Te Kāwanatanga o Aotearoa

Te Puni Kōkiri
MINISTRY OF MĀORI DEVELOPMENT

Literature Review Summary

Perceptions of the Health of the Māori Language

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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Summary of the Literature Review on Perceptions of the Health of the Māori Language

Purpose

This paper summarises the literature review on the journey and the health of the Māori language undertaken between 2014 and 2015 by the research team of Research, Information and Monitoring.

Main points of the summary

The literature identifies issues that directly impact 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 (i.e. the 25–39 year olds).
- Efforts to increase proficiency in te reo Māori.
- Difficulty in engaging more Māori (in particular) to learn and use te reo Māori.
- The current 'self-assessment' measure of proficiency in te reo Māori that may not be sufficient to present an accurate representation of the health of te reo Māori.
- Changes in te reo Māori that are the consequence of the influence of English that affect the teaching and learning of te reo Māori and the language's development.
- The complex nature of language revitalisation, which requires immense effort and very high expenses. Balancing these is the consideration of the cost to the cultural, economic and social wellbeing of the people whose language was affected by government policies.
- Consideration of the fact that, unlike many other indigenous language revitalisation contexts, te reo Māori lives face-to-face with English, considered one of the most powerful of all world languages.

Structure

The structure of this summary is as follows:

- A brief introduction
- Part one focuses on the current state of te reo Māori and some contextual information
- Part two focuses on issues involved in language revitalisation
- Part three discusses aspects of the 'new Māori language strategy' that includes the new organisation, Te Mātāwai; as well as the roles of Government with a focus on education and broadcasting; Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori; and Māori and non-Māori in language revitalisation.
- Part four focuses on issues to consider when planning for the revitalisation of te reo Māori.
- A very brief conclusion

Introduction – Why is te reo Māori important?

Te reo Māori is the indigenous language of Aotearoa and, as such, is an important symbol of identity and status for Māori. It is 'the embodiment of the particular spiritual and mental concepts of Māori[1]', providing a vehicle for transmitting the essential expression of all aspects of mātauranga Māori. Te reo Māori is of importance to all in Aotearoa '... because of its association with New Zealand's heritage and as an expression of the country's cultural and linguistic diversity[2]'. As such, te reo Māori is a taonga with legal linguistic status as an official language of Aotearoa guaranteed under the provisions of the 1987 Māori Language Act.

In addition, the study of indigenous languages is of prime interest to linguists and other disciplines, such as anthropology, archaeology, history and prehistory[3]. When there is a significant decline in use of indigenous languages, Ingram explains: 'The loss is greater than just the vocabulary[4]':

> 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 ...
>
> Ingram 2014: slide 14

While terms such as manaakitanga, wairuatanga and kaitiakitanga have similar concepts in English, they do not carry the culturally-specific nuances that are inherent 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. However, when referring to siblings of the opposite sex (tungāne and tuahine), age is not a relational marker. The pronouns and possessive pronouns are not gender specific. The 'o' and 'a' categories of possession mark the relationship between the owner and what is owned as well as giving an indication of generational and kin relationships. A particular feature of te reo Māori as discussed by Harlow is metathesis (for example, *ikeike = ekieki 'high, lofty'*) that occurs frequently in te reo Māori, but is rare in other languages.

1 Waitangi Tribunal 2011:397

2 Ratima and May 2011:1

3 Brenzinger 2009

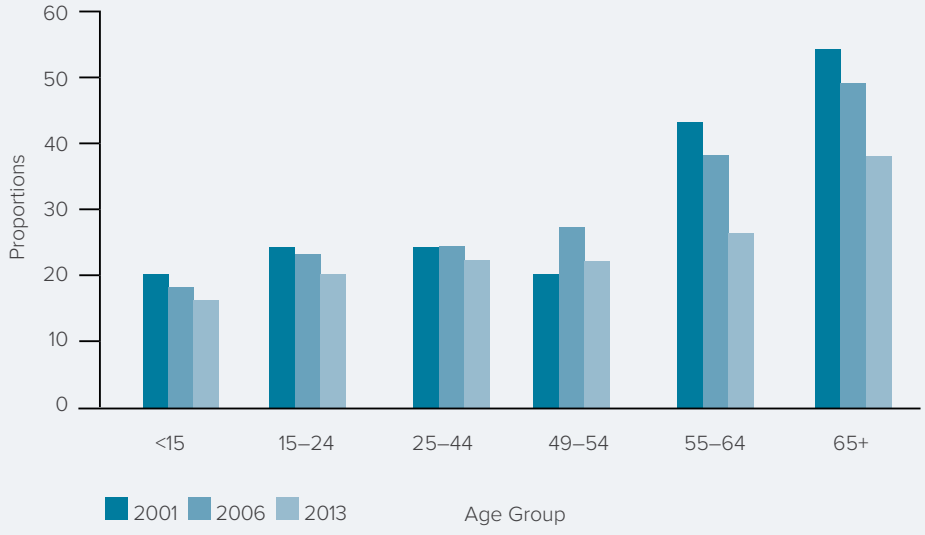
4 Ingram 2014

Part one –
The current state of te reo Māori

How many speak te reo?

Figure 1 below illustrates the proportions of Māori speakers in the Māori population from 2001 to 2013 by age group. The graph shows that there has been a consistent decline in the rate of te reo speakers across age groups since 2001 (aside from the 49–54 age group where a spike in numbers of speakers occurred in 2006). The decline in speakers of Māori aged 55 or older has been the most dramatic. It is, however, noteworthy that the percentages for the 'parenting' age group (25–44 yrs of age) have remained the most consistent.

Figure 1: Proportions of Māori speakers of te reo Māori by age group, 2001 to 2013



Source: Statistics NZ – Census of Population and Dwellings

Who speaks te reo Māori?

Hamer's analysis of Census 2006 data found that Māori women and men working as professional employees in New Zealand are '... the likeliest to be able to converse in te reo[5]'. The women 'reported sole Māori ethnicity no less than 53.4 percent ... or 4,770 out of 8,940[6]'. In 2013, Kukutai and Pawar note that those with an exclusive or primary Māori identification 'tend to be more likely to speak Te Reo Māori [but also] tend to have significantly poorer socio-economic outcomes than those whose Māori identification is [one of another ethnicity or other ethnicities][7]'. What both findings have in common is that those who identify more as Māori tend also to speak te reo Māori more often than those Māori who do not identify so strongly; the socio-economic differences reported are, however, conflicting.

By the 1996 Census, the question regarding use of te reo Māori was first introduced. This was almost 20 years after the New Zealand Council for Educational Research (NZCER) survey 1973–1978 found that the proportion of Māori who could hold a conversation in te reo Māori was 18–20 percent of mostly elderly fluent Māori speakers[8]. This proportion had risen to 25 percent by 1996[9] and was still at that level in 2001[10]. By 2013, the proportion of Māori speakers able to hold a conversation in te reo Māori was 21.3 percent.

De Bres's main concern in 2008 was that 'the proportion of fluent speakers[11] of Māori [was] dangerously low for language maintenance[12]', including dialects. Most of the highly fluent speakers of te reo Māori and dialects since the 1970s have been in the older age groups. These are considered to be those aged 45 years or older and the numbers in these groups are slowly diminishing. Their proportions in terms of 'speakers' are, however, consistently considerably higher than for all age groups below them. This suggests a lack of transmission of te reo to younger potential speakers.

Census 2013[13] data shows the top five regions with the highest proportions of speakers. There were: Auckland with the highest proportion of speakers of te reo Māori (4.2%) as well as the largest proportion of the total population of Māori; the Bay of Plenty and Waikato share second position with equal proportions (3.2%) of speakers of te reo Māori; Wellington is in third place with 2 percent of the Māori population speaking te reo Māori; followed by Northland that has almost 2 percent of its Māori population able to converse in te reo Māori. While not a region, Census (2013) data also shows that, since 2010, the Māori speaking population of Ōtaki has reached 46.3%. This result appears to support Bauer's (2008) comments on the importance of focussing on communities in language revitalisation.

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5 Hamer 2010: 46. Meaning that it is not the 'working class' that speaks te reo Māori more frequently.

6 Hamer 2010: 45

7 Kukutai and Pawar 2013: 32. In this section, Kukutai and Pawar refer also to Chapple, 2000; Kukutai, 2004; Kukutai, 2010.

8 NZCER 1973–78 national survey led by Richard Benton shows that only about 70,000 Māori, or 18–20 percent of Māori, are fluent Māori speakers and that most are elderly. See 'The Māori language – Dying or reviving?' 1997 http://www.nzcer.org.nz/news/te-wiki-tuawha-richard-benton-s-maori-language-dying-reviving

Current statistics are much the same.

9 Mostly in the kaumātua generation, i.e. those aged 55+ as estimated and reported in 1979 by Benton.

10 Ministry of Social Development 2010: 88

11 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 own assessment of their own ability'. See Statistics NZ (2008).

12 de Bres 2008: 25

13 Statistics NZ 2013a

Why did Māori stop using and learning te reo Māori?

The most powerful of government policies designed to disengage Māori from their language and culture were: the increasing domination of the English language (primarily through education acts) and increasing urbanisation of Māori from the 1960s.

Many of those born in post-world war two New Zealand 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.

Māori response

By the 1970s, te reo Māori played a marginal role in the upbringing of Māori children, a situation that alerted Māori to the fact that te reo Māori was in a linguistically dangerous decline. Māori protest and consequent Māori-driven initiatives[14] resulted in a turning of the tide of language decline. These initiatives included te reo becoming an official language of Aotearoa and establishment of Māori-specific educational provision, for example Te Kōhanga Reo centres (henceforth, Kōhanga Reo).

A rapid expansion in Kōhanga Reo centres occurred between 1982 and 1990, reaching a peak in 1993. This was followed by a steady decline from 1997 to 2002 after the transfer in 1990 from the Department of Māori Affairs to the Ministry of Education. Marginalisation and further decline has occurred since 2003, 'coinciding with a rapidly expanding early childhood education (ECE) sector[15]'.

The decline of Kōhanga Reo is, in part, due to the increase in early childhood education and care options[16]. This increase began in the 1970s in response to the number of working parents who needed 'full-day childcare arrangements, not the sessional programmes provided by kindergartens and playcentres[17]' as women became a larger part of the workforce[18]. From 2003, the sector grew exponentially following implementation of education policies that focussed on labour market outcomes. This led to more early childhood (mostly, English speaking) centres and more flexibility in centres to cater to working parents[19].

14 Māori were also lobbying for broadcasting space as another vehicle for the revitalisation of te reo Māori.

15 Waitangi Tribunal 2011: Chapter 2

16 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 updated 2012.

17 Pollock updated 2012: 3

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

19 Ministry of Education 2014

From 1985, after the establishment of Kura Kaupapa Māori (often referred to as 'kura kaupapa' by the Waitangi Tribunal 2011[20]), numbers of kura and of tamariki participation in them increased dramatically. Similar growth occurred in schools offering some level of Māori-medium education. There has also been a 'massive rise in overall Māori participation' at the tertiary level. The Waitangi Tribunal's view of education at the tertiary level for Māori is:

> ... tertiary courses have given many Māori parents, along with a large number of non-Māori, a solid introduction to the language. The courses have given students confidence to go further, where they have wanted to, or the inclination to encourage their children to go further. On their own, however, they are certainly not creating a generation of fluent speakers or language teachers.
>
> Waitangi Tribunal 2011:432

In spite of the increase in Māori-medium education, some factors noted in the literature as having impaired the effectiveness of these services resulting in a decrease in te reo Māori speakers are noted here:

- There is a limited supply of teachers fluent in te reo Māori, relative to the demand. This has led to few trained and qualified teaching staff in both te reo Māori and in teaching, including principals and series of teachers on short-term bases.
- Resourcing is inadequate.
- In some instances, concerns have been raised about child safety and mismanagement of various Kōhanga Reo centres.
- 'Excessive regulation and centralised control[21]' may have disempowered some of those involved in the movement.

Iwi response

Several iwi have been implementing language strategies for some time and others are beginning to develop and/or implement theirs. Two particular iwi strategies are:

a. 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[22]. The results of the activities focussed on increasing the numbers speaking te reo Māori. The activities centred in the Kāpiti rohe, particularly Ōtaki. Since 2010, the Māori speaking population of Ōtaki has reached 46.3%[23].

20 Waitangi Tribunal 2011

21 Waitangi Tribunal 2011: 440

22 King 2007

23 Statistics NZ 2013

b. ‘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. Development of the plan began in the early 1990s by a small group of young Ngāi Tahu led by Tahu Potiki[24]. The iwi organisation has focussed on building its economic base and supporting language programmes and groups to increase its numbers of speakers. (O’Regan 2012)

The greatest challenge for Ngāi Tahu in gaining success with its language strategy is the difficulty in engaging ‘kin’, including a ‘significant proportion of tribal governance[25]’. O’Regan (2012) explains that 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[26]’. Despite years of intensive effort to revitalise the Māori language of Ngāi Tahu and increasing the numbers of kin learning and using the Māori language, she adds: ‘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[27]’.

While some iwi are actively investing the resources in revitalising te reo Māori, as noted above, others are not. Keegan is of the view ‘… that many iwi authorities are [not] in a position to assist with increasing the amount of Māori spoken in homes[28]’ because they do not have the resources. Others (again according to Keegan) have the resources but, for whatever reason, do not seem to be ‘…supporting Māori language in homes …[29]’. Keegan also notes:

> 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:npn

Since Fishman’s seminal work in 1991[30] that emphasises the importance of intergenerational language activities, there has been a change in the focus of te reo Māori strategies, programmes and activities. It has been on whānau and the need for them to speak more te reo Māori in their homes. Keegan notes that this approach:

> … 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.
>
> Keegan 2009:npn

24 Waka Huia TVNZ 2010

25 O’Regan 2012

26 O’Regan 2012: 88

27 O’Regan 2012: 94

28 Keegan 2009:npn

29 Keegan 2009:npn

30 Fishman 1991: 91

The surveys of attitudes to te reo Māori undertaken in 2000, 2003 and 2006 support Keegan's comments. The surveys found that, while Māori hold very positive attitudes toward te reo, there is a lag in its uptake[31]. As McLeod notes, however, 'attitudes are not predictors of action though it is natural to think they might or should be[32]'. At the same time, McLeod (2009) considers that the stronger the attitude, the more likely it could be an indicator of behaviour. Māori response to statements regarding te reo Māori in the Māori language has generally been very positive[33]. The response rates of between 63% and 75% to the comment 'All Māori should make an effort to learn Māori themselves' were, however, comparatively low. As such, these attitudes are more indicative of actual behaviour. Te Kupenga 2013 found that '257,500 (55 percent) Māori adults had some ability to speak te reo Māori; that is, they were able to speak more than a few words or phrases in the language[34]'. This means that over half of the Māori population have made and are making, the effort to speak (to varying degrees) te reo Māori. In addition, this is an increase of 13 percentage points since 2001.

Government response

The majority of actions initially undertaken by Government between 1970 and the late 1990s were mainly financially supportive of Māori-driven initiatives. The first Māori language strategy (Toitū te Reo) was developed in 1995–1996 and was designed to 'coordinate the Māori-language sector[35]' that Government was becoming increasingly involved in. Te Rautaki Reo Māori 2003 (the Māori Language Strategy 2003–2008), was the next step in harnessing language-related activities. This 'focussed on increasing language usage in specific domains[36]'.

While these strategies have been criticised for their failings, the 2003 strategy has continued '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[37]'. The 2003–2008 strategy was reviewed by the Auditor General (2007) and Te Paepae Motuhake (2011) as well as, to a lesser degree, the Waitangi Tribunal (2011). These reviews have resulted in the current Māori language strategy that is discussed below.

31 Albury 2014: 8

32 McLeod 2009: npn

33 see Te Puni Kōkiri 2009

34 Statistics NZ 2013b

35 Higgins and Keane 2013a

36 Higgins and Keane 2013a

37 Higgins and Rewi 2014: 11

Part two – Revitalising languages

The only language that can sustain the life of a Native language is the Native language itself[38]. Other languages for example, English, cannot achieve this. Increasing urbanisation, however, and the dominant influence of English is a situation very difficult to escape[39]. This is especially so for te reo Māori because 'unlike many other indigenous language revitalisation contexts, te reo Māori lives face-to-face with English, the most powerful of all world languages[40]'. English has the widest spread of all languages (spoken as a first language in a total of 99 countries[41]) and is the third language with the most speakers, after Mandarin Chinese and Spanish. In this context, the difficulty faced in revitalising te reo Māori is considerable. To address this, 'New Zealand's policy needs to be innovative, cutting-edge and brave[42]'. Given this is the situation, the success Māori have had in revitalising te reo Māori to this point can possibly be viewed as momentous.

What is language revitalisation?

Language revitalisation is a relatively new phenomenon and the activities undertaken to revitalise languages are fairly standard around the western world with varying degrees of success. Little is known about the process of language revitalisation because '... language policies have not been analysed in relation to the functional and structural characteristics of endangered languages'[43]. It is, however, recognised that language revitalisation is complex, requires immense effort and expenses are very high. If set against the cost to the cultural, economic and social wellbeing of the people affected, however, and keeping in mind the time taken to reduce the language to endangerment status, perhaps a different reckoning is needed.

38 Across Borders Project (Indigenous Language Institute) 2007

39 The CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) describes New Zealand as being 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. It is predicted that Aotearoa's population 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' (CIA2014: npn).

40 It is not the language, however, that kills indigenous languages, but the speakers who choose, for whatever reason, to switch to English that creates language endangerment and 'death'. For 'spread' of English and number of English speakers, see Hammond 2012 in **https://blog.esl-languages.com/blog/learn-languages/most-spoken-languages-world/ ...**

41 Ethnologue 2014: npn The Mandarin language of China has the second widest spread of languages, being the first language in 62 countries.

42 Albury 2014: npn

43 Romaine 2002:153

Costs

As noted, Government support of Māori initiatives has primarily been financial. The actual amount of funding for te reo Māori is, though, unknown. Te Puni Kōkiri provided an indication of one year's Government expenditure on Māori language in 2009 that was $596 million[44]. Peterson explains that relevant official publications do not provide 'sufficient detail to isolate all of the components of Crown expenditure[45]'. Based on available information, it would seem 'the education sector [versus Broadcasting and Māori language strategy development] uses the greatest proportion of available funding[46]'. Despite this, te reo Māori is 'still struggling[47]'. Timms also considers that the results of the '25 to 30 years of Government spend on revitalisation strategies should only be termed 'patchy'[48].

Language revitalisation goals

Derhemi (2002) notes 'The main goal of any language policy should be a change that would result in spontaneous language use by a large community of speakers. This is the only indicator that can measure the efficacy of a language policy[49]'. All other factors are not indicators of increasing language use. Other factors can include, for example: legislation, policies, strategies, funding, all the high-level discussions and meetings, the number of courses available and numbers participating in the course.[50]

Wicherkiewicz (n.d.) suggests that successful language planning involves two ultimate goals: the target language has established and maintained a presence in each of the domains of public life; and a conducive environment makes possible broad language development. He adds, though, that '... at the turn of the 21st century most of the languages of the world have been deprived of such environments[51]".

44 Te Puni Kōkiri 2011

45 Peterson 2000:7

46 Peterson 2000:8

47 Victoria University 2012; Timms 2013

48 Timms 2013: 66

49 Derhemi 2002: 159

50 Derhemi 2002

51 Wicherkiewicz. n.d.

Some core components of language planning for revitalising a language

A small number of common components of language policy or planning may include some of the following activities:

- Standardising a language or dialect of a language.
- Corpus planning – production of language guides, dictionaries, grammars and so on, for the language or dialect chosen to be the standard for formal writing[52].
- Planning to increase the status of the language, for example, becoming an official language of the country concerned.
- Acquisition planning that encompasses all initiatives related to regulating the teaching of a language in the domain of education; 'fluency in … speaking, writing and the passive modes of listening and reading[53]'
- Language technology planning, which is often considered the newest dimension of language planning.

What language revitalisation methods are working well?

What is missing from similar lists of activities in language planning designed to revitalise a language is use of an immersion environment for learners and teachers. McIvor quotes several writers on the subject of language revitalisation methods. It is not surprising to see that there is general agreement among these writers that the practice of immersion is the most effective. She acknowledges, however, the difficulties associated with achieving this state of affairs (McIvor 2009).

Māori-medium education has received national and international commentary that has focussed 'almost exclusively … on the significant successes that it has achieved in relation to [the] wider revitalisation aim[54]'. May and Hill (2005) add, however, that information on the factors that contribute to these 'significant successes' does not abound. The Auditor General's 2012 report notes examples of good practice[55], in particular, cultural responsiveness that is underpinned by Māori 'concepts and contexts' that differ from 'traditional' (i.e. Western mainstream) teaching practices[56]. The Ministry of Education supports this view and has found that Māori achieve better results in Māori-medium education than their peers in 'mainstream'[57].

52 Noting that formal writing refers a style that is used in professional or academic contexts, for example, government reports and university assignments. This style does not use contractions (e.g., 'they're' for 'they are' or 'they were'), colloquialisms/vernacular (for example, 'wanna' for 'want to') or the first person pronoun (singular or plural: I, we, you, etc.).

53 Timms 2013:54

54 May and Hill 2005: 3

55 2012:3.24 OAG – Part 3 Historical and current context for Māori educational education.

56 2012:3.28 OAG

57 Ministry of Education 2012

Broadcasting has been found to have a positive effect on language revitalisation. The 2011 Impact Survey undertaken by Te Puni Kōkiri found a consistent relationship between 'greater viewing of Māori Television and increasing language usage, greater language learning and proficiency increases and maintenance[58]'. What has not been discussed as a tool of language revitalisation in this review is technology; this represents quite a considerable gap.

Standardisation

The language or dialect of a language chosen to be the standard for formal writing results in increased prestige for that language/dialect above others available. It is the variety that will be used in, for example, education, the media, broadcasting, government reporting and university assignments. Ideally, the choice of language or dialect of a language is not arbitrary and is acceptable to the community.

Lane (2015) and O'Regan (2012) note that standardisation can be detrimental to language revitalisation in reducing dialectal variance, including the range of 'proverbs and idioms' taught, and interrupting intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori within whānau. Benton and Benton (2001) comment on language purity that they (having similar views to Rogers 2002[59]) consider to be closely associated with standardisation. In their opinion, the Commission, Te Taura Whiri, has hastened the colonisation of te reo Māori by aiming at purity of the language and described the action as bringing a Trojan horse 'into the semantic citadel[60]'.

Derumert and Vandenbussche (n.d.) question the relevance of standardisation 'for language maintenance and survival'. They add that standardisation is 'often employed as a "default strategy" to increase the functional value of a language'[61]. They state that it is the various language ecologies that 'keep unstandardised languages alive', i.e. dialects. They consider that 'further research on the limits and possibilities of standardisation for language maintenance and revival' is highly desirable[62].

58 Te Puni Kōkiri 2011b

59 See under 'Language purism and policy'

60 Benton and Benton 2001: 445

61 Deumert and Vandenbussche 2003: 464

62 Derumert and Vandenbussche 2003.: 464

Part three – The new Māori language strategy

2014 Māori language strategy

The current Māori language strategy (Te Rautaki Reo Māori) was released in 2014 and is the result of the reviews mentioned above[63]. The main themes include: 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 for whānau, hapū and iwi language development[64].

Te Rautaki Reo Māori has received mixed 'reviews' and some of the concerns raised are listed here:

- A perception that the Crown is stepping back from its responsibility, juxtaposed with concerns that the state will control te reo Māori, by controlling 'the resources for protecting and promoting the language[65]'.
- The narrow focus of Te Mātāwai: for example, the focus is on Māori only and a potential membership of Te Mātāwai has a heavy weighting toward iwi, through an absence of urban Māori and limited Crown appointments. Given this focus, Te Mātāwai will not have any power over Crown agencies with responsibilities to revitalise the language.
- Insufficient focus on improving cross-government response.
- Unclear lines of accountability for the entities in the Bill – no minister has the right to delegate [responsibility for te reo Māori] to somebody else.
- 'The Bill focuses on structures and funding; [and] is aggravating the "disarray" in Māori communities[66]'.
- 'Iwi input is through the iwi representatives [that] goes against the trend in recent legislation of devolving power to iwi[67]'.
- 'The grim reality is that iwi leaders are simply not capable of managing such an important taonga [and] rūnanga (tribal councils) have other corporate priorities[68].

63 See Te Puni Kōkiri 2011a and Waitangi Tribunal 2011

64 Te Puni Kōkiri 2014a

65 Godfrey 2015: npn

66 Godfrey 2015: npn

67 Godfrey 2015: npn

68 Thomas 2014: non

What to prioritise in the revitalisation of te reo Māori

With respect to revitalising the language, the following issues need to be considered[69]:

- Where to focus when planning to increase the numbers of te reo Māori speakers.
- Numbers of speakers versus proficient speakers with 'correct' pronunciation.
- Vernacular versus correct usage (a 'purist' approach, meaning language spoken should be as close as possible to what was spoken in the past).
- Is there a way of identifying how many speakers are needed to revitalise te reo Māori? 'What percentage of the population needs to be proficient in Māori to ensure its survival?[70]'
- 'What role might/should Pākehā and other non-Māori have in te reo Māori revitalisation? What role do they want? What role do Māori want to afford them?[71]'
- Whose responsibility is it to ensure the ongoing existence of te reo Māori?
- What is the preferred approach to the teaching and learning of te reo Māori?
- What role does standardisation have in protecting dialects of te reo Māori?

The groups of people to be considered in terms of their differing needs when planning 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 on communities in which there are already significant cohorts of speakers, given that it is communities who speak[72]. Bauer suggests that in-depth research into such communities is needed in order to 'know and understand what is actually happening ... in particular communities[73]'.

69 Higgins and Rewi 2014

70 Bauer 2008: 6

71 Albury 2014: npn

72 Bauer 2008

73 Bauer 2008: 63

Whānau

In Durie's (1998) opinion, 'while the State has a role to play in language development, the initiative must come from the people[74]'. Fishman comments on those parents who send their children to particular language-focussed centres without supporting the efforts by learning the language themselves. His comments may apply equally to the New Zealand situation with Māori-medium education, supported by the latest census figures that show Māori aged under fifteen years, have the lowest percentage of speaking ability of all groups of Māori speakers[75].

> 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 1994: 76

The greatest challenge to increasing the number of proficient Māori speakers of te reo is identified simply as the difficulty in engaging them; this applies to Māori in all levels of society. The Te Reo Mauriora review emphasised the need for whānau to speak more te reo Māori in Māori homes. As mentioned above, however, Keegan considers that Māori are just not interested in learning to speak te reo Māori[76].

Education

Education has a substantial role in language revitalisation as '… it is the site where larger political, social and ideological values are transmitted and reflected[77]'. Schools have a history of demonstrating their role as 'one of [society's] chief agents of legitimation and institutionalism[78]'. Therefore, schools can:

> … 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 2008: 209

Early age language acquisition through education is still critical in the face of limited acquisition in the home. While Māori participation in early childhood education has increased[79], it seems 'there [was] no specific target for increased

74 Dalley 2012: 11, quoting Durie

75 Statistics NZ 2013a

76 Keegan 2009: It is assumed his comments are based on census data since 1996 that continues to report that numbers of speakers have not changed much in this time and that the proportion of proficient speakers is low.

77 O'Laoire 2008: 209

78 Schools' role for the last one-hundred-plus years has been to implement government policies designed to disengage Māori from te reo Māori (focussing on educating Māori in te ao Pākehā). As is noted, they have achieved some considerable success in this.

79 Puna Reo, while part of Te Kōhanga Reo, 'made a conscious decision to break away from the parent body' to become a teacher led service and receives 'funding directly from the Ministry of Education' (See Morehu 2009: 8). Teacher led services were perceived as being 'an indication of quality' (see Ministry of Education 2002).

participation in Kōhanga Reo[80]'. In addition, the Ministry of Education 'would appear content for this increase to be in centres that are typically English medium[81]'. Any explanation for the Ministry's stance in this regard has not been found in the literature review process.

In 2011, the Waitangi Tribunal reported that there will be fewer speakers of te reo Māori if trends such as the following continue, i.e failing to: provide sufficient support for Māori-medium education; capitalising on momentum when it was occurring; and figures that 'show ... the most populous Māori age groups are also the least likely to be Māori-speaking'. They concluded 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. This is shown in Te Puni Kōkiri regional profiles of the health of the Māori language[82]'.

Broadcasting

Broadcasting is integral to the revitalisation of te reo Māori as a result of its ability to legitimate, normalise, naturalise and promote the language[83]. The results of the 2011 Impact Survey undertaken by Te Puni Kōkiri:

> show a consistent relationship between greater viewing of Māori Television and increasing language usage, greater language learning and proficiency increases and maintenance. Collectively these outcomes point towards Māori Television having a marked positive contributing impact on Māori language revitalisation.
>
> Te Puni Kōkiri 2011b

Broadcasting provides language learning opportunities to all age levels through language learning programming that can be utlilised in language teaching environments. It can be particularly useful where limited-speakers of te reo Māori are in teaching roles, i.e. where teachers with the proficiency to teach te reo are a scarce resource. Also, such programming has particular importance for tamariki who are responsive to visual and audio language transmission with adult support.[84] Broadcasting also provides opportunities for those not in the formal education system to learn and foster language revival beyond school.

Importantly, broadcasting also has a role in the retention of dialects. Māori television and iwi radio provide a platform for iwi programming. Māori Television Service has children's programming in multiple dialects and iwi radio also enables iwi to use their own dialects for their own iwi members and for other listeners whose dialect may be different.

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80 Waitangi Tribunal 2011: 415. The Waitangi Tribunal does not discuss the several other centres that offer a focus on te reo Māori, such as Puna Reo (see Morehu 2009) and may be counting Puna Reo in the numbers provided. This will require further investigation if considered important.

81 Waitangi Tribunal 2011: 441

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

83 Mufwene 2006, Hartley 2008, Bell 2010, Benton 1984, Hourigan 2002.

84 Waitangi Tribunal 1986

Government's role

Te reo is a vehicle for transmitting mātauranga Māori, therefore the Waitangi Tribunal (2010) 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[85]'. Rather than control 'day-to-day language practices' (which no government can actually do), Government can support the 'legitimation and institutionalisation' of te reo Māori to 'become a language of the [institutional and public sphere] a language of New Zealand law and legal process[86]'. 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[87]'. In order for this to be achieved, adequate resource that will '… sustain and protect the exercise of those rights' is required[88]. Stephens argues:

> … if te reo Māori is ever to be a language of more than one domain – a language in which the political, economic and legal direction of this country is to be set – Māori must also be a language of the institutional and civic sphere of the New Zealand state, not only of the private sector. [Thus the Crown] must also endeavour to speak te reo itself.
>
> Stephens 2014: 55

Non-Māori New Zealanders

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. Surveys of attitudes to te reo Māori undertaken by Te Puni Kōkiri have further shown that, while non-Māori are supportive of te reo Māori, their interest in learning it is low[89]. Addressing this issue will require 'cutting edge' strategic thinking.

In discussing the role of the 'non-indigenous majority in the [language] revitalization process', Albury (2014) refers to de Bres (2011) who notes that Māori language planning 'does not propose learning and using the Māori language as primary behaviours for non-Māori' (Albury 2014: 37). It seems, then, that the role of non-Māori is to show positive attitudes toward the language. This means that 'Māori alone would carry the responsibility' of acquiring and using te reo. According to Te Taura Whiri (n.d.) this is evidenced in the various resources made available to 'whānau and iwi … launched by the government[90]'. Albury states that this:

> … idealogy 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

85 Waitangi Tribunal 2010b: 5

86 Ahu 2012: 5

87 Mufwene 2006

88 Ahu 2012: 6, quoting May 2008

89 Te Puni Kōkiri 2010

90 Te Taura Whiri n.d

Part four – Issues to consider when planning for te reo Māori

Adult proficiency

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[91]. This relates directly to an issue Bauer raised in 2008 regarding those in the 40+ age groups whose use of te reo Māori had increased more than any other group. She considered that it would be 'helpful to know what was going on: Why is this? What does it mean? How can this information inform revitalisation practices?'[92]

There is a central and obvious need for adult proficiency in te reo Māori[93]. The crucial age-group is 25–39 because it represents the majority of 'the parenting generation[94]' who are in the front line of intergenerational transmission. Statistics NZ notes: 'The median age of [Māori] mothers giving birth to their first child is roughly 28 years, two years younger than the average across all mothers. ... The median age of women giving birth to their second child is roughly 32 years[95]'. Bauer notes that 'in that generation, there is no increase' in the use of te reo Māori[96]. Without adult proficiency, there is no possibility of intergenerational transfer of te reo Māori and reversing language shift will not occur[97]. How increasing parental proficiency in te reo Māori is to occur is, however, not described[98].

91 Ratima and May, 2011: 1

92 Bauer 2008

93 Ratima and May 2011: 2

94 Fishman 1991 and Velazquez 2008 (for example) also consider that the parenting age-group is of primary importance in the intergenerational transmission of a language.

95 These figures are 'best guesses' when looking at the NZ population as a whole. It is known that women can be much younger and somewhat older than the median ages discussed above. Statistics NZ 2012.

96 Bauer 2008: 56

97 Chrisp 2005; Fishman 1991; Spolsky 2003

98 Ratima and May 2011: 2

Intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori

Table 1 below (which is a 'snapshot in time') shows the regularity (by percentage) with which te reo Māori is spoken in the home. Statistics NZ (2013, Te Kupenga) reports that: 'Over 80 percent of Māori adults living with pre-school children spoke some te reo Māori to them, including 18 percent who spoke to them in te reo Māori half or more of the time'. It also reported that this practice has been 'fairly consistent' since 2001. This means that, of the 80 percent, 62 percent are speaking English some or all of the time to the tamariki and rangatahi they are living with.

The following table, sourced from the Statistics NZ website, has been altered slightly. The first two groups of people spoken to in the home, 'Parents' and 'Spouse/partner', have been deleted in order to provide information about parents who are speaking te reo to their tamariki/rangatahi.

Table 1: Amount of te reo Māori spoken in the home by age-group of person spoken to (June–August 2013)

	Amount spoken			
Who spoken to	All/mostly Māori	Māori equally with English	Some Māori	No Māori
	Percent (%)			
Pre-school children	7.2	11.1	63.4	18.3
Primary school chilren	5.5	11.7	62.0	20.9
Secondary school children	4.7	8.5	58.4	27.4

Source: Statistics NZ, Te Kupenga 2013

The proportions reported illustrate that, though Māori are speaking to their tamariki and rangatahi in the Māori language, the majority speak English to them most of the time. Higgins and Rewi (2014) devised the ZEPA model that discusses how right-shifting can occur in relation to the use of te reo Māori. The three right-hand columns in Table 1 above could be thought of as being aspects of the model, i.e. 'No Māori' could be in 'Kore'; 'some Māori' perhaps in 'Pō' and 'Māori equally with English' are 'Awatea'. Higgins and Rewi (2014) consider that, wherever individuals are placed on the model, they are contributing to the language. Those in Pō ('some Māori') may have shifted from a zero position (Kore – no Māori) regarding the language to one where they are considering its existence. They may even continue moving across to becoming active in te reo Māori, increasing their level of use of te reo Māori with their tamariki and rangatahi. However, as Higgins and Rewi (2014) point out, these movements can revert to original positions depending on experiences encountered along the way.

Dialects of te reo Māori

Te reo Māori has never been a 'uniform' language as evidenced in the 'many variations' that were recognised in the Treaty, recognising tribal independence and, thus, each tribe's unique character[99]. Dialect provides more detail about the speaker's identity: for example, rohe, iwi and often, also, hapū; as well providing social and kin markers. These dialectal features are reflective of community and a sense of belonging to the culture and society that produced these speakers.

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.

Little systematic study has been done on dialectal variation within te reo Māori[100] '...and most of the information [that is available] is sporadic'[101]. Harlow bemoans 'the absence of good research[102]'. He states 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)[103]'. The main dialects of te reo Māori are identified as being: western, eastern and southern[104]; as well northern and central north island.

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[105]'. Bauer, however, points out that 'the dialects differ most at the lexical and phonetic levels[106]'. Harlow considers that the 'divergent pronunciations and usages [are] to quite an extent exploited as shibboleths, identifying speakers' regional and tribal origins[107]'.

Dialectal and other features are used by historical linguists to trace a language's whakapapa. It has been suggested that dialect features of te reo Moriori and the South Island variety of te reo Māori may show an older dialect of Māori that was comparatively unaspirated. This may hark back to the language of the original settlers of Aotearoa[108], i.e. te whakapapa o te reo Māori.

99 Waitangi Tribunal 2011

100 Bauer 1993, Harlow 2007

101 Bauer 1993: 13

102 Harlow 2007: 44

103 Harlow 2007: 43

104 Harlow 2007

105 Harlow 2007: 44

106 Bauer 1993: 14

107 Harlow 2007: 44

108 Harlow 2007: 134

Assessing proficiency of te reo Māori

How proficiency is defined will affect what is planned and the outcomes achieved. There are multiple ways that te reo Māori speaking is assessed, with the intention of measuring proficiency. 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: 1

Te Taura Whiri has had a 'proficiency framework' for many years that contains five levels of language proficiency with accompanying descriptions for each level against which speakers' proficiency or language ability can be identified[109].

Statistics NZ's national language indicators do not define or measure fluency. Measurements are based on respondents' self-reporting on the languages they can hold an everyday conversation in. Bauer (2008) has taken issue with the method employed by Statistics NZ. She points out that a younger person perhaps in their teens or early 20s might consider themselves to be fluent, but this description could well be quite different to how an older native speaker[110] would determine fluency. In the case of the former, on the basis of findings in this literature review, the younger speaker's te reo is likely to be somewhat heavily influenced by English. The language of the older native speaker is, however, more likely to represent a higher level of competency.

Quality te reo Māori, a hybrid or neo-Māori?

The quality of te reo in all aspects of its revitalisation is critical[111]. Poor te reo is criticised 'in terms of grammar, euphony and pronunciation [for instilling] bad habits in the next generation[112]'. Dr Joe Te Rito comments: 'as a nation of Māori language learners [there is a] lack of quality conversational Māori[113] to listen to and imitate … because teaching has been writing and reading focussed … people need and yearn to be able to converse naturally, not just give speeches or write essays[114]'.

109 Te Taura Whiri nd. Level Finder Examinations.

110 Bauer 2008: 54 & 62.

111 Te Māngai Pāho n.d.

112 Te Rito 2009

113 While Māori television, for example, provides programmes based on modelling conversational Māori that are available via On Demand television, the point Te Rito is making relates to the distinction between formal and informal educational situations. He notes that the former leave little room for ordinary, casual conversation in the target language in these learning environments.

114 Te Rito 2009

The changes occurring in te reo Māori are likely 'the result of changes in New Zealand English (NZE), which is the first language of most second-language learners and their second-language teachers'. The 'noticeable English influence in the syntax of the reo of young fluent speakers … is not present in the older age groups [presumably those born in the 1930s and 1880s as per the MAONZE project[115]]. What the young are speaking fluently is thus closer to an English-Māori hybrid than to traditional Māori' (Bauer 2008: 62). NeSmith (2009), commenting on teachers of the Hawai'ian language in Hawai'i who are 'largely unfamiliar with native-like usage of Hawai'ian … pass on their brand of Hawai'ian to learners, creating what may be considered a new dialect of Hawai'ian, termed Neo-Hawai'ian[116]'. Bauer adds that 'commentators vary considerably in the importance they attach to this English influence[117]'.

Acquiring proficiency

An examination of 'factors that led to proficiency in te reo Māori that could be of use to learners and teachers' and communities could include themes and research projects such as:

- 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[118]'.
- 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? [119]
- To what degree are graduates from any level 'continuing to speak Māori amongst themselves, to other speakers of Māori' and, if old enough, to their children? [120]
- Undertake a systematic study of dialect variation within Māori[121].

115 This project is discussed in more depth in the accompanying literature review and information about it can be accessed in this link **http://homepages.engineering.auckland.ac.nz/~cwat057/MAONZE/MAONZE.html**

116 NeSmith 2002

117 Bauer 2008: 62

118 Ratima and May 2011; Keegan et al. 2011

119 Keegan et al. 2011: 8

120 Keegan 2009

121 Bauer 1993; Harlow 1994; Waitangi Tribunal 1986

Conclusion

The summary noted factors that have direct relevance to planning for language revitalisation that include increasing proficiency. In this respect, it focusses particularly on adults of parenting ages to encourage higher degrees of intergenerational transmission for ongoing language maintenance. Methods identified as working effectively for language revitalisation include, for example: immersion learning environments; Māori-medium education; Māori culture-specific education practices or Māori pedagogy; and broadcasting. The literature suggests that language revitalisation strategies need to avoid practices that inhibit aspects of language development. One aspect looked at, for example, is standardisation and its potential impact on the revitalisation of dialects. It further gives particular attention to those that have the opposite effect, for example, Māori pedagogy and immersion environments.

Language revitalisation is a relatively unknown field that is resource-hungry, incurring high costs; it is also very complex and may take several generations to achieve. Sufficient resource to enable revitalisation at a more substantial rate in the environments identified is necessary, as is identifying where to focus energies and resources and who to target. Government, particularly the education sector, is in a particularly powerful position to positively influence large sections of New Zealand's population as is iwi governance for tribal members. Both bodies (government and iwi governance) are obligated to do this in the civic and community realms. Being seen and heard using te reo Māori would have the most positive effect.

Intergenerational transmission of language in the home and community is an obviously very successful method for language learning. It was identified that this is not occurring at a rate that would bode well for the future of te reo Māori. In addition, linguists have raised concerns about the language's integrity, suggesting it could become a hybrid Māori-English.

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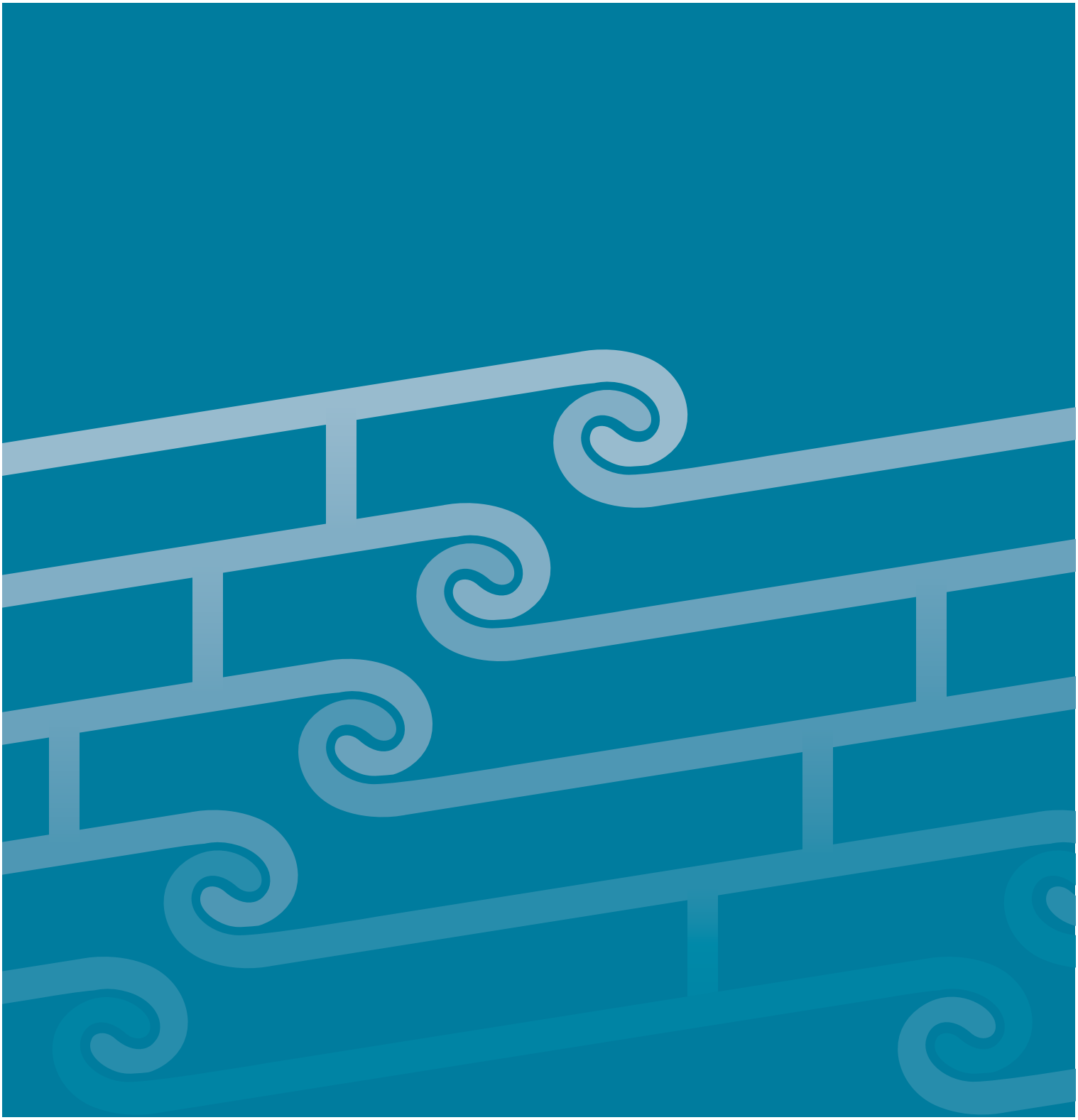
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