of te reo Māori began at	$177.9m – estimated
2002	grew to	$225m
2006	grew again to	$226.8m
1999[217]	The education sector accounts for the largest share of this resourcing that began at	$132.8m
2002	grew to	$137.6m
2006	grew again to	$142.3m
1999	Māori language broadcasting – Te Māngai Pāho began at	$22.2m
2002	grew to	$49.1m
2006	grew again to	$49.8m
Total		**$1,163.50m**
2014	to support Māori language programmes and services and, in addition, operational funding for Māori-medium education[218]	$220m per annum and $730m per annum
Total		**$950m per annum**

Source: Waitangi Tribunal 2011; Te Puni Kōkiri Māori Language Strategy 2014

What the tables show is that the education sector uses the greatest proportion of available funding. Despite the amount of funding that has been spent on te reo Māori, Dr Higgins notes that the reo is 'still struggling'[219] which is a sentiment echoed by Timms[220]. Timms also considers that the results of the '25 to 30 years of Government spend on revitalisation strategies should only be termed "patchy"'[221].

When revitalising languages (usually indigenous) and, in particular te reo Māori, one needs to consider what these languages are up against. Albury points out, 'unlike many other indigenous language revitalisation contexts, te reo Māori lives face-to-face with English: the most powerful [of all world languages]'[222]. He contends that, in this light, 'revitalising te reo Māori is significantly difficult and New Zealand's policy needs to be innovative, cutting-edge and brave' to address this[223].

217 Waitangi Tribunal 2010: 20

218 Waitangi Tribunal 2010 – Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Wānanga and other Māori language in education programmes (operational funding includes: funding for capital works; staffing and general operating costs).

219 Victoria University 2012

220 Timms 2013

221 Te Puni Kōkiri 2011: 5

222 It is not the language, however, that has killed indigenous languages, but the speakers who choose, for whatever reason, to switch to English that creates language endangerment and 'death'. English has the widest spread of all world languages being the first language of 99 countries. Chinese is second being the first language of 62 countries. See Ethnologue 2014.

223 Albury 2015: npn

Agents of change

This section refers to and discusses, briefly, the main groups that have the power and agency[224] to make changes in relation to revitalising te reo: Māori, Government, Education and society at large.

Māori

Dalley (2012), referring to Durie, explains that while the State has a role to play in language development, the initiative must come from the people. 'The fight to retain, revitalise and extend Māori language typifies Māori determination to assert a positive cultural identity in a contemporary world' (Durie, 1998, p. 59)[225]. Keegan, however, comments:

> Too often it is forgotten that the majority of Māori no longer live in their traditional iwi regions, and too many urbanized Māori have very little meaningful contact with iwi organisations.
>
> Keegan 2009

While acknowledging that the 'general causes of the language's malaise are not unique to the Māori situation', Benton's asks:

> Why did so many Māori people collectively and individually decide at some point in the 1930s that the effort required to maintain the language within their homes was too great, even though at that time they seemed to be substantially in control of the immediate social environment, which appears to have been solidly Māori both ethnically and linguistically?
>
> Benton 1997: 30

Several iwi have been implementing language strategies for some time and others are beginning to develop and/or implement theirs. Te Whakatupuranga Rua Mano (Generation 2000) and Kotahi Mano Kāika, Kotahi Mano Wawata (one thousand homes, one thousand aspirations) are two that have been in operation for some time. The former began in 1975 and the latter in 2000.

Te Whakatupuranga Rua Mano was devised by A.R.T., the tribal confederation of Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa under the leadership of Whatarangi Winiata in 1975[226]. The establishment of Te Wānanga o Raukawa in 1981[227] was the precursor of and model for '...other whare wānanga ... and Awanuiārangi and Aotearoa wānanga were set up shortly afterwards'[228]. The language strategy 'Kotahi Mano Kāika' (that aims to have 1,000 Ngāi Tahu Māori speaking homes by 2025), was launched by Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu in 2000 as part of the tribe's 25 year strategic plan. Its development, however, had begun in the early 1990s by a small group of young Ngāi Tahu, led by Tahu Potiki[229].

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224 'Agency', in this context, refers to the person or thing able to effect a particular change or outcome.

225 Dalley 2012: 11

226 King 2007

227 'Inspired by the proverb *E kore au e ngaro; he kākano i ruia mai I Rangiātea*, its core purpose remains to maximise its contribution to the survival of Māori as a people through the expression of kaupapa.' Te Wānanga o Raukawa. NZQA EER. **Educational Performance:** Scheduled for August 2012. Available at: **http://pr2012.publications.tec.govt.nz/W%C4%81nanga/Te+W%C4%81nanga+o+Raukawa**

228 Higgins and Keane 2015: 6.

229 Waka Huia 2010

Others, such as Taranaki iwi, have many iwi authorities that are, according to Keegan, 'currently in a position to assist with increasing the amount of Māori spoken in homes'. Others, again according to Keegan, are not in positions to do a great deal because they do not have the resources; while others do so but, for whatever reason, do not seem to be 'supporting Māori language in homes'[230].

The greatest challenge faced (that continues to be faced) by Ngāi Tahu in gaining success with their language strategy is the difficulty in engaging 'kin' who are non-language speakers, including a 'significant proportion of tribal governance'[231]. As the language 'continues to take second place to the wider social and political issues facing the tribal collective, the task of revitalisation becomes increasingly challenging and desperate'[232]. Of the 50,000 strong tribal membership O'Regan reports, 'we would be lucky to have 1000 who are actively participating to some degree in language acquisition activities and even less, perhaps no more than 200, who are supporting language in the home'[233].

Educational initiatives have had their impact in revitalising the language. Academics are, however, in agreement that the most crucial and effective support for any reo in danger of being lost to the world is what happens in the home and in community settings[234]. Fishman, writing in 1991, stated that:

> The road to societal death is paved by language activity that is not focussed on intergenerational continuity i.e. that is diverted into activity efforts that do not involve and influence the socialization behaviours of families of child-bearing age.
>
> Fishman 1991: 91

There is a central and obvious need for adult proficiency in te reo Māori[235]. According to most commentators, the crucial age-group is 25–39 because they are 'the parenting generation'[236]. Bauer (2008) notes that 'in that generation, there is no increase' in use of te reo Māori[237]. Without adult proficiency, there is no possibility of intergenerational transfer of te reo Māori and reversing language shift will not occur[238]. How increasing parental proficiency in te reo Māori is to occur, however, is not explained[239].

The *Te Reo Mauriora* review emphasised the need for whānau to speak more te reo Māori in Māori homes. Keegan considers that this view 'seems to ignore the practicality that the majority of Māori aren't really that interested in investing the time required to learn the language to a high degree of proficiency needed to sustain household interactions in Māori'[240]. The surveys of attitudes to te

230 Keegan 2009

231 O'Regan 2012

232 O'Regan 2012: 88

233 O'Regan 2012: 88

234 Fishman 1991 and 2001, Valazquez 2008, O'Laoire 2008 and Ahu 2012

235 Ratima and May 2011: 2

236 For example, Fishman 1991 and 2001, and Valazquez 2008.

237 Bauer 2008: 56

238 Chrisp 2005, Fishman 1991 and Spolsky 2003

239 Ratima and May 2011: 2

240 Keegan 2009

reo Māori counters the 'lack of interest' comment, but the lag in action is not consistent with the positive attitudes recorded[241].

Albury notes the mismatch of Māori and non-Māori positive attitudes toward language revitalisation and lack of action in language acquisition (Albury 2015). May et al. (2004) comment on the insufficiency of sending tamariki and mokopuna to the various Māori-centric education centres available without providing the support necessary for tamariki and mokopuna to use their language in their homes and community environments. Fishman makes a point about those mātua who send their tamariki to particular language centres (for example, Māori-medium) without supporting the efforts by learning the reo themselves.

> So … having devoted a number of hours per week, per year, at school for a certain number of years, people frequently conclude, because the children are bright and pick up language, that they have done their bit.
>
> Fishman 1996: 76

Government

Te reo is a vehicle for transmitting mātauranga Māori, therefore the Waitangi Tribunal argues that 'the … Crown's obligation is to protect and revitalise Te Reo; [and] it is for iwi to transmit the associated knowledge according to their local preferences'[242]. Of importance in any discussion on who can do what to revitalise te reo Māori is the need:

> … to clarify here that governments cannot really control the day-to-day language practices of their populations, especially regarding what language(s) the latter find the most advantageous in various communicative events.
>
> Mufwene 2006: 134

Ahu argues that, for te reo Māori to survive, it needs both 'legitimation and institutionalisation'. In his opinion, te reo Māori 'must become a language of the public realm; in particular, a language of New Zealand law and legal process'[243]. Thus, there is a need for the provision of 'concomitant legal rights to enable and promote the use of the language in the public sphere'[244]. In order for this to be achieved, adequate resource that will 'sustain and protect the exercise of those rights' is required[245]. Stephens writes in a similar vein. He points out that 'if te reo Māori is ever to be a language of more than one domain … it must also be a language of the institutional and public spheres of the New Zealand state, not only of the private sector[246]'. Te reo Māori 'must be a language in which the political, economic and legal direction of this country is …set[247]'. Therefore, the Crown 'must also endeavour to speak te reo itself'[248].

241 Albury 2015 8. See also p29 discussion on results of attitude surveys undertaken by Te Puni Kōkiri.

242 Waitangi Tribunal 2010: 5

243 Ahu 2012: 5.

244 Mufwene 2006

245 Ahu 2012: 6

246 Stephens 2014: 55

247 Stephens 2014: 55

248 Stephens 2014: 55

Education

Mainstream education

Higgins et al. find it 'ironic [that] so much [was] invested in education that was so instrumental in disconnecting Māori from te reo Māori'[249], but education in general is an important factor in language revitalisation.

> Education is the site where larger political, social, and ideological values are transmitted and reflected. Schools can thus become awareness-raising agents, sensitising students to language use or lack of language use in community domains and influencing linguistic beliefs, practices and management of the language community ...

O'Laoire explains that, in this context, schools thus have the potential to be 'agent[s] of change. [Schools are] one of the chief agents of legitimation and institutionalisation in the public domain of the language being revitalised. [They can provide] a counterforce of language discrimination [that has accrued after a long period of] proscription, derogation and neglect'[250].

Despite the support Government provided, it appeared not to be at the level needed to complement the remarkable growth of Māori-driven education initiatives in the 1980s and early 1990s. At this time, Māori-driven education grew exponentially as evidenced in Te Kōhanga Reo and as the Waitangi Tribunal illustrates:

- 'rapid expansion from 1982 to 1990, with the Department of Māori Affairs as the lead Government agency;
- a peak in 1993, followed by steady decline from 1997 to 2002 after the transfer in 1990 from the Department of Māori Affairs to the Ministry of Education; and
- marginalisation and further decline since 2003 within the rapidly expanding early childhood education (ECE) sector'[251].

The decline in interest in pursuing Māori-centred education for tamariki and mokopuna may have been a natural occurrence[252], but the ongoing failure to provide the required support did nothing to reverse the trend. The Waitangi Tribunal points to Ka Hikitia[253] that preferred to maintain the status quo in terms of numbers and proportions of uptake of participation in Māori-medium education rather than increase it. The report also notes that a goal of the Ministry of Education is to increase Māori participation in early childhood education. It seems, however, that the Ministry was content for such an 'increase to be in centres that are typically English medium'[254].

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249 Higgins and Rewi 2014: 3

250 O'Laoire 2008: 209

251 Waitangi Tribunal 2011: Chapter 2

252 It is noted above that Te Kōhanga Reo had become one of many early childhood education and care options at this time of considerable expansion of the ECE sector.

253 The Ministry of Education's strategic plan for Māori education – Ka Hikitia. Last reviewed: 25 March 2015.

254 Waitangi Tribunal 2011: 425

Māori-medium education

Issues that have been identified as being shortcomings and failures in, as well as barriers to, revitalising te reo Māori are mentioned earlier in this literature review. Concerns raised about the lack of quality in aspects of Māori-medium education provision are fundamental to ongoing revitalisation efforts. Some of the concerns noted here are sourced from several documents, including, for example, the Waitangi Tribunal 2011 Report and Skerrett[255]:

- There are too few trained and qualified teaching staff in both te reo Māori and in teaching, including principals.
- Schools are having to deal with 'a succession of short-term teachers'.
- There are insufficient numbers of teachers fluent in te reo Māori.
- Measuring fluency remains problematic.
- Demand for effective teachers has never matched supply (even while that demand has been shrinking).
- Funding is inadequate.
- Educational resources are at a premium, meaning teachers have had to make their own.
- In some instances, concerns have been raised about child safety in and mismanagement of various kōhanga reo centres.
- Excessive regulation and centralised control has disenchanted and alienated some of those involved in the … movement[256].

The quality of te reo in all aspects of its revitalisation is critical and poor reo is criticised 'in terms of grammar, euphony and pronunciation [for instilling] bad habits in the next generation'[257]. Dr Joe Te Rito notes that:

> … as a nation of Māori language learners [there is a] lack of quality conversational Māori to listen to and imitate … because teaching has been writing and reading focussed [and] people need and yearn to be able to converse naturally, not just give speeches or write essays.
>
> Dr Joe Te Rito 2009: npn

255 Waitangi Tribunal 2011, Skerrett 2011.

256 The kōhanga reo movement originated in the Māori language renaissance of the 1970s and 1980s. Thirty years after the foundation of the first kōhanga reo, it remains the principal institutional vehicle for passing on te reo me ngā tikanga Māori from older generations to the youngest. Waitangi Tribunal 2011: Chapter 2

257 Te Rito 2009

Non-Māori New Zealanders

Brenzinger and de Graaf (n.d.) consider that 'only the speakers of endangered languages themselves can opt for and execute language maintenance or revitalisation measures[258]'. They are of the opinion, though, that others can assist in these attempts in various ways that they outline[259]. They feel, for example, that the academics (particularly, linguists) and community could or 'should together take on the responsibility for documenting the wealth of linguistic diversity in order to pass on this legacy to future generations'[260]. However, for the Māori language to flourish, it needs to be supported and revitalised both within Māori communities and in the broader community of Aotearoa. Census figures show that less than one percent of non-Māori speak te reo Māori and the surveys of attitudes to te reo Māori undertaken by Te Puni Kōkiri have shown that, while non-Māori are supportive of te reo Māori, their interest in learning it is low[261]. In 2009, the proportion of non-Māori who responded to the statement 'Learning Māori is very high priority for me' was 20 percent compared to 64 percent for Māori.

The Ministry of Education considers that there are benefits to be had by having a thriving Māori language that includes 'cognitive, cultural, educational, economic, social and linguistic benefits[262]'. Such benefits positively impact the national identity and psyche that contributes to the economy[263]. An important factor Walsh notes that he describes as a prerequisite for 'effective language revitalisation is community cohesion'[264]. In 1997, Benton 'hoped' that, by 2011, there would be a 'superficial acquaintance with Māori [that would] eventually cover the whole community … [and that might] include practically the entire population'[265].

These comments relate to the importance of non- Māori support and their acknowledgement of the importance of te reo to Māori people as individuals and members of iwi, hapū and whānau. Te reo is a symbol of identity and of status for Māori within New Zealand society. Ratima and May add that the significance of te reo Māori to all in Aotearoa is '… because of its association with New Zealand heritage and as an expression of the country's cultural and linguistic diversity'[266]. Also, 'the knowledge acquired in the study of indigenous languages [such as te reo Māori] is of prime interest to other disciplines, such as anthropology, archaeology, history and prehistory'[267].

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258 Brenzinger and de Graaf n.d.: 2

259 See Brenzinger and de Graaf n.d.: 2 Alexander, N., (2004: 124) also comments thus on this view – '… It is only the mobilisation and organised pressure of the first-language speakers of the marginalised languages that will, in the end, make the difference'.

260 See Brenzinger and de Graaf n.d.: 2

261 Te Puni Kōkiri 2010

262 See Ministry of Education Tau Mai Te Reo/The Māori Language in Education Strategy 2013–2017: 7.

263 See Ministry of Education Tau Mai Te Reo/The Māori Language in Education Strategy 2013–2017: 7.

264 Walsh 2010: 28

265 Benton 1997: 29

266 Ratima and May 2011: 1

267 Brenzinger 2009: 251

A little less specifically, a goal of the latest Māori Language Strategy is to increase the status of te reo Māori generally, needing all New Zealanders on board. As Thomas points out, at this point the 'plan becomes fuzzy'[268]. No one seems to be sure how to get the whole nation to embrace a new approach to the official language that would include learning and using it[269]. Sciascia believes that 'society's attitude was the most significant contribution to the death of a language'[270], a sentiment not held by him alone (for example, Higgins et al. 2014 and evidenced throughout this report). He comments on the involvement of non-Māori in initiatives such as Māori Language Week as being positive, but states that there is 'no evidence of a plan to build on this success'[271]. Te Manu Korihi reported: 'According to iwi leaders and kaumātua … the vision to bring everybody on board was nothing more than what one called a lick and a promise [and] that the place of non-Māori in the revival plan had not been addressed'[272].

268 Thomas 2014

269 Thomas 2014

270 Thomas 2014

271 Thomas 2014

272 Thomas 2014

Why save te reo Māori?

The simple answer might be because it is the only language indigenous to Aotearoa. Ingram's comments, while referring to Cook Island Māori, are relevant to Māori in Aotearoa:

> There are conventions inherent in the forms of address in the Māori language that do not exist in English; allusions and metaphors are not understood; figures of speech and word plays lose their effect … The loss is greater than just the vocabulary.
>
> Ingram 2014: slide 15

Te reo Māori has aspects of expression not found in English. Terms such as manaakitanga, wairuatanga and kaitiakitanga, while they have their equivalents in English, the equivalents do not carry the culturally-specific nuances that are inherent in such expressions in te reo Māori. Other terms are relational, such as tuākana and tāina referring to older and younger siblings, including cousins of the same sex; tungāne and tuahine for siblings of the opposite sex, though these terms do not indicate wages` and the 'O' and 'A' categories of possession that mark the relationship between the owner and what is owned, and between generational and kin relationships. Pronouns and possessive pronouns are not gender-specific.

Australian Aboriginal languages, providing another example, contain expressions that indicate particular kin relationship categories that 'determine appropriate social behaviour'. One example would be for mother-in-law that translates to the actual genealogical line e.g., 'mother's mother's brother's daughter'[273]. Heath explains more fully:

> Some of the languages once had, in addition to normal speech, a set of special registers (speech styles with distinctive vocabulary). The register for use in the presence of a mother-in-law or other affines, for example, used high pitch, slow speech rate, and special honorifics and avoided questions and imperatives. Another used in joking relationships contained vocabulary for bawdy insults.
>
> Heath 2015: paragraph 11

Heath adds that assimilation practices have rendered studying these features 'difficult'[274]. Harlow comments on a grammatical feature quite common in te reo Māori called metathesis. It is a process that involves 'transposition of two phonemes in a word …' [275]. These 'phonemes'[276] are distinct units of sound such as consonants and vowels that distinguish words from one another. Other languages 'exhibit this phenomenon' but it is 'rare'[277]. In te reo Māori, however, 'examples abound, though the reasons for this [sporadic] phenomenon remain unknown'[278].

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273 Heath 2015 notes the Aboriginal practice of sometimes marrying cousins, which might be one reason for identifying the whakapapa in examples of this type.

274 Heath 2015

275 According to Collins Online English Dictionary, spoonerisms are examples of metathesis. See **www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/metathesis**

276 See Glossary of Linguistic Terms (SIL International, 2003) available in **https://glossary.sil.org/term/phoneme**

277 Harlow 2007: 19–22

278 Harlow 2007: 19–22

Harlow does not indicate any tribal practices regarding these pairs, but is struck by the 'range of phonological units which can undergo metathesis', for example:

- *ikeike* = *ekieki* 'high, lofty';
- *mahine* = *maheni* 'smooth';
- *honuhonu* = *nohunohu* 'nauseous';
- *ngahere* = *ngarehe* 'forest'.

Why save dialects of te reo Māori?

The government of New Zealand is necessarily obligated to include dialectal varieties of te reo Māori when supporting or implementing initiatives related to revitalising te reo Māori. Te Reo Māori is a taonga of Aotearoa and protected by statute under the Treaty of Waitangi[279].

The Waitangi Tribunal (2010) states that te reo Māori has never been a 'uniform' language, but had 'many variations'. The Treaty recognised tribal independence and, thus it follows, each tribe's unique character. 'Dialects are taonga of the utmost importance: they are the traditional media for transmitting the unique knowledge and culture of those iwi and are bound up with their very identity'[280].

The Waitangi Tribunal in 2001 warned that, 'unless dialects begin to be spoken more by younger Māori, their prospects beyond the next 20 years are obviously bleak'[281]. Because of the interruption to the development and intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori, it is inevitably the case that some elements of dialectal variation are gone or dangerously close to this. Particular focus on retaining dialects is now required which, in turn, calls into question efforts that focus on standardisation as part of the language revitalisation programme. The Tribunal points to the obvious link between declining numbers of speakers of te reo and the possibility of disappearing dialects, especially with the 'loss of older native speakers' who are described as 'speakers of dialect'[282].

The loss of older native speakers combined with the fact that intergenerational transmission is not occurring to a sufficient degree[283] for revitalisation with the young means dialects are under particular threat[284]. In the 1996 census, '20,190 Māori te reo speakers were born before 1942, but only 11,031 speakers of the same cohort were counted in 2006' (a difference of 9,159 speakers in ten years[285]). In addition, all contemporary first language te reo Māori speakers in New Zealand soon become bilingual in te reo Māori and English.

279 See Waitangi Tribunal 2011: 387–393. This section also contains a note on dialect.

280 Waitangi Tribunal 2010: 49

281 Waitangi Tribunal 2010: 41.

282 Waitangi Tribunal 2010: 439

283 Though that 'degree' cannot be quantified at this time.

284 Waitangi Tribunal 2011: 439

285 Waitangi Tribunal 2011: 439

Little systematic study has been done on dialect variation within Māori[286] '... and most of the [available] information is sporadic'[287]. Harlow bemoans 'the absence of good research'[288], stating that '...it is striking, not to say an indictment, that there are only two short publications devoted primarily to this study of the dialects of Māori, Harlow (1979) and Biggs (1989)'[289]. (See Appendix four for a brief overview of some historical notes on dialects of te reo Māori.)

It is generally considered that the dialectal differences in te reo Māori are not great and do not 'impede mutual intelligibility'[290]. This is evidenced in the Journals of Captain Cook and Joseph Banks in the 1770s that describe the ease with which Tupaia (a native of Tāhiti) communicated with the Māori he encountered[291]. Similarly, within Aotearoa, the dialects of te reo Māori and te reo Moriori were mutually intelligible. Cawthorn writes:

> A Moriori, Hororeka, had left the island [Rēkohu – the Chathams] in about 1800 aboard a British sealer and returned in 1807. Later that year he shipped aboard the whaler *Commerce* and, having previously spent time at the Bay of Islands, was able to act as the Master's interpreter with Māori, despite the differences in his dialect.
>
> Cawthorn 2000: 5

While not great, the differences that do occur are unique to iwi and 'are found in all aspects of the language, phonology, grammar, lexicon and idiom'[292], though Bauer points out that 'the dialects differ most at the lexical and phonetic levels'[293]. Harlow considers that the 'divergent pronunciations and usages [are] to quite an extent exploited as shibboleths, identifying speakers' regional and tribal origins'[294].

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286 Bauer 1993, Harlow 2007

287 Bauer 1993: 13

288 Harlow 2007: 44

289 Harlow 2007: 43

290 Watkins (1840–1842) was a linguist in the sense that Māori was his third language, after his first one and then Tongan in which he was very proficient (Harlow 1987) would likely disagree with this statement. He was the first missionary to the Otago region and found the material he had brought from the north island (where he had learned te reo Māori) was of no use when preaching to and teaching the southerners in Waikouaiti because they could not understand him. He had to then make his own altering the 'established' Māori alphabet to reflect what he was hearing in the speech of his 'new flock'. Haami 2004.

291 When Tupaia acted as translator between the Māori he encountered and the English speaking explorers on board the Endeavour with whom he was travelling. Higgins and Keane 2015

292 Harlow 2007: 44

293 Bauer 1993: 14

294 Harlow 2007: 44

Distinguishing dialects

The following discussion provides some examples of the variation in dialects of te reo Māori, though, as Bauer (2008) and Harlow (2007) point out, no systematic study has been done of dialects so what is here is the merest insight.

> A dialect is chiefly distinguished from other dialects of the same language by features of linguistic structure – i.e., grammar (specifically morphology and syntax) and vocabulary. … Although some linguists include phonological features (such as vowels, consonants and intonation) among the dimensions of dialect, the standard practice is to treat such features as aspects of accent.
>
> Crystal & Ivić 2014: 1

The main dialects of te reo Māori have been grouped into western, eastern and southern[295]; and this literature review also recognises northern and central north island, though none of these dialect groupings will be discussed in any depth.

Morphological differences in te reo Māori[296] include passive endings; location and verbal particles; phrase and clause linking particles; and negation. Some examples of passive endings[297] include:

- the East Coast prefers –a and –ia;
- Northland's preferences are –ngia and –tia; and
- in the South Island, -ina is preferred to –ia in some instances[298].

Variation in the use of location particles (in the future tense[299]) and verbal particles were noted as:

- the East Coast used 'hei';
- Northland used 'ko'; and,
- for other dialects, though uncommon, is the use of 'kei'.

The verbal particles for the continuous present tense are 'kai te/kei te …' and 'e … ana'[300] and are dialectally defined.

- 'kai te/kei te' is preferred by the East Coast (and possibly also the South Island dialect)
- 'e … ana' is preferred by Northland and the West Coast of the North Island[301].
- 'ka … ana' is a less well-known usage of Tūhoe for 'when' (future tense), as in 'ka eke mai ana he ope' (when a travelling group arrive [sic])'[302].

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295 Harlow 2007

296 Māori.org.nz: n.d.

297 These endings turn active verbs to the passive construction, for example in English: active - 'the cat chased the rat' compared to passive, 'the rat was chased by the cat'.

298 Williams 'A Dictionary of the Maori Language' 1971: 49.

299 Te reo Māori uses grammatical 'particles' to indicate sentence tenses. The particles introduce verbs and location phrases in the past, present and future.

300 Note: '*Kei te* …is only used for present or future time, *e … ana* can be used for present, future or past time'. See Head 1989: 42-43

301 Harlow 1979: 126

302 Harlow, 1987: 26 kai 'sign of the present tense' e.g., kai te mate wai au – I want water.

Phrasal or clause linking particles are generally ‘i and ki’, though in some places, no particle is used. For example, the verb, tatari ‘wait’ takes ‘ki’ in the Waikato, ‘i’ in North Auckland, and nothing (i.e. no linking particle) on the East Coast before the object noun phrase[303]. Finally, negation: in Northland ‘kīhai / kīhei’ is used for negative past tense (for example, Kīhai ia i haere = He did not go); where other dialects replace ‘kīhai / kīhei’ with ‘kāore/ kāre/ kāhore’.

Differences in syntax include the following:

- The East Coast dialect uses ‘Kai te aha?’ when greeting people, though most other dialects would translate this to ‘What are you doing?’[304]
- In the Waikato, hearing ‘kia … mai’ in exclamations, as in ‘kia nui mai te whare’ (how big the house is) differs from other dialects that use, for example, constructions such as ‘te nui hoki o te whare’[305].

There is little to be found in the literature regarding vocabulary items. Some are very common, for example, ‘mōhio’ and ‘mātau’ both meaning, among other things, ‘to know, to understand’ and ‘knowledge’; though whether these usages are dialect-specific is not indicated.

Although phonological features (such as vowels, consonants, and intonation) are not considered by all linguists to be characteristics of dialect, being treated rather as aspects of accent, the following is included.

The <wh> digraph has several forms in te reo Māori (please see Appendix four for a fuller discussion) and is noted as a matter of concern relevant to the current teaching and learning of te reo Māori. Here are some examples:

- Whea – meaning ‘where’ is pronounced in the Western dialects with /f/ and in the Eastern dialects with /h/ (similar to the /f/ in the English words ‘fear’ and ‘hear’).
- Whangaroa – meaning ‘long harbour’ is pronounced with /f/ in the north; and in the south as Akaroa (no <wh> at all)[306].
- Whakaaro – meaning ‘think’ is pronounced in Northland as hakaaro (i.e. with /h/[307]) [and Taranaki] as w’akaaro (where /h/ is replaced with a glottal stop) and with /f/ elsewhere[308].
- In the north, in some instances, <wh> is pronounced almost as a whisper[309].

303 Harlow 1979: 127

304 Morrison 2011: npn

305 Harlow 2007: 127

306 Banks Peninsula; Akaroa is within Banks Peninsula. ‘The sound ‘wha’ of the northern tribes, is replaced by ‘ha,’ and sometimes by ‘a’ among the southern tribe’ (Shortland 1851: 305).

307 He puna taunaki te reo Māori in libraries. Pronunciation guide. Retrieved from: **www.trw.org.nz/He-Puna/two.htm**

308 He puna taunaki te reo Māori in libraries. Pronunciation guide. Retrieved from: **www.trw.org.nz/He-Puna/two.htm**

309 Ward Kamo, in a recent Native Affairs episode (Tue 14th 13th July 2013, Power Play, Part 2), pronounced ‘whānau’ on occasion with the <wh> sounding ‘like the ‘wh’ in ‘whisper’, i.e. /hw/ – described by Victoria University (Te reo Māori pronunciation guide) as being how the digraph ‘originally sounded’ – see **http://www.victoria.ac.nz/Māori-at-victoria/ako/te-reo-at-victoria/te-reo-pronunciation-guide**

- Watkins'[310] word list of the southern dialect of te reo Māori, systematically used 'u' and 'f' to begin words that, elsewhere, began with 'w'. 'f' was also used very frequently for what would elsewhere be 'wh', for example, 'whare' was spelled by him as 'uare'. The Hocken library has adopted this spelling for its collections, Uare Taoka o Hākena (Hocken Collections)[311].

Dialectal differences are also identified in lexical variation or variation of form of a word. Harlow (2007) notes that Williams (1971) dictionary has many examples of this feature; and goes on to indicate where they occur in the major dialect areas.

Table 7: Examples of lexical variations

East	West	English
pōhatu	*kōhatu*	stone, rock
kari	*keri*	dig
North	**South**	**English**
pouaru	*poueru*	widow
pounamu	*poenemu/pounemu*	greenstone, jade'

Source: Harlow 2007

This small section on the Southern dialect is included to illustrate how dialects are valuable in the search for pre-settlement links. The Southern dialect differs from dialects of te reo Māori further north in the South Island and the North Island (please see appendix four). Thanks to Boultbee[312], we have some indication as to what the reo may have sounded like in the mid-1820s from his word list[313]. James Watkins' word list (as presented by Harlow) contained only one word with 'ng' (i.e. tangata, in all other instances, the word was spelt as 'takata')[314]. Harlow speculates that the many /f/ for <wh> 'may be attributed to the importation of the North Island form through [Māori] whaling crews ...'[315]. Other characteristics appear in place and people's names:

310 Harlow's 1987 publication contains a word-list of the Southern Dialect of Maori vocabulary items recorded in the early 1840s by the missionary Watkins, a Wesleyan-Methodist minister. There are between 744 and up to 2000 words in the list. Harlow uses a wide range of sources to annotate the list of what are 'distinctively southern Maori words'. Within a short time of his arrival, Watkins wrote about the South Island dialect thus: 'In the language, I make progress slowly, being different to the North Island dialect. The North Island books are of little use to me...' (see Pybus 1954: 8.)

311 See www.otago.ac.nz/library/hocken/

312 Starke 1986

313 The Moriori language is Polynesian and is closely related to early southern Māori dialect. See Davis and Solomon 2012 and Clark 1994.

314 This was in the word 'tangata'. 'Takata' was listed, but not glossed other than along with adjectives to describe the type of person.

315 Harlow 1987: viii & 1987: 74

Table 8: Examples of dialectal variation between the Southern and more northern dialects of te reo Māori

South Island	Elsewhere	Examples
'l'	'r'	Little Akaloa for Whangaroa
'k'	'ng'	kaik[316] for kāinga
'g'	'k'	Otago for Otakou; Kilmog for Kirimoko
'b'	'p'	Wagadib for Wakatipu[317]
'v'	'w'	Tūāvaik for Tūhawaiki[318]

What this table also provides are examples of apocope or elision that refers to the practice of not or barely pronouncing the final vowel (or, in some cases, diphthongs). Apocope is often mentioned as a dialectal feature of the south (including in te reo Moriori) by, for example, Harlow (1987 and 2007). It has been suggested that these dialect features may show an older dialect of Māori that was comparatively unaspirated and that may hark back to the language of the original settlers of Aotearoa[319].

Specific features of the Moriori[320] dialect include:

- Phonology: Harlow (referring Biggs 1961) notes that the most characteristic feature of Moriori is initial /t/:
  - /t/ as a palatal affricate that occurs only initially as in 'tchakat' for Māori 'takata/tangata'.
  - Harlow adds (referring to Baucke and Skinner 1928) that /k/[321] and /h/ are also palatal affricates. Williams[322] notes that /h/ had 'a somewhat similar usage to H as recorded by missionaries in the early 1800s … Shunghie and Shauraki[323] for Hongi and Hauraki'.

316 Kaik, a southern dialect word for kaīnga' evidences the /k/ for the /ng/ digraph and also apocope (the 'swallowing' or omission of the final syllable. According to Taylor (n.d.:), Otakou was known as the 'Kaik' and was 'situated on the south side of Otago Harbour near Taiaroa Head …' See http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-TayLore-t1-body1-d15.html Lore and History of the South Island Māori: Otakou. Also, and further north in the Banks Peninsula area, in the vicinity of Akaroa, is The Kaik and Kaik Hill – See **www.topomap.co.nz/NZTopoMap/nz37000/The-Kaik**/) Also, Google maps shows the location of 'Onuku Church (Kaik)' at Onuku Marae. These instances indicate the spread of the dialect.

317 'Wagadib is how the place name was spelt in the 'early days' and provides an example of apocope/elision. The modern usage of the word, Wakatipu is itself an example of elision given the original word was Wakatipua – Wikipedia: Māori language

318 This older spelling that Boultbee lists also shows the deletion of the consonant 'h', 'v' for 'w' and apocope/elision – apocope is the loss of sounds from the end of words, for example, in English, the 'b' in lamb, thumb, etc., used to be sounded.

319 Harlow 2007: 134

320 Harlow 1979: 127

321 An example of /k/ as a palatal affricate could not be found.

322 Williams 1919: 418

323 These are examples of /h/ as a palatal affricate.

Harlow also notes that Moriori vowels are 'characterized … by widespread apocope' [as in 'tchakat' and 'rangat' 'man'][324] and adds that, 'if Shand's spelling is at all accurate, monophthongiation of diphthongs'[325].

These examples link te reo Moriori and the south island variety of te reo Māori, particularly in the presence of apocope as a widespread phenomenon in te reo Moriori. This could mean that both dialects reflect aspects of the earlier language/s of the original settlers to Aotearoa. Harlow prefaced his work on Watkins' word list[326] with an explanation that, in order to 'elucidate items in W' (i.e. Watkins) he cited words from 'other Polynesian languages finding cognates and other comparable words'[327]. He did this in the absence of being able to do so in relation to other dialects of te reo Māori.

324 Harlow 1979 quotes Shirres 1977: 6

325 Harlow 2007: 19–22. Also, Harlow 2007: 69. Harlow provides 'sets of monosyllabic morphemes such as: *tai* 'sea', *tae* 'arrive', *toi* 'art', *toe* 'be left over'.

326 Harlow 1987

327 Harlow 1987: xxvi-xxvii. The exercise of finding cognates and other comparable words in other Polynesian languages is comparative and historical analysis.

Part Four – Going Forward

Introduction

Some linguists and academics studying te reo Māori have voiced their concerns about the changes that are occurring in te reo Māori. They often attribute them to the influence of the English language and the practice of second language teachers teaching second language learners te reo Māori[328]. There are also implications for revitalising te reo Māori in an environment with an ever increasing presence of English speakers, but also speakers of other languages.

Projections

Benton's (1997) comments about the 'new generation of Māori-speakers' were realised perhaps sooner than he had expected, given Hamer's 2010 findings (discussed above). Benton conjectured that it was likely that the new generation of Māori-speakers would:

> … be urban rather than rural and from skilled and professional backgrounds rather than from the ranks of small-scale farmers and semi-skilled and unskilled workers. It will also contain a higher proportion of people who have learned Māori as a second language, but this will be more a result of deliberate choice than of environmental accident.
>
> Benton 1997: 30

New Zealand is no longer the rural nation it thought itself to be:

> … with 72 percent of the population living in the 16 main urban areas and around 33 percent in the Auckland urban region alone. We are overwhelmingly 'townies' – 87 percent of us live in 138 recognised urban centres with populations ranging from around 1000 to more than one million.
>
> Te Tai Wheuna: Department of Internal Affairs (2008: npn)

New Zealand is one of the most urbanised countries in the western world with an urban population of 86.2 percent and an estimated 1.09 percent annual rate of change between 2010 and 2015[329]. It is predicted that the population of Aotearoa of 4.51 million in 2014 will increase to '4.68–4.82 million in 2018 and to 4.91–5.16 million in 2025'; these projections are based on a '1.6–2.0 percent growth rate'[330].

328 Bauer (2008: 54) comments on the varying attitudes of Harlow, Garlick, Christenson and Bauer regarding the influence of the English language on te reo Māori.

329 Central Intelligence Agency, Urbanisation (2014)

330 Statistics NZ 2014a

If this trend continues, the Waitangi Tribunal fears that, by 2026, there will probably be only a 'couple of thousand speakers of te reo Māori [and] certain areas of the country will find the loss of older native speakers is more pronounced than elsewhere, as shown by Te Puni Kōkiri in its regional profiles of the health of the Māori language'[331].

Changes occurring in te reo Māori

The changes occurring in te reo Māori are 'likely to be of an order of magnitude greater than that typically encountered'[332] in other indigenous languages. This is because te reo Māori is up against one of the most powerful world languages, possibly the most powerful. Policies related to colonisation, industrialisation and urbanisation have all played significant roles in endangering te reo Māori. The literature review, however, links urbanisation most closely with the dramatic drop in speakers as seen in earlier sections of the review. Consequently, te reo Māori is one of the few languages that it can be said its speakers have great difficulty in finding a place where it is free of the powerful influence of English. As Benavidez et al. (2007) point out, 'a European world view cannot sustain the life of a Native language' and it is a European world view that can no longer be escaped in modern New Zealand[333]. Monolingualism in te reo Māori is now almost impossible and could only be attempted by keeping young children away from all English influences.

Linguists studying the pronunciation of te reo Māori over time have found that the articulations of the vowels (short, long and diphthongs) and the consonants (/p, t, k/ and <wh>[334]) have been changing over several generations. Their findings were based on the examination of data from the Māori and New Zealand English (MAONZE[335]) project. This was able to compare the recorded speech of Māori men born in the 1880s, the 1930s and the 1980s. (A fuller account of the vowels can be found in Appendix four.)

The research found that the long vowels (ā, ē, ī, ō, ū) of the oldest group of speakers born in the 1880s were 'typically about twice the length of short vowels'. This meant their use was consistent with the practice of using two vowels to represent the sound[336]. These have changed over time, however, and have become shortest and highest in the speech of the young group born in the 1980s. A similar finding was made of changes in diphthongs[337] (ai, ae, ao, au and ou). The major finding was that the two older groups of speakers kept their diphthongs separate (i.e. each vowel was articulated). The young group's

331 Waitangi Tribunal 2010: 41. See also: Publications about Language: **www.tpk.govt.nz/en/a-matou-mohiotanga/language/**

332 Keegan et al. 2009: 7

333 Benavidez, L., et al. 2007: 61

334 As measured by increases in voice-onset time in the traditionally unaspirated stop consonants /p, t, k/ (Maclagan & King, 2007) and loss of diversity in the pronunciation of <wh> (Maclagan & King, 2002) (King et al., 2009: 86).

335 The MAONZE project (Māori and New Zealand English), Canterbury University: 'A study, over time, of the pronunciation of Māori when they are speaking both English and Māori, using speakers in the Mobile Unit Archive as well as kaumātua and younger speakers specially recorded for the project.' However, information the project does not, or is unable to, provide is iwi affiliations of the participants and/or their iwi rohe. Thus, the lack of discussion on possible dialectal differences of the speakers is noted. (**https://researchprofile.canterbury.ac.nz/Group.aspx?groupid=24**)

336 King et al. 2009: 90

337 That Smyth (1946) does not describe as such and which Bauer (1981) questions.

pronunciations of the diphthongs, however, were less distinguishable because they were substantially diminished.

The changes in vowel length suggest that 'Māori may be heading towards a phonological inventory of six rather than ten vowels and fewer distinct diphthongs … [as well as] increased homophony between pairs such as tae (to arrive) and tai (tide) and pou (post) and pau (to be used up)'[338]. Bauer (1981) discusses the more usual language rhythmic types (i.e. stress-timed in, e.g., English; and syllable-timed in, e.g., French) and explains that te reo Māori 'does not appear … to be either'[339]. She adds that she believes te reo Māori to be mora-timed. Results of the testing done so far on the speech of the MAONZE speakers 'indicate that the Māori language is moving to a more stress-timed rhythm'[340]. However, according to Kochanski et al.:

> Most publications on speech rhythm have used techniques that, one way or another, depend on the durations of speech sounds. Typically, the published techniques look at the variance of vowel duration …
>
> Kochanski et al. 2011: npn

Kochanski et al. (2011) go on to give further explanation based on the results of their tests of five different languages. They say that language rhythm is determined by 'subjective descriptions [that do not establish] exactly what we are hearing when we hear a rhythmic difference'[341]. They add that 'patterns of [vowel] duration do not necessarily express rhythm [and that perhaps] individual differences were misinterpreted as differences between languages; [or] perhaps linguists may have idealised the form of each language…'[342].

Māori <p, t, k> were typically voiceless plosives, which means no or very little air escaped when these consonants were pronounced[343]. In Harlow's analysis[344] of the pronunciation of these consonants in Māori over time, he found that the one who aspirated these consonants the most was the young speaker, followed by a speaker born in the 1930s whose aspirating was less than the young speaker, but more than the speaker who was born in the 1880s[345].

When analysing the pronunciations of the <wh> digraph, a similar finding was made. All the young speaker's pronunciations of this were as /f/ in, for example, 'finite'; the speaker born in the 1930s pronounced one as /wh/[346] and 219 as

338 Homophony abounds in NZ English; for example, there is little or no distinction in the pronunciation of 'bear, bare and beer'.

339 Bauer 1981: 35

340 King et al. 2009: 92

341 Kochanski et al. 2011: npn

342 Kochanski et al. 2011: npn. See also: Quenè and Port 2003: 2448

343 Keegan 2009

344 Harlow (et al. 2009) analysed the speech of one each of the age groups in the MAONZE data. There are, thus, limitations in terms of extrapolating the results across the various age groups of te reo Māori speakers born in the years indicated.

345 The young speaker 'aspirated 88% of his consonants in both languages; the Kaumatua aspirated 48% of his consonants in Māori and 86% in English; and the Mobile Unit speaker who aspirated only 6% of his consonants when he was speaking in Māori, but 65% when speaking in English' (MAONZE project). Harlow et al. 2009 suggest reading Maclagan & King 2007 for a more detailed analysis.

346 A sound similar to [hw] and distinguished from [w] – the former used to be said in words such as 'white' that is now pronounced as 'wite', i.e. the slight whisper of the 'h' in [wh] has disappeared.

/f/; whereas the speaker born in the 1880s had four different pronunciations of <wh>[347]. Early notes on this change in pronunciation are by Smyth in 1946 and Kohere in 1949:

> The **wh** sound is generally given the **f** sound for convenience, but this is incorrect. … The correct sound is gained by forming the w sound while the breath is being continually respirated, as in a sigh: begin a sigh before forming the w sound: try to pronounce the wh as wh is pronounced in the English word 'when'.
>
> Smyth 1946: 8

> Sound wh as in when, never as f. To sound wh like f is certainly degenerate Māori.
>
> Kohere 1949: 104

Keegan is of the opinion that the increasing aspiration of these consonants '… is almost certainly due to the influence of New Zealand English [NZE and] learners of Māori as a second language are almost certainly told to produce Māori consonants according to NZE equivalent forms'[348]. Several writers[349] are in agreement that these changes in te reo Māori are the result of changes in NZE, which is the first language of most second-language learners and their second-language teachers.

Grammatical changes (please see Appendix four for examples) noted by Smith and Piripi[350] as 'recurring errors' were also noted by Benton (1980) who states that 'the ability of children to handle the complexities of grammar appears also to be declining'[351]. He notes, for example, that 'the prepositions i and ki … are … often arbitrarily omitted'[352]; Kelly comments that these prepositions 'cannot be used interchangeably'[353]. Benton, Te Rito and Kelly note confusion regarding the categories of possession (i.e. the 'ō' and 'ā' categories[354]). Benton and Kelly comment, similarly, on 'stative verbs, which require a different construction from that appropriate for active verbs'[355]. Another change noted by Kelly (2014) and Harlow (1979) is the tendency to follow English word order when using te reo Māori.

The 'noticeable English influence in the syntax of the Māori of young fluent speakers which is not present in the older age group, and that what the young are speaking fluently is thus closer to an English-Māori hybrid than to traditional Māori' (Bauer 2008: 54). She adds that 'commentators vary considerably in the importance they attach to this English influence …'[356]. The Hawaiian language appears to be experiencing a similar phenomenon. NeSmith's comments reflect Bauer's concerns:

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347 Harlow et al. 2009

348 Keegan 2009: 2

349 King et al. 2009, Keegan et al. 2009, Bauer 1993

350 Smith and Piripi n.d.: 15. Please note: Examples are not provided in the document and there is no discussion because the document is not intended to be anything other than guidelines for the assessors concerned.

351 Benton 1980: 465

352 Benton 1980: 472

353 Kelly 2014: 261

354 Benton 1980: 464, Te Rito 2009: 6, Kelly 2014: 260

355 Benton 1980: 470; Kelly (2014: 262) also discusses the confusion second language learners have with the understanding the various verb constructions.

356 Bauer 2008: 62

> The principal domains for learning Hawaiian today are the primary, secondary, and university classrooms, where over 99% of teachers are second-language speakers who are products of the schools themselves. … Being largely unfamiliar with native-like usage of Hawaiian, these teachers pass on their brand of Hawaiian to learners, creating what may be considered a new dialect of Hawaiian, termed Neo Hawaiian.
>
> NeSmith 2009: 1

Standardisation

While Benton is referring to language purity, language purity is closely associated with standardisation[357] of languages. Benton describes the commission [i.e. Te Taura Whiri] as having brought a Trojan horse 'into the semantic citadel' by focussing on language purity that has, in effect, 'hastened its [te reo Māori] colonisation'[358]. In addition, as was experienced by many Māori who grew up using transliterations and an 'unstandardised' variety of te reo Māori:

> Developing a standard for a minority language is not a neutral process; this has consequences for the status of the language and how the language users relate to the new standard. An inherent problem with standardisation is whether the users themselves will accept and identify with the standard chosen.
>
> Lane 2015: npn

A consideration when thinking of standardisation is the fact that, often (according to Derumert and Vandenbussche n.d.) there is a:

> … complex sociolinguistic interaction between the formal, written standard norm and the spoken language [which will] eventually lead to the emergence of 'new spoken norms' that are an amalgamation of speech and writing [meaning that] one is often hard put to say whether a given form has been handed down from its ancestor by word of mouth or via the printed page.
>
> Derumert and Vandenbussche n.d.: 457

For a period of time during the 'lexical expansion' process led by Te Taura Whiri, Christensen notes that fluent speakers were experiencing difficulties 'communicating with the younger generation [which] was a trend that emerged in the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Cohort Language Study'[359] in 1995. If the situation had been one in which the health of te reo Māori was not of concern, standardising the language might have posed no real problems for natural intergenerational transmission; but circumstances for te reo Māori were such that this is what did occur. Christensen also notes the same outcome applied to 'the maintenance of the dialects that are transferred and used naturally in the home and community domains'[360].

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357 Rogers 2002: see under 'Language purism and policy'

358 Benton and Benton 2001: 445

359 Christensen 2001: 29

360 Christensen 2001: 30

'For historical reasons the Waikato-Ngāpuhi dialect complex has come to be regarded as standard Māori'[361] though McLintock (1966b) does not provide those historical reasons. Implications for the issue of tribal identification through dialectal differences are important in efforts to revitalise and 'modernise' Māori[362]. O'Regan explains that the trend to standardise te reo Māori was 'to make it "simpler" for the learner, so dialectal variance gave way to using a standard form of the language, that previously did not exist but was heavily influenced by two of the larger North Island tribes'[363]. The consequence, in addition to the interruption to intergenerational transmission, was the limiting of the variation in speech and the range of 'proverbs and idiom'. O'Regan also comments that 'it got to the point where you could almost guess in any Māori language class in the country, the key list of 20 proverbs that might be used'[364].

Derumert and Vandenbussche (n.d.) question the relevance of standardisation 'for language maintenance and survival' adding that standardisation is 'often employed as a "default strategy" to increase the functional value of a language'[365]. However, because the communities whose language is being standardised are 'typically small', such functional value will be limited. This may mean that they 'may indeed be unable to restore these fundamental functions of language' for various reasons, including its 'expert … nature'[366]. They comment that it is the various language ecologies that 'keep unstandardized languages alive'; they also consider that 'further research on the limits and possibilities of standardisation for language maintenance and revival' is highly desirable[367].

Harlow et al. consider the 'loss of allomorphy'[368] (i.e. in his discussion of the 'ka' particle) to be 'one type of simplification' and explain that 'simplification in languages is often associated with 'language death''[369]. Influencing factors in this situation include the 'interruption of natural transmission and the presence of 'semispeakers' as teachers' (Harlow et al. 2009: 59). Kelly's comments about native speakers (L1) need to be considered in context. This context is that from the mid-20th century, the majority of Māori have been living and working in urban environments alongside Pākehā, being exposed to the English language on almost all fronts. As Harlow et al. point out, this is even more so for the second language learners of te reo Māori whose first language has been/is English and who have 'acquired their Māori later in life, usually through formal tuition'[370].

361 McLintock 1966b: 14

362 Harlow 2007: 44

363 O'Regan 2012: 94

364 O'Regan 2012: 94

365 Derumert and Vandenbussche 2003.: 464

366 Derumert and Vandenbussche 2003.: 464

367 Derumert and Vandenbussche 2003.: 464

368 An allomorph can be, e.g., the plural ending 's' as in cats and 'z' as in dogs. Allomorphy is described as the 'alternation of two or more forms in a morphological or lexical unit'. See Oxford Dictionary Available at: https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/allomorphy

369 Harlow et al. 2009: 59

370 Harlow et al. 2009: 59

Part Five – Conclusions

Te reo Māori issues raised in the literature review

The following range of issues that have been gleaned from the literature review have direct relevance to the revitalisation of te reo Māori and could inform aspects of a work and research programme.

The new Māori Language Strategy

The new Māori Language Strategy (MLS) has received mixed reviews. It has not explained (to the satisfaction of some referred to in the writing of this literature review) why the focus is on one portion of society in only certain domains to take up the sole responsibility for revitalising te reo Māori.

In need of more thought is the lag between positive attitudes toward te reo Māori and its uptake by Māori. How to achieve a groundswell or build a critical mass of speakers who will achieve a tipping point in the spread of te reo Māori throughout Aotearoa is necessary. Thus, the MLS needs to consider: 'What role Pākehā might or should have in te reo Māori revitalisation? What role do they want? What role do Māori want to afford them?'[371]

Concerns raised about Te Mātāwai include its narrow focus; its restricted membership; an insufficient focus on improving the cross-government response; and unclear lines of accountability for the entities in the Bill. In addition, because the state will control 'the resources for protecting and promoting the language … the greatest problem [seems to be] that Māori are being subjected to more state control, not less'[372].

371 Albury 2015: npn

372 Godfrey, M. 2015: npn.

Fluency/Proficiency

Statistics NZ categorises speakers of te reo Māori on self-perceived ability while Ratima and May have suggested another way of categorising the accomplished speaker. These two categorisations differ with Statistics New Zealand's being narrower than what Ratima and May have proposed (2011: 1). The five levels of proficiency (i.e. Level Finders Examination administered by Te Taura Whiri) is yet another standard of measurement. What are the implications of the Statistics NZ findings based on the disparity between the differing definitions/measurements?

With the falling proportions (numbers) of highly fluent speakers and increasing influence of English, what will the impact be on te reo Māori, particularly regarding its integrity as te reo Māori vs a 'neo- Māori/English' as it develops?[373]

There is a 'lack of scholarly attention [given to] adult proficiency in indigenous languages' because the focus of language revitalisation literature is on the education of the young of school age[374]. This relates directly to an issue Bauer raised regarding those in the 40+ age groups whose use of te reo Māori had increased more than any other groups and considered it would be 'helpful to know what was going on' Bauer (2008: 56). Why is this? What does it mean? How can this information inform revitalisation practices?'

An examination of 'factors that led to proficiency in te reo Māori will be of use to learners and teachers'.

- What are: (a) 'the full range of factors that impact the development of proficiency' and (b) the 'rates of acquisition and ultimate proficiency [in all areas of language use] amongst second language learners of te reo?'[375]
- What are the revitalisation-related views and attitudes of youth who will carry the language forward?[376]
- How much time and what degree of exposure to te reo Māori 'is required … to achieve an acceptable standard of pronunciation' and grasp of the grammar?[377]
- To what degree are graduates from any level of te reo Maori 'continuing to speak Māori amongst themselves, to other speakers of Māori, and to … children[378]', their own or anyone else's?
- 'What percentage of the population needs to be proficient in Māori to ensure its survival'?[379]
- Undertaking systematic studies of dialect variation within Māori from the historical perspective[380].

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373 For example: de Bres 2008, the Waitangi Tribunal 2011 and Albury 2015.

374 Ratima and May, 2011: 1

375 Ratima and May 2011 and Keegan et al. 2011

376 Albury 2015: npn and King 2007: 351

377 Keegan et al. 2011: 8.

378 Keegan et al. 2009

379 Bauer 2008: 6

380 Bauer 1993, Harlow 1994, Waitangi Tribunal 1986

Resources

Keegan et al. are interested in knowing how effective educational resources are and indicate resources such as 'CD-Roms (e.g., Niwa, 2003) and web sites, which provide good models (usually of older speakers) of Māori being pronounced in traditional ways'[381]. Added to this, the literature review would suggest including 'good models' in relation to tribal dialects that include drawing attention to grammatical correctness.

Why did Māori stop using and learning te reo Māori?

Why did Māori 'collectively and individually' decide to stop using and/or learning te reo Māori? 'Māori people [those in the 1930s who] seemed to be substantially in control of the immediate social environment, which appears to have been solidly Māori both ethnically and linguistically'. Why did other Māori resist 'what had become the general practice' (especially those in the 1970s)?[382] What are the reasons (as opposed to the theories) for the decreasing numbers enrolling in kōhanga reo and other Māori-medium programmes, and for the dropping in uptake of 'high-level immersion schooling'[383].

Community-centric approach

On the basis that the national picture does not reflect individual communities, 'in-depth research in local contexts' was suggested so accurate parameters of each local situation can be determined. This would allow an examination into the level of importance Māori communities ascribe to language revitalisation. This, in turn, would identify the communities that are more 'successful at language revitalisation [and the factors that] are crucial to their success'[384] with a view to concentrating efforts in those areas.

Related to this point is the discussion on dialects of te reo Māori – whose responsibility is it to ensure their ongoing existence? How can standardisation be implemented in a way that bolsters dialectal variation?

381 Keegan et al. 2011: 8

382 Benton 1997, the Waitangi Tribunal 2011 and Bauer 2008.

383 Waitangi Tribunal 2011, Bauer 2008

384 King 2007, Bauer 2008 and Albury 2015.

Revitalising te reo Māori

The review found that language revitalisation is a relatively new phenomenon. There appear to be activities to revitalise languages that are fairly standard around the western world. Activities include those listed by Are (2015) above. Importantly, each language is unique and needs to implement strategies suited to its particular circumstances. What number of speakers is needed to tip te reo Māori into a revitalised state and how can Māori at all levels of society and in all positions of employment be encouraged to take up the challenge? What role does the government have in this? What role do non- Māori have?

It was stated in the review that the only language that can sustain the life of a Native language is the Native language itself. Other languages, for example, English cannot achieve this. However, increasing urbanisation and the dominant influence of English is a situation very difficult to escape. What is the solution to this dilemma? Fishman's discussions from the 1990s seem to hold the key, i.e. intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori. But, how can this be achieved outside the educational setting where many fluent graduates are being turned out?

Concluding points

This literature review has told the story of the journey of te reo Māori and given an insight into the perceptions of the health of the language. The story began in South East Asia which is where the Austronesian family of languages derives and te reo Māori is an 'uri', descendent or offspring, of that language group.

The review identified the most significant and effective policies intended to disengage Māori from their reo that were related to the socio-economic and assimilation motivations of the Pākehā. Educationally, the most deliberate actions to detach Māori from their language and culture began in the 1840s with the introduction and implementation of various education acts. Other policies focussed on Māori land in the mid-1800s that led to the New Zealand wars. In the mid-1900s, the focus was encouraging Māori to move from their traditional mainly rural homelands to the larger towns and cities. Once there, Māori were 'pepper-potting' throughout Pākehā-dominated suburbs. The latter achieved what previous policies had been attempting. As urbanisation increased, so use of te reo Māori decreased, that soon led to language endangerment. The Māori Movement of the 1970s was very successful in turning the tide on the falling rates of speakers and the future looked very hopeful for some decades. Within a remarkably short time, language shift has been paused.

However, the review found that it is important to note the limitations of using limited and/or narrow descriptors of the success of a language's revitalisaton efforts. In addition, related to revitalisation is the definition of fluency and how it is compares to those considered fluent in the 1970s – is it still te reo Māori that is being discussed or a 'neo' version?

While te reo Māori is holding steady in terms of proportions of speakers, it is not yet in a 'safe' position and is in need of more effort by potential speakers. There are two schools of thought as to who should be focussed in the drive to raise the numbers. Some consider it to be the role and responsibility of Māori alone and that non-Māori have a supportive role based on the Treaty of Waitangi. Others

consider that, also based on te Tiriti, Pākehā should be also making the effort to learn and use the language.

Language revitalisation is a difficult and daunting task that involves taking on the dominant culture that has all the power, described in the review as being 'the biggest thing around'. In addition, the review has found that language revitalisation is a relatively new phenomenon, and that the activities undertaken to revitalise languages are farily standard around the western world. Also, it found, that a relatively small number of indigenous languges is deemed to have been successful in their revitalisation endeavours.

The urban population (Māori and non-Māori) of Aotearoa is already at approximately 86 percent[385] and is expected to continue rising. There are serious implications for the revitalisation and maintenance of te reo Māori in this context that need to be examined.

The greatest challenge to increasing the number of Māori speakers of te reo is identified simply as the difficulty in engaging them; this applies to Māori in all levels of society. The literature notes that 'the majority of Māori are not really that interested in investing the time required to learn the language to the degree of proficiency needed to sustain household interactions in Māori'. The positive comments by Māori regarding te reo Māori in the 2006 survey of attitudes counters the 'lack of interest' comment, but the lag in action seems to support these sentiments.

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Appendix One

Kupu Māori

Kupu Māori	Kupu Pākehā
hapū	*(noun)* kinship group, clan, tribe, subtribe – section of a large kinship group and the primary political unit in traditional Māori society
iwi	*(noun)* extended kinship group, tribe, nation, people, nationality, race – often refers to a large group of people descended from a common ancestor and associated with a distinct territory
ngā	the – plural
kaitiakitanga	*(noun)* guardianship, stewardship, trusteeship, trustee
kaumātua	*(noun)* adult, elder, elderly man, elderly woman, old man – a person of status within the whānau
kupu	*(noun)* word, vocabulary.
me	*(particle)* and – when used to join noun phrases
motu	*(noun)* island, country, land, nation, clump of trees, ship – anything separated or isolated
mokopuna	*(noun)* grandchild – child or grandchild of a son, daughter, nephew, niece, etc.
rangatahi	*(noun)* younger generation, youth
rangatiratanga	*(noun)* kingdom, realm, sovereignty, principality, self-determination, self-management
taniwha	*(noun)* water spirit, monster, dangerous water creature, powerful creature, chief, powerful leader, something or someone awesome
reo	*(noun)* language, dialect, tongue, speech
te reo Māori	the Māori language
tipuna/tupuna	*(noun)* ancestor, grandparent, grandfather, grandmother; pl – tīpuna/tūpuna
tuahine	*(noun)* sister or female cousin (of a male); pl – tuāhine
tungāne	*(noun)* brother or male cousin (of a female)
wairuatanga	*(noun)* spirituality
whakamā	*(verb)* to be ashamed, shy, bashful, embarrassed. *(modifier)* ashamed, shy, bashful, embarrassed. *(noun)* shame, embarrassment
whakapapa	*(noun)* genealogy, genealogical table, lineage, descent
whānau	*(noun)* extended family, family group, a familiar term of address to a number of people – the primary economic unit of traditional Māori society

Source: Māori Dictionary http://maoridictionary.co.nz/

Appendix Two

Summary sheet of the 2009 Māori Language Attitudes Survey

Summary sheet of the 2009 Māori Language Attitudes Survey

Language and Attitudes

The Māori language is the heritage language of the Māori people and an official language of New Zealand. The health of the Māori language declined significantly over the course of the 20th century. By the 1970s, it was recognised that the survival of the Māori language as a language of everyday communication was under threat because of its declining use within families. Since then, Māori groups and communities have developed a range of initiatives to increase the health of the Māori language. The Government has responded to these efforts with funding, policies and programmes designed to support Māori aspirations for their language.

Language health is directly affected by the attitudes of both speakers and non-speakers. Negative attitudes create disincentives for speakers and potential speakers to use a language. On the other hand, positive attitudes typically support learning and use of a language.

Surveys of Attitudes toward the Māori Language

In order to measure progress towards achieving the fifth goal of the Māori Language Strategy, the Government commissioned four telephone surveys of attitudes towards the Māori language (in 2000, 2003, 2006, and 2009). Each of these surveys had a sample size of approximately 1500 respondents. The surveys measured knowledge, attitudes and general values about the Māori language among both Māori and non-Māori respondents.

Table 9: Attitudinal Statements about Maori Language, 2000–2009 (Māori respondents)

% Agree/strongly agree	2000	2003	2006	2009
Well spoken Māori is a beautiful thing to listen to	97	96	95	96
It is a good thing that Māori people speak Māori on the marae	91	98	98	98
I have a lot of respect for people who can speak Māori fluently	89	94	93	95
It is a good think that Māori people speak Māori in public places, such as the street or supermarket	68	89	94	89
All Māori should make an effort to learn Māori themselves	63	77	77	75
Some Māori language education should be compulsory in school for Māori children	41	66	61	61
Some Māori language education should be compulsory in school for all children	–	67	65	68

Table 10: Attitudinal Statements about Maori Language, 2000–2009 (Non-Māori respondents)

% Agree/strongly agree	2000	2003	2006	2009
Well spoken Māori is a beautiful thing to listen to	78	82	80	78
It is a good thing that Māori people speak Māori on the marae	90	95	96	97
I have a lot of respect for people who can speak Māori fluently	74	84	81	87
It is a good think that Māori people speak Māori in public places, such as the street or supermarket	40	73	80	77
All Māori should make an effort to learn Māori themselves	51	57	57	66
Some Māori language education should be compulsory in school for Māori children	21	54	43	58
Some Māori language education should be compulsory in school for all children	–	54	56	64

Appendix three

Timeline of events that impacted te reo Māori

Year	Event
1800	Māori is the predominant language of New Zealand. It is used extensively in social, religious, commercial and political interactions among Māori, and between Māori and Pākehā. Education provided by missionaries is conveyed in Māori.
1814	Missionaries make the first attempts to write down the Māori language.
1815	Thomas Kendall's *A korao (korero) no New Zealand* is the first book published in Māori.
1820	*A grammar and vocabulary of the language of New Zealand* is published. This lays the orthographic foundations of written Māori.
1827	The first Māori translation of selected biblical texts is published in Australia. Other selections are published there in 1830 and 1833.
1835	The first pamphlet printed in New Zealand, a translation into Māori of the Epistles of Paul to the Philippians and to the Ephesians, appears. The first complete New Testament in Māori is published during 1837.
1840	Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. Māori is the predominant language of New Zealand.
1842	The first Māori language newspaper, *Ko te Karere o Nui Tireni*, is published.
1844	The first edition of *Williams's Māori Dictionary* is published.
1850	Pākehā population surpasses the Māori population. Māori becomes a minority language in New Zealand.
1853	Sir George Grey's *Ko nga moteatea, me nga hakirara o nga Māori (The songs, chants and poetry of the Māori)* is published.
1854	Sir George Grey's *Ko nga mahinga a nga tupuna Māori (The deeds of the Māori ancestors)* is published.
1865	Parliament's revised Standing Orders stipulate that Māori petitions be translated prior to being presented, and that the Governor's speeches to the New Zealand House of Representatives and Bills 'specially affecting' Māori be translated and printed in Māori (*Journal of the House of Representatives or JHR*, 1865, Pp. 103–104).

1867	Native Schools Act decrees that English should be the only language used in the education of Māori children. The policy is later rigorously enforced. Māori were required to donate the land for the schools, and contribute to the costs of a building and teacher's salary, although the latter two requirements were removed in 1871.
1868	An interpreter is appointed in Parliament. Interpretation was provided because some Māori MPs were not conversant in English.
1868	It is resolved that a 'simple text-book' of parliamentary practice be published in Māori, tabled papers be translated and relevant sessional papers also be translated and printed in Māori.
1870	Following the New Zealand Wars, society divides into two distinct zones, the Māori zone and the Pākehā zone. Māori is the predominant language of the Māori zone.
1872	The first Bill (the Native Councils Bill) is translated and printed in Māori.
1875	The issue of translating parts of *Hansard* into Māori is raised in the Legislative Council (*NZPD*, Vol. 18, 1875, Pp. 369–370 and Vol. 23, 1876, Pp. 664–665 and 708).
1879	In 1879 the 57 native schools were transferred to the Department of Education, which had been established in 1877. See Calman 2012
1879	The Legislative Council orders that all Bills translated into Māori be bound into volumes and put in the Parliamentary Library. From this point on, more Bills are translated and volumes deposited (*NZPD*, Vol. 33, 1879, p. 502).
1880	Parliament's Standing Orders are printed in Māori under the title *Ture Whakahaere Korero Me Nga Tikanga Mahi a Te Whare i Pootitia, Mo Nga Mahi a Te Katoa*.
1880	From the 1880s there are three interpreters (two in the House and one in the Legislative Council).
1881	From 1881 to 1906 a Māori language translation of the *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates (Hansard)* is produced under the title *Niu Tireni — Nga Korero Paremete — Nga Whai Korero a nga Mema Māori*. This contains Māori and Pākehā members' speeches on legislation considered particularly relevant to Māori.
1890	Many Māori language newspapers publish national and international news. Māori is the predominant language of the Māori zone.
1894	Education becomes compulsory for Māori children.
1896	Māori population, as recorded by official census, reaches lowest point. A Māori population of 42,113 people is recorded.
1901	A Māori MP cannot, without leave of the House, have their time enlarged [sic] because they speak through an interpreter (*NZPD*, Vol. 119, 1901, p. 970).
1909	There is a reduction to one interpreter in Parliament.

1913	Speaker of the House Frederic W. Lang rules that Māori MPs should speak in English if able to do so (*NZPD*, Vol. 163, 1913, Pp. 362 and 368).
1913	Ninety percent of Māori school children are native Māori speakers.
1913	*Te Puke ki Hikurangi, Te Mareikura* and other Māori newspapers publish national and international news and events in Māori as well extensive coverage of farming activities.
1920	The provision of interpreters in Parliament lapses after 1920. In the following years Māori MPs are able to speak briefly in Māori if they provide a sequential interpretation.
1920	By the 1920s Māori grammar is taught in only a few private schools.
1920	Sir Āpirana Ngata begins lecturing Māori communities about the need to promote Māori language use in homes and communities, while also promoting English language education for Māori in schools.
1925	Māori becomes a language unit for the Bachelor of Arts degree in the University of New Zealand (the actual teaching of courses starts at Auckland University in 1951).
1930	Māori remains the predominant language in Māori homes and communities. The use of English begins to increase, and there is continued support for English-only education by some Māori leaders.
1940	Māori urban migration begins. This has an impact upon the use of the Māori language.
1943	William (Wiremu) Leonard Parker is appointed New Zealand's first Māori news broadcaster.
1945	Māori becomes a School Certificate subject.
1950	Māori urban migration continues. Māori families are 'pepper-potted' in predominantly non-Māori suburbs, preventing the reproduction of Māori community and speech patterns. Māori families choose to speak English, and Māori children are raised as English speakers.
1951	Speaker Matthew H. Oram re-imposes Speaker Lang's 1913 ruling (*NZPD*, Vol. 296, 1951, Pp. 1193–1198). The ruling is relaxed in the 1960s with Māori MPs permitted to speak briefly in Māori if they provide an immediate interpretation.
1951	Māori population is recorded in official census as 134,097 people.
1953	Twenty six percent of Māori school children can speak Māori.
1960	Playcentre supporters encourage Māori parents to speak English in order to prepare Māori children for primary school.
1960	The Publications Branch of the Education Department begins publishing a Māori language journal for use in those schools where Māori is taught.
1961	J. K. Hunn's report on the Department of Māori Affairs describes the Māori language as a relic of ancient Māori life.
1970	Concerns for the Māori language are expressed by Māori urban groups including Ngā Tamatoa and Te Reo Māori Society.

1972	Petition number 42 with 30,000 signatures calling for courses in Māori language and culture to be offered in all New Zealand schools is presented at Parliament (JHR, 1972, p. 228). This presentation leads to the annual celebration of Māori Language Day.
1972	First Māori Language Day resulting from Petition 42.
1973	NZCER national survey shows that only about 70,000 Māori, or 18–20 percent of Māori, are fluent Māori speakers, and that most are elderly.
1975	Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa and Te Āti Awa initiate Whakatipuranga Rua Mano (Generation 2000), a 25 year tribal development plan, emphasising Māori language development.
1975	The first Māori Language Week is celebrated.
1975	Less than 5 percent of Māori school children can speak Māori.
1975	Positions for resource teachers of Māori were established to provide specialist advice to primary schools on te reo and tikanga Māori (Māori language and customs), and Māori advisers for secondary schools were introduced.
1978	Petition number 18 with 30,576 signatures calling for the establishment of a Māori television production unit within the New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation is presented (*JHR*, 1978, p. 335).
1978	Ruatoki School becomes the first bilingual school in New Zealand.
1979	Te Ataarangi movement is established to restore Māori language knowledge to Māori adults.
1980	Experiments in Māori radio broadcasting lead to the establishment of Te Upoko o te Ika and Radio Ngāti Porou.
1980	During Māori Language Week a march is held demanding that the Māori language have equal status with English.
1981	Te Wānanga o Raukawa is established in Ōtaki.
1981	Petition number 22 signed by 2,500 people calls for Māori to be made an official language of New Zealand (*JHR*, 1981, p. 372).
1982	Te Upoko o Te Ika, the first iwi radio station to broadcast, starts operating. Another three iwi radio stations are established at Mangamuka, Whakatāne and Ruatōria during the late 1980s.
1982	Te Kōhanga Reo is established to promote the Māori language among Māori pre-schoolers. By 1993, the number of students using kōhanga services reaches 14,514 but declines to 9,370 in 2010.
1983	The first Māori-owned, Māori language, radio station (Te Reo-o-Poneke) goes to air.
1985	First kura kaupapa Māori is established to cater for the needs of the Māori children emerging from Te Kōhanga Reo.
1985	MPs may address the Speaker in English or Māori (*NZPD,* Vol. 464, 1985, p. 5898).

1985	Te Reo Māori claim WAI II brought before the Waitangi Tribunal by Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo Māori.
1985	The number of Māori speakers is estimated to have fallen to about 50,000 or 12 percent of the Māori population. (Ministry of Social Development 2010)
1985	The WAI II Te Reo Māori Claim
1986	The Reo Māori Report released by Waitangi Tribunal. This recommends that legislation be introduced to enable Māori language to be used in Courts of Law, and that a supervising body be established by statute to supervise and foster the use of the Māori language.
1987	Whatarangi Winiata's report *A Global Approach to Māori Radio*. The model that emerged from this became the iwi radio network.
1987	Māori Language Act passed in Parliament; Māori declared to be an official language and Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori is established. Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust is also established.
1988	The 'Matawaia Declaration' is issued. Here bilingual school communities call for the creation of an independent, statutory Māori education authority to establish Māori control and the autonomy of Kaupapa Māori practices in the education system.
1988	Claim lodged objecting to the transfer of broadcasting assets to the new State Owned Enterprises.
1989	The Government reserves radio and television broadcasting frequencies for use by Māori.
1989	Broadcasting Act – Sections 36 and 37
1989	Education Amendment Act provides formal recognition for kura kaupapa Māori and wānanga (Māori tertiary institutions).
1990	Success in securing FM frequencies for Māori language broadcasters to attract youth audiences.
1990	Ngā Tamatoa raise awareness of lack of Māori representation and of Māori language content in the media.
1990	Speaker Thomas Kerry Burke rules that an MP cannot be required to give a translation of their remarks following an address to the House in Māori (*NZPD*, Vol. 508, 1990, p. 2336).
1991	Broadcasting Assets case initiated.
1991	Census records Māori population as 435,619.
1992	Parliament's Standing Orders Committee recognises that Parliament needs to develop an interpretation and translation service.
1992	The Ministry of Education launched *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa*, a curriculum for Māori-medium education based on Māori philosophies.
1992	A survey finds 58 percent of non-Māori and 89 percent of Māori agree that Māori should survive as a spoken language.

1993	More than 20 iwi radio stations broadcast throughout New Zealand.
1993	The Crown gave official recognition to Te Wānanga o Raukawa under the new Educational Amendment Act 1990.
1993	Peter Tapsell becomes the first Māori Speaker.
1993	The Māori broadcasting funding agency Te Māngai Pāho is established to promote the Māori language and culture. This follows litigation by the New Zealand Māori Council and Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo Māori.
1994	P. Day's book *Radio Years, a history of broadcasting in New Zealand* identifies Māori as being marginalised by policy that targets a majority culture audience.
1994	New Zealand passports start using te reo Māori on the inside pages, and on the cover from 2009.
1995	Te Māngai Pāho is established to fund and oversee Māori broadcasting.
1996	Aotearoa Television Network broadcasts a trial free-to-air television service in the Auckland area.
1996	The Aotearoa Māori Television Network broadcasts in the Auckland area (the Network ceases operating in 1997).
1996	Mai Time, Māori and Pacific focussed youth television programme pilot launched.
1996	Mai Time, now broadcast on a weekly basis.
1996	The census form is released in te reo Māori.
1997	Speaker Doug L. Kidd rules that MPs speaking in Māori do so as of right and an interpreter is provided.
1997	The Cabinet agrees that the Crown and Māori have a duty, derived from the Treaty of Waitangi, to take all reasonable steps to actively enable the survival of Māori as a living language.
1997	The first Māori Language Strategy is published.
1997	A total of 675 Te Kōhanga Reo and 30 developing Te Kōhanga Reo cater to 13,505 children. There are 54 Kura Kaupapa Māori and three Whare Wānanga. Over 32,000 students receive Māori-medium education and another 55,399 learn the Māori language.
1998	Government announces funding for Māori television channel and increased funding for Te Māngai Pāho.
1998	The Government establishes a Māori Television Trust to manage the UHF frequencies.
1998	Government also announces that it has set aside a $15M fund for Community Māori Language Initiatives.
1999	*Tūmeke*, a Māori language youth programme, begins screening on Television 4.
1999	A full-time interpreter is appointed in the House.

1999	The Government announces objectives and monitoring indicators for its Māori Language Strategy.
2000	*Tūmeke* changes broadcasters and its name to *Pūkana* and now shows on TV 3.
2000	The Cabinet agrees that the establishment of a Māori television channel is a Government priority within the Māori broadcasting policy area.
2000	Responsibility for Māori broadcasting transferred from Ministry of Commerce to Te Puni Kōkiri.
2000	A simultaneous interpretation service in Māui Tikitiki-a-Taranga (the Māori Affairs Committee Room of Parliament House) is introduced.
2000	A survey of attitudes toward the Māori language finds that 94 percent of Māori and 90 percent of non-Māori believe it is good for Māori people to speak Māori on the marae and at home. Another 68 percent of Māori (40 percent of non-Māori) believe it is good for Māori to speak Māori in public places or at work.
2001	Government announces its support and management structure for Māori Television channel. Government also announces that it will soon begin allocating the $15M fund.
2001	Survey on the Health of the Māori Language shows there are approximately 136,700 Māori language speakers and indicates that nine percent of Māori adults can speak Māori 'very well' or 'well'.
2002	Mā te Reo Fund established to support Māori language growth in communities.
2002	*Te Tangata Whai Rawa o Wēniti* (the Māori language movie version of the *Merchant of Venice*) is released.
2003	The Māori Television Service (Te Aratuku Whakaata Irirangi Māori) Act is passed in Parliament. *The channel achieves its largest audiences to date with 2.6 million viewers watching broadcasts in both September and October 2011.*
2003	Māori Television Service Act enacted.
2003	Revised Government Māori Language Strategy launched.
2004	Māori Television Service begins broadcasting for 6–8 hours per day as at 28 March.
2004	There is a permanent full-time Kaiwhakamārama Reo position for interpretation, transcription and translation service in Parliament. There are three interpreters.
2004	First inaugural Māori Language Week Awards held in Wellington 14 September.
2004	The Māori and New Zealand English (MAONZE) Project studying the pronunciation of te reo Māori starts.
2005	The Māori Language Commission launches the interactive *Kōrero Māori* website.
2005	*Microsoft Office* and *Windows* in te reo Māori are launched.

2006	A survey of attitudes toward the Māori language finds that 98 percent of Māori and 96 percent of non-Māori believe it is good for Māori people to speak Māori on the marae and at home. Another 94 percent of Māori (80 percent of non-Māori) believe it is good for Māori to speak Māori in public places or at work.
2006	According to Statistics NZ, 131,613 (23.7 percent) of Māori can converse about everyday things in te reo Māori, an increase of 1,128 people from the 2001 Census. Fourteen percent of Māori adults indicate that they can speak Māori 'very well' or 'well'.
2008	The second Māori Television channel, Te Reo, is launched.
2008	The first monolingual Māori dictionary is launched by the Māori Language Commission.
2008	Google Māori, the Māori interface of online search engine Google, is launched.
2009	An independent panel, Te Kāhui o Māhutonga, completes a review of the Māori Television Service Act (Te Aratuku Whakaata Irirangi Māori) 2003.
2009	Four staff provide interpretation, transcription and translation services in Parliament.
2009	Common te reo Māori words are recognised in the predictive text message function and auto voice dialling on certain Telecom handsets.
2010	Simultaneous interpretation of te reo Māori into English becomes available in the House and galleries, and on Parliament Television.
2010	The Minister of Māori Affairs announces a review of the Māori Language Strategy and sector.
2010	Victoria University of Wellington's Faculty of Law announces the completion of the Legal Māori Corpus and the Legal Māori lexicon.
2011	Te Paepae Motuhake, an independent panel, completes a review of the Māori Language Strategy and sector. Principal recommendations include a Minister for the language, and revitalisation through re-establishing te reo Māori in homes.
2011	The Waitangi Tribunal releases its *Ko Aotearoa Tēnei* report into the place of Māori culture, identity and traditional knowledge in contemporary New Zealand law, government policy and practices. The report indicates the language is 'approaching a crisis point' with Māori and the Crown sharing responsibility for its revival.
2012	Māori Television launches a new te reo Māori website for children.
2012	The Waitangi Tribunal releases a pre-publication version of its report into the Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust's kōhanga reo claim. The tribunal expresses 'deep concern at the vulnerable state of te reo Māori', and calls on the Crown to formally acknowledge and apologise for Treaty of Waitangi breaches. Recommendations include redeveloping the engagement between government agencies and the Trust.

2012	It is announced that social media site 'Facebook' can be viewed and translated into te reo Māori.
2012	There are 16,792 students involved in Māori medium education, and 140,945 involved in Māori language in the English medium.
2013	Māori Television launches a new website.
2013	The United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination expresses concern over the Waitangi Tribunal's finding that the Māori language is at risk of erosion. According to the Committee, specific measures to preserve the language should be taken with adequate funding, and the development of a new Māori language strategy expedited.

Sources:

Parliamentary support; Research papers: https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/research-papers/document/00PLEcoRP14031/the-maori-language-selected-events-1800-2014

The Māori language: selected events 1800–2013. Summary – outlines key events and dates since the early 19th century relating to Māori language. https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/research-papers/document/00PLSocRP2013041/the-m%C4%81ori-language-selected-events-1800-2013

Te Taura Whiri: www.tetaurawhiri.govt.nz/english/issues_e/hist/

Appendix four

More about dialects of te reo Māori and changes to te reo Māori

Historical

Commentators on the variation of te reo Māori began with Joseph Banks in the late 1700s. He was, undoubtedly, helped by Tupaia[386], and he devised a list of words as spoken by northern and southern Māori that also made a comparison with the same words in Tahitian[387]. Harlow states that '... it is significant that even after such short contact with the language Banks was aware that there were regional differences he felt needed recognising'[388].

The practice of recording aspects of dialects continued from the early eighteenth and into the current century. Some contributions to this field of study by early recorders of the southern dialect of te reo Māori included:

- The first phonetic version of any dialect of te reo Māori that appears to have captured a number of aspects that mark this dialect out from its northern counterparts[389].
- A word-list of South Island Māori that continues to be referred to today. The list appears to possibly be capturing changes in the southern dialect that Harlow suggests are the result of the influence of northern dialects through Māori whaling crews[390].
- The collection and publication of traditions of the local Māori, but, through 'correcting' to a northern dialect[391], 'obscure[d] dialectal subtleties ... thereby mask[ing] tribal identity in the oral traditions'[392].
- A word list of the South Island dialect, marking words that were synonymous with northern varieties[393].

386 'When the Endeavour sailed over the Tahitian horizon, Tupaia, a high priest and intellectual, could see change coming and made the decision to embrace an opportunity. He became a diplomat, politician, artist and interpreter on the British ship. When they arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand, it appeared to Māori as if it was he, not Captain James Cook, who commanded the Endeavour'.

See: www.worldview.org.uk/film/tupaias-endeavour/ for more information.

387 Banks 2005

388 Harlow 2007: 41

389 Starke 1986

390 Harlow 1987: 74

391 Harlow 1979

392 Haami 2004: 125

393 Anderson 2012

The Williams family's[394] dictionaries consistently marked 'a large number of items as coming from one or the other of six dialects[395], but this practice has been discontinued since 1975 due to dialect levelling[396]. Harlow explains the following: Maunsell (1862)[397] distinguished seven leading dialects of the north island[398] that are roughly similar to those identified in the Williams' dictionary, (though Ngāi Tahu is not identified[399]). Colenso (1868) lists 10 'principle subdivisions'. Skinner (1921) uses the term 'culture areas' that he considers have 'distinctive dialects' that included, 'Moriori, Murihiku, Kaiapoi, and West Coast (= Taranaki)'[400]. Buck (1949) mentions regional phonological differences, but provides no classifications[401]. Others who have commented on dialectal differences as noted by Harlow are: Biggs (1961) who, according to Harlow, mentions only the Western and Eastern as the two main dialects of Māori; Biggs (1971), Hohepa (1967), and Krupa (1967) provide similar classifications and each of these authors 'assert that South Island MAO is extinct'[402], which generally means there are no speakers left.

> After the first 100 years of colonial government the Kai Tahu language was all but extinct. Tikao (Beattie 1939) laments the loss of traditional language and the poor quality of the Māori being spoken by the young people of his time.
>
> Potiki 2010: npn

Some notes on changes in te reo Māori over time

The MAONZE (Māori and New Zealand English) project is the source of the information that follows[403] in the first section to Grammar. The MAONZE project is examining changes in the pronunciation of the Māori language over the last 100 years. The speech of three age groups is anlaysed and compared to identify changes. The age groups are: Mobile Unit (MU) speakers who were born in the 1880s; Kaumātua, born in the 1930s; and Young who were born in the 1980s.

394 The family has the longest history in Aotearoa as lexicographers of te reo Māori, having produced the first dictionary in 1844.

395 Harlow lists them on pp. 123–124 of his 1979 article as: 'Arawa, Kahungunu, Maniapoto, Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Porou, Rarawa, Raukawa, Takitimu, Ngāi Tahu, Tainui, Taranaki, Tūhoe, Waikato, Whanganui'.

396 Harlow 1979: 123

397 In Maunsell's Grammar of the New Zealand Language (1862) **http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-MauNewZ-t1-body-d1.html**

398 Harlow 2007. 'Te Rarawa, Ngāpuhi, Waikato, Bay of Plenty, East Cape and its neighborhood, including Rotorua (though some little differences are to be noted), 'the line of coast between Port Nicholson and Wanganui' (Maunsell 1862:v). He considers that the Taupō dialect is a mixture if Rotorua and Waikato (Maunsell 1862).

399 Keegan (2009) notes: There are also gaps in Williams's coverage of traditional Māori terms, perhaps more so in dialectal variation in the use of words.

400 Harlow 1979: 124

401 Harlow 1979

402 Harlow 1979: 124

403 The linguists involved in this project have been analysing 'the pronunciation of fluent native Māori speakers of earlier generations, made possible through an archive of recordings of speakers born in the late 19th century, and compare these with modern speakers of Māori of different ages. This analysis will show how pronunciation of the Māori language has adapted over time in on-going interaction with English while retaining its own character'

Long and short vowels

The figure below illustrates the differences in the articulations of the long and short vowels in the speech of the three age groups – the vowels with colons (e.g. u:) indicate the long vowels. Pronunciations of vowels have changed over time in their length (some coming closer) and locations of articulations in the mouth are generally becoming more peripheral. (Please note, the squares crudely represent the mouth. The front is on the left of each square and the back at the right; the top and bottom of each is the equivalent of the top and bottom of the mouth.)

Figure 6: Pronunciations of the long and short vowels by Mobile Unit [404] Kaumātua and Young speakers

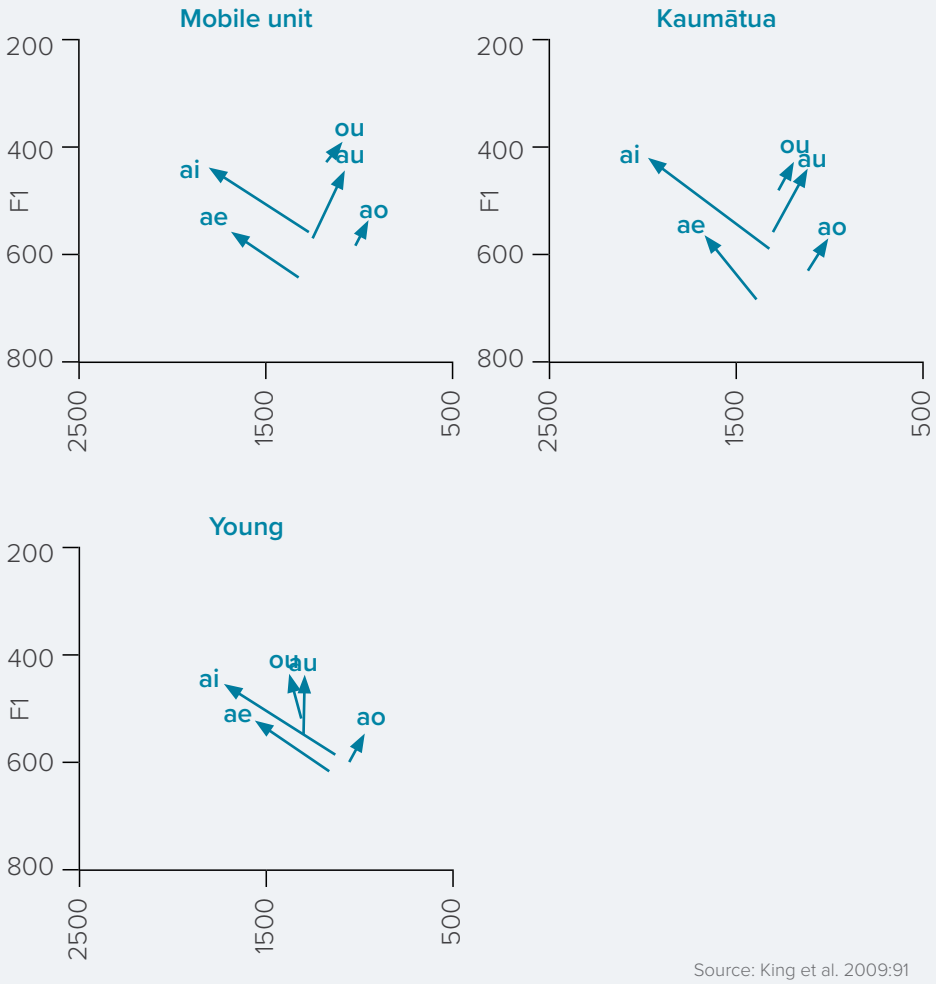
Source: King et al. 2009: 89

404 The Mobile Unit (MU) archive is an historical archive collected by members of the NZ National Broadcasting Service between 1946-8. [The speakers were born between 1860 and early 1900s. See http://www.canterbury.ac.nz/nzilbb/research/onze/

Diphthongs

A similar finding was made of changes in diphthongs[405] (ai, ae, au, ao and ou). The major finding was that the Mobile Unit speakers and Kaumātua kept their diphthongs separate, but the young speakers 'separations' were 'substantially diminished'. Figure 8 compares the articulations of each of the groups and show the extent to which the young clustered their diphthongs.

Figure 7: Diphthong plots of Mobile Unit, Kaumātua and Young speakers



Source: King et al. 2009:91

This claim is based on the analysis of the English of MAONZE speakers that was found to be similar to the English of similarly 'matched non-Māori speakers of English. Thus, it is likely that their vowel production for English is influencing their pronunciation of Māori'[406]. Kelly explains that 'any habitual language errors shared by such a substantial majority would be likely to be heard often, and then perhaps

405 That Smyth does not describe as such and the pronunciation of which Bauer questions.

406 Watson et al., 2008. See also **www.teara.govt.nz/en/speech-and-accent/page-3** for an outline of the pronunciation of vowels in NZE.

even accepted as correct'[407]. She warns, though, that not checking these grammatical features is at the expense of the integrity of te reo Māori. The consequence of allowing the incremental Anglicisation of te reo Māori may be that it becomes a 'clone of English'[408].

Grammar

Some te reo Māori issues are arising from some common fundamental grammatical errors. Some are due to the shortening of vowels as discussed, i.e. the 'weakening of the distinction in long and short vowels'[409] and the closing of the gap in the articulations of diphthongs. An example is the tense particle 'ka'[410] that, as Harlow explains, has two spoken versions; i.e. kaa and ka – that, historically, have been used depending on the number of vowels[411] in the verb phrase it introduces. The results of the study of this particle in the speech of the MAONZE speakers found that the distinction existed in the speech of both groups of older speakers, but that it 'no longer exists for most of the younger speakers'[412].

The examples provided below are from Kelly (2014) and typify common grammatical errors she encounters in her teaching of te reo Māori. She explains that they are made by reo speakers regardless of whether their reo is their first or second language[413]:

- the 'ā' and 'ō' categories of possession – for example, 'te kohurutanga ā te wahine' and 'te kohurutanga o te wahine'. The first phrase refers to the murder by a woman; and the second refers to the murder of a woman'[414].
- the particles 'i', 'ki' – The grammatical particles, 'i' and 'ki', 'cannot be used interchangeably' and provides the following examples. 'Pērā' means 'like (that)': where 'ki' means 'to' in the first phrase, the 'i' connects the verb 'pērā' to the object, 'your Pāpā'[415]:

Kaua e kōrero pērā ki tō Pāpā!	Versus	Kaua e kōrero pērā i tō Pāpā!
Don't talk like that to your father!	*Versus*	*Don't talk like your father!*

407 Kelly 2014: 25

408 Kelly 2014: 258

409 The authors associate this practice with that of NZE that shortens the same types of words, for example, the word 'to' in contexts where, traditionally, the full form would have been used (for example, in front of vowels – 'to Africa' the traditional form of which would have been used, i.e. /tu: /, but is now often heard as the short form /tə/ [to rhyme with tip]. Watson et al. 2008: 158

410 Harlow et al. 2009

411 See also Bauer 1981.

412 Watson et al. 2008: 158

413 Kelly 2014: 260

414 Te Rito 2009: 6

415 Kelly 2014: 261

The following examples of changes may be influenced by the English language:

- personal and possessive pronouns especially dual and plural forms:

Traditional form	Regularised form
mōhoku/mōkū	Mō ahau
māhana/mana	Mā ia
nōhou/nōu	Nō koe

Kelly (2014) suggests that this occurs 'maybe because the equivalents in the plural are: mō rātau; nā kōrua; mā tātau'[416] and that the incorrect use could be due to familiarity with the English forms, i.e. 'for me', 'from you' and 'for him/her'.

- stative verbs – Kelly provides examples of mistaken use with statives where she notes a tendency to use the statives 'oti' (and 'pakaru') as though they were the equivalents of the English terms, 'to finish' and 'to break' and to use them as active verbs in action sentences rather than describing the state of the object, for example:

Kua oti au i aku mahi. *I have finished my work.*

'Oti' is the stative verb and describes the state of the work, i.e. 'finished'. 'I' indicates who caused the work to be finished, i.e. me; showing that 'i' means, 'by', 'because of'.

A note on historical pronunciation of vowels and the digraph /wh/ Vowels in combination with other vowels

Bauer's (1981) discussion on pronunciation was on whether vowels in combination (for example, diphthongs) were said as single sounds or whether as diphthongs. Her paper focussed on the word 'haere' and the issue was whether it should be pronounced as 'hae.re or ha.e.re'. Interestingly, advice given by Smyth (1946: 5) is 'Remember always ... That every vowel is pronounced. That there are no diphthongal sounds in Māori'. A very early comment on this is by Maunsell (1862) who advises caution on the basis of the 'dipthong' as being a 'portion of Māori literature as yet but little explored' so to expect 'considerable discrepancy of opinion' (1862: 3). Citing Smith:

> 'A dipthong,' he says, 'I would define to be two simple vocal sounds uttered by one and the same emission of breath, and joined in such a manner that each loses a portion of its natural length; but from the junction produceth a compound sound equal in the time of pronouncing to either of them taken separately, and so making still but one syllable.
>
> Maunsell 1862: 5

416 Kelly 2014: 264

The Digraph /wh/

Wh: There is some difference of opinion in respect to the correct pronunciation of the *wh* sound. It is not a compound of *w* and *h*, but represents the single voiceless consonant corresponding with *w* and is pronounced by emitting the breath sharply between the lips. Most tribes in New Zealand today assimilate the sound to that of *f* in English. From the phonetic spelling that was adopted by the early missionaries and settlers it would appear, however, that the use of the sound *f* for *wh* is a comparatively recent innovation. This is the view supported by Buck who contends that the use of the English *f* sound for *wh*, such as *fafai* for *whawhai* (to fight), is a post-European development adopted by some tribes. The student should practise the sound by pronouncing the *wh* as in the English word 'when'; it is pronounced without letting the teeth touch the lower lip.

McLintock 1966b: 6

Advice in older pronunciation guides

Maunsell (1862) describes two sounds for /w/: one is the simple sound as in 'wind', the other is aspirated as in 'when, where, ... whai [and] whare'[417]. Kohere (1949: 104) advises: 'Sound wh as in when, never as f. To sound wh like f is certainly degenerate Māori'. Smyth explains:

> The **wh** sound is generally given the **f** sound for convenience, but this is incorrect. This was the last consonant to be included in the final Māori alphabet. The correct sound is gained by forming the w sound while the breath is being continually respirated, as in a sigh: begin a sigh before forming the w sound: try to pronounce the wh as wh is pronounced in the English word 'when'.
>
> Smyth 1946: 8

417 Maunsell 1862: 9

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