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Ko te Whare Whakamana:
Māori Language Revitalisation

Ian Christensen

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ABSTRACT

Efforts to revitalise the Māori language began in earnest with the establishment in 1981 of the first Kōhanga Reo (Māori language pre-school). Since this time, the growth of Māori medium education has been significant, and has also been complemented with language initiatives in broadcasting and the public sector, including government departments. Some iwi (tribes), most notably Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga have also implemented long term strategic plans to secure the health of the language within the tribe. Theories of language revitalisation, however, highlight the importance of re-establishing the inter-generational transmission of the language within homes, something which until recently has received little attention with regard to Māori language.

This thesis backgrounds the position of the Māori language, its linguistic, social, political and economic context for development into the third millenium, and presents a framework for its maintenance and revitalisation. The framework arises from data collected from 1577 participants in the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Baseline Study of Māori households, and interviews conducted with a sub-sample of participants who had identified as having either medium or high fluency in the language. The framework is based on the principles of Mana Māori (Māori control and responsibility), Mana Tangata (personal empowerment), and Tūhonotanga (interconnectedness). The various agents for Māori language revitalisation are identified in the framework, and it is argued that while each agent should focus on revitalisation activities most appropriate to themselves, it is important that activity is linked in some tangible way to the strengthening of Māori language in Māori homes.

PREFACE

The topic in context

The dawning of the third millenium has seen the continued acceleration of two seemingly opposing trends. On the one hand a decline in the diversity of the people, along with the flora and fauna of our planet - the trend toward uniformity and sameness across nations and cultures. Opposing this is the unprecedented interest and struggle, in particular amongst indigenous peoples, to retain their uniqueness. Some of the more enlightened nations are responding in a positive light and have moved to celebrate the diversity and difference exhibited amongst their peoples. In other nations, continual strife and warfare has resulted, with the majority unwilling to share power and resources with minorities, and recognise cultural difference as a nation-strengthening phenomenon. The maintenance of the languages of the world's indigenous and minority peoples is located within this wider struggle. Of the 6000 languages at present spoken throughout the world, it is estimated that only half will still be spoken one hundred years hence (Swerdlow 1999). The process of deliberately planning to revitalise or maintain a language in decline or a language spoken by a minority is a relatively new area of human endeavour, and there can be no doubt, that left to the vicissitudes of time, and the impact of global telecommunications, mass media, and economic imperatives, minority languages will cease to be spoken. Planning is essential, along with the prioritising of goals and resources; however success is ultimately dependant upon the enthusiasm, support, and dedication of the people to whom the particular language belongs. Theory and action go hand in hand. Theories of reversing language shift will be to no avail if they do not inform action, if they do not take account of the human circumstances

surrounding each language. Action will also be wasted if it is not subject to consideration, study, and critical reflection.

While this thesis is a contribution to the academic field of reversing language shift, more importantly it aims to inform the particular struggle in Aotearoa New Zealand to ensure that the language and culture that belong to these shores continues well into the next millenium. The ideas presented are informed by the experiences of people in communities struggling in this generation to ensure that the Māori language returns to a natural state of existence where it is self reproducing. The struggle to retain the Māori language is part of the wider context of Māori development and endeavour toward self determination.

The name for the thesis 'Ko te Whare Whakamana' comes from a waiata (song) composed by one of the author's teachers and mentors, the late John Tapiata. As the Head of Māori Studies at Palmerston North College of Education in the 1970's, John was responsible for lifting the status, use, and proficiency levels of Māori within the college and wider community. The song was composed in anticipation of establishing a Meeting House on the college campus. Using the phrase as the title for this thesis likens the language to the house. Literally, it is a place of prestige, status and authority, however, beyond the literal meaning, the house is a place of human interaction, a place where the human values of caring and hospitality are uppermost. It is vibrant, and has energy, it is a place for the expression of all human emotions. It is a place of wisdom, of learning, nurturing and knowledge. The fact that the song was composed in anticipation (about

five years before the house was actually built), is an indication of John's optimism for the future, his ability to look ahead, to plan strategically, and above all his dedication, enthusiasm and hard work to achieve his goals. While the song is short, it welcomes people to the house, and asks that they also look after and cherish the house as a treasure.

Anei te rōpū ākongā
e mihi atu nei ki a koutou e te iwi nau mai.
Manaakitia mai
ko te taonga nui e
ko te Whare Whakamana i a tātou.

Welcome to Te Whare Whakamana: Māori language revitalisation.

Literary Style

This thesis has been written in both Māori and English. The nature of the topic dictated that it be written in Māori, in order that the language issues discussed be understood through the language itself. It is also able to contribute to a small but growing body of academic discourse written in Māori, and therefore further encourage the use of Māori in this domain. It was written in English in order that it be accessible to a wider number of people working locally in Māori language initiatives, and to the international community which has shown a growing interest in the progress being made with regard to Māori language. While the aim was to write in Māori first, and subsequently interpret into English, this proved to be rather difficult as the vast majority of articles and texts that were consulted, along with the majority of discussions held with colleagues were in

English – the writing therefore flowed more easily in English. Because of this difficulty, only one chapter was written in Māori first and subsequently interpreted in English. The Māori and English versions are not word for word translations, rather an attempt has been made to represent the ideas in both languages.

In the English version many Māori words are used with some frequency. These words are those which have achieved general acceptance within the context of discussing Māori issues in English. Indeed, it would be difficult to write a Māori Studies thesis in English without licence to use these words freely. The convention that has been followed is to translate the word (in brackets after the word) the first time it is used in the thesis. Thereafter it is not translated, however a full glossary of the Māori terms used is provided. When using a quote from a Māori language source, the original has been included, and is immediately followed by the author's interpretation.

In the Māori language version, quotes that have been taken from an English language source have been interpreted by the author, and written in Māori in the text of the thesis. The original English quote is reproduced as an endnote to each chapter. It is hoped that this will ensure an uninterrupted flow for the Māori language reader, as well as access to the original. Judgement will also be able to be made with regard to the author's interpretation of the original.

In both versions, a different font has been used when reproducing the voices of the informants and participants in the study. This allows an easy distinction to be made between this and the academic quotes taken from journals, texts and other sources.

The orthographic conventions published by the Māori Language Commission for written Māori have been followed, including the use of the macron to indicate vowel length.

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to all those who have provided nurturing and encouragement in my involvement in kaupapa Māori (Māori initiatives). In particular, this thesis is dedicated to John Tapiata a teacher and mentor who sowed a seed in a young mind and heart, which has grown over a period of some 25 years, resulting in this work.

Secondly, acknowledgements are given to all the participants in the Te Hoe Nuku Roa study - your willingness to participate and share your stories has ensured that the ideas discussed in the thesis are grounded in the real experiences of the people. I hope that my ears, my heart, and my mind have been open to receive all that you have talked about, and that my analysis and presentation conveys the full importance of your stories.

To my colleagues in the School of Māori Studies at Massey University who have provided a sounding board for ideas, and have also asked the challenging questions that are necessary to ensure rigour. You have also kept my feet on the ground, and made sure

that I did not lose touch with the real world. In particular, I acknowledge the late Pare Richardson for her example, her counsel, and her wise, insightful comments. During the later part of the writing, Darryn Joseph has provided invaluable feedback and motivation. I am indebted to the Te Hoe Nuku Roa research team, and in particular Eljon Fitzgerald for the collegial approach taken to what has grown to become a very significant project in Māori social research. Thanks also to Margaret Forster for assistance with generating the data.

Indiana Hotereni and Piripi Hita were involved in the interviews conducted as part of the Language Cohort Study, and their empathy with the participants, and the sensitive and efficient way in which they undertook their work is acknowledged.

To my supervisors, Professor Mason Durie, and Dr Cynthia White. Your red pens have been insightful and always positive. You have provided the grounding upon which I have developed some skill and confidence as a researcher. You have been patient when my work has missed deadlines, or when I have taken time to understand the reasons for your comments. In particular to you Mason for your quiet encouragement in all aspects of my professional life, the trust you have shown in me, and the freedom provided to pursue the academic side of a kaupapa that is first and foremost held in the heart. Your leadership of the School of Māori Studies has been an inspiration, and I am privileged to have worked with you.

Finally to my family, to Bud and our children, Rosie, Lisa and Tama, for your unending patience, love and continued support for a partner and father, even when he has been lost in his work, or tired and neglectful of other duties. You and our unborn grandchildren have provided the necessary inspiration when the going was tough.

To all those mentioned above and others too numerous to mention, I hope that my work does justice to the time and energy that you have given me. If there are aspects of benefit that arise from this thesis, they are yours. If there are faults, they are mine and mine alone.

Ian Christensen,

Matariki 2001.

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Chapter One

Introduction

- 1.1 Introduction to topic
- 1.2 Introduction to Researcher
- 1.3 Research Questions
- 1.4 Outline of Thesis

1.1 Introduction to topic

More than two hundred years ago, Samuel Johnson lamented ‘I am always sorry when any language is lost, because languages are the pedigree of nations’ (see Boswell 1958). More recently the former Māori Language Commissioner, Professor Timoti Kāretu interpreted language as akin to the pedigree of people.

For me, language is central to my mana [prestige, power, authority]. Without it could I still claim to be Māori? I do not think so for it is the language which has given me what mana I have and it is the only thing which differentiates me from anyone else. I have been mistaken for many other nationalities - even here in Aotearoa [New Zealand] - but what makes me Māori apart from the blood of my Māori ancestors which courses through my veins, is my language, the key to the song, proverb, legend, philosophy and rhetoric of my Māori world. (Kāretu 1990a:19)

This thesis is about the revitalisation of the Māori language, and these two comments are central to the fundamental reasons that make the revitalisation of the language critically important. Applied to Aotearoa New Zealand, Johnson’s observation that language is the ‘pedigree of nations’ is about ‘mana Māori’, the status and vitality of

Māori as tangata whenua (indigenous people), Māori culture and values, Māori understandings of the world and ways of interacting with the environment and people, Māori aspirations, and Māori advancement. Kāretu's comment essentially concerns 'mana tangata', the identity, the self-esteem, the belongingness of Māori individuals, and their connections with the physical, cultural and social environment of their country.

The 1975 land march from Cape Reinga to Wellington was a watershed in terms of galvanising Māori focus on the issues that were crucial to Māori survival and advancement as a people. Significantly cultural issues were to the fore along with the more pragmatic concerns of land, economic development, the settling of claims resulting from historical breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi, social equity, and constitutional relationships with the Crown. These issues have continued to be the main focus of Māori activity, debate, research, protest, litigation and policy-making through to the third millennium. However, Chief Judge E.T. Durie signals the importance of language and culture in relationship to the other issues when commenting on the increasing number of Māori graduates available to undertake the many important roles necessary for Māori development.

It may also be that some of the emerging group may be skilled in the arts of their discipline, but, from a limited urban experience, and not skilled in the ethic of their ancestors. It may be useful to be reminded then that what Māori are on about is not growth for growth's sake, but for cultural survival. It would therefore appear important, in harnessing the skills of the new Māori technocrats, that the leadership and direction should remain with those who have developed from out of the people, and who share a commitment to the important cultural values that have sustained past

generations. There is not much point to an efficient Māori organisation if it lacks a Māori heart. (1995:19)

Kāretu's point is that the fundamental base to the 'Māori heart' referred to by Durie must be the language, the unique forms of expression which facilitate the communication of Māori thoughts, ideas, values and ways of looking at and understanding the world. In looking to the future of the language, Selwyn Muru describes the prospect of a marae 'denuded of its own tongue as a tragedy beyond comprehension' (Muru 1990:26).

This thesis is about securing the health of the language for future generations. It presents an argument based on research, for a planned and coordinated approach to ensuring that there are significant numbers of Māori people who speak Māori proficiently, who have the opportunity to use their language in a variety of different domains and choose to do so especially in the home and in community contexts thereby providing the base for intergenerational transmission of the language.

1.2 Introduction to Researcher

I am a Pākehā teacher and researcher who has been involved in Māori language education for some 20 years. My personal experiences both as a learner and teacher of Māori have been able to inform and enrich this thesis, and indeed prompted the questioning that led me to undertake the research in the first instance. I began learning Māori language in the mid seventies, and later became a teacher of Māori as a second language in English medium, bilingual and Māori immersion programmes at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels.

In particular during the mid and later stages of my teaching career I began to ask myself many questions about how curriculum objectives and Māori language qualifications in the school sector linked to the broader aim of Māori language revitalisation. How proficient were my students becoming? Were they going on to higher level courses or developing greater proficiency in other ways? Were they developing learning strategies that would help them to acquire the language aurally? Were they using the language they were learning, in which domains and with whom? What opportunities did they have for this? As second language learners, how ‘authentic’ was their language in the ears of the native speaker? Was my teaching making any contribution to the revitalisation of the language or was I along with others engaged in ‘fighting a losing battle’? And so on.

This questioning, discussions with colleagues, and the opportunity to read about such issues, along with a growing involvement, belief and confidence in research as an activity that could help provide answers has led me to undertake this thesis.

1.3 Research Questions

The primary hypothesis tested in this thesis is that if Māori is to survive as a secure language used naturally as a means of communication in a range of different domains, multiple approaches will be required across personal, educational and socio-political spectrums. In turn, three questions form the basis of the study:

1. What are the macro-level influences on Māori language decline, revitalisation, maintenance and transmission?

2. Who are the various agents for Māori language revitalisation, what are the contributions of each, and how are they interrelated?
3. What are the micro-level influences on an individual's proficiency, and their choice to use Māori language or not in various situations?

The first question recognises that the health of a language is closely connected and dependent on the socio-economic, historical and political realities within which a language group exists. The context for revitalising the Māori language relates to the social, cultural, economic and political restructuring that has taken place in New Zealand and throughout the world. For two hundred years or more, the general discourse which has led to the marginalisation of Māori language and culture, and the consolidation of power relationships between Māori and Pākehā has tended to emphasise the importance of cultural and linguistic homogeneity in order to facilitate progress and development. More recently however, the discourse of indigenous peoples which is rooted in their dislocation and colonisation, has begun to be heard more rigorously, in a wider range of forums, and receive broader acceptance. The historical context, the changing contemporary landscape, the redressing of the relationship between the coloniser and colonised, the trend toward globalisation and homogeneity on the one hand, and the growing recognition of the importance of diversity and human capital on the other, form the backdrop and context for Māori language revitalisation, maintenance and transmission.

The second question recognises that the revitalisation of a language is a planned and purposeful endeavor. It will not happen unless people make deliberate attempts to revitalise a language in decline, and any such attempts are likely to be more successful if they are planned, and based on principles that take into account the contextual backdrop

in which the language exists. With regard to the Māori language it can be argued that there are a number of agents which have some responsibility to the language, and in order to maximise the benefits that accrue for the language it is important to ensure that each agent takes on the role that is most appropriately theirs, and that there is some degree of coordination and understanding between agents. Joshua Fishman, one of the world's foremost sociolinguists and a founding father of the discipline is one who has suggested 'a more rational, systematic approach to what has hitherto been a primarily emotion-laden 'lets try everything we possibly can and perhaps something will work type of dedication' (1991:1).

The third research question probes to the heart of language revitalisation and concerns the actual use of the language by individuals in various domains with various interlocutors for different purposes. This generation of Māori language speakers, (and most probably the next), are largely second language learners of their heritage language. A crucial step in restoring the health of the language over time is for this generation to transform their 'learnt' language to a language that is transferred naturally to the next generation. This requires challenging and breaking the accepted norms of English language usage, the 'habit' of speaking English in various situations, particularly in homes and communities with children. These situations form what Fishman (1991) has called the 'nexus' of intergenerational transmission. There are many factors which influence the choice an individual makes to use Māori language in a particular situation or not, whether that person be a fluent native speaker or a second language learner. An understanding of these factors will be able to inform the development of policy aimed at removing the barriers and difficulties individuals experience with regard to using Māori language.

A major source of information in the investigation of these questions was the Te Hoe Nuku Roa study of Māori households. Te Hoe Nuku Roa is a research programme which started in 1994, and is being conducted through The School of Māori Studies at Massey University. A baseline study of some 700 Māori households across four regions in the North Island has provided quantitative information about households and their members on aspects related to Māori language, as well as other social determinants such as health, education, income and lifestyle. Qualitative information about the micro-level influences on language was gained from a further cohort study of 40 Te Hoe Nuku Roa participants who had self identified as having medium to high fluency in the language. It is the Cohort Study which provides the empirical data for this thesis.

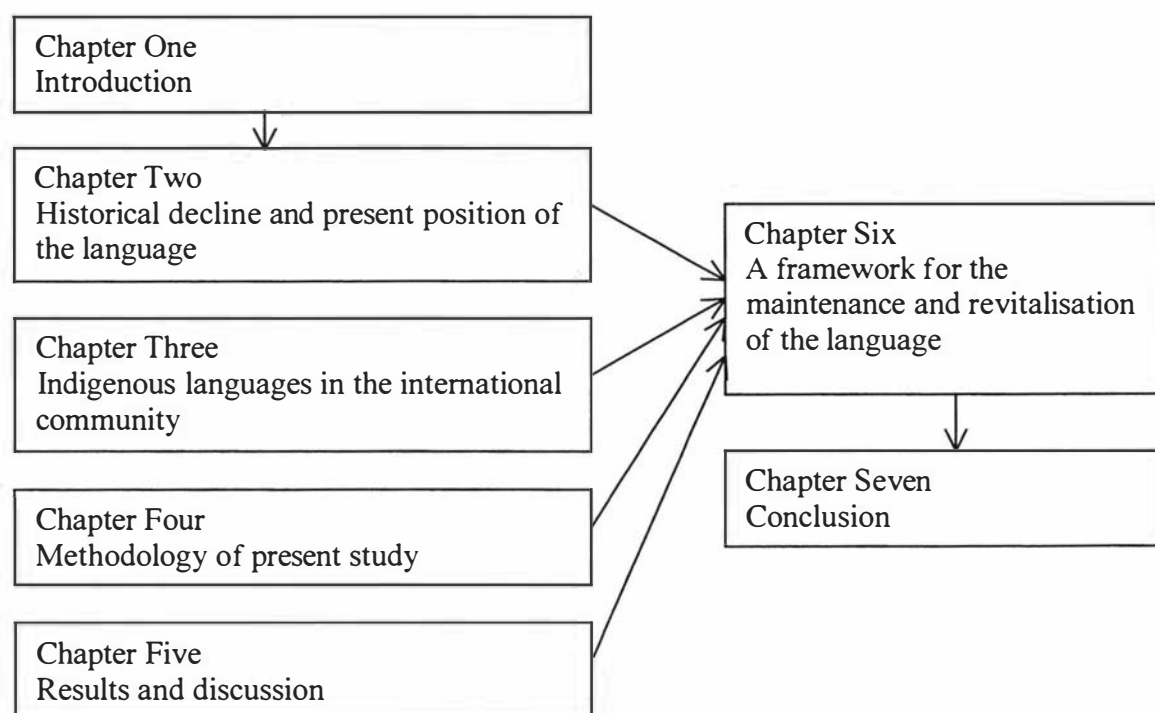
Further information was gained from a study of other indigenous languages and the particular challenges that are being faced within the political, historical, social, linguistic and economic contexts of their communities. Other studies and surveys on the Māori language that have been conducted in the recent past have also provided valuable information for analysis.

1.4 Outline of Thesis

The chapters are based on the premise that rational and systematically planned efforts to revitalise the Māori language are necessary, and that such efforts will be initiated and carried out through a variety of different agents, including individuals, families, extended families, Māori community agencies such as marae (Māori community complex), Kōhanga Reo (Māori language pre-school) and Kura Kaupapa Māori (Māori language immersion schools based on Māori values and pedagogy), tribal and urban Māori authorities, community organisations and service providers such as schools,

libraries and health centres, agencies of the state such as government departments, and private enterprise. The health of the language will depend on the decisions made, and actions taken (or not taken), either explicitly or implicitly by these agents with regard to such things as language use and proficiency. Language revitalisation requires conscious decisions to be made based on focussed, reliable and up to date information. Each chapter attempts to add a layer of understanding that will inform decision making with regard to language planning and policy making by the agents. An overview of the thesis is presented in Figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1 An overview of the thesis



Chapter Two outlines the decline in Māori language and the reasons for this. Rather than simply reproduce an account of the decline which is already well documented (see for example Benton 1981), the approach taken is to discuss the decline with regard to the three generally accepted areas for language planning (see Cooper 1989): language

corpus, language status, and language acquisition. In this way it is hoped that a closer relationship may become apparent between things that influence language decline, and those that inform and influence language revitalisation. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the present position of the Māori language as reflected in the macro type surveys that have been undertaken recently - Census 1996 where for the first time a 'language proficiency' type question was included, the National Māori Language Survey completed in 1995 by the Māori Language Commission, and the survey conducted by The New Zealand Council for Educational Research in the 1970's. Data from the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Baseline Study of Māori households undertaken by the School of Māori Studies at Massey University is also presented.

Chapter Three investigates the types of revitalisation initiatives that have been undertaken with respect to other indigenous and minority languages, in particular (although not exclusively) the Irish, Catalan, and Navajo languages, and Pacific Island languages in New Zealand. The relative success of these initiatives, and the similarities and differences with regard to the context for Māori language revitalisation are discussed.

One of the key themes which emerged from the research was the need to ensure that Māori language is used as a means of communication in the private domains of the home, whānau (family/extended family), and community networks in order to restore the language to health. However it is impossible to regulate for Māori language use in the private domain, or for external agencies to impose particular policies, and therefore this is the area which has attracted the least focus by planners and policy makers. Chapter Four reports on the methodology used in the Te Hoe Nuku Roa research programme, and in particular focuses on the Cohort Study of forty participants who had

self assessed as having medium to high level proficiency in the language. In-depth discussions were held with these participants, and the information analysed in order to provide a micro level understanding of the myriad influences on Māori language use at a personal level.

The Cohort Study recognises the limited use that macro type surveys have on their own as a basis for developing focussed Māori language policies. Such surveys give indications of the number of people who can speak Māori at various levels of proficiency, according to their self assessments. However in order to improve the situation, policies need to be informed by the intricacies of micro level influences on why people find it difficult to develop and grow their proficiency, or why an individual chooses to use or not to use Māori in given situations. Macro information on Māori language coming from the 1995 National Māori Language Survey or the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Baseline Study pose a number of further complex questions that need to be investigated qualitatively, in order to inform and focus Māori language policies from a richer and contextually located base of knowledge and understanding.

Chapter Five discusses the results from the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Cohort Study, as well as integrating data from the Baseline Study. Key themes are highlighted and analysed with respect to their influence on Māori language proficiency, Māori language use, Māori language shift, access to Māori language as well as attitude toward Māori language. These themes inform the development of a framework for revitalisation which is presented and discussed in Chapter Six.

Chapter Six begins by examining in more detail the context or backdrop for Māori language revitalisation, with regard to the socio-economic, political, educational,

demographic and linguistic realities of Māori society. Insights and understandings gained from the previous chapters are woven together and a framework for the revitalisation and maintenance of Māori language is presented. The framework conceptualises the range of revitalisation activity that is needed, and the inter-relationship between the various agents that might undertake such activity.

Chapter Seven is the concluding chapter. The various threads are drawn together and the significance of the thesis is discussed with regard to its contribution to the methodology of Māori language socio-linguistic study, and both the theory and practice of Māori language revitalisation.

Muru has discussed the healing potential of the Māori language, in particular the kaumātua's (elder's) pōwhiri:

“Haere mai rā kia pā mai koe ki au, kia pā atu au ki a koe. Kia rongo au i tōu mahana, kia rongo koe i tōku mahana. Kia kai tahi, kia moe tahi, kia tangi tahi, kia karakia tahi, kia kata tahi ai tātou ...”

(Welcome that you may touch me and I touch you. So that I may feel your warmth; and you feel mine. So that we can eat together, talk together; weep, pray and laugh together.) (1990:106)

It is with this in mind that the author bids welcome to his readers, and hopes that in some small way this thesis will contribute to the healing of this powerful and precious language, as a treasure for coming generations.

Chapter Two

The historical decline and present position of the Māori language

- 2.1 Introduction.
- 2.2 Māori language status: maintenance, decline and revitalisation.
- 2.3 Māori language corpus: development, recession and revitalisation.
 - 2.3.1 Lexical decline and development.
 - 2.3.2 Syntactical change.
- 2.4 Māori language acquisition: maintenance, interruption and revitalisation.
 - 2.4.1 Māori language learning.
- 2.5 The present position of the Māori language.
- 2.6 Summary.

2.1 Introduction

Māori are the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand, having migrated from Eastern Polynesia over a period of time some 800 -1100 years ago. Oral texts refer to the Māori homeland of origin as Hawaiki, which is almost certainly located in Eastern Polynesia in the vicinity of Tahiti and the Society Islands. This group of islands was settled around the fifth century, and was the centre from which various groups subsequently dispersed to other parts of the Pacific, taking with them a common language (see Buck 1954, Tregear 1893). While the language developed in different ways in response to the different environments that were encountered, the geographically dispersed Polynesian languages all have phonological, lexical and syntactic commonalities.

Māori language enjoyed an uninterrupted interval as the only language spoken in the country until coming into contact with mainly English and some other European languages through the arrival of settlers and traders from Europe in the late 1700's and early 1800's. During this uninterrupted period, the language brought by the Polynesian settlers changed and developed to become in time, the Māori language of Aotearoa New Zealand, able to express what Polk (1970) has called 'the genius of (Māori) nationhood' (Fishman 1989:97), able to encapsulate and describe the culture that developed, and the new environment that was encountered.

At the time of first contact, around 1800, it was impossible for Māori to foresee the rapid decline of the language that was soon to begin in the second half of the nineteenth century. Initially there was no reason to think that a new language spoken by a relatively small number of explorers, traders and settlers from Europe could pose any threat to the continued viability of the dialects of the Māori language that were the medium of communication, ceremony, trade and commerce, matters spiritual and political used in the valleys and districts of Māori settlements throughout Aotearoa. Indeed, the early European settlers and missionaries were quick to learn the language and to use it in their encounters with Māori.

That the decline did occur, that it was rapid, that the reasons for it were similar to those which caused the decline (and in many cases death) of other indigenous languages throughout the world is well documented. The first part of this chapter outlines the decline by reference to the three generally accepted areas of focus for language planners: language status, language corpus and language acquisition, as identified in Cooper 1989. It is argued that the decline of the Māori language was a result of both deliberate planning and as a consequence of historical events which served to undermine its status,

corpus and acquisition. Recent progress and efforts to advance the status, corpus and acquisition of the language are also discussed.

The status of a language is reflected in its actual use in the community across the range of functions in which language is generally used. It is influenced by either deliberate or planned attempts to change the 'allocation of functions amongst a community's languages' (Cooper, 1989:99), or as a consequence of the changing political, social and economic circumstances of the community.

Language corpus refers to the nuts and bolts of a language - the lexical and syntactic items that combine together to form a system of communication. Included in that system are the forms of everyday communication (both written and oral), and also the colloquial, idiomatic, poetic and ceremonial expressions that give a language its uniqueness, vitality and integrity. There is something more to the corpus of a language than a mere assembly of words and grammatical rules. Cooper makes the comparison with architecture, and cites a famous American architect Louis Henri Sullivan who believed that 'an authentic style is a natural expression of the civilisation in which it is rooted' (1989:122). As with the status of a language, a corpus can be planned (for example a system of spelling, or new items of vocabulary for technological or scientific developments), or can occur as a result of contact with another language. It is reflected in how people use a language across its range of functions.

The acquisition of a language is largely an outcome of its ascribed status in the community. If it is used in a variety of community settings particularly in homes, if it is taught in schools, it will be acquired or learnt. The way a language is acquired therefore is a reflection of its status in the community, and the political, social and economic

context in which it exists. A language that is acquired through exposure to its use in homes and community settings may reflect a 'self contained' language community, secure in its own identity, and in control of its own destiny. If that language is taught in schools to native speaking children, then this may indicate a degree of political autonomy or influence. Taught as a second language, it may be a reflection of some political influence but also a comparatively low status in view of the fact it is not used by significant numbers of people in the community, thereby allowing for natural acquisition to occur.

The second part of the chapter summarises the present position of the language through recourse to the macro type surveys that have been undertaken in recent years, in particular, the 1996 census which included for the first time a question on languages spoken, the 1995 National Māori Language Survey conducted by the Māori Language Commission, the Te Hoe Nuku Roa baseline study of Māori households undertaken by the School of Māori Studies at Massey University, and the New Zealand Council for Educational Research survey conducted in the late 1970's.

2.2 Māori language status: maintenance, decline and revitalisation.

The Treaty of Waitangi signed in 1840 between Māori tribes and a representative of Queen Victoria, was an attempt to formalise the relationship between Māori and the British Crown, and to spell out in broad terms, the expectations that the parties might have in relationship to the other. At this time, Māori outnumbered European by some fifty to one - the Māori population estimated as being somewhere between 100,000 and 200,000, and that of the European some 2000 (see Pool 1971, Adams 1977). No threat was posed or foreseen to the status and position of the Māori language by the presence

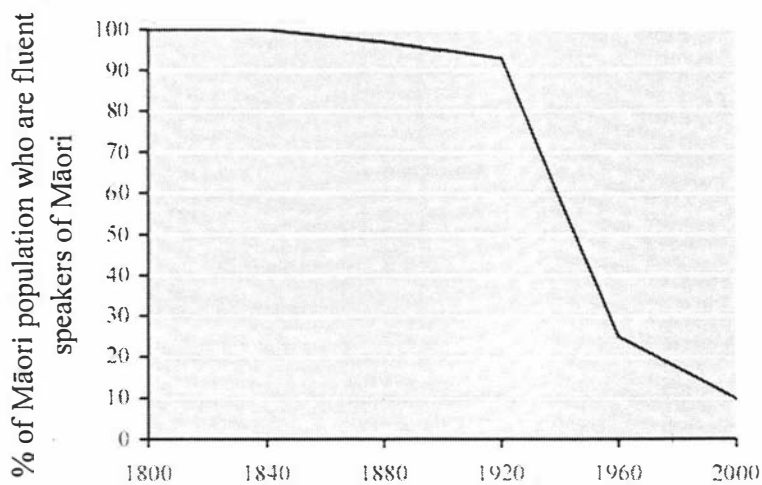
of a new language - schools established by the missionaries used Māori as the medium of instruction (albeit with the intention to convert Māori to the Christian faith); Māori were quick to become literate in their own language; and it was beneficial for European immigrants to learn Māori in order to survive in a new and often harsh environment.

However, the signing of the Treaty, and the subsequent provision for a settler government in 1852 opened the door for a period of increased European immigration so rapid, that soon Māori were outnumbered by five to one. In 1871, Europeans numbered some 256,393, and the Māori population had declined to just 45,470. (Pool 1971:237). In a short time, the relationship between the two languages had been completely reversed. English had become the dominant language of the country - the language of government, law, commerce and education. There was now little motivation for European immigrants to learn Māori, as their survival no longer depended on their ability to communicate with Māori people. On the other hand, Māori found themselves compelled to learn English at school. The Native Schools Act passed in 1867 decreed that English was to be the language of instruction in all schools (see Barrington 1966). and they were also confronted with English quickly becoming the status language of Government and courts of law in their own land.

From this point, the decline of the language was rapid, and followed patterns similar to those of other indigenous languages throughout the world whose people were subjected to the upheaval of colonisation. The decline can be illustrated by estimating the number of proficient speakers of the language over time, and is represented graphically in Figure 2.1. Figures are based on the first Māori language survey conducted by Dr Richard Benton in 1978, the national Māori language survey undertaken by the Māori Language Commission in 1995, and the Te Hoe Nuku Roa baseline survey of Māori households

conducted by the School of Māori Studies at Massey University between 1995 and 1997. For the years prior to these surveys, estimates of the numbers of speakers of Māori have been based on reports from school inspectors and language experts (see Benton 1979; Benton 1981; Waitangi Tribunal 1986).

Figure 2.1 The decline of the Māori language 1800 - 2000.



Major reasons for the decline in the status of the language are listed below and discussed further as the Chapter progresses.

- i) Loss of political power resulting in oppression of the language through statute (e.g. Native Schools Act 1867, Tohunga (Expert Spiritual Leader) Suppression Act 1907);
- ii) Discrimination against the language in matters of public policy (e.g. education and broadcasting);
- iii) Commonly held beliefs about Māori language and bilingualism (e.g. that Māori was an inferior language because it had no literary tradition, that bilingualism was cognitively disadvantageous for children);

- iv) Widespread negative attitudes toward Māori language;
- v) Rapid urbanisation of the Māori population following the Second World War, removing parents and children from the linguistic and cultural influence of the grandparent generation and Māori institutions such as marae. The Māori Affairs Department of the time had a policy of 'pepper potting' Māori families on arrival in the cities - placing them in houses amongst Pākehā neighbours, ensuring that initially at least, communities that were Māori in orientation were not able to be established thereby mitigating against the maintenance of the Māori language;
- vi) The pervasive influence of the English language popular media, especially television and its power to influence fashion, trend and lifestyle.

The catch cry of the early part of the twentieth century was to seek the knowledge of the Pākehā; therein lay the salvation for Māori people, the pathway toward a better future. Such messages were broadcast by Māori and Pākehā leaders alike, through various agencies such as schools, churches, youth groups, family support services, targeting the material, spiritual, social and cognitive wellbeing of Māori. However, by the 1970's it was becoming more and more apparent that the much-heralded benefits of Western civilisation were not being enjoyed equitably by Māori people. This, coupled with the growing realisation, especially by Māori living in urban areas (and by this stage some were second and third generation urban dwellers), that Māori language and culture was of critical intrinsic and affective importance. The decline by this stage was so entrenched that some even had difficulty laying the dead to rest with dignity and in accordance with Māori custom. Māori remained physically identifiable as Māori but a large majority had lost understandings of cultural beliefs and practices, had become removed from living arrangements which allowed extended families to operate as economic and social units, and had lost the language which enabled communication and

interaction with the world as Māori. In later years such cultural dispossession was to be identified as a major cause of Māori mental ill health (see for example Durie 1998b, Maxwell & Morris 1999).

This then was the backdrop to what has been called the Māori renaissance. By the 1960's and early 70's there were a significant number of Māori who had attained positions within the bureaucracy, and to a lesser extent the professions, such as teaching, by dint of their success in the education system. Many of these people had been brought up in rural areas, and had therefore been socialised into the ethic, cultural values, and language of the Māori community. Positions in the education sector were targeted as it was believed that education could provide the dual panacea of improving the position of Māori people within New Zealand society generally, and of also helping to reverse the decline of Māori language and culture. These people worked tirelessly, often at the expense of their own health, and in institutions that were often racist and orientated toward maintaining the status quo of power relationships between Māori and Pākehā. John Tapiata was appointed as the first head of a Māori Studies Department at a teachers training college in 1973, and in spite of the fact that he was in constant conflict with the norms, values and operation of the institution, he was successful in developing a unique Māori approach to teacher education (see Goulton-Fitzgerald and Christensen, 1996). Many others were able to make similar contributions in different areas of society.

At the same time there was growing political unrest and protest with regard to Māori alienation from lands and resources, historical injustice, and continuing inequality in enjoying the benefits of a contemporary New Zealand lifestyle. This unrest led to the

1975 land march from Cape Reinga to Wellington, which captured widespread support from Māoridom along with a small representation of liberal minded Pākehā.

There was a response from the government which in hindsight might be viewed as largely tokenistic in nature. However it was important in terms of providing a starting point for later and more focussed developments. In 1974 the Māori Affairs Act was amended to officially recognise Māori as 'the ancestral language' of Māori people, but went no further in requiring any sort of affirmative or positive action. In the education sector 'taha Māori' programmes were established in primary schools which allowed for a short time each week to be devoted to teaching Māori arts and crafts, rudimentary language skills such as greetings and commands, and action songs to all children, Māori and Pākehā alike. While such a move failed to offer any substantial support to reverse the decline of the language, and while it also created problems from a Māori perspective of ensuring that what was included in the curriculum was authentic, it did however represent a 'foot in the door', a platform from which further developments such as the need for more and better qualified teachers, bilingual and immersion education could be argued.

While efforts to reverse the decline of Māori language have been focussed largely on the education sector, this has not occurred in a vacuum. Rather it has been accompanied and closely tied to a growing movement toward Māori nationalism which has also been manifest in other areas such as litigation, protest, broadcasting, economic development, and the settlement of historical injustices arising from breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi. With respect to the language, the case brought before the Waitangi Tribunal by Huirangi Waikerepuru and Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo in 1986 was of critical importance. The Tribunal found that because of the Treaty of Waitangi, the Crown had

an obligation to actively protect the language and that historically its actions (or inaction) with regard to the language had been in breach of this obligation, and had therefore been instrumental in its decline. An important factor in the Tribunal's decision was their finding (based on evidence from Māori language experts) that the language was a taonga (treasure), and therefore guaranteed protection under Article Two.

The Tribunal made five recommendations to the Crown:

- i) that legislation be introduced enabling any person who wishes to do so to use the Māori language in all Courts of law and in any dealings with Government Departments, local authorities and other public bodies;
- ii) that a supervising body be established by statute to supervise and foster the use of the Māori language;
- iii) that an enquiry be instituted forthwith into the way Māori children are educated including particular reference to the changes in current departmental policies which may be necessary to ensure that all children who wish to learn Māori should be able to do so from an early stage in the educational process in circumstances most beneficial to them and with financial support from the State;
- iv) that in the formulation of broadcasting policy regard be had to this finding that the Treaty of Waitangi obliges the Crown to recognise and protect the Māori language, and that the Broadcasting Act 1976 (section 20) enables this to be done so far as broadcasting is concerned;
- v) that amendments be made to the State Services Act 1962 and the State Services Conditions of Employment Act 1977 to make provision for bilingualism in Māori and English to be a prerequisite for appointment

to such positions as the State Services Commission deems necessary or desirable (Waitangi Tribunal Report 1986:51).

Crown action has been variable in terms of achieving full implementation of the recommendations. For example, the right to use Māori has been achieved with respect to some Courts, but not with Government Departments and other public bodies. Furthermore, if a person does choose to use Māori in Court, it is the interpreter's translation that is written as the official record of what is said. It can be argued that although progress has been it is much less than envisaged by the Tribunal.

Official recognition must be seen to be real and significant which means that those who want to use our official language on any public occasion or when dealing with any public authority ought to be able to do so. To recognise Māori officially is one thing, to enable its use widely is another thing altogether. There must be more than just the right to use it in Courts. There must also be the right to use it with any department or local body if official recognition is to be *real*, recognition, and not mere tokenism. (Waitangi Tribunal Report 1986:47)

However, the claim and the Tribunal's finding have provided a legal platform from which to argue for greater recognition of the language. From the outset, the importance of broadcasting was recognised by those pursuing the goal of Māori language revitalisation. Arguments centred around the functions of language transmission (the ability of broadcasting to get inside Māori homes and work places); language status (the ability of broadcasting and in particular television to be influential); social unification (the ability of broadcasting and in particular iwi radio, to unite people); and language acquisition (the ability of broadcasting to assist in acquisition of the language, in

particular new items of vocabulary, and aspects in decline such as kīwaha (colloquial expressions) and whakataukī (proverb).

Subsequent to the Waitangi Tribunal's finding, there have been 13 instances where Māori have taken legal action to argue that the Crown has failed to meet its obligations and responsibilities with respect to broadcasting.

Māori have argued that radio and television broadcasting has the potential to play a substantial role in advancing the status of the language. Piripi Walker, a central figure in Māori broadcasting over the previous two decades has likened television to 'te ūkaipō', the sustenance of the present generation (Walker 1995). He argues that it has the potential to provide some of the linguistic nourishment to children that cannot be provided by the majority of the present generation of Māori parents. In order to achieve this Māori have consistently argued for sufficient funding for quality programming to be broadcast firstly through a network of iwi radio stations sufficient to cover the whole country; secondly through a separate national Māori language television station; and thirdly through a quota of Māori language broadcasting on mainstream radio and television some of which would be in prime time. Furthermore it has been argued that funding would need to be ongoing until such time that a sufficient number of Māori language listeners and viewers has been established in order to provide a basis for earning revenue from advertising. This again highlights the Crown's unwillingness to provide the level of resourcing necessary to make substantial inroads to reversing the decline of the language, and appropriate in terms of compensating for historical injustices against the language. While the Crown has accepted that it has a responsibility to protect the Māori language through broadcasting, repeated petitioning

in the judicial and political arenas has been necessary in order to force the Crown into providing some level of resourcing.

Gorman (1973:73) has defined language status planning as 'authoritative decisions to maintain, extend, or restrict the range of uses (functional range) of a language in particular settings'. The discussion in this section clearly shows that 'authoritative decisions' were made by those in power in order to restrict the use of Māori language. Māori became a language prohibited from all areas of New Zealand society apart from the domains of Māori control such as the home and marae. Furthermore, the influence of such official restriction had a flow on effect to the use of Māori in private domains to a point where Māori themselves either made an 'authoritative decision' to stop using Māori in such domains (with the exception perhaps of Māori for ceremonial use on marae), or its non-usage became a natural consequence of language decline in the public sector over a period of generations.

It is equally clear that attempts to revitalise the language have involved taking 'authoritative decisions' to reinstate Māori as a functional language in a range of public settings in particular education, with the hope that in time this too will have a flow on effect in influencing the decision making of families on a more widespread basis with respect to establishing Māori as a functional language in the home, and thereby restoring the intergenerational transmission of the language. This is not easy for Māori families who generally have limited linguistic, cultural, social and economic resources at hand to undertake such a task. The barriers and difficulties associated with such efforts are discussed further in Chapters Four and Five.

2.3 Māori language corpus: development, recession and revitalisation

Closely tied to efforts to either restrict or expand the range of uses for a language in particular settings are the changes in the corpus of that language that occur either as a consequence of restriction, or that are necessary for expansion.

Kāretu acknowledges this when discussing the work of the Māori Language Commission to expand the corpus of the language in order for it to be able to be used as a functional language in an increased number settings.

... ko te reo e kore e noho ki te āhua kotahi i roto i te wā, ka rere kē haere. I whērā ai hoki nā te pā mai o ngā āhuatanga o te wā, o tētahi atu reo rānei, ki taua reo nei. (Kāretu 1995)

... languages do not remain the same over periods of generations, they change. This happens because of the changing circumstances in which a language exists, and/or the influences of another language. (Author's translation)

The changes in the corpus of the Māori language can best be described through reference to three distinct periods of time. In the early years of contact there was an initial short period of growth that was nonetheless extremely important in ensuring the language survived the subsequent long period of decline. The present period of revitalisation has been characterised by accelerated corpus activity in order to compensate for those years of recession.

In the late 1700's and early 1800's, the European settlers found that while there were dialectal differences between tribal groupings that had arisen in different geographical

locations, these were basically phonetic and lexical variations of a single language. A noted Māori anthropologist Tā Rangi Hiroa (Sir Peter Buck) wrote that 'while variation within the language did exist, the differences were not major'. (Buck 1982:74)

During this initial phase of European settlement, there was a rapid lexical expansion of the Māori language. Words such as kawatanga (government), tīma (steamer), pauna (pound) were borrowed freely from English to enable the expression of newly introduced aspects of technology, commerce and social order. It can be argued that when a language is in a position of strength and good health little thought is given to the idea that the integrity of that language may be compromised through widespread 'borrowings' from another language. Borrowing it seems are a natural consequence of languages in contact, as is evidenced by the vast array of words in the English and other languages which are derived from outside their own corpus.

In 1858, an arithmetic book was translated into Māori for use in native schools. This represented an expansion of the language into a new area of use - terms were needed for the new concepts that were to be expressed, and these were universally borrowed and transliterated from English. Examples included those words that were used for units of measurement: mehua (measure), inihi (inch), koata (quarter), keronā (gallon). (Taratoa 1858:3).

Many borrowings have been used widely over a period of generations and have become universally accepted as being part of the language. Examples include words such as pukapuka (book), wiki (week), taraka (truck), and tāone (town). While the generally accepted present day approach is to use or create words from within the Māori language corpus itself, the practice of using words borrowed from English for new concepts has

continued in some quarters, particularly with the older generation of fluent native speakers.

Hemi Potatau from Ngāti Rākaipāka was one such contemporary scholar of the language. Before his death in 1991, he published his autobiography written in Māori which contains accounts of among other things his experiences at university, overseas in World War Two, and as a Presbyterian Minister in a number of parishes throughout the North Island. He was a master at borrowing words from English, and on one particular page at least 27 can be found. (Potatau 1991:47). In spite of his generous use of borrowed words, the language is rich in Māori idiom and structure and a joy to read.

Another important expansion of Māori language that occurred during this initial period of contact was the widespread development and acceptance of Māori as a written language. The mission schools established during this period all used Māori as the medium of instruction, and anecdotal evidence suggests that Māori literacy in Māori became widespread in a short time.

... by 1842 there was scarcely a village in the North Island whose members between the ages of 10 and 30 could not read and write in their own language, and poorer class Europeans were often taunted for their illiteracy. (Miller 1958:97-98).

Māori became avid writers and much to the delight of the present generation Māori language learners, documents such as political and informal letters, tribal lore and history, genealogy and so on written in Māori in the early 1800's are continuing to surface. The first step on Fishman's (1991) graded typology of ameliorative actions to reverse the decline of a language is to ensure that what remains of the language is

recorded. In this sense Māori is in a position of relative strength, as not only do we have burgeoning activity in the contemporary field of Māori language recording and publishing, there is also a large amount of material that survives from last century.

The actions taken in the second part of the nineteenth century and on into the twentieth to restrict the usage of Māori language had a corresponding negative impact on the corpus of the language. Because the language was no longer used in areas such as education and the media, the lexical expansion of the language was correspondingly restricted. There was no need for the language to continue developing because it was no longer in general use except in isolated pockets of rural settlement such as in the Urewera, Northland, and the East Coast. In such places the existing corpus was adequate to enable communication about matters of importance in everyday affairs.

The previous periods of language development and recession have impacted on the corpus change and attitudes to corpus change experienced in the present period of revitalisation in two ways.

2.3.1 Lexical decline and development

Firstly, because of the long period where there was an absence of any lexical expansion, the contemporary environment is characterised by a need for rapid development in order to ensure that the language can be functional in the expanded range of situations in which it is intended that Māori be the medium of communication. However, unlike the period following initial contact, there is now a definite move away from accepting words borrowed from the English language. Because of the great number of new words that are deemed to be necessary, it is generally felt that borrowing would impact

negatively on the integrity of the language, and therefore the treasure that is the unique language passed down from the ancestors would be depleted.

Accordingly, the trend in recent times has been for new words to be created from within the existing corpus of Māori language. Generally a combination of two methods have been followed. One is to use an old word that might approximate the meaning of the new word, and that perhaps is not in widespread use for its previous meaning. One example is the word 'kōkiri' which in the past was used to describe the forward charge of a war party. It is now widely used to talk about moving issues forward, and indeed the Ministry of Māori Development has used the word in its own Māori name Te Puni Kōkiri to invoke the understanding that their job is to develop policies for Māori advancement. The second method is to create new words by combining existing words or parts of existing words together, for example the new word that is now generally accepted for mathematics is 'pāngarau'. This is a combination of the word 'pānga' meaning relationship, and 'rau' meaning many. Thus the idea that mathematics is about understanding the many types of relationships between phenomena is carried in the name. This word has gained general acceptance above other words which have been used or suggested such as mahi whika a transliteration meaning 'work with figures' (a somewhat narrow interpretation of mathematics) and tikanga tātai which is still in widespread usage for traditional knowledge such as that associated with genealogy (tikanga tātai whakapapa) and astronomy (tikanga tātai whetū).

The Māori Language Commission has emerged as the modern day champion of lexical expansion of the language, although they have consistently maintained that the Māori speaking community themselves retain the veto of approval, that is if the words are used by the Māori speaking community, they become part of the language, if they are not used, or if a word from another quarter is preferred then the Commissions suggestion

simply fades into oblivion. The Commission does however have a level of authority, and the ability to disseminate their work widely. This could result in the widespread use of a word despite some opposition..

The process of lexical expansion has not been without criticism, which has generally had two prongs. Older native speakers of the language have been critical because of the great number of new words, and the fact that they often have difficulty understanding the Kōhanga Reo generation of speakers. This can be explained in part because even though the elders have maintained their language, they have often only used it for rather restricted purposes. The Māori that they learnt as children and have maintained through the years is perfectly adequate for them to communicate with their peers about everyday topics of mutual interest, especially in the rural setting. However the grandchildren have an expanded range of contemporary interests that they need to talk about which necessitates the use of new lexical items. The difficulty experienced by fluent speaking elders in communicating in Māori with the younger generation was a trend that emerged in the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Cohort Language Study and is discussed further in Chapter Five.

The second prong of criticism has come from those concerned about the maintenance of tribal dialect. It is inevitable that any corpus development undertaken on a national scale will impact on tribal dialect. This is exacerbated by the large number of second language learners of Māori who in many cases are reliant on books and other documents that have been produced on a national scale. In situations where the natural intergenerational transmission of a particular language is secure, the use of a standardised language for education or in other public arenas poses little or no threat to the maintenance of the dialects that are transferred and used naturally in the home and

community domains. Unfortunately, most dialects of the Māori language are not in such a fortunate position, and the relatively low numbers of speakers of different dialects make it uneconomical to publish national documents in a range of dialects.

The difficulties faced by proponents of maintaining tribal dialect through the written language go back to the beginning of last century when the missionary Thomas Kendall traveled back to England with two Ngāpuhi chiefs, Hongi Hika and Waikato to work with an eminent linguist of the time Professor Samuel Lee to develop a system for writing the Māori language. The resulting publication in 1820 of *A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of New Zealand* '... forms the basis of written Māori in its various forms today' (Garlick 1998:30). Recent assertion of tribal identity, and the need to communicate with tribal members about land claims has resulted in a small amount of publishing activity in some tribal areas (for example tribal newsletters). Such publications are generally written in English in order to cater for all tribal members, and contain only small amounts of Māori language. The use of tribal dialect is negligible, and too far removed from the nexus of maintenance of tribal dialect (the oral language used in the home and community), to have much impact.

While second language learners of Māori are largely confined to acquiring the dialect of their teacher, they inevitably express a desire at some stage in their learning to acquire the dialect of their own tribe, and therefore reinforce and maintain a tribal identity. This could be greatly assisted through the publication of tribal dictionaries, grammar books, and the establishment of tribal language banks - recordings of exemplary speakers of the dialect that could be accessed by tribal members.

2.3.2 Syntactic change

The second aspect of corpus change that is of critical importance at the present time concerns the syntax of the language. In his speech to the annual gathering of the Te Ātaarangi movement in 1993, the Māori Language Commissioner Professor Timoti Kāretu highlighted his support for lexical change, and his aversion to syntactic change.

Ko ngā kupu hou te oranga o te reo, engari kia kaha tātou ki te pupuri i tā te Māori whakatakoto i te kupu.

The new words are the salvation of the language, but we must be strongly focussed on retaining the unique structure of Māori language. (Authors translation)

Kāretu maintains that it is the structure of the language which carries the unique forms of Māori expression which offer insights into Māori values and understandings of the world and whose beauty has the potential to lift the spirit of the listener. One example of this is the ‘a’ and ‘o’ forms of the possessive, the use of which communicates more than just possession but also something of the relationship between the possessor and that which is possessed.

With respect to the present period of Māori language revitalisation, it is possibly the issue of syntactical change that is more problematical than that of lexical change. This is because of the sheer numbers of second language learners of Māori in relationship to fluent native speakers. It is inevitable that a learner's first language will impact on their production and learning of a second language. The less access that learners have to hearing and interacting with fluent native speakers, the harder it becomes for them to recognise aberrant grammatical structure in the production of the second language, and to self correct over time. This is definitely the case for the Māori language where the 1995 National Māori Language Survey reports that there are some 10,000 highly fluent

speakers of the language, and about 153,000 learners with varying degrees of proficiency.

Three concerns further exacerbate the problem. First, little if any attention has been given in Māori language courses to learning strategies - empowering students with strategies that will assist them to monitor their own language production, as well as strategies to learn from the exposure that they do have to exemplary Māori language through their own networks and environment be it aural or visual.

Second, there is generally little communication between fluent speakers and learners of the language even where access is available. Second language learners report a lack of confidence in using Māori language around fluent speakers for fear of making a mistake, or being judged, or because they do not want to inflict pain on the fluent speakers' ears with their efforts at production. Conversely, fluent speakers are reticent about speaking Māori to learners because they may not be understood, or because they may become frustrated with the communicative efforts of the learner. This problem was a trend which emerged in the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Baseline Study and is discussed further in Chapter Five.

The third exacerbation of the problem concerns the spread of aberrant grammatical structure. Because of the relatively few fluent speakers of the language, second language learners are more likely to have access through their networks to other second language learners. Aberrant structure can often therefore be reinforced rather than corrected by fellow learners. This problem of course is magnified when second language learners themselves are in positions where they can influence large numbers of other learners, such as is the case with teachers and broadcasters.

There is a need on the one hand to ensure that learners have opportunities to use their language in non-threatening environments, and on the other hand that the integrity and structure of the language is maintained, and it does not become bland and begin to approximate the structure of English. This highlights also the need to maintain exemplary standards of language used in teaching, broadcasting and publishing.

With regard to aberrant structure, Kāretu (1993) gives two examples:

i) *Kua wini ahau i te kēmu.*

While Kāretu is not particularly distraught by the use of two transliterated items (wini - win, and kēmu - game), he does have an aversion to the use of the active rather than the stative construction (a common failing among learners). The grammatically correct utterance is: *Kua wini i ahau te kēmu.*

ii) *He aha tēnā mō?*

This is a direct translation of the English word order 'What is that for?'. Māori would structure the sentence somewhat differently - 'For what is that intended?', or in Māori: *Mō te aha tēnā?*

While these may seem rather small points of contention, when they are magnified to include a large number of grammatical structures reproduced incorrectly by a large number of learners, repeatedly over time, it is clear that the impact on the language could be great indeed. If one of the arguments central to the revitalisation of the Māori language is to protect the understandings of the world and expressions unique to the language and culture, then it is important to ensure that the language does not become like English simply clothed in Māori words.

Rose Pere, a respected elder and keeper of the ancestral language from Waikaremoana echoes these sentiments, and as an example laments the trend of contemporary Māori to adopt the gender specific nature of the English language.

The first vibration of the word 'tāngata' (human being) is 'tā', short for tāmoko, the blueprint, the DNA, and the second vibration, 'ngā' the breath, and the final vibration, which is also 'tā' but is short for 'tāia' a hologram, demonstrates the way in which a human being is in the image of the Godhead. The vibrations, the essence of the word, have a direct link with the oneness, the source of the Godhead. The beauty of the word 'tāngata' is absolutely profound. However, one rather sad fact is that I've heard both men and women say 'Greetings to both 'tāngata' (meaning men) and women'. Alas for us all! All of us both male and female go back to the Central Sun, the Devine Spark which emits both life principles, all forms come from the Source of Life, the Face of the Godhead, the Great Spirit. (Pere 1999:8)

A related aspect of syntax is that of idiom. Idiomatic expression, simile and metaphor remove the blandness from any language, and this is another aspect of the language that has been of concern during the recent period of revitalisation. Idiomatic expressions are difficult to learn formally, rather, they are acquired through repeated exposure to the expression being used in context in a natural and meaningful way. This again is problematic for the large number of Māori language learners, but extremely important in retaining what Kāretu (1997) has called 'te wairua o te reo', the spirit and essence of the language. Some examples are presented in Table 2.1

Table 2.1 Retaining the essence of the language

English	Māori translation	Unique Māori expression	Translation of Māori expression
The food is ready.	Kua reri ngā kai.	Kua hora te tēpū. Kei te karanga a Rongo.	The table is spread. Rongo (God of cultivated foods) is calling
Thank you for looking after us.	Tēnā koutou mō tā koutou manaaki i a mātou.	Kei whea mai tā koutou manaaki i a mātou.	How excellent indeed is the hospitality that you have shown us.
Listen carefully	Āta whakarongo.	Me whakarongo pikari ngā taringa	Ears should be open in expectation like the mouths of baby birds in the nest waiting for their mother to return with food

The examples in Table 2.1 were chosen to illustrate how the Māori language reflects cultural values and understandings. The first highlights a close connection with the spiritual world; a recognition of the spiritual realm comes through even in the communication of such a mundane and ordinary occurrence as that of announcing that a meal is ready to eat. The second is an example of how language is used to acknowledge and uplift other people, an important part of Māori social and ritual encounter. The third illustrates a close connection to and understanding of the natural environment, and the use of language to create graphic images to communicate even ordinary messages such as listen carefully.

Bentahila and Davies are somewhat disparaging toward language activists' attempts to maintain the integrity of the language they are working to revitalise, suggesting that this represents a misplaced nostalgia for former times when the language reigned as the

lingua franca of the community. They argue that any revival campaign, especially one conducted through education and the media will inevitably lead to language 'transformation and innovation rather than a simple return to past norms' (1993:370). This argument suggests that it is an either or situation - either return to the language norms of the past, or transform the language which as they point out will inevitably lead to 'a sense of alienation and inferiority among those who at first sight, ought to feel most heartened and supported by the revival of the language - its native speakers' (ibid:371).

This ignores a third possibility for language development which has been argued for in this section - retaining or restoring the syntactical integrity and diversity of the Māori language coupled with the development of new lexical items from within the language in order to facilitate discourse about the complexities of the modern world. It is debatable whether or not there would be as much widespread support and effort for revitalising the language if forms of expression unique to it were lost, and it were reduced to simply being able to express English phrases with Māori words. Support would be equally compromised if the language was unable to be used to discuss all aspects of the world in which its speakers live.

2.4 Māori language acquisition: maintenance, interruption and revitalisation

The central tenet of Joshua Fishman's theory for minority language revitalisation is securing the inter-generational transmission of the language within the home and close community neighbourhood (level six on his Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale). Even though conditions in the public sphere may serve to severely undermine the minority language, if it is able to be maintained in these private domains, it will retain a

large measure of its health *vis-a-vis* the acquisition of the language by succeeding generations and the maintenance of a critical mass of native speakers of the language. Martinez-Arbelaz illustrates this point in discussing the Basque language and its public oppression during the Franco dictatorship.

There were 40 years during which doing anything related to the Basque language was clandestine ... These years of oppression had a ‘boomerang’ effect: the more the Spanish Government tried to forbid and eliminate the symbols of a national identity among the Basque people, the more important they became in the eyes of the Basques themselves. (1996:361)

It follows therefore that a measure of the intergenerational transmission would be a major indicator of the health of a language. During the period of initial contact between Māori and European, English was learnt by some Māori as a second language largely for reasons of trade, and to understand new forms of technology that were introduced. Others were attracted to the new Christian religions, and although initially at least instruction was in the vernacular, there is no doubt that ‘the missionaries saw themselves as the instrument by which the Māori people would be brought from the state of barbarism to civilised life’ (Kaai-Oldman 1988:22). There was no threat however to Māori being used as the language of socialisation within the home and community settings, and therefore to the continued natural acquisition of the language by succeeding generations.

This was to change however in the period following the introduction of the 1867 Education Act which required schools to provide instruction only in English. In many cases the intention of the Act was taken to the extreme in its implementation in schools by teachers with the sanction of the Education Authorities and in some cases local

Māori communities. In 1986, the Waitangi Tribunal heard evidence from a number of Māori people who gave first hand accounts of being punished sometimes quite severely for speaking Māori at school, and the consequences that this had on their self esteem, confidence, and level of educational achievement. While this did not immediately impact on intergenerational transmission, it did however set in motion a cycle that would have devastating effects in subsequent generations.

The implementation of the Act attacked the very core of Māori beliefs and values. ‘It was a period in which raw power was used to suppress the heart and soul of a people’ (Kaai-Oldman 1988:23). Early on Māori parents, care givers and community leaders saw advantages that might accrue in their children learning English and becoming literate in the ways of European society, vis-a-vis gaining access to the new economic and political order, and many encouraged them to do as well as possible at school. This support for a European education often manifested itself in Māori communities becoming strong advocates for the English only policy of schools, believing that they could maintain their own language at home. While there were some communities who resisted this approach, they became more and more isolated and unable to stem the tide of popular opinion and belief which took hold in a period of time when the drastic consequences of colonisation were beginning to take effect - loss of land through war, confiscation, and fractionation of title, decline in population through war and disease, and a general decline in confidence, vitality and esteem. (see Barrington 1970)

The impact of the English only policy for schools was exacerbated by the belief held by educationalists at the time that bilingualism was a handicap, and that it was cognitively disadvantageous for children especially Māori children who were seen to be intellectually inferior, and more suited to learning the manual trades.

Apparently the children are allowed too often allowed to take ‘soft’ options at school, without regard to their vocational future - which, in the case of Māoris is likely to lie more and more in the skilled trades (Hunn Report 1960)

This comment is not very different from the one made in 1907 that “the primary education of the Māori should have what may be termed an agricultural bias.” (Harker 1982)

By the early 1900's children who were the first to be educated under the English only policy were themselves becoming parents. The policy continued to be severely implemented in many schools, and parents became concerned to save their own children from the mental and physical anguish, and educational disadvantage that they themselves suffered either through conforming to the policy or from moments of transgression.

This then was the period when the interruption of the natural acquisition of Māori in homes and community settings began. In a short time, English became the language used by parents when speaking with their children, and even though most children acquired a passive understanding of the language through hearing adults in the home and community speaking Māori amongst themselves, they generally ceased to be active users of the language. The message that English would bring benefits and advantages continued to be spread both in the Pākehā education system, and by Māori leaders, and the interruption to the transmission of Māori language worsened with each succeeding generation.

The Māori leaders of the past were beguiled into accepting the policy of promoting English in the education system and denying Māori language. They complied with this policy because of the desire to achieve social parity with the Pākehā. They believed that knowledge of English would bring them equality. It has not. (Kaai-Oldman 1988:24)

Following the Second World War, the forces acting against intergenerational transmission began to severely impact on the very agent of transmission - the whānau - the household and close community neighbourhood. The whānau and its capacity to act as an agent of care, protection and socialisation of its members was seriously compromised by the rapid urbanisation of the Māori population. The shift from rural communities with networks based on kinship and cooperative endeavour for the common good of the community to urban centres where the emphasis was more on the advancement (or in some cases survival) of the individual household through participation in employment and education.

No longer did children have access to their grandparent generation and wider kin group who traditionally had been very important in their upbringing and socialisation, including language development. The problems were exacerbated by the explicit 'pepperpotting' policy followed by the Māori Affairs Department of the time (see Hunn Report 1960), whereby it was seen to be advantageous to place Māori families new to the city amongst Pākehā neighbours. It was thought that this would help them assimilate more quickly to Pākehā culture, and had the effect of making it even harder for Māori to maintain their language within the new urban environment.

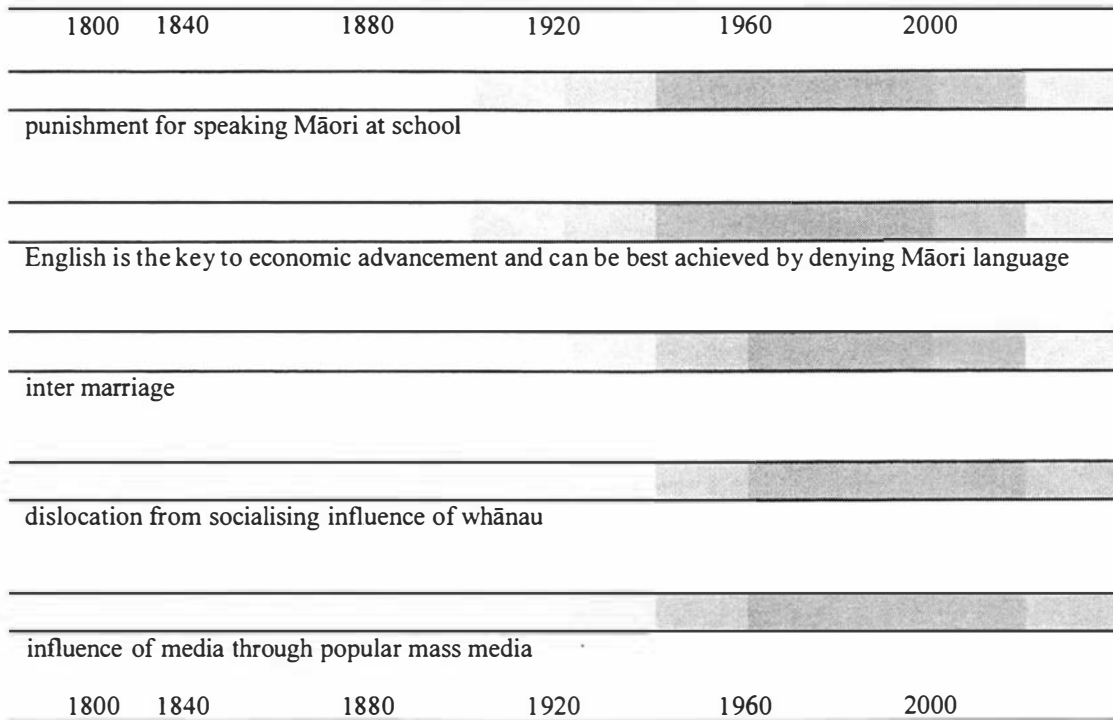
A second factor that became more and more prevalent was intermarriage with a Pākehā spouse or marriage to a Māori spouse who did not speak Māori. Inevitably this led to English becoming the dominant language of the household even if one parent was a fluent speaker; and perhaps the only time that children born in the city were exposed to Māori was when older relations visited from their rural homes, or when trips were made 'home' to attend tangihanga or other important community events. Some families retained strong links to their tribal roots by visiting often; for others it became less important as time passed, or too expensive. All of the 40 informants interviewed as part of the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Cohort Study (see chapter 5) reported either a mixed Māori/Pākehā marriage or a marriage where one of spouses did not speak Māori as being a major factor in shifting to English as the lingua franca of the household in their own, their parents or grandparents generation.

The mass media - newspaper, radio and television made further inroads on the natural acquisition of the Māori language by children in their homes. The language, images and sounds from Pākehā culture flooded in to homes in the form of popular songs, cartoons, popular heroes such as sporting stars, advertising, news and current events. Māori language and culture was completely marginalised, negative stereotyping of Māori was the norm. This had the effect of even further distancing Māori children and youth from feeling positively about themselves as Māori.

The forces that acted to interrupt the natural acquisition of Māori through its intergenerational transmission in households and communities are summarised in Figure 2.2. The period of time that each force was acting is shown. However the dates are approximate only and will be variable according to the particular situations of various

local communities. An attempt has been made to show the relative strength of the forces over time by the intensity of the shading in the bars.

Figure 2.2 Forces acting against intergenerational transmission



While some of the forces represented in Figure 2.2 have weakened or in some cases ceased, their ongoing impact remains significant. Many of those who were interviewed in the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Cohort Study (see Chapter 5) talked about the effects on either themselves or their parents of being punished for speaking Māori at school, or the belief that learning Māori would severely affect children's ability to master English and therefore 'get ahead' in the world. Comments such as the following were typical.

When thinking of my mother's experiences as a child, I am aware that she grew up speaking Māori at home, and being taught via English at school. Upon leaving her home, Mum soon discovered that her beloved

native tongue had no place in wider society. Worse than that, word at the time had it that only 'dumb' people spoke Māori - society had decreed that Māori was dying, and that English was the only language worth acquiring if you wanted to be successful, gain employment, operate a bank account, purchase goods, gain a 'real' education, and in general move forward into the 21st century. Mum learnt that to be Māori and speak Māori was 'backward', and best left behind her in the rural backblocks. Therefore, by the time Mum had me she had already decided that she would do her best to equip me for the future by teaching me English only, and leaving all that Māori stuff behind.

It follows that effecting the revitalisation of the language will in part involve either removing or negating the effects of the forces that have acted against the intergenerational transmission of the language, and the ability of the household or wider whānau to do this.

2.4.1 Māori language learning

Results from the National Māori Language Survey conducted in 1995 show clearly that the use of Māori language in homes has declined strongly.

Whereas almost all 16-24 year olds (96%) spent their childhood in a home where English was the main language spoken, around half of all people aged 60 years and over grew up in a home where Māori was the main language spoken. (Te Puni Kōkiri 1998:46)

The major factor influencing the ability of households to transmit the language naturally to new generations of whānau members is the level of proficiency of the adults in that household. Holmes highlights three important determinants of successful language acquisition. One of these is to ensure adequate high quality language input.

The richer the range of vocabulary, the more diverse the grammar, and the wider the stylistic range we are exposed to, the more varied will be our linguistic competence. (1987:12)

If the adults in the household do not have the ability to speak Māori then they are denied the choice to actually use it. Table 2.2 is reproduced from the results of the 1995 National Māori Language Survey, and show clearly that the present generation of Māori parents are ill equipped linguistically to provide adequate high quality language input, and therefore re-establish a cycle of intergenerational transmission of the language.

Table 2.2 Fluency levels of Māori adults by age (percent) (Te Puni Kōkiri 1998:35)

Age	Non-speaker	Speakers			Total
		low fluency	medium fluency	high fluency	
16-24	39	53	7	--	100
25-34	46	45	--	--	100
35-44	45	41	--	--	100
45-59	34	34	12	19	100
60+	30	24	--	32	100

-- Amount too small to be expressed. As a result of rounding, rows may not add to 100

It can be argued that apart from those over the age of about 60, the present community of Māori language speakers both adults and children are generally second language

learners, and largely reliant on the education sector for their acquisition of the language. It is not surprising therefore that the vast majority of language revitalisation activity has been focussed on educational initiatives.

Since the early 1970's there have been a succession of developments each progressing the cause further toward the expressed ideal of an education in Māori by Māori for Māori that empowers students to participate with ease and confidence in both the Māori world, and the affairs of wider New Zealand society, and indeed the global community. There has been the widespread addition of Māori as an optional subject taught at most secondary schools; the introduction of bilingual education (largely at the primary school level) with the establishment in 1978 of the first bilingual school in Ruatoki; the establishment in the early 1980's of Kōhanga Reo as a Māori initiative outside of the control of education authorities (initially at least); the Te Ātaarangi movement which harnessed the skills of fluent native speakers to teach Māori to parents of Kōhanga Reo children and other interested adults in community settings; teacher education courses to encourage people with Māori language fluency into the teaching work force; Kura Kaupapa Māori and other models of immersion education to cater for the growing demand in the 1990's for an education in Māori; courses in Māori language, culture, pedagogy and politics in established tertiary institutions throughout the country; and the establishment of contemporary tribal or pan-tribal wānanga (learning centres) such as Te Wānanga o Raukawa based in Otaki, or Te Wānanga o Aotearoa operating from various campuses in the central North Island. These developments are summarised in Table 2.3

Table 2.3 Māori language education initiatives

Initiative	Characteristics
Māori as a subject (secondary school)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Usually 4 hours per week of instruction for students who choose the subject • Oriented toward passing national examinations. • Teaching centered on grammar and written Māori. • Limited communicative ability in Māori achieved.
Bilingual education (mainly at primary school level)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Variable amounts of Māori used in the delivery of the curriculum depending on the ability of the teachers and school policy. • Focus on communicative use of Māori. • Some schools establish bilingual classes or units. A few schools (e.g. Ruatoki 1978) adopt a bilingual approach throughout the school. • Some involvement of the Māori community in establishing policy. • Māori students self esteem is raised, resulting in a more positive orientation toward school.
Kōhanga Reo (Māori language pre-school)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Māori language immersion. • Established by Māori for Māori. • Curriculum based on Māori culture and pedagogy. • Focus on communicative competence. • Māori parents motivated to learn Māori to 'keep up with their children'.
Te Ātaarangi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Māori community movement which utilises fluent native speakers • native speakers to teach adults. • Method of teaching adapted from Caleb Gattegno's 'Silent Way' method. • Focus on communicative competence. • Enhanced self-esteem and confidence through small group supportive learning environment.
Kura Kaupapa Māori (Māori language primary school based on Māori pedagogy)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Māori language immersion. • Curriculum based on Māori knowledge and pedagogy but also fulfills requirements of national curriculum. • Produces fluent speakers and writers of Māori well versed in Māori culture and protocol. • Enhanced self-esteem and confidence of students.
Tertiary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Full degree courses based on Māori knowledge and taught in Māori at tribal wānanga. • Week long immersion courses for adults offered by some tertiary providers. • Language classes offered through most tertiary institutions

This growth in Māori language education has been accompanied by a huge increase in demand for resources, both human and material. Research commissioned by Te Puni Kōkiri in 1996 on the provision of Māori language courses showed some 40% of Māori language teachers who responded to the research questionnaire had no formal education qualifications or training in the teaching of Māori as a second language. Furthermore, the report concluded that 'there is a critical shortage of Māori language teachers especially in the primary/secondary sector'. (Keegan 1997:2)

Those who have highlighted the gross shortage of learning and teaching resources, and the difficulty that this causes in terms of providing quality programmes include Spolsky 1987, Hirsch 1990, Fairhall and Shuker 1994, Boyce 1995, Ngā Kete Kōrero 1995, Hohepa and Smith 1996, and McKinley et al 1996. All have pointed to the tardiness of the Ministry of Education in responding to new Māori language initiatives. Gains have been made through protest and petition, and because the enthusiasm of the Māori language community has 'carried the kaupapa' so to speak while waiting for an appropriate level of official resourcing.

More recently what Graham Smith (1995) terms the 'structural impediments' to kaupapa Māori education have been targeted, and the establishment of a Māori Education Authority in the not too distant future is a distinct possibility. It is hoped that this may ensure a more focussed and pro-active (rather than reactionary) response to the education needs of Māori communities, without necessitating lengthy and energy sapping petitioning, negotiation and compromise with education authorities.

The challenge for second language learners is to reach a threshold level of proficiency and confidence to be able to use the language in their homes and other community

settings. There is a corresponding challenge for the Māori language education sector to focus programmes on achieving that outcome for their students, and in so doing phasing out over a period of say two generations such a widespread need for second language courses. The focus could then become language development and literacy for children who have already acquired Māori through being exposed to adequate high quality input in their homes and communities.

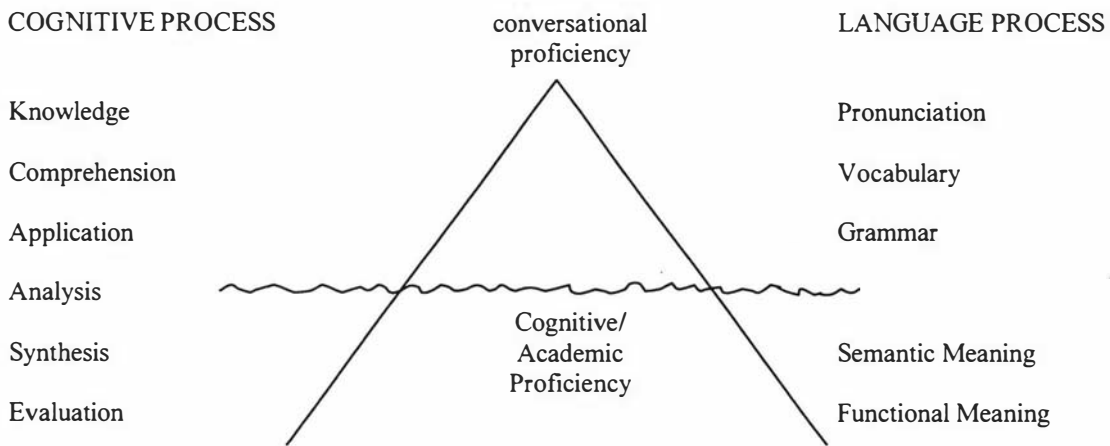
It would be disappointing to say the least if in another generations time the Māori language situation mirrored that of Irish who have had widespread Irish language education programmes in place for some 70 years, and also have Irish language radio and television stations.

... in spite of the educational policies of teaching Irish to all school children, English is primarily spoken. The central problem however, is that popular use of the language (Irish) has remained at a low level and current indications are that this is contracting further in some important respects.
(Paulston 1990:17)

In addition to the present challenge faced by schools to assist or in some cases replace the function of families to provide communicative competency in the language, is the need to ensure that students' language has sufficient academic depth to allow for their cognitive development. Building on the work of Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976), Cummins developed a model of language proficiency (Figure 2.3) which distinguished between basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS) and cognitive/academic language proficiency (CALP). He argues that in the pursuit of communicative proficiency, schools will often ignore other aspects of language

proficiency which are ‘considerably more relevant for students’ cognitive and academic progress’ (1984:137).

Figure 2.3 Surface and deeper levels of language proficiency (reproduced from Cummins 1984:138)



Cummins posits that a failure to focus on minority students’ cognitive proficiency in their language will lead to low academic achievement. Furthermore, because of their apparent fluency in basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS) there is a danger that poor academic performance will in turn be blamed on ‘deficient cognitive or personality traits of minority language students’ (ibid:136).

The Labour government elected in 1999 embarked on a policy called ‘Closing the Gaps’. Applied to education, it aimed to reduce the disparity between the achievement of Māori and non-Māori children in the school system. A large part in accomplishing that aim would require schools to focus on and improve the cognitive abilities of students. Schools would be evaluated for their capacity to develop both communicative and cognitive ability in their students. This may be particularly problematic in ‘bilingual classes’ where in many cases teachers competence in the language is

questionable, and students' language exposure is often limited to low level functions such as classroom management and greetings (see Keegan 1997).

Skutnabb-Kangas takes the importance of cognitive language proficiency to another level in her discussion of the empowerment of individuals, and the ability of minority groups to break the shackles of oppression, and therefore achieve a truly multiracial society.

Its precondition is that minority children and young people have an instrument for analysis: a language. Or two. (1981:327)

2.5 The present position of the Māori language

There have been two major surveys of the Māori language - in the late 1970's Dr Richard Benton of the New Zealand Council for Education Research led a team which undertook a comprehensive survey which covered 6470 households in the major areas of Māori population in the North Island. The Māori Language Commission conducted a further survey involving 2441 Māori people over the age of 16 drawn from throughout New Zealand. Both surveys focussed on the proficiency levels of the respondents, their use of the language in various situations, attitudes toward, and acquisition of the Māori language.

The key findings of the Benton survey (which focussed on Māori community settings) are summarised in the report on the 1995 research.

- i) The picture was bleak for sustaining Māori language usage in Māori communities.

- ii) Māori was the everyday language of most residents, from youngest to oldest, in only one community.
- iii) In a few communities most people understood the Māori language but younger people preferred to use English.
- iv) In many communities, adults spoke the Māori language when conversing amongst themselves but English was used for other situations.
- v) In most communities, Māori was the language of the older people and English the language of the middle-aged and young people.

(Te Puni Kōkiri, 1998)

The Māori Language Commission's survey conducted some 25 years later focussed more on proficiency levels because of the concern of the Commission and others not only with regard to the number of speakers of the language, but also with the quality of language that was being spoken and becoming the norm. The concern was with both aberrant grammar influenced by the structure of English, and simplification of the language where the ability to express complex ideas using expansive language rich in idiom and metaphor was being lost in favour of a more mundane and simple language.

The results show a continuing albeit slowing decline from the 1978 survey. Whereas in 1978 it was found that 64,000 or some 16% of the Māori population were fluent speakers of the language, the 1995 figure had fallen to 10,000 adults (above 16 years of age), who self assessed as having 'high' fluency, 8% of that part of the Māori population. A further 8% reported medium fluency, 42% low fluency, and 40% had no ability to speak the language. Seventy three percent of the group who reported high fluency were aged 45 or over, and 63% of low fluency speakers were under the age of 35.

The fluency levels were derived from respondents' self-assessment across a number of questions according to criteria described for each level. While there are weaknesses with this approach, aside from actually testing respondents or observing and analysing their level language of language use (which would be generally unacceptable to respondents and or excessively time consuming) it is recognised by sociolinguists as the most acceptable method for large scale language surveys. The major weakness is in establishing some consistency in respondents' perception of what constitutes a particular level of fluency. Influences on an individual's perception of their level of fluency include the quality of language that they themselves are exposed to, their own confidence and or humility, and the level that they might aspire to (see Chapter 4).

If a person is exposed only to second language learners of Māori at a fairly basic level, they may come to see their own level as relatively fluent in comparison, whereas exposure to fluent native speakers of Māori may influence that same person to rate themselves at a lower level of fluency in comparison. It is also possible that when an individual responds to a survey question in anonymity, where they are aware that no-one will be actually 'checking' or validation is not called for, then responses may tend toward reporting a higher level of fluency in line with their aspirations. In this way, respondents are able to identify themselves with what is perceived as the desired state, or the popular choice.

The 1996 Census included a question about language for the first time. The question read 'In which language could you have a conversation about a lot of everyday things? English, Māori, Samoan, NZ Sign Language, Other Languages Please State'. In a paper presented to the Sixth Annual Stabilising Indigenous Languages Conference in Arizona,

King compared the results of the Census question with a similar question in the 1995 National Māori Language Survey, and found that 16-34 year olds had a 4-5% tendency to over-report their ability, and those over 45 had a tendency to under-report their ability by 4-5% in the relatively anonymous process of completing a Census form.

One reason for the over reporting by younger speakers may well be because many of those in this group of second language learners can only compare their ability with their cohorts and teachers, who are often second language speakers themselves. Conversely, older speakers often have experience or memory of others with much deeper and subtle ability than themselves. (King 1999)

In her original report on the 1995 National Māori Language Survey, the principal researcher, Hineihaea Murphy also commented on this tendency.

For many people the judgement of their own language competence is carried out by comparison with other known speakers of the language. For the 1970's survey Māori language role models were of a high standard, numerous and widely known amongst the Māori communities, The lack of visible language role models in our communities in the mid 90s makes the task of self assessment slightly more difficult. (Murphy unpublished)

The same problem surfaced to some extent when comparing the responses to the Te Hoe Nuku Roa baseline study and those of the Language Cohort Study (see Chapter Five).

This weakness aside, the National Māori Language Survey provides the best and most current macro picture of the position of the Māori Language, and given the small and continuing decline in the numbers of proficient speakers of the language when

compared with the 1978 survey, there is reason for concern. On a more positive note however, the survey produced evidence that there remains a high commitment and enthusiasm for the language. Forty one percent of those in the 16-24 year old age group reported that they were or had been involved in learning Māori, and 'attitudes towards the Māori language and biculturalism issues are generally positive.' (Te Puni Kōkiri 1998:5). In addition, 39% of Māori adults who live in a household with children speak some Māori with those children, and a quarter of the respondents reported living with children who speak some Māori.

Unlike the 1995 survey, the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Baseline Study did include children under the age of 15, and it is in this new generation of Māori with access to Kōhanga Reo and immersion education that hopes for the language lie. The Te Hoe Nuku Roa Baseline Study was conducted in four geographical regions (Manawatū/Wanganui, Gisborne/East Coast, Wellington and Auckland) over the period 1996-1998. There were 1577 participants from some 700 households which were selected using a stratified random sampling method called Whaihua Tatau in order to represent the range of Māori geographic, economic, cultural and social circumstances. (see Fitzgerald et al. 1996)

Thirty nine percent of the sample were under the age of 15, and responded to a modified version of the adult questionnaire in an interview situation, or through interview with a proxy if the child was too young to adequately respond to the questions. The results are of further concern, showing that only 4% of this age group have a high proficiency in the language appropriate to their age. The results did vary from region to region with the figure for the Gisborne/East Coast area reaching 17%. The results are consistent however with the Ministry of Education's figures showing that only 20% of Māori children under the age of five attend a Kōhanga Reo, and only a small percentage of

these either have access to, or make the choice to attend a Kura Kaupapa Māori (a total of 3,222 students in 1996). According to Keegan (1997), there were 22,809 Māori students enrolled in a Māori medium programme at either a primary or secondary school, and this represented some 26% of all Māori primary and secondary school students. However only a quarter of these were in a level one programme where 81-100% of the instruction was conducted in Māori. Keegan is skeptical of the efficacy of level 2, 3, and 4 immersion programmes where less instructional time is carried out in Māori in terms of Māori language development for the students.

It is highly likely that many Māori students in such programmes will never acquire a high degree of Māori language proficiency. There is simply too little classroom time to provide an effective Māori language learning environment. (1997:19)

Aside from general levels of proficiency, one of the most important measures of vitality or health of a language is the actual level of use of that language in various domains. Results from the National Māori Language Survey were again disappointing, with only half of the highly fluent group reporting that they conduct whole conversations in Māori at home every day, 25% of the medium fluency group and 5% of those with low fluency. The marae, and Kōhanga Reo/School were the only other domains that featured as being places where Māori was used regularly to any degree. Eighty three percent of the respondents under 15 years of age in the Te Hoe Nuku Roa baseline study reported that English was the language mostly used in the home when speaking with adults. This is consistent with data from the 1996 Census. Results showed that 63% of Māori households had no speakers of Māori, 12% had one member, and 25% had two or more members who could converse in Māori. Clearly opportunities for Māori to be used as the language of interaction in homes was limited.

While macro type surveys such as those reported on above paint a useful overall picture of the health of a language, they are limited in terms of the understanding they provide about the barriers and difficulties that are experienced by people in both increasing their proficiency and use. Kremnitz maintains that

In each communicative act, the relationship between interlocutors is governed by constraints of power, politeness, habit, and by taboos and it is these that determine actual linguistic practices ... it is only when we take account ... of these micro-situations that we will arrive at more accurate descriptions of the overall situation. (1981:72)

It is for this reason that the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Language Cohort Study reported on in Chapters Four and Five represented an ideal opportunity to enrich the understandings gained from the quantitative Baseline Study with qualitative data about participants everyday Māori language practices and experiences.

Factors mitigating against more widespread use of Māori by both fluent speakers and learners alike that were reported by participants in the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Language Cohort Study which are discussed in Chapter Five include:

- i) limited proficiency in the language;
- ii) limited access to and interaction with interlocutors with a similar proficiency;
- iii) lack of confidence to use Māori;
- iv) feeling that it is impolite to speak Māori when non-speakers of the language are present;
- v) difficulty in getting away from the habit of using English - it is easier to slip in to using English.

Clearly strategies to revitalise Māori language must be focussed on the dual and complementary objectives of improving proficiency in greater numbers of people, and increasing their actual use of the language across a variety of domains.

2.6 Summary

Chapter Two has outlined the decline in the Māori language following colonisation and contact with the English language. It has been argued that the decline in status, corpus and acquisition of the language has been either the direct result of decisions made to restrict its range of functional uses and its acquisition, or as the natural consequence of the general deterioration of political, social and economic circumstances of Māori people that accompanied colonisation. This in turn led to an interruption in the natural development and expansion of the Māori language corpus. Efforts to revitalise the language have been firmly focussed in the education sector, with the objective of increasing proficiency in the language. The relatively large numbers of second language learners of Māori in comparison with native speakers has led to a further decline in the corpus of the language, evidenced in code simplification, aberrant grammatical structure, and dwindling use of idiom, colloquial expression and metaphor. Little attention has been given to status planning initiatives which would aim to increase the actual use of the language across a number of domains, the most important of which it is argued is the home. This would act to restore the cycle of inter-generational language transmission.

In 1984, Tainui Stephens wrote an article that was published in a popular Māori magazine of the time, *Tū Tangata*. The article talks about the aspirations, challenges

and frustrations of young Māori parents who have been committed to learning Māori as a second language and then using the language with their children in the hope that they in turn become native speakers. He concludes his article by reference to the revival of the Hebrew language as an inspiration for the task that faces the Māori language community.

The years between now and the turn of the century will determine whether or not Māori as a living language will survive. I think that it probably will, and history does have a precedent. In the short space of one hundred years the Hebrew language was nurtured from a state where it was not spoken to the present where it is the native tongue of the people of Israel ... This example is worth remembering and personally gives me cause for long term optimism. I believe that our Reo Māori will live. What life it has however is largely up to us now. (Stephens 1984:37)

Sixteen years on and Stephen's comment remains pertinent to the position of the language at the start of the third millenium.

Chapter Three

Indigenous and Minority Languages in the International Community

- 3.1 Introduction.
- 3.2 Irish
- 3.3 Catalan
- 3.4 Navajo
- 3.5 Pacific Island Languages in New Zealand
- 3.6 Summary

3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines examples of other indigenous and minority languages in order to extend the understanding of Māori language revitalisation. It is recognised that the historical, demographic and socio-political contexts in which each language exists are different, however some themes common to all smaller languages struggling to find space in a linguistic world dominated by a few global and economically strong languages have been identified.

There are many groups that have worked actively to reverse the seemingly inevitable shift that occurs when small weak languages, or the languages of marginalised groups, comes into contact with large powerful languages used

and favoured by the majority or dominant group. There have been many attempts to correct this loss of linguistic diversity. (Spolsky 1998:56)

Revitalisation and maintenance initiatives that are being pursued in other language contexts are able to inform the planning for Māori language revitalisation.

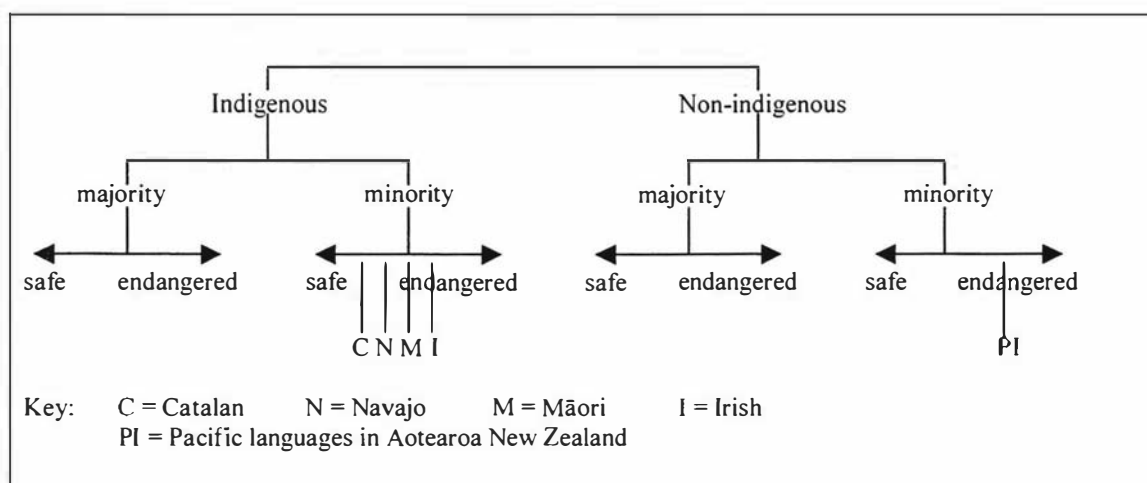
Figure 3.1 has been constructed as a way of presenting a typology of languages. It provides a way of considering the fundamental similarities and differences in the situations in which each language exists when compared with those of the Māori language. At the basic level is the dichotomy between indigenous and non-indigenous languages, and the struggle of the native language to remain vital alongside the 'new' language. It also recognises the intimate and spiritual relationship that the indigenous language will have with the country in which it belongs. The place names, the mythology, the stories, the poetry about the land and its settlement will be rooted in the indigenous language of the country. It is also a recognition that an indigenous minority language will not exist outside its own country, and will therefore have a greater claim to the resources of that country in order to effect revitalisation. A non-indigenous language will not have such an intimate relationship with the land, and the ancestors who peopled the land, and will exist elsewhere in the world where it may very well be a language of considerable power.

The next level in the typology gives an indication of the power relationship that exists between the language and political control of the country *vis-a-vis* the relative numerical

strength of the people who speak the language. In some cases the indigenous language will continue to be the language spoken by the majority. In spite of being the majority language however, there may still be threats to its survival in the form of immigration into the country, and whether or not the immigrants need to learn the indigenous language in order to survive. There may also be threats in the form of the global economic order, the linguistic imperative of the market place, and out-migration. In cases where the indigenous language is a minority language, the degree of political influence exercised by the indigenous people will vary, there will be different levels of ‘ethno-cultural separation’ of the language and its people from the majority language and society, as well as various historical and present day colonial influences on the language.

The third level in the typology highlights the health of the language by locating it somewhere on a scale between ‘safe’ and ‘endangered’.

Figure 3.1 A typology of languages



The languages chosen for discussion in this chapter are signaled in Figure 3.1, and their location gives some indication of their closeness to the Māori language in terms of the typology. The languages include Irish, Navajo, and Catalan, and Samoan and Tongan in New Zealand.

The chapter concludes by arguing that there are some pre-requisite conditions for successful language revitalisation, and that there are some basic strategies that are common across all situations (for example the importance of immersion education). However, the way they should best be applied, the efficacy and relative importance of each strategy, and the extent to which an allocation of public funds can be justified differs according to where the language sits on the typology.

3.2 Irish

While Irish has been subjected to centuries of dislocation through the forces of colonisation, warfare, famine, emigration and religious abandonment, its more recent history is marked by deliberate efforts to reverse its decline. In particular it has enjoyed the status of being the country's official language for almost 80 years, since the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922. Because of this status, the language has received considerable support from the State, with most attention being focussed in the education sector. In spite of this however, both the numbers of speakers of Irish, and its level of use in the community continues to decline. Most commentators are skeptical of its chances of survival as a language used naturally outside the education system (see for example Fishman 1991, O'Riagain 1988, Paulston 1990, Spolsky 1998).

The decline in the language in the western regions of the country known as the Gaeltacht has historically been considerably slower than in the rest of the country. The 1981 census reported that some 77% of the population of the Gaeltacht regions over the age of three were speakers of Irish, in comparison with 31% for the rest of the country. The Gaeltacht however is a relatively small area (approximately 10% of the country as a whole), to a large extent poor and rural, and makes up only 2.3% of the country's total population. Of considerable chagrin to those working toward the revitalisation of the language is decline in the actual use of Irish in the Gaeltacht.

... the number of Gaeltacht residents actually using Irish as their habitual language of *daily* life (as distinct from rarer use) has been estimated as being only 29,000, i.e. only about half of those claiming ability to speak it and the majority of Irish-speaking parents there have lately begun to rear their newly born children in English ('so that they can be like all other Irish children'), doing so to such an extent that a family still rearing its children in Irish is now often an object of comment and curiosity in many Gaeltacht areas. (Fishman 1991:124)

It seems that the all pervasiveness of English, the perception that it is a language of advantage, and that in order to partake of that advantage it is necessary to abandon one's heritage language, is no longer limited by geographic isolation or counteracted by the nexus of rural family and community life. This ideology was the basis of the 'English

only' policy of native schooling established in New Zealand and other colonial territories, and its impact is discussed in Chapters Two and Five of this thesis.

Further, Fishman posits that one of the reasons that the considerable efforts to reverse the decline of Irish in the Gaeltacht have not been successful is because 'the indigenous Gaeltacht residents have had things done to them and for them, but they have not usually been seriously consulted or involved *vis-à-vis* policy making or implementation' (ibid. p 126).

By and large, the Irish speaking population in the rest of the country are second language learners, and census data show that numbers claiming to be speakers are increasing. This is particularly so for the secondary school age cohort. However beyond this the number of speakers as a proportion of each subsequent age group declines rapidly (see O'Riagain 1988). This tends to suggest that the large number of people who learn Irish at school have difficulty in maintaining their ability once they have left school. Without access to an Irish language environment outside the school, a learner's ability soon declines, reinforcing the old colloquial adage *use it or lose it*. In spite of the huge efforts via the education system to reverse the decline of the language, and widespread allegiance throughout Ireland to 'the visionary goal of the restoration of spoken Irish' (Fishman 1991:123), little inroad has been made to balance the overwhelming use of English in all aspects of family and community life with the colloquial use of Irish.

The central problem, however, is that popular use of the language (Irish) has remained at a low level and current indications are that this is contracting

further in some important respects. (An Coiste Comhairleach Pleanála
1988:x)

The efforts of the Irish to reverse the decline of their language, and the results achieved reveal three important points significant for the case of the Māori language. First, they highlight the need to be wary of the normalisation of accessing and participating in the minority culture (Irish or Māori) through the medium of English. This represents a state of affairs whereby although the ethnic population at large (i.e. the population of ethnic Irish, or ethnic Māori), identify strongly with their culture, express positive attitudes toward maintaining their language and culture, and are often actively involved in promoting their culture, this is done largely through the medium of English. Fishman (2000) has referred to this as being ‘the enemy from within’. The corollary of this however is the alienation from participation in cultural activities experienced by members of an ethnic community who do not speak the language.

Second, achieving political autonomy does not represent a panacea per se for reversing language decline. Indeed, some commentators have argued that it is often in situations where minority people are in opposition to a political majority that there is more activation toward maintaining the language and culture at a personal and community level. The Irish situation shows that there is indeed a need to maintain vigilance on behalf of a threatened language even when political autonomy is achieved. The largely state controlled and initiated interventions on behalf of the Irish language have served to remove the responsibility for language revitalisation and maintenance from individuals,

families and communities in the context of their everyday existence. It has perhaps caused an antipathy not to the Irish language per se, but to the apparent imposition of it by the machinations of the state. Or perhaps it has lulled the people into a false sense that the language is all right, because of state initiatives on their behalf, and the visibility of the language in public arenas such as education. This situation was recognised by Welsh member of parliament Cynog Dafis when the establishment of the Welsh National Assembly was granted by Westminster in 1998.

The second possibility may arise from the fact that Wales will now be an unquestionable constitutional reality, and that citizenship of Wales will be unequivocal for all those who live in Wales. We may see the emergence of a sense of national enterprise based on economic success etc. In these circumstances it may be considered that the language is no longer necessary as a defining element in Welsh nationality, except perhaps in a merely symbolic way. In this way the language could be marginalised. It is interesting to note that the language is no longer a political issue, no longer a subject of debate, and there has been great emphasis on inclusivity and multi-culturalism as a features of Wales. (Dafis 1998:1)

Third, placing undue faith in the education system to reverse the decline of the language is misguided. Fishman praises Irish schools, and argues that the education system in Ireland has achieved 'most of what schools can be expected to achieve' (1991:144). The lack of support outside of the school for young second language learners of Irish forces them to abandon their newly learnt language and symbol of ethnic pride and identity, in

order to get on in the English speaking world. Lack of exposure to Irish speaking role models and opportunity to use Irish means that proficiency in Irish soon begins to decline. It may also be that the level of proficiency achievable through learning a language at school does not approach the level necessary to enable a person to use the language naturally and spontaneously to communicate messages and ideas in everyday situations. The absence of social norms of Irish language use in wider society, strong enough to influence an individual's choice of which language to use in any given situation, makes it easier for an individual to revert to using the dominant language.

3.3 Catalan

Like the situation with Irish, Catalonia also enjoys a degree of political sovereignty, being an autonomous territory of Spain. However, if Irish represents the case where the language has continued to decline in spite of autonomy and determined efforts over a period of three generations or more, then Catalan in contrast exemplifies the opposite. The decline has been reversed, and the language is now in a period of growth and expansion.

Catalan is characterised by a long history of cultural, political and economic achievement, dating as far back as the 8th century. Significant also is the standardisation of grammar and spelling which occurred in the medieval period, and the subsequent prolific publication of literary works. The decline of the language can be traced to the 18th century, and the ascendancy of King Philip following a period of dynastic war.

This change was also accompanied by a deliberate, though secret policy of introducing Spanish with the intention of gradually displacing Catalan. (Strubell, 1996:263)

In spite of this policy, the pride of the Catalan people in their culture and identity ensured that in reality, there was little effect on the use of the Catalan language in private domains, thereby ensuring the continued intergenerational transmission and vitality of the language. The right wing Franco regime imposed after civil war in 1939 however, represented a much stronger and more overt challenge to Catalan identity.

Immediately following upon its Civil War victory, the Franco-government instituted policies that deprived Catalonia its culture and its language of any public semblance of their prior independence and recognition. Catalonia's autonomy was annulled and the region itself was administered from Madrid as four separate provinces. All public use of Catalan was prohibited; Catalan names and toponyms were banned and replaced by Spanish counterparts; Catalan publications, street signs and advertisements or notices were not only discontinued but any disobedience with respect to these prohibitions was punishable (and punished!) by fine, dismissal, arrest, and the closing of the offending publications, institutions or agencies. The anti-Catalan campaign was so extreme that even ordinary conversational use of the language among ordinary folk could prove to be dangerous if overheard. (Fishman 1991:297)

Further, a propaganda campaign was launched to discredit the Catalan language, including describing people who used the language as ‘barking like dogs’, or as ‘non-christian’ (see Woolard 1989).

While such oppression provided a stern test to the fortitude of Catalan people, for the most part a tenacious loyalty to the language was maintained, ensuring that it continued as the language of private family and close community use, and therefore transmitted intergenerationally. Oppression may have been the catalytic factor. Strubell claims that following Franco’s forty year regime of oppression, ‘the state of Catalan was pitiful’ (1996:264). He goes on to define what he means by the word pitiful by saying:

Very few people could read and write the language, as it had only been taught on a semi-clandestine basis outside the school system. Fewer still could teach it ... there was no daily press, no Catalan medium television or radio stations, no civil servants capable of using the language for official purposes, no terminological research, and a level of book production which had only recovered a couple of years earlier the average annual output of the 1930’s (ibid.).

In contrast to the previous ascendancy of the language, and its literary and cultural heritage, it is understandable that Catalan people themselves would describe their language on emergence from the Franco regime as pitiful. However, the very fact that oracy and informal transmission of the language was maintained ensured that the majority of native Catalonians could still speak their mother tongue, and this provided a

substantial base for the subsequent re-introduction of Catalan to public life. Other minority peoples working to revitalise their languages would be envious of such a situation! Furthermore, Catalan emerged with its geographic boundaries intact, and with a prospering economy, ensuring that the return of autonomy could be accomplished with relative ease.

In spite of the relative political and economic power that Catalan enjoys in comparison with other ethnic minorities, there continue to be threats to the maintenance of the language. Ironically, the greatest challenge arises from the very fact that Catalonia is economically strong. During, and subsequent to the Franco regime there were a large number of Spanish nationals who migrated to Catalonia largely to fill unskilled positions in the construction and manufacturing industries controlled mostly by native Catalans. Woolard describes the immigration as reaching ‘massive proportions’ (1989:30):

Clearinghouses and barracks had to be set up to handle the flow; at times, trains loaded with immigrants were turned back. Between 1950 and 1975, nearly 1.4 million immigrants entered Catalonia. (ibid.)

While change in Catalan *vis-a-vis* the balance between the indigenous and immigrant populations was small in comparison with the change experienced in New Zealand in the post Treaty of Waitangi period (see Chapter Two) it is nevertheless significant enough to be a threat to the Catalan language. While some 60% of the total population identify as speakers of Catalan, this figure has been estimated to be as low as 22% for Barcelona city, the destination of the majority of Spanish immigrants. Because the majority of

immigrants are manual workers, there has also been a resulting class distinction that separates Catalan speakers and Spanish speakers. The fact that the vast majority of Catalan speakers also speak Spanish further mitigates against the use of Catalan in the public sector, and in exchanges between strangers, and also negates the need for immigrants to learn Catalan.

In order to counter this, one of the strategies initiated by the post Franco government was the 'normalisation' of Catalan. The strategy had two targets. First were the Catalan people themselves, many of whom had emerged from the Franco regime with a legacy of inferiority, an inability to read and write in their indigenous language, and a reticence to speak Catalan in public and with strangers. The strategy aimed to replace the previously enforced norms of Spanish use with the normalisation of Catalan across all public and private domains. This has been achieved through a number of initiatives including the use of media campaigns, the promotion of Catalan speaking popular figures as role models, and government subsidies for such things as advertising in Catalan rather than Spanish. A widespread Catalan literacy campaign was also launched both for children through the formal education system, and for adults.

The strategy also targeted Spanish speaking immigrants, promoting the normality of immigrants learning the official and indigenous language of the territory they had come to live in. The inescapable and highly visible fact that the Catalan language has an economic function – that the ability to speak Catalan is advantageous in securing employment other than unskilled labour, and in upward social mobility has assisted in

this promotion. For the Spanish immigrants, coercion was hardly necessary; it made sense to speak the language of the market.

Four major themes emerge from the preceding discussion. They are central to the relative success achieved in reversing the decline of the Catalan language. First is the strong sense of ethnic identity of the Catalan people, the centrality of their language to their identity, and the value they place on the historic literary and cultural achievements of their people. This strong sense of ethnic identity has emerged intact from historic periods of both covert attempts at assimilation, and the fascist oppression of the Franco regime. The intrinsic motivation for a Catalan individual to acquire and use the mother tongue has not weakened, ensuring at the very least the maintenance of intergenerational transmission.

Second, is the substantial marketing campaign undertaken to change people's attitudes toward the use of Catalan. Children are socialised into accepted patterns of language use, and these social norms of language behaviour become internalised and automatic, and difficult to break. Furthermore, social sanctions are often attached to any deviance from the accepted norm. Language planners recognised that after a period of political subordination, coupled with a massive amount of immigration, the social norms of language use were clearly in favour of Spanish. It was also acknowledged that Catalan language initiatives in the education system would be of little avail if students moved from school into a society that remain largely Spanish speaking. The 'normalisation' campaign set about to change this in favour of the Catalan language.

Third is the political and economic control which has been reclaimed by the Catalan people themselves in their own territory. While this has been put under threat by the large amount of Spanish immigration, it is a fact that proficiency in Catalan is advantageous in employment and upward social mobility, and this has been achieved because of the political decision to 'attain the ... functional institutionalisation of Catalan in connection with all of the powerful arenas of modern life' (Fishman 1991:299). In this instance, political decisions to raise the status of the minority language has resulted in an extrinsic motivation for individuals to learn and use the language both in their private and public lives. In contrast to the case of Irish, Catalan political and economic control has contributed significantly to the revitalisation and maintenance of the language.

Fourth is the promotion of goodwill toward the indigenous language by immigrant groups, and normalising their learning of the indigenous language in order to achieve social mobility themselves and a sense of belonging in their new home.

3.3 Navajo

In comparison with the cases for Irish and Catalan, the situation for the Navajo language is less clear in terms of reversing the decline, and in this sense may be more similar to the situation for the Māori language. North America itself presents a complex situation for the revitalisation and maintenance of indigenous languages because of the overwhelming penetration of American language and culture, the vastness of the continent, and the number and spread of indigenous languages. Of the 300 languages that existed when

Columbus arrived, some 210 are still spoken today. However only 26 of these languages are still being learned by children, and predictions for the others are bleak (see Krauss 1996).

The Navajo language is in a position of relative strength in comparison with many of its neighbours. The Navajo nation is situated in northern Arizona, New Mexico and southern Utah, is about one quarter the size of the New Zealand territory, and has a population of some 250,000 people. While over half of all Navajo report that they are speakers of Navajo (census figures - 160,000), there has been a rapid decline in the last 30 years (Holm & Holm 1995). The actual situation varies from community to community depending on individual histories, and the extent of contact with English. The communities in the geographic interior of the reservation who have had less contact are generally in a stronger position with regard to language maintenance, than those closer to the borders and neighbouring English speaking communities.

Given the long period of colonisation, the relative strength of the language is both a tribute to the resilience and cultural pride of the Navajo people, and a consequence of the relatively high degree of ethno-cultural separation that has been maintained over that period. The recent period of more rapid decline coincides with, and can be seen as a direct result of, a breakdown of Navajo ethno-cultural separation from the mainstream of American society. Improved transportation, the penetration of English language mass media, the transition to an economy based on an individual receiving a wage (and therefore dependency on an outside company) or a welfare benefit, coupled with a legacy

of shame, embarrassment and inferiority as a result of being punished in schools for speaking Navajo, have caused a change in the language norms of Navajo society. This has had a particular effect on the language used in homes with children, resulting in a clear shift toward English.

Fishman argues that achieving successful outcomes for the Navajo language will depend to a large extent on the Navajo ability to:

substantially regulate or moderate the ethnolinguistic influences stemming from the Anglo-American culture that surrounds them and to which they not only *have* but also commonly *seek* easy access. RLS efforts, therefore face the difficult balancing act of re-establishing and maintaining boundaries, at least in part of the total-space of the minorities involved while not closing off access to those general American opportunities and experiences that are desired. (1991:196)

The high unemployment in the Navajo nation, and the lack of any internal economic control or power (although the Navajo land is rich in minerals, the industry is owned and controlled by outside companies, and subject to federal law) mean that life on the reservation is hard. Fishman (1991:188) argues that this assists with the retention of ethno-cultural traditions; however it also serves to make the 'outside world' of mainstream American society look attractive, especially to the younger Navajo.

Navajo language revitalisation initiatives have been targeted on the compulsory school sector, in particular the establishment of 'contract' schools under tribal control. Although only 10% of Navajo children attend a contract school, therefore casting doubt on their ability to make substantial inroads into reversing the decline in the language, they have nevertheless had a considerable impact at a local level. The school established at Rough Rock in 1960 is an example. From the outset, the school's philosophy was to empower and involve the community. This was achieved through focussing on community literacy, establishing a community publishing centre, adult education as well as education for children, cultural programmes such as a medicine man training course, training members of the community to become the school's teachers, bringing elders in to provide instruction in Navajo tradition, and involving community members in all aspects of the school.

Such activities have enabled the Navajo staff to reclaim Navajo for academic purposes, thereby elevating the moral authority and practical utility of the language... The overall impact has been to heighten community consciousness about the value of Navajo language and culture... Parents and Grandparents now have tangible demonstrations of the ways in which their own lives can become the basis for school based language and literacy learning. This has begun to transform the negative attitudes toward literacy forged in the boarding schools, and to promote the understanding that literacy is not something held by a privileged few, or, as the boarding schools taught, simply words on a page. (McCarty 1996:4)

Three themes emerge from the Navajo language situation which are important in considering the revitalisation of the Māori language. First is the economic dependency of the Navajo people. Although Navajo has its own geographic space, with some amount of self regulation, it does not have economic prosperity, or a capacity to generate wealth. Jobs that are available are more likely to be manual labour on the reservation, or to require English, and to be controlled from outside the Navajo nation. This serves to focus people's attention on physical survival – putting food on the table – and also to highlight the attractiveness of the 'outside world' of mainstream American society at least as presented through advertising and the media, thereby diverting attention and energy away from the maintenance of language and culture. Maintaining some amount of 'ethno-cultural' separation as advocated by Fishman is shown to be difficult, even though in the Navajo case there is a delineated geographic space for this to happen. The notion of ethno-cultural separation in the modern world may be impossible to achieve, and therefore be unsuitable as a base for language revitalisation. This is a theme which emerged from the Te Hoe Nuku Roa study of Māori households, and is discussed in Chapters Five and Six.

The second theme is the role that schools can play in strengthening communities and in particular improving the status of the indigenous language of the community. While the outcomes of this approach for the revitalisation of Navajo are still uncertain, there are indications of success at a local level. The school is able to act as a galvanising force for the community, and is seen to have a legitimate function which is far wider than simply educating children in the national curriculum. The school is able to promote literacy

within the whole community, and challenge the established English language speaking norms, thereby raising the status of Navajo, and counteracting the colonial legacy of negativity toward Navajo language and culture. The potential for this to happen in New Zealand exists with the establishment of Kura Kaupapa Māori. However the requirements of the national curriculum and other government stipulations have, in some cases, served to focus schools' attention away from what might be achieved by adopting a more wider ranging community orientated function.

Perhaps it is Te Wānanga o Raukawa, the tribal university based in Otaki which best serves to illustrate the potential of an educational institution adopting a community focus in the context of Māori language revitalisation. One of the stated aims of the organisation is to re-establish a Māori speaking community, and the results of this focus are clearly evident in the increased amount of Māori language that is heard in the street and in community venues, a point noted by several of the participants in the present study (see Chapter Five).

The third theme is one that has emerged in a series of conferences on indigenous languages hosted by various North American groups throughout the 1990's. The conferences served to bring indigenous groups together – their surviving speakers, their language practitioners, and their language academics in order to discuss the issues surrounding the teaching, revitalising, and stabilising of their languages. One of the issues that emerged was the need to be aware of and combat internal negativity. This was discussed by several of the presenters at the 1995 conference (see Cantoni 1996), and

again raised by Burnaby at the conference held in 1997, who gave examples of the manifestation of internal negativity, such as a lack of co-operation between individual teachers and institutions who seemingly have similar aims, as well as the negative and destructive criticism that can be directed at newly establishing initiatives. However, Burnaby maintains that the most damaging form of internal negativity is that directed toward the efforts of learners to improve their language skills and actually use their language.

Most often I have heard people say that they would like to learn or improve their their skills in their indigenous language, but they could not take the ridicule they got when they tried to speak. This kind of attitude and behaviour is a very powerful force in creating the risk of extinction of indigenous languages, and acting to stop it is essential to the work of stabilizing indigenous languages. (Burnaby 1997:299)

With regard to the Māori language, fear of ridicule is also a significant factor, and one which emerged from the qualitative data gathered in the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Language Cohort Study (see Chapter Five).

3.5 Pacific languages in New Zealand

Three reasons influenced the decision to include a focus on the languages of other Pacific nations as they manifest themselves in the New Zealand context. The first reason is because their position on the typology of languages presented on Figure 3.1 contrasts with that of the Māori language. While they are able to claim the status of indigenous

languages in their own countries, they are immigrant languages in the New Zealand context. Immigration of Pacific Island peoples was accelerated in the late 1960's and 1970's when there was an abundance of employment on offer, and has been ongoing through the later part of the century, albeit at a slower pace. Table 3.1 shows the numbers of Pacific Island people who live in New Zealand, and the growth between the 1991 and 1996 censi.

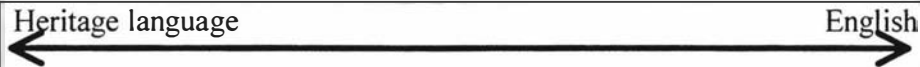
Table 3.1 Pacific Island population of Aotearoa New Zealand (Census 96)

Pacific Island Group	1991		1996		Population Change 1991-96
	Population	% of total NZ population	Population	% of total NZ population	
Samoan	85,743	2.5	101,754	2.8	18.7
Cook Island	37,857	1.1	47,019	1.3	24.2
Tongan	23,157	0.7	31,392	0.9	35.5
Niuean	14,427	0.4	18,474	0.5	28.1
Fijian	5,097	0.1	7,695	0.2	51.0
Tokelauan	4,146	0.1	4,917	0.1	18.6
TOTAL	170,427	4.9	211,251	5.7	24.0

The second reason is the closeness of the languages to Māori, in terms of their relationship within the Pacific family of languages. In addition, they also represent another situation of language shift in the New Zealand context. The two Pacific languages with the biggest presence in New Zealand are Samoan and Tongan, and these are the languages which form the main focus for the following discussion.

The general pattern of language shift toward English by immigrant groups to New Zealand is similar to the international trend highlighted by Fishman (1980). The pattern of language shift toward English is shown graphically in Figure 3.2, and clearly indicates that intergenerational transmission of the heritage language generally ceases within a period of some three generations. Such a trend has been noted in New Zealand for the Yugoslav community (Jakich 1987, Stoffel 1982), the Dutch (Kroef 1977), the Poles (Surus 1985), and the Chinese (Wee 1974, Ng et al 1998).

Figure 3.2 Shift in immigrant languages toward English

	
1 st generation	adult – adult adult – child child – child
2 nd generation	adult – adult adult - child child – child
3 rd generation	adult – adult adult – child child - child

‘Aipolo’s (‘Aipolo & Holmes 1990) study of language shift in the Wellington domiciled Tongan community showed that 98% of her sample were fluent in the Tongan language used for everyday communication, although there had been some loss of proficiency in the ‘chiefly’ or formal variety of Tongan. Her respondents were predominantly first generation New Zealanders, and they reported using Tongan as their normal language of communication in domains and settings under Tongan control. Domains under greater

‘palagi’ influence (such as shops and the workplace) showed a corresponding decline in the use of Tongan. A major reason for the decline of the Māori language as the lingua franca of household interaction reported in the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Language Cohort Study (see Chapter Five), was marriage to a non-Māori, or a non Māori speaking partner, and this was also evident in Aipolo’s Tongan study. She found that adult-adult interactions in the private domains of home and close community were usually conducted in Tongan, except in cases where the partner was not Tongan (20% of her married participants). She also noted the beginning of a shift toward English in adult-child, and child-child interactions.

Factors acting in favour of Tongan language maintenance were noted by ‘Aipolo, and include: the high level of proficiency in the language of the first generation of immigrants; the high level of use of Tongan in a variety of domains including the home, Tongan community settings, and in public places; the importance of Tongan identity and the centrality of Tongan language to that identity; continued contact with relatives in Tonga in the form of visits back home and further in migration to New Zealand; and the solidarity of the Tongan community and the maintenance of some degree of ethno-cultural separation especially through cultural events such as church.

Fairbairn-Dunlop (1984) made a similar study of the Samoan community in Wellington, and the results were not dissimilar to those of ‘Aipolo. Again the majority in her sample were first generation Samoan New Zealanders who were fluent speakers of Samoan. Major factors favouring language maintenance were: the strength and togetherness of the

Samoan community, 'its policy of close contacts, and the continual arrival of new migrants from Samoa' (ibid:112); the maintenance of family ties with Samoa; the importance of Samoan identity and the centrality of the language to that identity; and the strong wish of parents that their New Zealand born children be able to communicate with their elders in Samoan. The threats to the Samoan language in New Zealand were seen to be: the influence of popular culture on young Samoan people, resulting in an erosion of the Samoan culture, and the authority of Samoan institutions; inter-marriage; and a possible decline in proficiency levels of succeeding generations as English proficiency increased.

In discussing the maintenance of the Tokelauan language in New Zealand, Hooper et al highlighted a similar trend:

The situation is somewhat more complex however among the children and young adults who have had either all or most of their schooling in New Zealand. Their English fluency is naturally much greater than that of their elders, but their Tokelauan less so... It is our impression that the variations in language among the Tokelau second generation immigrants are quite wide. (1992:356)

Data from Census 96 confirms the shift toward English. Table 3.2 shows that the percentage of people in the younger age groups who are able to 'hold a conversation about a lot of everyday things' (Statistics New Zealand 1999) in their Pacific language is significantly lower than in the older age groups.

In order to combat this shift, the establishment of pre-school language centres based on the Kōhanga Reo model has become more widespread, and Pacific Island communities are turning toward the education system to assist in language maintenance. There has been a small amount of publishing of curriculum materials in Pacific Island languages, Samoan became an official subject for School Certificate in 1999, and the Ministry of Education has targeted the recruitment of Pacific Island teachers.

Table 3.2 Speakers of Pacific Island languages resident in New Zealand as percentages of age groups (Census 96)

Age Groups									
0-4	5-14	15-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-64	64+	total
Tongan									
39	53	52	66	78	79	84	76	80	61
Samoan									
39	56	66	74	84	96	100	100	99	70
Tokelauan									
18	39	46	53	78	91	86	100	96	53
Cook Island Māori									
4	6	10	16	28	41	50	54	55	18

It is important to note that such initiatives have been established through the petition of Pacific Island communities rather than as a result of a coordinated and planned approach to language policy in New Zealand. While it can be argued that the lack of such a policy is detrimental to the maintenance of immigrant languages in New Zealand, this state of affairs may also represent a potential threat to the Māori language in the form of

competition for resources. A negotiated language policy would be able to recognize the different situation and unique status of Māori as the indigenous language of the country, protected under the Treaty of Waitangi, as well as acknowledging the benefits in ensuring the maintenance of other heritage languages. Benefits would accrue to both the ethnic groups concerned, and the country as a whole (see Chapter Seven, and Skutnabb-Kangas 1981 for a discussion on the benefits of bilingualism and the maintenance of heritage languages).

A second issue arising from examining the maintenance of Pacific Island languages in New Zealand that has a parallel with the Māori language is the tension between conservatism and adaptation with regard to culture. The research discussed above noted that the strength of Tongan and Samoan cultural institutions such as the church were important in the maintenance of the respective languages. Both studies also hinted however that such traditional and conservative institutions may not be as well supported in succeeding generations of New Zealand born members of these groups. The pull of popular culture among young people may seriously erode loyalty to heritage cultures. This is evidenced by the huge popularity of Rap and Reggae music emanating mainly out of America amongst Pacific Island and Māori youth. The capacity of ethnic institutions and elders to both retain cultural authenticity, and adapt in order to remain relevant to younger members will be important in ensuring that the language is maintained. Recently a 'Speak Māori' association consisting mainly of people in the twenty to forty age bracket was criticised by an elder for promoting the speaking of Māori in the social 'club' or 'pub' nights organised by the group. He argued that the language was sacred,

and therefore should not be promoted in such domains. Similar criticisms have been leveled at Māori language rap music. The resolution of such tensions will be important for both the future of the languages concerned, and the authenticity of their cultures.

The ability of Pacific Island groups to return home at intervals in order to maintain kinship ties and the importance of this with respect to increasing language proficiency, suggests that this could also be used to advantage in the Māori situation. Māori language ‘home stays’ in areas where Māori language is more predominant such as in the Urewera valley, or in some communities in Northland could be promoted for second language learners as a way of boosting their fluency. Such home stays could be targeted for a range of age groups, could include attending school in the Māori language area, and could be for various lengths of time from a period of one weeks duration to a whole year or more.

3.6 Summary

Table 3.3 presents a summary of the major issues and themes that have emerged in this chapter. It can be seen that some of the issues are seen to be internal to Māori culture, and others are more focused on the interface of Māori culture with the rest of society. The points raised here have informed the development of a framework for the revitalisation and maintenance of the Māori language that is presented in Chapter Six

Table 3.3 Issues emerging from an examination of indigenous languages in the international community

Issues internal to Māori culture	Issues interfacing with wider society
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maintaining ethnic pride and identity, and therefore language loyalty is of critical importance (Catalan, Navajo, Pacific languages in New Zealand). • Need to overcome internal negativity toward the language, and toward learners of the language (Navajo). • Balancing the tension between maintaining the authenticity of language and culture on the one hand (conservatism), and ensuring its relevance in the contemporary world on the other (Navajo, Pacific languages in New Zealand). • Need to be wary of the normalisation of English as the vernacular of everyday affairs particularly in Māori domains (Irish). • Ethno-cultural separation as a basis for Māori language revitalisation may be difficult to achieve and undesirable (Navajo, Pacific languages in New Zealand). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political autonomy, or achieving a degree of self-determination will not serve as a panacea per se for Māori language revitalisation (Irish). • Need to be wary of placing undue faith in the education system to revitalise Māori language (Irish). • Creating an economic function for the language will greatly assist in revitalisation (Catalan). • A marketing campaign could assist in helping normalise the use of Māori language in private and public domains (Catalan). • Promoting positive attitudes and goodwill toward the language in wider society will assist revitalisation (Catalan). • Encouraging schools to adopt a community oriented language function will assist revitalisation (Navajo). • Promoting the negotiation of a national languages policy may be important in maintaining an appropriate relationship between Māori and other heritage languages in New Zealand (Pacific languages in New Zealand).

Chapter Four

Methodology

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Kaupapa Māori Research
 - 4.2.1 A Māori World View
 - 4.2.2 Culturally Safe Research Practices.
 - 4.2.3 Challenges to existing power relationships.
 - 4.2.4 Accountability and mediation
 - 4.2.5 The researcher is concerned with Māori advancement.
- 4.3 Sociolinguistic approaches to minority language research
- 4.4 Research tools for the cohort study
 - 4.4.1 Māori language proficiency
 - 4.4.2 Māori language use
 - 4.4.3 Access to Māori language
 - 4.4.4 Māori language orientation
- 4.5 Sampling procedure
- 4.6 Recruitment of participants
- 4.7 Data collection, storage, and analysis
- 4.8 Summary

4.1 Introduction

The study under discussion in this thesis is part of a larger research programme called Te Hoe Nuku Roa being undertaken in the School of Māori Studies at Massey University. This research programme which is a study of Māori households began in 1994, and consists of three main parts; a baseline study, a longitudinal study, and

smaller cohort studies of the multiple contemporary factors that impact on Māori households.

The purpose of the Baseline Study is to provide information on the diverse circumstances of Māori households across a range of sectoral interests including health, education, socio-economic circumstance, and involvement with Māori culture and language. The Baseline Study allows inter-sectoral analysis of the data collected, thereby providing understandings about the links between cultural identity and socio-economic circumstances, and lifestyle choices.

The purpose of the longitudinal study is to chart the changing circumstances of Māori households over time, and report on the efficacy of Māori development initiatives.

The cohort studies are designed to follow particular aspects of Māori circumstances as manifested at the household level. This allows the research team to pursue areas of interest, as well as issues that have surfaced in the Baseline Study, thereby providing a greater depth of understanding. The approach allows the quantitative data generated in the Baseline Study to inform the development of the cohort studies. In addition, the more qualitative information from the cohort studies is able to provide depth and illumination to the broad picture obtained from the baseline study. This is consistent with Nelde who contests that 'census type investigations can only determine trends and are often useful if complementary studies are available. In this way, the historical as well as the psychological dimension increases in importance' (1989:76).

The Cohort Study under discussion in this thesis involved forty participants from the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Baseline Study who had identified as having either medium or high

fluency in the language. It provided an opportunity to explore in greater depth than was possible in the baseline and longitudinal studies, aspects of Māori language proficiency, Māori language use, access to Māori language, attitude toward Māori language, and the level of knowledge about Māori language, as they are manifest at the household level.

Chapter Four begins with a discussion of kaupapa Māori research, and in particular the ethics and methods of research that will ensure appropriate outcomes for Māori. This is then linked with those aspects of sociolinguistic research methodology which have informed the development of the Te Hoe Nuku Roa cohort study. An outline of the sampling procedure used for both the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Baseline Study and the cohort study, and the inherent limitations, leads into the conclusion which summarises the Cohort Study methodology and the way aspects of research from a number of theoretical paradigms have been able to be used to develop a methodology most appropriate for the particular context of the study.

4.2 Kaupapa Māori Research

Growth in the number of Māori academics undertaking social scientific research has resulted in a much needed critique of the ethics and methodologies that are appropriate for research involving Māori. The long standing dissatisfaction with the way research on Māori people has been conducted, and the benefits that accrue from that research have been critically examined, resulting in new approaches that are more appropriate and consistent with Māori culture, aspiration and development.

The new approaches have been necessary not only because of the growing dissatisfaction amongst Māori academics, but also the skepticism of the wider Māori

community who have become reluctant to take part in research projects which are often only tenuously linked to Māori advancement. This includes an established relationship with the researcher, a closer involvement in the research process, and an understanding that the ultimate benefits of the research will accrue to themselves and their communities. This in itself represents a repositioning of the power relationship between the researcher and the researched. Hineihaea Murphy and Mike Hollings reported the following difficulties in their study of interlanguage and the Māori language ability of children in a Māori immersion primary school.

The initial difficulty was one of convincing and reassuring the school community of the need for such research, their anonymity, and that the results would be used ultimately to benefit the subjects. The issue of putting a community under a microscope, for any reason, and analysing the results, is always a large one for people whose past experiences with research of any kind has lead to their exploitation. This research was viewed no differently despite the fact that Māori were doing the research primarily to meet Māori needs. (Murphy and Hollings 1993:12)

While the new approaches to Māori research are still emerging and developing, and there is some debate about exactly what constitutes Kaupapa Māori research or Māori centred research, the essential unifying element is the reclaiming of the locus of control over the research, in particular the ability to ensure greater relevance of the research for Māori.

We have a history of people putting Māori under a microscope in the same way a scientist looks at an insect. The ones doing the looking are giving themselves the power to define and describe. (Mita, in Smith 1991:46)

Resiting the locus of control over Māori research with Māori, has resulted not only in Māori regaining the power to define and describe their own lives, but also in a more critical analysis of what Nelde (1989) and Martin-Jones (1989) have called the 'sites of conflict' where political, historical, and socio-economic conditions impact negatively on the maintenance of indigenous minority languages. This is consistent with Smith (1990), who argues that Kaupapa Māori research is the way in which the emancipatory goal of critical theory is manifest in relation to the unique set of historical, political and socio-economic dimensions of Māori reality. In a paper delivered at the Te Oru Rangahau Māori research conference held at Massey University in 1998 Smith developed this idea further when she outlined twenty five types of research strategies that indigenous communities are engaged in. The strategies are 'named in the way indigenous communities actually name them' (Smith 1998:12), and include claiming, remembering, intervening, revitalising, connecting, restoring, protecting, envisioning, and creating. All have relevance to the study under discussion here.

The next section outlines five important dimensions for Māori research as it is emerging, and includes a description of how each dimension is manifest in the present study.

4.2.1 A Māori World View

Nepe (1991), Rangihau (1981) and Kāretu (1990) have all argued that Māori interaction with the world is governed by a unique Māori world view which stems from what is described as 'very different epistemological and metaphysical foundations' (Nepe 1991). These foundations, coupled with the Māori experience of colonisation, and the present political and socio-economic realities of Māori, 'frames the way we see the world, the

way we organise ourselves in it, the questions we ask and the solutions we seek'. (Mead 1996:204).

The present Te Hoe Nuku Roa Cohort Study on Māori language is grounded on the premise that the language is a treasure. The fieldwork was conducted with the view that respect for the participants' mana, integrity and wairua (spirit) is of the uppermost importance, thereby giving credence to the proverb 'He aha te mea nui o te ao, he tangata, he tangata, he tangata' (If you ask me what is the most important thing in the world, I will reply it is people, it is people, it is people).

While western scientific inquiry is based on breaking down areas of study to ever smaller and narrower fields, Māori would be more likely to look at the ways the pieces of the whole picture relate to each other. This is another premise of the Te Hoe Nuku Roa programme including the present cohort study. In Chapter Six, a framework for the revitalisation and maintenance of the Māori language based on the results of this research is discussed. The framework is based on three underlying principles, one of which is called tūhonotanga (interrelatedness). This signals the importance of developing Māori language initiatives across all domains in an integrated and co-ordinated way whereby activity in any one domain supports and builds on activity in another.

This is consistent with the framework developed for the parent Te Hoe Nuku Roa longitudinal study, as a way of conceptualising and describing the position of Māori without value laden judgements about the level of Māoriness. It enables cultural, social and economic circumstances to be linked in a holistic manner, and accepts that identification as Māori in the 21st century will necessarily include a range of cultural, social, lifestyle and economic realities. (see Durie et al 1994).

4.2.2 Culturally Safe Research Practices.

Māori research which is not culturally safe will inevitably result in what Mead has termed 'getting it wrong'. (1996:215). The consequences of this may impact negatively on the participants, on the researcher, on Māori attitudes to research in general, or on the overall efficacy of the research, including its validity and potential contribution to Māori development. Irwin (1994) includes mentorship of kaumātua, and research being undertaken by a Māori researcher as two aspects of culturally safe practices. Te Awekotuku (1991) argues that culturally safe practices for Māori researchers are founded in culturally appropriate ways of behaving, including aroha ki te tangata (human respect and understanding), kanohi kitea (fronting up in person), and titiro, whakarongo kōrero (listen and observe before engaging in dialogue). Experience with the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Baseline Study helped ensure that the research practices employed for the present study are consistent with tikanga Māori, including:

- Reciprocity - the interviewers did not go to homes 'empty handed' but had koha (a gift) in the form of biscuits as a contribution to the hospitality that was afforded them, and book tokens in appreciation of the not insignificant amount of time most respondents spent with them. The respondents were kept in touch and involved with the research through receiving a summary of the findings as well as Christmas cards. The relationship was fostered as a long standing one, rather than contact finishing when the interview was over.
- Mana Whenua (acknowledging tangata whenua status of local tribes) - tribal and other Māori authorities in the four locations were consulted before the Te Hoe Nuku Roa study got underway, and a positive working relationship maintained throughout, including regular hui.

- Aroha ki te tangata (human respect and understanding) - the questions and discussions were emotionally difficult for many respondents, because it involved them in telling stories of loss, discrimination and oppression. The interviewers reported many instances where the participants cried, and therefore it was important to handle the interviews with the utmost sensitivity.

4.2.3 Challenges to existing power relationships.

One of the reasons for the growth of Kaupapa Māori research is the dissatisfaction with traditional approaches to researching Māori, and the tenuous links that the results of research have had with Māori development. If Māori development involves the repositioning of Māori in cultural, political, social and economic terms with the rest of New Zealand society, then Kaupapa Māori research necessarily is concerned with challenging the status quo, with 'notions of critique, resistance, struggle and emancipation' (Mead 1996:201). This will be reflected in the topics that Māori researchers choose to pursue, and while according to Mead the major body of Kaupapa Māori research will be concerned (at least in the present) with reclaiming history, land, and other cultural treasures and resources, this does not preclude any 'researchers who are attempting to work with Māori and on topics of importance to Māori' (ibid 1996:207).

The present research is concerned with describing the Māori struggle to revitalise and maintain Māori language, and how this struggle manifests itself at the household level. Central to this is uncovering the extent to which people's everyday choices about when to use Māori language reflect a challenge to the status quo of established norms of language use, and the difficulties that people experience in progressing that challenge.

This will result in a body of knowledge based on people's real experiences which will be able to inform the struggle.

4.2.4 Accountability and mediation

Irwin (1994) and Bishop (1994) use the term *whānau* to describe a Māori supervisory group, and their role is clearly linked to what has been described above as the essential element of Māori research, that of re-locating the locus of control with Māori. It is this group that will not only provide support of a supervisory and organisational nature to researchers, but also a Māori ethical validation which goes beyond informed consent and confidentiality. This group will ensure that the research is worthwhile and contribute to Māori development.

The Māori attitude is that research simply for the sake of knowing is pointless. There should be more specific aims and objectives in Māori research which are directed at helping people in their daily lives. (Stokes 1985:3)

While research in the western scientific tradition may be categorised as individualistic in nature, where the researcher having gained ethics approval is then able to get on with the job largely under their own jurisdiction, Māori research is subject to ongoing scrutiny by the *whānau* or supervisory group. This is a process of continually validating both the research and the researcher, and ensuring cognisance is taken of a Māori world view, and culturally safe research practices as outlined in sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2.

It is a point of contention whether Pākehā researchers should be involved in Māori research. However it is argued by Bishop (1994) Irwin (1994) and Mead (1996) that any involvement can be mediated by a *whānau* or supervisory group, thus retaining Māori

control over Māori research. This has been an important feature of the present study since the researcher is Pākehā as outlined in the introduction, and without such a group the research would have been impossible to undertake. There have been three levels of mediation operating with respect to the study. First, the study is part of both the Te Hoe Nuku Roa and Toi te Kupu research programmes of the School of Māori Studies at Massey University. Both programmes have advisory committees made up of people from the Māori community, kaumātua, Māori academics, and Māori representatives from agencies such as Te Puni Kōkiri, Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori and the Ministry of Education. Second, the research teams for both programmes have been able to provide a more regular mediating role in terms of the day to day operation of the research, and third, the supervisors of the research have been able to provide in-depth guidance thereby ensuring that academic criteria are met.

4.2.5 The researcher is concerned with Māori advancement.

Most discourse on Kaupapa Māori research has highlighted the importance of the identity of the researcher in terms of the position they take relative to the research topic (see for example Smith 1990; Mead 1996; Bishop 1994; Irwin 1994; Pihema 1993, Soutar 2000). This is consistent with the antipositivist stance taken by feminist researchers, and is an acknowledgement that Kaupapa Māori research is about making a contribution to Māori development and advancement, rather than just describing or finding out, or knowing for the sake of knowing. The explicit positioning of the researcher relative to the research topic is simply an acknowledgement that the research is founded on a Māori world view (see 4.2.1 above), and ‘does not preclude us from being systematic, being ethical, being scientific in the way we approach a research problem’ (Mead 1996:203).

The whole rationale for the language Cohort Study under discussion is the maintenance and revitalisation of Māori language. The information sheet given to and discussed with the participants is clear on this point.

Previous research has told us that generally our language is not in a good state of health as we head into the year 2000. We hope to find out some information that will help improve the position of the language - what are the barriers and difficulties for Māori households in providing a sound language environment for the children coming through, how have some families overcome these difficulties, what can Māori and other organisations do to help improve the situation with regard to the language and so on. (see Appendix 1)

The experience in carrying out the fieldwork showed that the participants were generally very supportive of the project and willing to be involved because of this orientation toward a positive outcome for the language. Comments such as 'koa ana te ngākau i a kōrua kua haere mai nei, kei te mihi atu ...' (My heart is happy that the two of you came here today, it has been good ...) were not infrequent.

The unique dimensions that are emerging in the new approaches to Māori research are summarised in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Dimensions of Māori research and their manifestation in practice

Dimensions of Māori research	Manifestation in practice
Māori world view	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Language and identity is treasured ● People and human values are of utmost importance ● interconnectedness ● historical, political, socio-economic realities are recognised
Culturally safe practices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● reciprocity ● respect for people and their sensitivity toward some topics ● establishes longer standing relationships between researcher and participants
Challenges to existing power relationships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● topics of research concerned with issues of social justice ● research contributes to Māori development ● results are feedback in an accessible manner
Accountability and mediation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● research is continually being scrutinised and validated ● Māori world view and culturally safe research practices are ensured ● dissemination of results is assisted ● credibility of researcher is established
The researcher is concerned with Māori advancement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● the research is founded on a Māori world view ● research is focused on contributing to Māori development

4.3 Sociolinguistic approaches to minority language research

Historically, sociolinguists have employed two main approaches to researching the patterns of language use, proficiency levels and attitudes of a minority group with respect to their mother tongue.

One could be described as 'macro' type research where typically a quantitative survey is undertaken on a representative sample of the target population. This usually results in a functional differentiation of the languages and or dialects present in a bilingual community where variations are described in terms of their domains of usage, with the minority language occupying the informal intimate domains, and the dominant societal language occupying public and more formal domains.

The other method has been described as coming from the 'micro interactionist perspective' (Martin-Jones 1989:115). This is essentially a study of the language use of individuals, and employs qualitative techniques to describe the intricacies of variation in language use and proficiency in conversational interactions.

Martin-Jones (1989) and Holmes (1997) have argued that by themselves, both methods are limited to the extent that they are able to provide a valid and comprehensive picture of the actual situation. The 'macro' approach is criticised because the language choices that bilingual individuals make are seen as mere reflections of community norms, with an inability to account for individual or group variation of language use. In addition it classifies the languages as either 'high' - the powerful language used for public and more formal domains, or 'low' - the weaker minority language used for informal and more intimate domains. Nelde (1989) describes what has typically been the outcome of

such research methods where the speakers of the minority language 'were characterised as socially underprivileged city dwellers and mono or multi-linguals in language conflict zones who were handicapped in their chances of career development' (1989:73).

Often, the research gives credence to the diglossic differentiation of the languages to the point where such a differentiation is seen as a legitimate and naturally occurring phenomena (see Martin-Jones 1989:109). This has recently been argued as being an appropriate aim for the maintenance of Māori language (see Chrisp 1997).

Such a view however fails to take into account a Māori perspective of the language, and Māori aspirations for the language vis-à-vis the broad strategic directions of Māori development, and the desire by Māori to maintain both control and initiative. It locks the language into the status quo of power relations between Māori and Pākehā. It is also somewhat simplistic in its approach as Gal observed when commenting on her research into the language use of an indigenous minority group in Oberwart, Germany:

A few weeks observation in Oberwart made it clear that no single rule would account for all the choices between languages. Statements to the effect that one language is used at home and another in school - work - street would be too simplistic. (Gal 1979:99)

Holmes argues that unwittingly, survey methods may actually serve to hasten the demise of community languages.

By reporting the overall direction of change, and confirming the apparent inevitability of the displacement of community languages, we may unintentionally reinforce and hasten the rate of language shift. It is time for New Zealand researchers to extend their methods and to document and

identify the daily patterns of resistance to the overwhelming dominance of English in New Zealand. (1997:33)

The macro survey method remains useful however in identifying general trends in language usage and proficiency in the population at large, something which is unable to be achieved through the 'micro - interactionist' approach. Martin-Jones concludes that a combination of the two approaches would be most efficacious.

A multi dimensional approach is clearly needed if we are seeking to provide adequate explanations of the variation and change in minority language use and to account for the fact that the voices of some dominated groups endure, and others give way to the voice of the dominant majority. (Martin-Jones 1989:123)

In addition she argues for a 'conflict perspective' to be incorporated into sociolinguistic studies. This is supported by Holmes (1997) who maintains that research that does not take into account the influence of historical, social, political and economic processes on minority group patterns of language use will only present a partial and misleading picture.

In its totality, the three parts to the Te Hoe Nuku Roa research programme are consistent with the arguments proffered by both Martin-Jones and Holmes. First, the Baseline Study utilises the macro sociolinguistic survey methodology to illuminate the general trends in Māori language usage, proficiency and attitude. Because the survey is multi disciplinary in nature, the data on Māori language is able to be analysed with respect to socio-economic, cultural, educational and health profiles which can be drawn from those sections of the survey. This gives a deeper and broader understanding of the

sociolinguistic trends. Second, the longitudinal part to the study gives insight to the change over time dimension. It allows the degree of language shift, and the resistance to language shift to be monitored over the period of a generation (20 years), and also give an indication of the efficacy of maintenance initiatives that are undertaken such as Māori language television and education. Third, the Cohort Study aims to illuminate the survey data, providing the interpretative depth and insight into the variations of Māori language use and proficiency which can never emerge from large scale survey data. It allows individuals, and household groups to be viewed as being empowered to express their intentions and make choices in terms of their conversational interactions with others. They are not merely classified in terms of the established norms of language usage.

It is recognised that norms or patterns of language use amongst individuals and groups are difficult to break once established, however the Cohort Study does provide the opportunity to describe the degree to which Māori individuals and households are challenging the structural functional norms for language use, and the difficulties they experience in doing so.

One aspect of particular interest with regard to the Māori language that perhaps has not been as important in surveys of other minority languages is the interaction between language proficiency and language use, and the extent to which they are functions of each other. This may be because of the large number of second language learners of Māori in proportion to the number of native speakers. It seems that in surveys of other languages this has not been a consideration - balanced bilingualism of individuals has been taken for granted at least in respect of the functional division between the two languages in question. This cannot be taken for granted in the case of the Māori

language. In terms of choosing which language to use in the context of various speech situations, the proficiency of both parties to the conversation will assume major importance.

4.4 Research tools for the cohort study.

Table 4.2 provides a framework for the conceptualisation of the relationship between the three parts to the Te Hoe Nuku Roa study with respect to the topic of Māori language. It can be seen that the main sociolinguistic aspects for investigation are maintained throughout the three parts - Māori language proficiency; Māori language usage; access to Māori language; attitude toward and aspiration for Māori language; knowledge and access to information about Māori language issues. These aspects of investigation also helped form the initial framework for analysis of the data.

The main tool for the collection of data in the Cohort Study was a 47 item questionnaire (Appendix 4), which was administered by a pair of interviewers. Short responses were recorded on the questionnaire schedule, and the questions also formed the basis for discussion which was recorded for later transcription (three out of the forty participants preferred that their interviews not be recorded). Interviewers were encouraged to allow the participants to tell their stories and to prompt with supplementary questions. At the completion of each interview, the interviewers were also asked to complete a small schedule of questions reporting their own responses and perceptions of the interview (Appendix 6). Many of the interviews lasted in excess of two hours, and the data collected became a rich qualitative source of information.

Table 4.2 A framework for the conceptualisation of those parts of the Te Hoe Nuku Roa research programme dealing with Māori language

aspects of investigation	baseline study	longitudinal study	cohort study
Māori language proficiency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> self assessment of productive and receptive ability 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Māori language proficiency in various genre, modes and situations of use e.g. everyday conversation, discussion of current affairs, use of idiom, ceremonial performance, reading, styles of writing etc. effect of English on Māori language proficiency
Māori language use	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> level of Māori language use in a variety of domains with a variety of interlocutors 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> patterns of language use within household (e.g. inter and intra generational use) interaction with English and/or other language in the household language use outside of the household barriers to use of Māori language language shift and maintenance
access to Māori language	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> as a child within present household through Māori cultural activities services in the community (e.g. media, education etc.) 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> historical Māori language shift within family/families occupying the household source of Māori language proficiency motivation level of satisfaction barriers to learning and acquisition
attitude toward and aspiration for Māori language	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> personal level of Māori language proficiency and use level of proficiency and Māori language use in the household level of Māori language use and provision of services within the community 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> reasons for establishing Māori language in the household strategies used to establish and maintain Māori language within household barriers and difficulties associated with maintaining Māori language within household
knowledge and information	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> about the state of Māori language 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> level of knowledge about Māori language issues access to information and knowledge about Māori language issues (eg. children's Māori language acquisition) Māori language promotion effects of over promotion
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> change over time of all aspects of investigation degree of Māori language maintenance or shift efficacy of Māori language initiatives 	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> inter-sectoral analysis - influence of factors such as socio-economic position, demographic factors on all aspects of investigation 		

4.4.1 Māori Language Proficiency

One part of the Cohort Study involved assessing the respondents' proficiency in Māori language. A general form of self assessment was used in the baseline and longitudinal surveys. Three questions were included which required the respondents to identify one out of seven described levels of proficiency which they felt best reflected their own level. Self assessment gives a valid picture of respondents perception of their ability, 'and is an economic way of collecting large amounts of comparable data' (Holmes et al, 1993:5), but this may or may not be an accurate measure of language proficiency. One of the main ways that people are able to judge their own language proficiency is through comparison with other known speakers of the language. It is evident from the Baseline Study that many of the respondents had limited access to native speaking role models upon which to judge their proficiency, and therefore it may be that judgements erred on the lenient side.

On the other hand, it is known that many Māori, particularly those in the older age group tend to be more humble when talking about their own abilities, lending substance to the proverb 'kāore te kūmara e kōrero mō tōna reka' (the kūmara does not boast of its own sweetness), and may therefore have been unduly severe in assigning themselves a language proficiency level.

The Cohort Study offered a means of gauging the accuracy of the self assessments. It also offered the opportunity to gain more in depth information about the following issues that are seen as important in the revitalisation and development of Māori language.

1. The relationship between language proficiency and language use, and whether or not there is a threshold level of proficiency that second language learners need to acquire before widespread use of Māori occurs.
2. The particular modes¹, topics, and styles² of language that the respondents are more or less proficient in, and whether or not this depends on variables such as age or other demographic factors.
3. The way in which the first language (English) of a second language learner of Māori may influence the proficiency levels of the respondents, particularly in terms of retaining unique Māori idiom and sentence structure.
4. The way in which proficiency in Māori language is acquired, and whether or not there is a correlation between proficiency level and the way that level was acquired.
5. The degree of retention of tribal dialect or tendency toward standardisation among the participants.

The generally accepted methods of assessing language proficiency include self assessment (either against described proficiency criteria or with respect to a proficiency scale); assessment by an observer (either structured or informal, through live interview, discrete performance observation, or analysis of recording); and testing (a variety of tests have been devised including tests of comprehension, vocabulary, conversation, syntax, pronunciation).

For the purposes of the Cohort Study, proficiency testing was not considered. Clearly this type of assessment is more appropriate for language classrooms rather than sociolinguistic survey where the goodwill of the respondents and the cultural integrity of

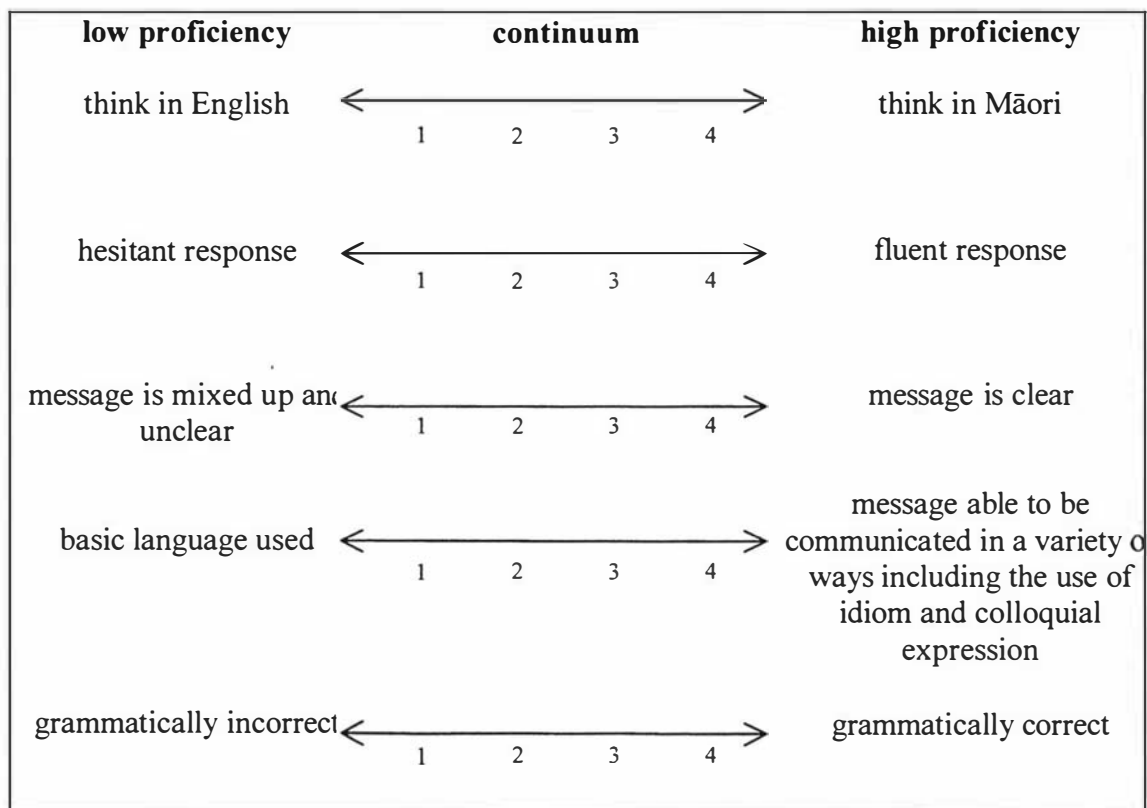
¹ The main language modes are listening, speaking, reading, and writing.

² Styles of language include ceremonial and ritual use of language, colloquial usage etc

the research are paramount. The Māori Language Commission attempted to test a sub sample of respondents in their pilot Māori language survey conducted in 1993, but found that ‘this methodology did not work well in the field’ (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori 1993:31), and concluded that they were fortunate that an unpleasant situation did not arise.

Therefore, a combination of self assessment across a broader range of aspects of language proficiency than those used in the baseline and longitudinal surveys, and observation techniques was used. The self assessment questions presented the respondent with various scenarios of language use, and asked them to judge their ability to use Māori to fulfil the linguistic demands of the particular situation according to the continuums shown in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1 Continuum of Māori language proficiency



Points on each of these continuums were described on a showcard, (Appendix 5), and respondents were required to choose the description they felt was most applicable to themselves according to the given language use scenario.

An important consideration in both the development of the questionnaire and interview schedule was that it be culturally acceptable to the participants. The interviews were conducted in either English or Māori depending on the choice of the participant. As the interviews progressed many in fact switched back and forward between the two languages. The interviewers were also trained to ensure that the emotional welfare of the participants was uppermost, and in many cases stories of language loss within their families, and testimonies of frustration in learning Māori were by their very nature laden with emotion. For example, one participant expressed that:

Its precious to be able to talk Māori. I think its my age when we never learnt anymore. I was stuck in the middle and thats the reason why I missed out ... somewhere along the line in life if you haven't got that identity that Māori in you, you can feel sort of left out.

It was not uncommon for participants to cry, and for the interview to be suspended until after a cup of tea. Where this did occur all of the participants chose to continue with their stories and testimonies, rather than end the interview or that line of discourse.

Holmes (1997) reports that most sociolinguistic surveys in New Zealand have in fact been conducted by 'insiders' in the community.

This has a number of advantages, not least that of providing a legitimate 'role' for the researcher and an obvious and acceptable rationale for the research. (Holmes 1997:28)

A strength of the Te Hoe Nuku Roa methodology has been the way that the participants have been recruited, how they have been kept informed about the research, and the fact that Māori field workers from the various areas in which the research has taken place have been recruited.

4.4.2 Māori language use

Quakenbush (1989) argues that the four main components of the speech situation which influence the patterns of language use are the interlocutor, the topic of conversation, the speech function, and the place where the speech act occurs. Factors related to the interlocutor include age, status or relationship with regard to the person with whom they are speaking, degree of familiarity with the person, language proficiency, and orientation toward the language. Clearly, if a learner of Māori is at ease with the person they are talking with because they have an established relationship with them, and they know that they will receive positive reinforcement for speaking in Māori, then this may sway the person toward speaking in Māori. If on the other hand they are not familiar with the person, they are not sure whether or not they can also speak Māori, or maybe they are anxious that they will not receive positive feedback for one reason or another to their efforts to speak in Māori, then they are far more likely to choose to speak in English, unless they themselves have a very strong orientation toward language activism.

Native speakers of Māori report that it is far easier and more natural for them to speak in Māori about certain topics. While fluent speakers of Māori may normally choose to speak in English with each other, they will almost always revert to speaking in Māori for some things such as expressing sympathy, talking disparagingly of someone, or about matters of sexuality. Kāretu argues against the adage ‘kōrero Māori i ngā wā katoa’, (speak Māori at all times) when he maintains that some things are better spoken about in Māori, and others in English. He is concerned about what he calls ‘te wairua o te reo’ (the spirit, authenticity and integrity of the language) when he says:

Arā kē ngā kaupapa ka taea noa ihotia ki te reo Māori, engari inā hurihia ki te reo Pākehā, e kare, moumou kē ēnā whakaaro; kua memeha noa iho i te rawekehanga. Ko te reo o te whaikōrero, o te karanga tēnā, ko te reo o ngā mōteatea tēnā, ko te reo o te kōrero paki tēnā, ko te reo o te kāuta tēnā. Ā he whērā anō hoki te noho mai o ētahi kaupapa kōrero ki te reo Pākehā. Tērā ētahi kaupapa kua noho tangata whenua kē ki tērā o ngā reo, ā, mēnā ka tahuri te tangata ki te whakawhitiwhiti i aua kōrero ki te reo Māori, he hinengaro whiri tāna kai, ka mutu, inā oti ana tana whakamāori, ka noho manene tonu taua whakaaro, ahakoa kua kākahuria ki ōna kupu Māori. (1995:6)

There are many topics of discourse that can only be undertaken in the Māori language, indeed, if they are translated to English, the ideas are weakened to a point where they become a waste of breathe. I refer to the language of oratory and calling on the marae, the language of song and poetry, the language of storytelling, and the language used in the cookhouse. It is the same also for some topics which are best left in English. They have long been expressed in English, and if one is to begin using Māori to discuss such topics, misunderstandings will result, people

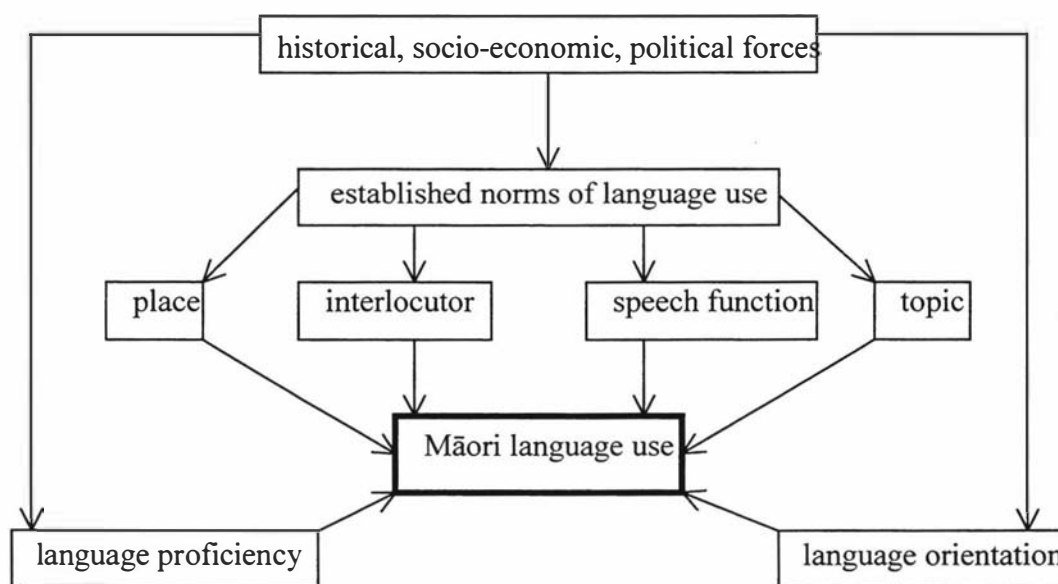
will become perplexed, and in the end the idea or thought will remain foreign even though it has been clothed in Māori words. (Author's translation)

The speech function is closely related to the topic of the speech act, and refers to the purpose for speaking. Quakenbush gives the examples of apologising, complaining, giving commands and seeking information. His study of language use in the Philippines revealed that speech function had little impact on the choice that respondents made vis-a-vis their language of communication. It may be of concern however in the case of Māori language. The researcher has observed Māori language use in a number of bilingual classrooms and Kōhanga Reo, where in some cases, the linguistic limitations of teachers and other adults reduce their use of the language to low level functions such as commanding and reprimanding. Clearly, second language learners will find some functions easier to fulfil in their learnt language than others. It will be important to gauge the extent of the functional limitations of the respondents in their proficiency, and how this affects their language use.

The fourth component discussed by Quakenbush, concerns the 'place' where the speech act takes place. In regard to his study in the Philippines he reported that the vernacular is generally preferred for the intimate settings of home and community, whereas people tended to use the dominant societal languages (English and Tagalog) in more public settings. While the findings of the Te Hoe Nuku Roa baseline survey and other Māori language surveys (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori 1995) show similar tendencies for Māori language use, it is important that respondents' orientation toward such a diglossic division between the languages, and the extent to which the status quo is being challenged, be able to be shown in the research.

Quakenbush's model however, does have limitations. It does not allow for historical, socio-economic, cultural and political factors to be taken into account, and in the case of indigenous minority languages these factors are of critical importance in influencing the decisions that individuals make in a speech situation. It also ignores the critical factor of the language proficiency of an individual. No matter how much an individual may wish to use their mother tongue, they will be unable to do so if they do not have the proficiency required to meet the demands of the particular speech situation. Figure 4.2 is a graphical representation of Quakenbush's model expanded to take these factors into account.

Figure 4.2 Factors affecting Māori language use



The effects on Māori people of the colonial practices and ideologies of the 19th and 20th centuries *vis-a-vis* the oppression of the Māori language (see Chapter Two) remain evident even as the 21st century dawns. Many of the older informants in the study were punished for speaking Māori at school, and were brought up to believe that learning

English was the only way to progress, and in order to learn English, Māori language had to be left to its decline.

It is only in relatively recent times that such orientations toward the language have been challenged. Language has played an important part with regard to identity and solidarity in Māori activism and the growing tide of Māori nationalism since the mid 1970's. While isolated rural Māori communities such as in the far North, the Urewera and the East Coast have been less affected by contact and conflict with the majority culture, and have therefore been better able to maintain the language intergenerationally, the challenge has come from those most affected by linguistic and cultural displacement - young urban Māori. This is consistent with Fishman, who maintains that 'conscious revival efforts however tend to develop in urban contexts, and probably have most chance of success there' (1985:64).

Figure 4.2 shows in graphical form that historical, social, economic and political processes have influenced the linguistic norms that govern the use of Māori language in various situations according to aspects of place, interlocutor, function and topic. Furthermore, these processes have been paramount in determining both language proficiency and orientation. Language orientation includes not only a person's attitude toward and aspirations for the language but also the degree of activation toward the language.

Those Māori who live in isolated rural communities where Māori remains a language of use within the community may not be as strongly orientated toward the language as say urban dwellers who feel more the acute pain of the loss of their mother tongue. While the rural group may take their language of everyday communication for granted, and be

generally unaware of the threats posed to the continued health of the language, the urban group must be activated and oriented toward reversing the decline, and overcoming the social and cultural effects of language loss.

All of these factors influence the choice an individual makes to use Māori language or not. The use, or lack of use in turn influences language proficiency. Sustained use of the language by an individual will increase their proficiency, and the opposite is also true, where both second language learners and native speakers who do not regularly use the language experience a decrease in proficiency over time.

4.4.3 Access to Māori language

The results of Te Hoe Nuku Roa Baseline Study showed that access to Māori language was problematic for many of the participants. Access can be defined as a person's ability to interact with or in the Māori language as a normal part of daily life. This includes both 'receptive' access where the language is heard (oral) or seen (written) being used naturally by others in a range of situations, and 'productive' access is where the ability to participate in language acts usually through speaking with others, but also in writing is available.

One aim of the Cohort Study therefore was to probe further in order to understand more fully the reasons that access was often difficult, the barriers restricting access to the language, strategies that could be used to overcome the barriers, and the outcomes of limited access.

4.4.4 Māori Language Orientation.

While the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Baseline Study asked questions about respondents' attitude toward Māori language, it is felt that a measure of language orientation would provide a better indication of the conditions necessary for language maintenance and revitalisation. This has been included in the cohort study. Whereas the Baseline Study asked whether or not being able to speak Māori was important to the respondents, or whether they thought Māori should be used in various situations, the Cohort Study asked questions such as how much Māori they would like to be spoken in their homes, what sorts of things affect the use of Māori in their homes, and the ways that their household is involved in Māori language activities.

Thus, the language orientation of the respondent moves further than simply how people feel about the language, toward the degree of commitment shown to the language through action. A major part of the orientation measure would therefore be the commitment of the respondent to use the language. Where respondents' active commitment to the language is not consistent with a reported positive attitude, further questions were able to reveal the barriers and difficulties that prevent individuals and families from making a stronger commitment. Questions 15 and 16 about this aspect were prompted by data generated in the Baseline Study which showed that 'access' to Māori language was problematic for many households for reasons such as social and economic dislocation.

4.5 Sampling Procedure

From the outset of the Te Hoe Nuku Roa programme, it was seen as of paramount importance that the sampling procedure be able to provide a representative sample of Māori according to the diverse contemporary realities of being Māori. Previous

statistical measures of Māori were seen to lack sophistication and ‘be of limited value in distinguishing the range of Māori cultural realities, and, inevitably contribute to the development of a homogenous Māori stereotype’ (Fitzgerald et al 1996:35).

For this reason, a sampling method which was named ‘Whaihua Tatau’ was developed which does not make assumptions about cultural identity, lifestyle preferences, locality, or social affiliations. Fitzgerald et al (1996) provide a detailed account of the sampling method which include the key characteristics of

- being a representative Māori sampling method;
- having a focus on Māori households;
- being based on regional selectivity;
- using a stratified sampling technique and representivity weightings.

Using the Whaihua Tatau method, and the definition of a Māori household as being any household (not including boarding houses and transitory living arrangements) which had at least one member of Māori descent, some 700 households across four geographic regions of the North Island were recruited. The regions were based on Regional Authority boundaries, and included Manawatū/Wanganui, Gisborne/East Coast, Wellington, and Auckland. The 700 households generated 1664 individual interviews including both adult respondents and those under the age of 15, who had a slightly modified form of questionnaire.

The sample for the Cohort Study was chosen from 1664 individual respondents involved in the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Baseline Study. This enabled information generated through the Cohort Study to be linked with data from those same individuals and households

generated in the baseline study. While the Cohort Study did not seek to be representative of the Māori population in its sampling procedure, it was felt that including respondents from the four regions and from a variety of age groups, may be useful in showing trends based on demographic circumstance. Given the qualitative nature of the study, and the amount of information that would be generated, a sample size of forty was seen to be ample in terms of providing an in depth understanding of the various realities of Māori language households.

Because the Cohort Study was an attempt to describe the various aspects of Māori language use and proficiency at the household level, and the challenges faced by bilingual Māori individuals and households in giving the desired focus to the Māori language, the 40 participants were chosen on the basis of having either a medium or high proficiency in the language. Questions from the Baseline Study that related to language proficiency were aggregated, and on the basis of the aggregated responses, individuals were given a Māori language proficiency score. This formed the basis for allocating a Māori language proficiency profile as outlined in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Māori language proficiency profiles.

Māori language proficiency score	Māori language proficiency profile
3 - 6	low/very low, nil or limited
7 - 11	medium/low or basic
12 - 15	medium or emerging
16 - 19	or advanced or fluent

It was felt that although some of the respondents generated by this method may not in fact be active users of the language at the household level, it would nevertheless be useful to keep those people in the sample with the possibility of generating information

about why someone with self assessed medium to high proficiency in the language may be either denied the opportunity or lack the orientation to actually use the language at home.

A total of 187 respondents with a proficiency profile of either medium or high were generated, and from these, it was decided to randomly select participants from each region in proportion to the numbers of medium to high proficiency speakers in that region. This ensured both representation from each region in the final sample, and an equal chance for any individual to be selected no matter which region they came from. Table 4.4 gives a summary of the regions and the proficiency profiles of the final sample.

Table 4.4 Sample generated for cohort study.

Region	Numbers in each proficiency profile	Percent of baseline participants	Numbers chosen for cohort study
Manawatū/ Wanganui	medium 17 high 4	16%	9
Gisborne/ East Coast	medium 18 high 27	28%	13
Wellington	medium 28 high 15	18%	9
Auckland	medium 40 high 38	17%	9
TOTALS	medium 103 high 84	19%	40

4.6 Recruitment of participants

The participants in the study were recruited and the interviews conducted during the period November 1998 to February 1999. Initially letters were sent out to all of the participants in the Baseline Study who had self assessed as being in the medium or high fluency category (Appendix 1). The purpose of this letter was to introduce the study to the prospective participants, and to indicate that they may be contacted over the coming months.

Initial contact was usually by telephone, or a visit if the person did not have a telephone. The research was explained and participation was invited (see Appendices 2 and 3 for the Information Sheet and Consent Form). Generally the interviewers found it easy to make appointments because the topic of the research was of concern to the participants. Interviews lasted from between one to three hours, mostly in the participants' homes. Hospitality in the form of a cup of tea or sometimes a more substantial meal was generally offered to the interviewers by the participants. In keeping with the principle of reciprocity (see 4.2.2), koha was in the form of biscuits and book vouchers.

The participants were given the option of conducting the interview and completing the questionnaire in either Māori or English. Nine out of the 40 participants chose to speak in Māori, with the remaining 31 choosing English. In reality however, a large number of those choosing the English option switched between Māori and English throughout the interview.

4.7 Data Collection, Storage, and Analysis

For the purposes of the study, data was collected in three ways, thereby increasing what Lather (1986) has described as construct validity of the research. The 47 item questionnaire (Appendix 4) was not only designed to elicit quantitative information on each of the areas of inquiry, but also to act as a catalyst for discussion, whereby the participants were encouraged to tell their stories with regard to the language. Thirty seven out of the 40 participants agreed for the discussions to be recorded. This formed a rich source of qualitative information for later analysis which was able to illuminate the intricacies and patterns of language proficiency, use and orientation of the individuals and their households beyond the questionnaire results. The emotions, depth of feelings and relationship to historical, political and socio-economic realities so important in understanding peoples situation regarding their language became evident in the recordings.

The interviewers also completed an observation schedule for each interview (Appendix 6), providing further insights and validation to the information collected through the interview and questionnaire.

The data collected during the present study was also able to be collated and analysed with regard to the information collected in the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Baseline Study, thereby enabling further cross referencing with aspects such as the income level of the household, the participants involvement in Māori activities (e.g. receiving benefit from Māori land, attending hui), their level of formal education and so on. This was facilitated by the computer software employed in the Te Hoe Nuku Roa research programme, outlined below.

Following checking and verification, data collected during any of the Te Hoe Nuku Roa research phases was collated and stored on a Microsoft Access database. Double entry of the data was used to protect against input error and random checking was also made at regular intervals to further minimise the chance of error. The design of the database facilitates the statistical analysis of large and complex quantitative data sets, including the integration of sample scheme weightings in analysis tasks.

Analysis of the qualitative data gathered in this research study was assisted by the use of a computer programme called NUD*IST (Non-numerical Unstructured Data – Indexing, Systematising, and Theorising). Typically, qualitative data are disorderly and messy because they comprise of words that invite a range of interpretations. The NUD*IST programme approaches analysis of such ‘messy’ data through the use of two interactive data-bases.

The first is a document data-base, into which are introduced word processed documents such as letters, minutes of meetings, interview transcripts, or even notes about the contents of books, audio-tapes, videos, scanned newspaper clippings, etc. The second data-base comprises a flexible indexing system which evolves as users create categories (which are called “nodes”) for identifying chunks of qualitative data for later retrieval.

(Hansen 1998:2)

The Cohort Study interviews were transcribed, and notes were made on each transcript where it was seen that participants were discussing items of importance with regard to the framework for analysis (Table 4.2). These were then imported into the NUD*IST programme which allowed searches of the data to be made, and notes to be annotated.

In this way, analysis of the data was able to develop and grow out of the data itself, highlighting areas of both consensus and divergence.

4.8 Summary

For the present study, the key to generating sound information which was able to provide a rich understanding of the myriad intricacies of Māori language proficiency, use, access and orientation of individuals and households, was the adherence to the principles of Māori research as outlined in the first part of this chapter. This helped to ensure that the respondents were willing to participate, and felt comfortable to share their stories, as evidenced by the following comment:

I just want to mihi to yourselves firstly for you both made me feel comfortable, and yet when we were speaking over the phone I didn't really want to do it, but I knew I'd made a commitment to the research so you know kia ora korua - it made such a difference once I'd met you. Secondly to say kia ora to the people who are responsible for the whole Te Hoe Nuku Roa for the initiative. It really hasn't been until this interview that its come home to me what the potential good of the research actually is. I took it, you know I had a general kind of thing about it, but I hadn't actually thought about it in depth, and after this interview its really just brought it right home to me about the importance of it. And I just want to say kia ora for the opportunity to actually participate in it. I think that I found the research really interesting cause I think that right from the word go which was the first question, I was hooked, and the question was you know what language was your mother brought up speaking you know I'm interested, I'm guessing that thats about the fact that it tends to be the females

in the whanau that will continue maintaining and te hiki i te reo i roto i te whanau. And I liked that - thats a good approach. And then followed by the father. Yeah so you know kia ora. I have enjoyed the opportunity and what's been really good about this research is that it comes in to unlike previous interviews which have stayed in the realm of the thinking the academic, this one has come in to the realm of what's in your heart. And that takes in to a whole different place, and once you get to what's in your heart you start to talk how you really feel about things eh. And I reckon that you'll get us some really excellent data from this approach, so kia ora, thank you very much. And I won't sing a song! (Te Hoe Nuku Roa Cohort Study participant)

Following each interview, the interviewers were asked to record their impressions of a number of aspects of the interview including the disposition of the person toward participating. In preparing the data for analysis this formed one part of the coding that was entered in to the header of each transcript (see Chapter Six), and all except one was recorded as 'ngākaunui ki te kaupapa' (well disposed toward the research). In many instances, the interviewers were offered hospitality according to Māori custom, often lengthening the interview to a full half day, or until late at night. The interviewers also highlighted some of the benefits of the research to themselves:

Ki ahau anō, he tino waimarie ahau ki te nohotahi me tēnei koroua, ko tō māua reo whakawhitiwhiti whakaaro ko te reo Māori. Kei te aroha tonu tēnei koroua ki te reo Māori nō te mea kei te ngaro haere te reo, ā, torutoru noa iho ngā tāngata e kōrero tonu ana i te reo Māori hei reo

kawe whakaaro. Ka nui taku aroha ki tēnei koroua mō ngā āhuatanga o te ao kikokiko nei e pēhi ana i tō tātou reo Māori. Kua tino piki ake te hiahia i roto i ahau kia kōrero i te reo i ngā wā katoa me te hiahia anō kia tae atu ai ki tōna matatau mō te kōrero i te reo Māori. (Interviewer, Te Hoe Nuku Roa Cohort Study)

I feel very lucky to have spent time with this elder, and discussed the issues in Māori. This elder has feelings of great aroha for the language because it is declining, and there are fewer and fewer people using Māori as a means of communication. I have feelings of great aroha for this elder with regard to the aspects of contemporary life which oppress our language. He has awakened in me a desire to speak Māori at all times, and to become as fluent in the language as he is. (Author's translation)

The participants were kept involved following the interviews when a preliminary report was sent out to them (Appendix 7), with the option of commenting on it if anything was out of order, or important aspects had been missed. A full analysis of the information generated is presented in the following chapter.

Chapter Five

Results and Discussion

- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Language Proficiency
 - 5.2.1 Perception of fluency
 - 5.2.2 Language quality issues
 - 5.2.3 Acquiring fluency
- 5.3 Language Use
 - 5.3.1 Level of use
 - 5.3.2 Factors contributing to level of Māori language use
- 5.4 Access to Māori language
 - 5.4.1 Māori language acquisition
 - 5.4.2 Māori language learning
 - 5.4.3 Māori language broadcasting
 - 5.4.4 Access to written Māori
- 5.5 Attitude to and aspiration for Māori language
- 5.6 Significance of findings
- 5.7 Summary

5.1 Introduction

Chapter Five reports on the relevant findings of the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Baseline Study, and the major factors that emerged during the interviews conducted as part of the Cohort Study. The factors are analysed with regard to the main sociolinguistic themes for the parent Baseline Study of Māori households which were outlined in Chapter Four (see Table 4.2). The analysis framework is shown in Table 5.1. While it is recognised that

the themes and factors overlap and inter-relate with each other, the analysis framework allows those factors which are open to influence by language planners to be seen with greater clarity. In addition, the particular agents of language planning who are best able to give effect to that influence are also highlighted.

Table 5.1 Framework for summarising major themes emerging from the interviews

Themes	Māori language proficiency	Māori language use	Access to Māori language	Attitude and Aspiration	Knowledge
Factors					
Historical Factors					
Situational Factors (e.g. age, location, socio-economic circumstance)					
Structural Factors (e.g. language policy)					
Linguistic Factors					
Idiosyncratic Factors (e.g. upbringing, psychological)					

5.2 Language Proficiency

5.2.1 Perceptions of proficiency

Self assessment as a method of collecting reliable information on the language proficiency of a population sample has been discussed in Chapter Four. Although the potential for either over or under reporting of proficiency by Māori respondents was acknowledged, it was concluded that self assessment was the only feasible means of collecting information on proficiency from a large number of participants. Using self assessment, the Baseline Study showed results similar to the Māori Language Commission's 1995 survey (reported in Chapter Two). Unlike the 1995 survey

however, the Te Hoe Nuku Roa research included a sample of 618 children under the age of 16 who responded either in person or by proxy (if they were too young) to a modified version of the questionnaire.

The Te Hoe Nuku Roa results do not show however, that the hopes for language revitalisation which have been pinned to a large extent on the generation of children who have attended Kōhanga Reo and Māori immersion schooling, are being realised. 12.5% of the under 16 year old sample reported that they could have a conversation in Māori about a lot of everyday things, however only 3.7% self assessed as having advanced proficiency appropriate to their age. These figures are consistent with reported enrolments in Kōhanga Reo and Māori immersion schooling. Only 21% of Māori children under the age of five attend a Kōhanga Reo, 3% of Māori school aged children attend a Kura Kaupapa Māori, and a further 5% attend a level one immersion programme (Keegan 1996, Statistics New Zealand 1997a). Keegan (1996:19) is sceptical about the level of proficiency that might be achieved by children learning Māori language in other types of programmes, and this tends to be borne out by the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Baseline Study which shows that while over 50% of the children respondents had been learning the language, only 12.5% could converse in the language, and fewer still had advanced proficiency for their age.

While it could be argued that the parents or the children themselves were ill equipped to assess language proficiency, the results are nevertheless of sufficient concern to warrant further investigation. Accurate and comprehensive information regarding the proficiency levels of Māori children and the efficacy of various Māori language learning programmes are necessary in order to gain an understanding of the probable health of the language over coming generations.

The Cohort Study (which included adults only) offered a further opportunity for participants to discuss their levels of fluency, for comparisons to be made with the responses in the Baseline Study, and therefore for some measure of the tendency toward over or under reporting to be made. In fact there was some evidence of over reporting and it is suggested that this could show a tendency toward a diminished understanding of what it means to be fluent in Māori. Elsewhere (for example, Oscarson 1997) it has been suggested that a divergence in the data collected by different self assessment questions, and across a period of time would raise questions about the validity of the data. It is argued here that the validity of responses should not be called into question, rather they should be taken as genuine perceptions that participants hold with regard to concepts such as fluency, proficiency and ability in the language.

Rather than raise doubts about the validity of the data, the divergence can be interpreted as representing a tendency toward a diminished perception of fluency. Such a tendency is also reflected in anecdotal reports where someone describes another person as being a fluent speaker who in reality is often able to go little further than simple greetings (see for example Wano 2000). The tendency toward a diminished perception of fluency may be a natural characteristic of a language in decline. As the number of fluent native speakers of the language declines in relation to the number of second language learners, and second language learners have fewer and fewer opportunities to access and interact with fluent speakers, the generally shared perception of what constitutes having a high fluency declines to the level of what local second language learners within the community are able to achieve.

Question 20 in the Baseline Study asked respondents to rate their overall ability in Māori according to a seven point scale. Only people who rated themselves at level five, six or seven were subsequently eligible for the Cohort Study. The descriptors for these levels were:

- **level 5:** You have been learning Māori for some time and you have an advanced knowledge.
- **level 6:** You are fluent in Māori having learnt it as a second language
- **level 7:** You are a native speaker

Question 17 in the Cohort study asked participants to discuss their proficiency in conducting everyday conversation in Māori, and rate themselves against the following more detailed criteria:

1. Limited ability

I can only use a few words

It is hard to get my message across

My language is often mixed up and incorrect

I think in English

My language is often hesitant, and sometimes I am not sure of my pronunciation

2. Basic ability

I can usually get my message across, although I sometimes don't have a wide enough vocabulary

Sometimes my language is mixed up and incorrect, except for short sentences

I usually think in English

Sometimes my language is hesitant, but pronunciation is usually good

3. Good ability

I can always get my message across, although sometimes I wish for a wider vocabulary

My language is usually grammatically correct

My responses are usually fluent and automatic

I usually think in Māori

4. Excellent ability

My responses are always fluent and automatic

I can say things in a variety of ways

I can use Māori sayings and expressions

My language is grammatically correct

There were ten instances representing 25% of the Cohort Study sample, where ability was over reported in the Baseline Study when compared with responses to question 17 in the Cohort Study, as shown in Table 5.2. These people described themselves as having ‘advanced knowledge’, or as being ‘fluent’ in response to the Baseline Study questions, but subsequently reported a limited ability in the Cohort Study - being able to only ‘use a few words’, finding their message ‘hard to get across’, and their language ‘often mixed up and incorrect’.

Table 5.2 Comparison of language proficiency

Gender	Age	Location	Baseline Study Question 20	Cohort Study Question 17
M	44	A	6	1
M	47	G	7	2
F	66	G	6	2
F	45	G	5	2
F	67	M	5	2
F	39	M	5	2
M	58	M	6	2
M	39	M	6	2
F	21	W	5	2
M	37	W	5	1

(A=Auckland, G=Gisborne/East Coast, M=Manawatū/Wanganui, W=Wellington)

In all the cases represented in Table 5.2, comments recorded by the interviewers shortly after the conclusion of the interviews (see Appendix 6 for a copy of the Interviewers Schedule) were consistent with the self assessed ratings for question 17 of the Cohort Study.

Responses to Question 38 of the Cohort Study add further confirmation to the suggested tendency toward a diminished perception of fluency. Participants were asked about what influences their use of Māori language in their homes. Thirty (out of 40) indicated that they would like to use more Māori, but they ‘often do not know how to say things’.

With regard to a diminishing perception of fluency, two pertinent comments were:

I think that the Māori language that is being spoken today is understandable to a lot more people there's not a lot of you know the native speakers are all older much much older whereas the new

speakers have the ability to speak right across - I mean that's just my understanding. (Participant 05)

... i tētahi wā kauhau i tētahi rōpū kaumatua a muri taku kōrero nā tētahi i kī e hoa kāore i te mōhio he aha tō kōrero engari ka mōhio mātou te whakaaro ... (Participant 03).

... at one time speaking to a group of elders, after my talk one of them said, 'Boy I don't know what you said but I understand the sentiment ...' (Author's translation).

These responses indicate that the 'advanced knowledge' or 'fluency' that Cohort Study participants reported in the Baseline Study were perceived in different ways. The outcome of this tendency toward a diminished perception of fluency will be a reduced expectation of what 'fluent' speakers can do in the language or the language functions that they can perform, and possibly a reduced aspiration for the levels that can be achieved. If this phenomena becomes prevalent in Māori medium education, it will undoubtedly impact on the cognitive development of children, a point highlighted by Wano (2000) in his study of four Kura Kaupapa Māori children.

This highlights the need for a group to continually monitor and advocate for quality language standards, a role undertaken by the former Māori Language Commissioner, Professor Timoti Kāretu as central to the work of the Commission. His address in the Ngahuru Lecture Series hosted by The School of Māori Studies at Massey University was not atypical when he urged his listeners to aspire to the heights of the language.

The ‘Kura Reo’, or week long intensive language schools conducted by the Commission were a further initiative instigated by Kāretu where the focus was on language quality. He recruited some of the country’s recognised exemplary speakers of the language and actively encouraged Māori medium teachers to attend the courses which were held during school holidays, in order to improve their proficiency.

The review of the Māori Language Commission in 1998 recommended ‘more benevolence’ with regard to the leadership of the Commission in promoting quality standards (Te Puni Kōkiri 1998:23), and heralded the departure of four out of five commissioners, including Kāretu. As the new Chief Executive Officer for the Commission, Haami Piripi has acknowledged the legacy of Kāretu as being the concern for language quality, and signalled that the new Commission will also focus on other issues such as promoting more widespread language use, improving the status of the language, and engendering positive attitudes toward the language (Piripi 2001).

The Cohort Study showed that diminishing language quality was of concern to the participants, and in order to maintain quality, some effort will need to be exerted to counteract the tendency toward the diminished perception of fluency that has been described in this section. Promotion of quality will need to be balanced against the necessity to encourage learners to become users of the language, and therefore accepting of learner errors and a lower of quality of language in the interim at least. This question of balance is discussed further in Chapter Six.

5.2.2 Language Quality Issues

Related to perceptions of fluency are the concerns that participants expressed regarding language quality. Question 26 asked participants whether or not they were concerned about their knowledge and ability with regard to a number of language areas. Table 5.3 lists these areas, and shows the level of concern expressed by participants.

Table 5.3 Level of concern with personal language quality

Area of Concern	Level of Concern			
	extremely concerned	of some concern	a little concerned	of no concern
Pronunciation	3	7	10	20
Structure	6	14	8	12
Ability to Use Idiom	9	7	10	14
Ability to Communicate	11	11	5	13
Influence of English	9	11	5	15
Retention of Tribal Dialect	4	9	8	19
Range of Vocabulary	8	12	11	9

As could be expected, the level of concern had some correlation with proficiency, with those who self assessed at the lower levels of proficiency generally showing higher levels of concern with the quality of their language. There was a group of eleven participants who were fluent native speakers, and while this group were not concerned with their own knowledge and ability, they nevertheless expressed general concerns with the quality of contemporary spoken Māori.

Aspects of quality which were of major concern to the participants who were second language learners of Māori included the structure of their language, the influence ‘thinking in English’ had on their dialogue in Māori, and the breadth of their vocabulary

for a range of situations. Many participants talked about the beauty of Māori language and how they felt uplifted, satisfied or cathartic when hearing or engaging in Māori dialogue of high quality, and the concern that they themselves were unable to reach that level. Some identified an intergenerational aspect to this decline.

... that's of some concern because the languages aren't constructed the same, so you go and say something in Māori but you're thinking it in English and so it doesn't come out as beautiful as a kaumātua would say it because for him its just right here its there, but we have to sort of translate it and then our translation is somewhat different.
(Participant 21).

Kāore he maharahara, engari ki taku whakaaro kāore au i te piki i te taumata pērā i taku pāpā. Pīrangi au ki te tae ki te āhua o tōna reo.
(Participant 04).

I am not really worried but I know that I'm not reaching the level of ability that my father had. I want to be able to achieve that same quality as him.
(Author's translation).

Learning new words, its constant. It worries me too sometimes with the kids and that because my vocab's limited, I'm limiting their vocab. And so that really gives me the impetus to do something about it because if I have a great range of words to use, it'll rub off on my kids because I'm mainly the one that they're mainly with. That's why

sometimes they come out in English, because they've heard what they want to say, they've heard it expressed one way, and it happens to be in English because they haven't heard it in Māori. (Participant 24).

I'm not quite sure when sometimes I'll say something and I'm not sure whether its in the correct order. Sometimes I know, but a lot of times I think is that correct, is that in the right order. That's probably more a problem for me, the order of the sentence than is vocab. I want to get it right. Usually I'll have the vocab there to say something but I won't know how to put it. I find it difficult because I know its not the same as English but yeah I'm not sure how it is meant to flow. (Participant 26).

The not atypical comments reported above show a high level of general awareness by second language learners of the need for quality Māori, and an expressed desire to ensure that they maintain quality themselves. However this in turn impacts on their confidence in using the language in a variety of situations, the overall effect being to limit their use of the language. Comments such as 'I don't want to say it wrong, if I want to say something its got to be right' were widely represented in participants' responses.

The fluent native speakers of Māori who were included in the Cohort Study sample expressed concern about the general decline in language quality. One elder lamented the fact that in many cases speaking the language seemed to be an intellectual exercise

involving only the ‘head’, rather than coming from the heart and a background of being socialised in a Māori way.

Ko te reo Ingarihi te reo tuatahi nō te mea te nuinga hoki o ngā nekeneke ngā pouaka whakaata he reo Pākehā, engari kāore au i te maharahara i tōku reo Māori e pai noa iho. Engari kua wareware hoki ngā tāngata. Ka haere mai ngā tamariki o tērā kōhanga reo he tatangi anō tō rātou na reo. Tuarua kāore i haere mai i te manawa i haere mai kē i te hinengaro i te mahunga. Koirā hoki te rerekētanga o te tipu mai koe i roto i te reo Māori tipu mai koe i te kāinga i roto ake i a koe, ka kōrero koe ka haere mai i tō manawa e kiia nei he whatumanawa, he aroha. (Participant 11).

English is the main language because most things including the television are conducted in English, but I'm not concerned about my Māori language, its okay. But people have forgotten. The children from that Kōhanga Reo come, and their language is somewhat gurgled. Secondly, what they say does not come from the heart, it comes instead from the head. That indeed is the difference between growing up in a Māori environment in the home - it's in you, and you speak from the heart, from the seat of your emotions. (Author's translation).

This is consistent with what Saville-Troike describes as Halliday's (1975) treatise on language acquisition which:

‘considers such factors as the language which the child is reacting to and its meaning potential, the situational environment of interaction (including the role and statuses of participants), the variety or register of language used in

any specific communicative event, the linguistic system itself (both its potential and how it is constructed by the child), and the social structure within which the interaction is taking place' (Saville-Troike 1989:226).

The intimate interactions typical of family and whānau settings are unable to be replicated within a formal education setting, making it difficult if not impossible for schools to act as agents of socialisation for children who are not brought up in a Māori language environment at home. The observation the elder made about the difference between speaking Māori from the 'head' or from the 'heart' will, in many cases, be an outcome of the focus on formal avenues of language learning (e.g. school) as opposed to the informal (e.g. home).

There was also a high level of dissatisfaction reported by fluent native speakers with the large number of 'new words' that have been developed for the language over recent years. Reports that they often did not understand the Māori language being spoken in Kōhanga Reo, and that the new words were biased toward one tribal group were not infrequent.

He nui ngā kupu hou e puta mai ana. Ahakoa kāore noa au e tino aro ake ki aua kupu. Ki aua nei he awangawanga nui.. (Participant 16).

There's a lot of new words coming out. But I don't want to know about them. To me they're a big worry. (Author's translation).

Yes, but when its the news, I prefer it in English because sometimes it's easier to explain. Some of the Pākehā words I don't know in Māori, because they're new words. I can usually just guess what the new

words on Te Karere [the Māori news on TV] mean because it's a different dialect - I can usually sense what they are talking about.

(Participant 13).

I can't when my daughter here speaks I can't understand, can't speak it. But some of my friends - when we go to pick up our benefit and see someone oh tēnā koe and that's it we're away, and we find out where a person come from and where I come from and its good. We're happy to speak in the language. It's a good feeling to know that there are still some around with our language. I believe some new words coming out. I can't talk to the children cause they wouldn't understand what I am talking about.

(Participant 12).

The sentiments of the older native speakers in the cohort expressed above characterise the changed circumstances for the language. Where once language acquisition was rooted firmly in family, extended family and rural everyday contexts, the locus has now shifted toward contexts often outside of the culture itself (e.g. national and international news), centred more in formal learning situations (and therefore academic language), and involving people more distant from the intimate interactions of family and community life.

One fluent native speaker who was younger than the participants quoted above expressed an opposite view. Significantly, she was employed as a Māori immersion

teacher, and therefore was involved in using Māori for a variety of contemporary and sometimes specialised topics on a daily basis.

Ae, ki a au ka ki ahau he tino kaupapa tērā, nō te mea, kāore tō tātou reo i te reo me waiho kia pōteretere noa iho ne. Kia kaha tonu tātou ki te whakapakari i ō tātou reo. Kaua mātou e pōhēhē kei te mōhio katoa mātou i ngā tikanga o te reo. Kia kaha tonu mātou hoki ki te whakapakari i wō mātou taringa, wō mātou reo, ka kiia he reo mō ināianei. Nā te mea i te mutunga atu, kua kōrero te hunga o nāianei, kāore mātou i te mārāma. I te mutunga atu, kua pōhēhē mātou he reo kē, he reo noa atu. Ki a au he kaupapa tērā, me haere. Koirā au e haere ana ki ngā hui a Te Taura Whiri. Ki te whakarongo. Akene pea kei reira tētahi mea korekore au e mohio. (Participant 29).

Yes, to me that's an important issue, because our language is one that we should allow to just drift around. We should be actively involved in improving our language. Let's not think that we know everything about the language. Let us improve our listening and speaking so that it is a contemporary language. Because at the end of the day, the children will talk and we won't know what they are saying, and we'll think that possibly it's another different language. That's why I go to the Language Commission's courses - to listen. Perhaps I will learn something that I do not know. (Author's translation).

The comments reported above show that language quality is a significant factor which is affecting intergenerational interaction in Māori, and therefore limiting the opportunity that language learners have to hear and interact with fluent native speakers. Issues of

language quality are acting as a barrier to increased use of the language by both fluent native speakers and learners, and also to realising the important role that fluent speakers have in the process of language revitalisation.

5.2.3 Acquiring proficiency

Part of the discussions with participants focused on how they had reached their present level of proficiency in the language, with the hope of being able to identify pathways to proficiency that may be more efficacious than others. One of the questions asked respondents to rate several language learning/acquisition pathways in terms of their importance in helping them achieve their present level of ability in the language. Table 5.4 shows the various pathways and the relative importance ascribed to each.

Table 5.4 Pathways to Māori language proficiency and their relative importance

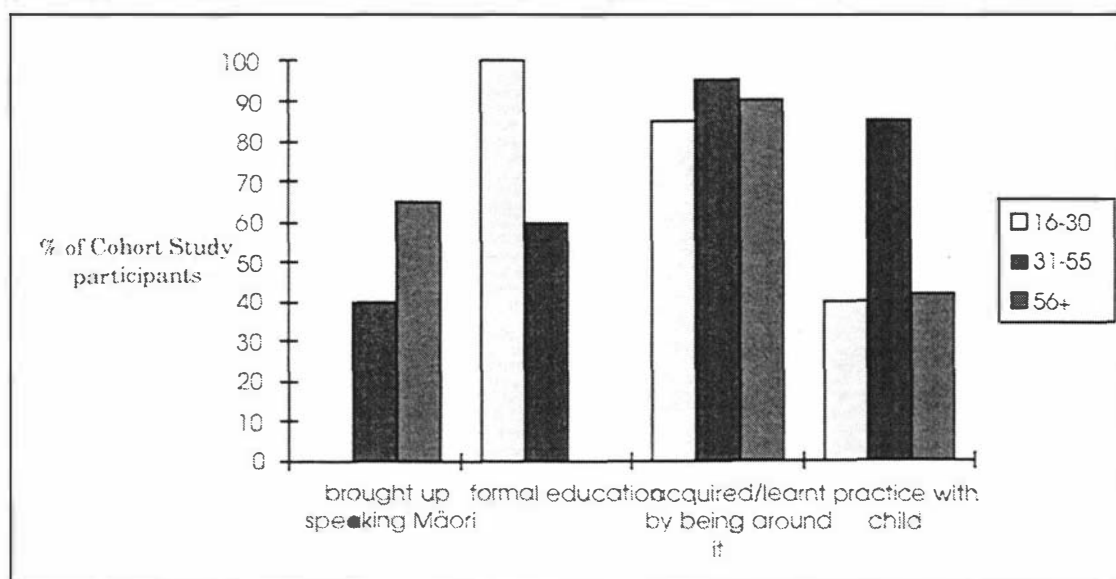
pathway	level of importance			
	very important	of some importance	a little bit important	not applicable
brought up speaking Māori as a child	16	1	6	17
learnt through formal education	15	5	1	19
went to Kōhanga Reo as a child	1	1	1	37
learnt from someone in family	10	7	1	22
went to language classes at a marae	6	1	0	33
went to Te Ātaarangi classes	6	0	2	32
‘picked up’ the language by being around it	34	2	2	2
had children to practise it with	23	1	3	13

The four pathways that stand out as being most important were: ‘being brought up with Māori language as a child’, ‘learning formally’, ‘picking it up by being around it’, and having the opportunity to ‘practise it with children’. When these four pathways are broken down according to the age of the respondents (Figure 5.1), it is interesting to note that ‘picking up the language by being around it’ is rated highly across all age groups. Those in the older age bracket also rated ‘being brought up with it as a child’ as being very important, with formal education not featuring at all. The opposite trend showed up in the younger participants - none were brought up speaking Māori, and 100% rated some type of formal education as being important. Some 66% of all respondents rated the opportunity to practice speaking Māori with children as being important. One participant reported that although she had learnt Māori at school, it was not until the birth of her children that she became more focused on the language.

Ā te wā ka pakeke mātou ka huri mātou ki te reo. Ahakoa i ako mātou ki a mātou kura, te kura tuarua, i te wā i whānau ngā pēpi ka huri tōtika mātou ki te reo. (Participant 03).

When we became adults we began to focus more on the language. Even though we had learnt at secondary school, when our children were born we really focused on the language. (Author’s translation).

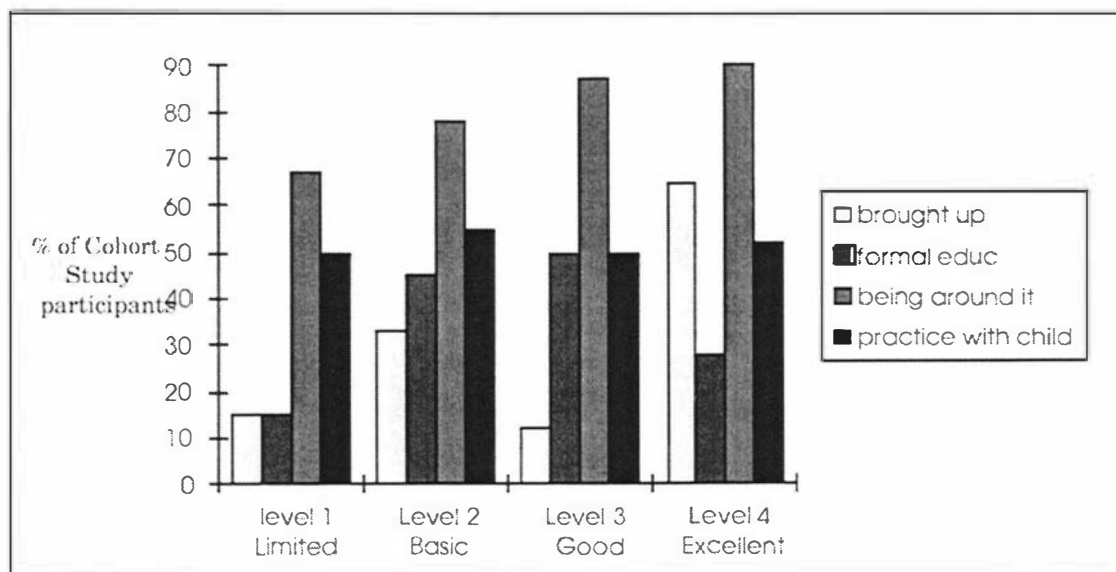
Figure 5.1 Language acquisition/learning pathway considered to be very important to reach present level of proficiency by age group



Further illumination is added when these four pathways to achieving proficiency are analysed according to the actual reported proficiency levels (self assessment). Figure 5.2 again shows that having the opportunity to ‘pick up the language by being around it’ was consistently rated as being very important across all the proficiency levels, whereas learning the language through formal education was rated as being important by only twenty three percent of those in the advanced proficiency category. This raises the question about both the availability of courses at the advanced level, and the efficacy of those courses when they are available, in helping learners achieve advanced proficiency. These findings are consistent with the survey conducted by Keegan with regard to the provision of Māori language education which also raised questions about the standards of fluency reached by students in tertiary level courses, and the availability of more advanced courses.

Currently there are no nationally accepted standards on assessment of fluency in Māori at TEIs (Tertiary Education Institutions). Very few TEIs offered very advanced Māori language courses (Keegan 1997:1)

Figure 5.2 Language acquisition/learning pathway considered to be very important to reach present level of proficiency by proficiency level



The results from the Cohort Study show that the younger the participant, the less likely they were to have been brought up with the language as a child, and needed therefore to rely on formal education to achieve proficiency. It seems however, that both the availability and efficacy of courses at the advanced level may be problematic. The most important finding, was that the opportunity to access Māori language - to be around it when it is being used in natural discourse - was seen to be almost as equally important across all age groups and all proficiency levels. Further to this, many respondents reported that when opportunities for being exposed to the language on a regular basis were limited, there was a decline in proficiency.

My reo was streets ahead five years ago. I could go to wānanga and not be worried, I've just lost it - I've lost contact with the people I used to speak with, and the people I used to communicate with - they've all gone away and done different things. (Participant 08).

These aspects are discussed further in Section 5.4 dealing with access to Māori language.

5.3 Māori Language Use

5.3.1 Level of Use

Along with proficiency levels and numbers of speakers, the actual level of use of a language is a critical determinant in measuring its health. Improving the health of a language involves identifying and removing the barriers that exist to limit use of the language. The Te Hoe Nuku Roa Baseline Survey confirmed the data produced from the 1995 survey conducted by the Māori Language Commission with regard to the level of Māori language use. Generally both data sets show that the use of the language in various domains and with various interlocutors is limited even amongst those with high proficiency in the language. Figure 5.3 highlights the level of use in three of the domains, and among three of the nominated groups of interlocutors as reported by participants in the Baseline Study.

Figure 5.3 Frequency of Māori language use as main language of communication

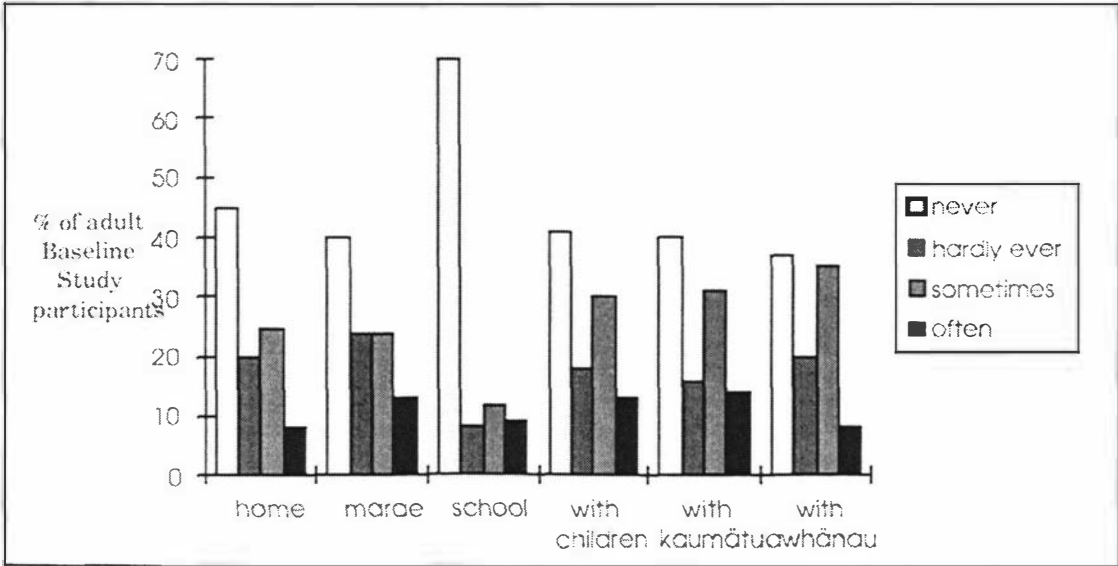


Table 5.5 shows that in comparison with the total sample, participants with medium to high level proficiency used Māori more often across all the domains, and with all the groups of nominated interlocutors.

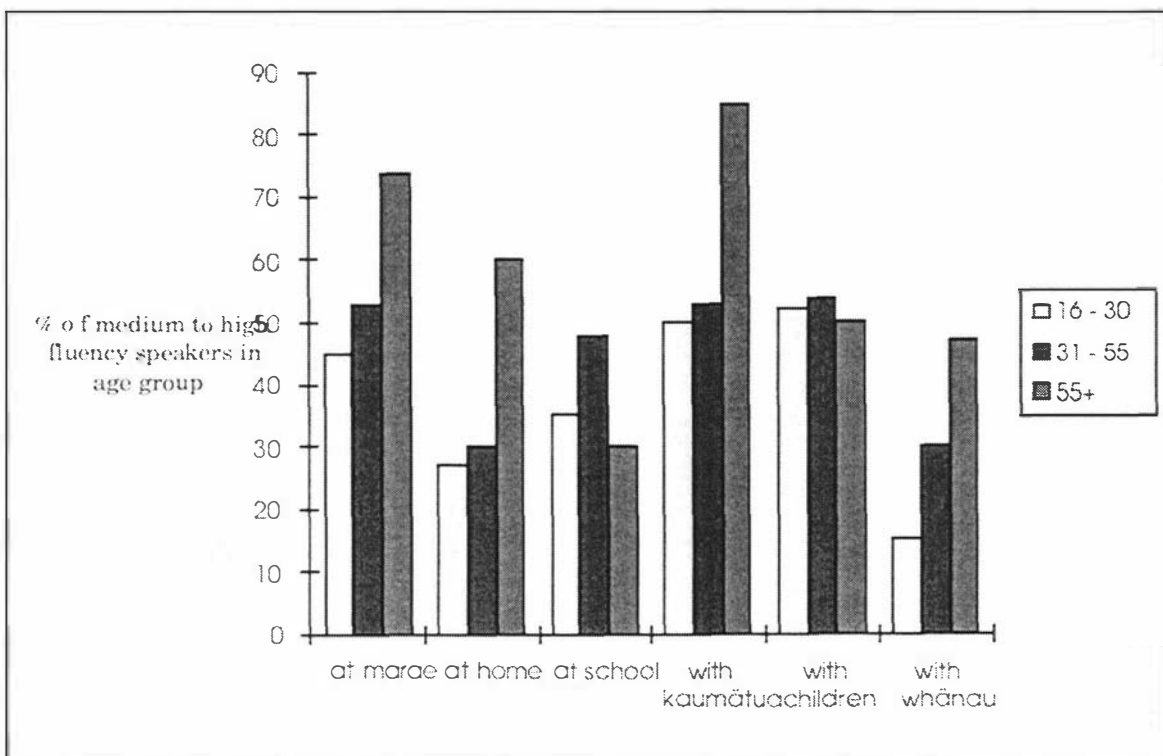
Table 5.5 Frequency of use of Māori language in various domains and with various groups of interlocutors by Baseline Study participants who identified as having medium to high fluency (all figures percentages).

Use at:	Doesn't Apply	Never	Hardly Ever	Sometimes	Often
marae	4	8	8	26	53
home	4	11	16	39	30
school	47	5	5	9	33
Use with:					
kaumātua	3	2	2	31	62
children	4	8	8	29	50
whānau	0	4	13	50	33

However, when this is broken down by age (Figure 5.4), a clearer picture of the patterns of usage becomes apparent. Older speakers used Māori more often in all situations than younger speakers although they were more likely to use the language with their own age peers, and when at the marae than with children, with whānau, and at home. The fact that younger speakers tended to use the language less in all situations supports the contention that a threshold level of confidence seems to be necessary before more widespread use of the language is demonstrated by second language learners. It is interesting to note that the reported use of Māori within this younger age group is highest when interacting at the marae, with kaumātua, and with children, and lowest at home, and with whānau. In contrast, the interviews with the Cohort Study participants

revealed that the ‘marae’ and ‘kaumātua’ were situations where second language learners were uncomfortable in speaking Māori (see 5.3.2). It may be however, that the very fact that Māori was more likely to be spoken in these situations, compelled them to use the language more often themselves. The same compulsion or external influence was not present in the home, and so perhaps the use of Māori language became less frequent.

Figure 5.4 Medium to high fluent Baseline Study participants who use Māori 'often' in various domains and with various interlocutors, by age group



Comments by the older fluent native speakers in the Cohort sample tended to suggest an intergenerational communication gap, where the grandparent generation of fluent native speakers have difficulty in using Māori language with people outside their own age cohort.

I can't understand some young people when they kōrero to me with new Māori - there's a lot of new words now and I need to probably learn

the kupus [words] because there's many new words now. I need to learn how to structure sentences well not the structure but the kupus better I think for newer words. (Participant 07)

This is consistent with Harlow who, in discussing intergenerational communication, quotes an often heard lament:

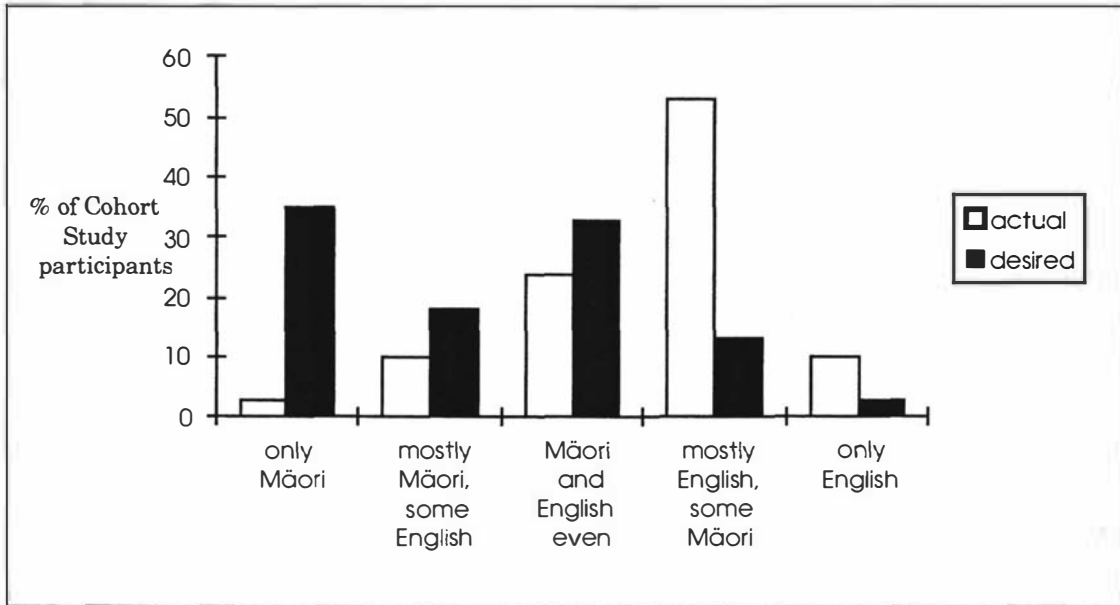
Ko wai o tātou katoa kāore anō kia rongō i ngā kōrero pēnei: 'I pōhēhē au kei te matatau ki te reo, engari kāore au i te mārama ki te reo o taku mokopuna!' [Kei te Kōhanga te mokopuna]. (1996:102)

Who of us has not heard a statement such as 'I thought I was fluent in the language, but I cannot understand my grandchild!' [attending a Kōhanga Reo] (Author's translation).

The Cohort Study presented the opportunity to explore the extent of Māori language usage by people who had self assessed as having a medium to high level of proficiency, and to discuss reasons for choosing to use or not use Māori in various situations, including their own homes.

Generally the discussions confirmed that the level of use of Māori as a normal part of daily life was low. Questions 33 and 34 asked about actual and desired use of the language in participants' homes, and Figure 5.5 shows clearly that actual use was limited even though the level of desire was high.

Figure 5.5 Actual and desired levels of Māori language use by Cohort Study participants



Further, participants were asked about the language of conversation with visitors to their homes. As shown in Table 5.6, conversations were conducted in Māori only with 10% of the visitors identified (across all the participants), whereas 44% of conversations were conducted in English only.

Table 5.6 Language of conversation with visitors to participants homes

	Māori Only	Mostly Māori, Some English	Equal Māori and English	Mostly English, Some Māori	English Only
% of conversations	10	11	10	25	44

5.3.2 Factors Contributing to Level of Māori Language Use

Data presented in the previous section suggests that:

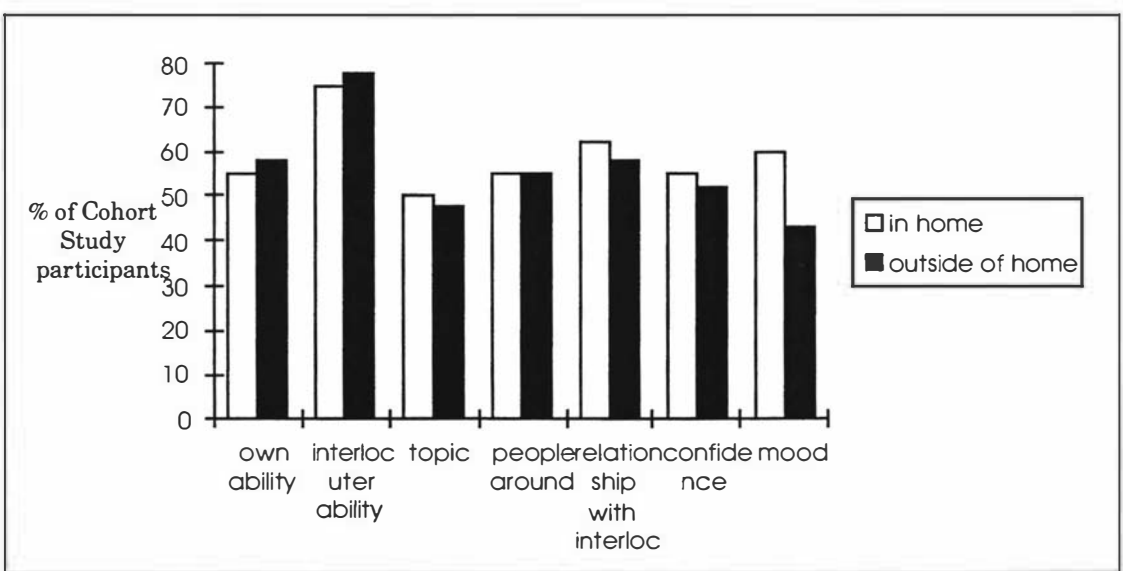
- actual use of the language by people with medium to high proficiency is limited

- there is a strongly expressed desire within this group to use the language more frequently
- the domains and groups of interlocutors where Māori is used varies according to age.

In the next section, participant responses are analysed in order to identify barriers that limit actual use of the language.

Question 36 of the Cohort Study asked about the factors which influenced the choice of whether or not to speak Māori in participants' homes. The same questions were also applied to the choice of language in situations outside the home. The results are shown in Figure 5.6, and indicate that all factors would seem to have a significant effect on language choice.

Figure 5.6 Factors affecting language choice



All of the second language learners in the cohort sample reported difficulty in gaining a threshold level of confidence to speak the language they had spent time and energy learning. Question 46 asked respondents to identify any situation in which they felt uncomfortable speaking Māori. The most common situation of discomfort was

speaking Māori with or around fluent speakers of the language, the reasons given being 'for fear of being judged' (participant 21), fear of saying something wrong' (participant 18), and a limited ability to 'keep up with the conversation' (participant 27).

Most probably with other people if they are fluent and stuff like that a bit hesitant speaking that would be about it. Hesitant because of my own ability. If they encourage me and things like that I would be more comfortable. (Participant 14).

Further to this some participants spoke of being discouraged in their attempts to speak Māori, of having their confidence severely dented through criticism and negative comments. Others however spoke of the positive impact that a supportive interlocutor can have on language use, especially when they are a fluent speaker of the language. It was also noted by several participants that the way learners approach speaking Māori when they are with or around fluent speakers is critical in determining the type of response that is forthcoming. Respect, humility and taking time were mentioned as being important qualities for the learner to display.

Particularly those old fellas they won't talk Māori because they get hoha - they really don't talk Māori - they won't talk because the other person doesn't understand it, and they got to go round to explain it. But on the other hand, personally for myself with the real older ones you got to sit with them for an hour before they start getting to the point. You know that's how they like to talk eh. The older ones it's got to be on their time, on their place whether you interested or not. Even if you're interested they still don't open up. I find there's a few hard

nuts. The younger like the 60s age group, 60 and 70, it's a big effort for them, too. I got some ideas about why, but it's a bigger effort for them to actually sit down and talk to you. There's a very few of them that like to keep promoting the Māori language eh. One lady was speaking to me the other day and she said she enjoys talking the reo, speaking, she's an older lady and she said it's all coming back. Why they don't speak it, like there's a whole group of them that I can see now that are very fluent in the reo, but I find, like I take an interest and they know, and they always speak to me in Māori, although most times I got to initiate, and then they are happy enough to talk. But if somebody comes along, and there's something a little bit wrong with their reo even though they genuinely interested they won't talk sometimes. They'll just block off. Man they are hard case people. I mean these are women and men. I think it's got a lot to do with trust ... They are just very wary, it's the trusting. I think part of them is giving of themselves you know. I don't think we understand it or realise it themselves that they feel that it's a part of themselves, and this is just my thoughts just now, but in watching and observing them I feel a sense that it's a part of themselves that they giving to that person. And I'm not too sure whether they brought it up that it was tapu or it was revered. The people that I know wouldn't have thought in those terms. But certainly it's that trusting eh. They basically don't trust you. Even when it's their own relations oh man! (Participant 20).

Retaining solidarity with non-Māori speaking peers also emerged as a significant factor which limits the use of Māori. Generally the presence of other Māori people who could not speak Māori mitigated against the use of the language in that situation because 'you don't want to belittle them and make them feel inferior that they don't know their language' (participant 24), or you yourself did not want to appear to be whakahīhī (big headed - a show off)

Kāore au e noho whakahīhī mehemea kāore rātou e mōhio ki te reo.

Koinā tētahi o ngā mea i noho aku mātua ki te ako i ahau, kia ngākau mahaki. Nō reira mehemea ka tae mai he tangata ki roto i tō whare kāore e mōhio ana ki te reo, kua e kōrero Māori, he whakahīhī, he takahi. (Participant 40).

I will not be a show off if they don't know Māori. That is one of the teachings of my elders - to have understanding for others. So if someone comes to your house who doesn't know the language, you shouldn't speak Māori - it is being big headed and trampling on them. (Author's translation).

Where Pākehā people are present, 'good manners' was the reason given by most respondents for not speaking in Māori. For some this applied whether they were part of the conversation or just within earshot, for others only if they were involved with the conversation.

Like if there were Pakeha there and say there was another mate of mine who was speaking te reo then I would be a bit iffy about speaking it to the degree of being rude. Mostly because I would be a bit

worried that they may hear us speaking Maori and it's just rude.
(Participant 30).

There might be other people around not necessarily part of the conversation - if there was a real flash native speaker within earshot ... it has some influence. If Pakeha people were around that wouldn't bother me. It might in some cases if they are people that I know, and I don't want to embarrass them, I'll speak English eh. (Participant 24).

Another significant barrier to more extensive Māori language use was the established and entrenched norms and habits of English language usage. This manifested itself in three ways: norms and habits that were difficult to challenge for structural reasons, norms that were difficult to overcome for situational reasons, and thirdly, norms and habits of language usage that could be described as idiosyncratic. This classification is represented in Table 5.8 which summarises the research findings.

The structural impediments included such things as the influence of the community, and the perceived lack of acceptance of speaking Māori in public.

If I usually have a conversation at Te Wānanga with someone in te reo, but I saw them at the grocery store I think I'd be less likely to speak in Māori - just the environment. I know it might be habitual but ... It's not so much that I'm worried about what other people might think but if you never speak to anyone in te reo at the grocery store, so it's you

kind of don't think of speaking to anyone in te reo at the grocery store. (Participant 26).

The environment that we are in now it's English, it has to be. Like my husband he had a heart attack in October. He's fine, he's recovering slowly. Now going to a doctor and going to a chemist and going to a hospital, everything was in English, so I would have to speak English. Where I work it's not very often. I work at the (place of work). We do have quite a few Māori people coming in but when you pick up the telephone you're not going to hear someone at the other end saying 'kia ora', not unless you said it at this end. And then they'll wonder whether they've got the right phone number. (Participant 19).

Some of the participants in the Gisborne and Otaki communities commented on the potentially positive influence that norms of Māori language use in the community can have on an individual's choice to actually use the language.

Only the last fortnight that's pay day. See a lot of Māori women and men in the queue, ah 'Kia ora kia ora' [hello], ah well we start off and carry on. Carry on about the weather, about the Kāwana [government] and all that. And it's good conversing with the Māori women and men and all that you know. (Participant 12).

It is strong in this community and it definitely had an influence on me. I think that's why I'm so different from my cousins who grew up in (place) - the Māori community is still quite strong but nowhere near the same level as Otaki in their development kind of thing. (Participant 26).

The main situational factor working to maintain the status quo of English language usage was the small numbers of people in participants' social networks who could also speak Māori. Several respondents commented on the limited opportunities they had to interact with others in Māori.

It made me think you know that maybe there's not enough of it going on around us, and if we kind of like just fit in to suit other people cause its easier to speak English to other people, for the conversation to flow along, and if you start to kōrero Māori to another Māori person that's not really in to the Māori language then the conversation will stop cause the other person doesn't know how to respond or something and so after a few of those experiences I guess some of our older people stop speaking the reo. Because there's not enough of it going around them. Not enough people speaking it. (Participant 31).

Figure 5.6 shows that the ability of the interlocutor is a major factor in deciding whether or not to speak Māori. In responding to Question 38, fifty percent of the participants in the Cohort Study indicated that they would like to use Māori more often but 'there are not enough people living here who can also speak Māori.' What also emerged was that

in many cases, a spouse or partner was the most important person in terms of influencing a shift toward more or less Māori language use within the home

I have to say that I probably don't promote it here in this particular household because I'm in a de facto relationship. With my own children and my ex husband we used to karakia [give prayers] every night. We would karakia in the morning but then he was quite comfortable with that. The situation now is not quite the same, and so I have to be sensitive. (Participant 04).

...but then I hooked up with ...(partner) who was already pretty fluent in the language, and yeah, he encouraged me... we have the same kind of views, we're not battling each other we're supportive of each other and what we want for our kids... (Participant 24).

All of the cohort sample reported that within three generations of their families there had been a shift away from using Māori language toward more widespread use of English as the lingua franca of family affairs. In many cases English had become the sole language of communication between family members. A major contributing factor to this shift was marriage to either a Pākehā partner, or a Māori non-speaker in the grandparent or parent generation of the family.

Many participants commented that their own perceived laziness was a major factor in not using Māori more often. This was the main idiosyncratic factor contributing to the

status quo of English language usage. 72% of participants commented that they would like to use Māori more often but 'I often forget and slip into using English.'

No there's no excuse why I can't speak it within this house - its just I suppose I'm lazy basically. Its easier to yell English and get action taken! No, I'm slack really. (Participant 08).

Even when fluent speakers of the language come in to our home and we still speak English to each other you know. The majority of our visitors can speak Māori but we still speak mainly English. I think we're just lazy. (Participant 24).

Attitudes which count against the use of Māori could arise from the continued psychological effects on older native speakers of Māori of being punished for speaking Māori at school, and the strong contemporary message that English was the way to get ahead. It became evident that for many of the older participants, such negative experiences continued to be a source of pain and influence on present day orientation toward the language. This is consistent with the proverb 'he tao rākau e taea te karo, engari te tao kī e kore e taea, titi rawa ki te manawa', (a spear is able to be parried, but words are not, they go direct to the heart) as described by Reedy:

Kei te kirikā tonu ngā whero, ngā waewae, me ngā ringa i te hauhautanga a te rākau, a te tarapu rānei, mō te kōrero Māori i roto i te kura. Hoi anō rā, ko te mamae i pā ki te kiri ka māwhe. Engari anō te mamae e haehae ana i te ngākau, e kore. (1992:167).

Backsides, legs and hands continue to sting from the blows of the cane and the strap for speaking Māori at school. However, while the physical pain fades with time, the psychological pain etched into the heart does not. (Author's translation).

Several participants became emotionally upset when recalling the turmoil of their school days.

I wasn't allowed to speak English in the house because my grandmother couldn't understand. Which was pretty hard especially when you went to school and you weren't allowed to speak Māori, so there was no extension because I had to learn English when I started school you see, and when I walked out of those school gates there was no extension of my English learning so I imagine it would have been hard but not being able to learn the Pākehā way. It was hard. Especially because we got strapped when we spoke Māori at school in the school grounds. So when I stepped into the school grounds there was no Māori spoken and when I went home, there was no English spoken so when I think about it, I don't know how I coped. I just did my homework by myself. My grandfather understood about learning English at school and that but my grandmother didn't - she was Māori tūturu. Sometimes I would slip and speak English. 'He whakahī koe. E kī e kī tō whakaaro ki te kōrero Pākehā mai ki ahau.' We weren't told why we had to learn English, we were just told we weren't allowed to speak Māori at school. But you know, when I had my children I always

told them to make sure that they learnt English, because without the knowledge of English and if you didn't know what you were reading about you'll never get on because everything out there is English based eh. No matter what - cooking, sewing, if you couldn't understand what you were reading you couldn't master whatever it was - whether it was carpentry or whatever. So I always made sure that they did well in English. I married a Pākehā so my children would learn English. Only because I had it smacked out of me when I was at primary school. (Participant 15).

Two other factors were mentioned by participants as having an important effect on their use of Māori. In several instances, either the opportunity or lack of opportunity to use Māori in the workplace had an influence that carried across to the home and community.

For me, well take this as an example with me in my job. I'm a senior wool buyer for a company and they have very little understanding of things Māori, and what they understand of things Māori are pretty negative. The reason being what I think is a lot of Pākehā their impressions of Māori is what they get through either media newspapers, anything like that, and I myself believe a lot of those things that are coming through media and that are quite negative. So Pākehās pick up on that, and you know I get it day in and day out from them because I'm the only Māori there. And yeah you know they'll make comments, and I just brush it aside you know, and their

understanding of Māori issues is very limited in what they know of Māori issues is incorrect. And because I'm quite involved in my job it has meant the Māori side well te reo probably has been sort of put aside a little bit. It pays the bills you know. Whereas I remember (name) saying to me one time before, you know I was quite involved in a lot of things but what it comes down to it won't pay the bills. (Participant 30).

We already at our mahi [work] have quite a large content of te reo Māori mainly because we deal with the arts but a lot of our taura the students that we have come from te reo courses so we structure a lot of our courses around the reo and we still need to have other parts of reo at a lower level for our taura [students] that come in that haven't been in that situation. So what we've done with some of our touch teams is te reo Māori katoa [all in Māori]. Everything is done in the reo we've had competitions where all the refs korero Māori - I think a lot get by with hand signals! But its good - it promotes it out in the public. Here, there's a big kind of resurgence of things Māori. Most Māori here either kōrero at least fifty percent of the time when we are together. But that's those that are in that kaupapa. When you work in the kaupapa you tend to move with people who are also there and so there's a lot of us who kōrero. (Participant 07).

Two of the participants had children attending a Kura Kaupapa Māori that required at least one parent to use Māori only when communicating with their child. This was reported on positively, as being an extra stimulus to maintain the language at home and increase the opportunities for speaking Māori.

Nō reira ko te ture o tēnā, ka kōrero Māori i ngā wā katoa. He pai tēnā ki a au, ka kore au e māngere, ka mau tonu te reo Māori. (Participant 04).

That is the rule - to speak Māori at all times. I think that's good - I don't get lazy and the language is maintained. (Author's translation).

5.4 Access to Māori Language

An analysis of the access participants had to Māori language was included as part of this study for two reasons. First, its importance was identified by the participants themselves (see 5.2.3) in both acquiring and learning the language, and second because access may be something tangible that could be directly influenced by language planning decisions.

Access to Māori language is being used in its wider sense, and includes the opportunities that are available as a normal part of daily life to interact with others in spoken Māori, to hear Māori being used in a variety of situations (for example in the media), to read and write in Māori, the availability to access services and leisure time activities through the medium of Māori, as well as language learning opportunities.

5.4.1 Māori language acquisition

Generally acquisition of a language occurs during infancy and childhood as a natural part of being immersed in the interactions that constitute the cultural milieu of the family and the networks of association that the family is involved in.

It may be merely metaphorically enlightening to believe, as Kenneth Burke claimed, that 'men (sic) build their cultures by huddling together, nervously loquacious, at the edge of an abyss', but it is inescapably true that the bulk of language socialisation, identity socialisation and commitment socialisation generally takes place 'huddled together', through intergenerationally proximate, face to face interaction and generally takes place relatively early in life at that. (Fishman 1991:398).

Evidence gained from the Cohort Study shows that the access children have to the language in their childhood, and therefore their opportunities to acquire the language naturally have changed substantially over time. Table 5.7 shows clearly a reduction in the number of children who have access to Māori language within their home environment. Respondents were asked about the language used in the home in their parents' generation, when they themselves were children, and with regard to their own children.

Table 5.7 Access to Māori language in the home - change over time

	Māori only	Mostly Māori, some English	Even amounts of Māori and English	Mostly English, some Māori	English only
participant's parents' generation	16	9	6	4	5
participant's generation	11	5	5	7	12
*participant's children's generation	1	2	8	14	7

* 8 participants did not have children themselves.

While the number of homes where Māori is the language used solely or mostly in interactions with children has declined dramatically over the three generations, the reduced number of English only households in the present children's generation, and increase in the 'mostly English, some Māori' households, could be seen as a positive indication of attempts to reclaim the language in this domain, albeit with barriers preventing greater movement toward the use of more Māori.

Several parents who had children attending a Kura Kaupapa Māori spoke of the difficulty in maintaining a Māori language environment at an appropriate level of sophistication and linguistic complexity as their children became older. The linguistic demands of the children soon began to outstrip the level of proficiency of parents who had been learning Māori as a second language.

Ki ahau nei, mōhio ahau he iti rawa taku mahere kupu, i ētahi wā ka hoki mai rāua, me kī rātou ngā kupu hou ki a māua engari he pai tonu, mā rāua e whakaako ki a māua. (Participant 03).

To me, I know that my pool of words is small, sometimes the children come home and use words I don't know, but that's alright, they can teach us.
(Author's interpretation).

The frustration for parents is compounded further because of the severely limited access to books, television, radio and other multi-media resources available to them in Māori to help bridge the gap.

We try and get resources and books in Māori. But you just can't get stuff eh. Like videos or CD games. CD's are fantastic. I stick her (daughter) on and she has trouble because it's all in English, all the stories are in English. - that's how she'll probably pick it up. It's just so hard to get stuff in Māori. I reckon they should ditch Te Karere and put that money into kids' TV programmes even if it's on from 3.30 to 4.00 half an hour a day after school. Māui and contemporary stuff, cartoons and programmes they are going to relate to. (Participant 24).

Outside the home, the social and demographic community that children are involved in is also important in providing access to the language. The way languages are used within various networks of association, including their functional distribution within those networks can not only provide children with valuable language input contributing to acquisition, but also communicate powerful messages about the status of the language. Children quickly come to understand when they should speak Māori, with whom, and in which situations. This establishes for them their norms of Māori language use. The parents in the cohort study who were working to raise their children

as speakers of Māori all lamented on the limited opportunities for accessing the language in the wider community. Some identified the negative impact that this had on their children's willingness to use the language, especially as they became older.

I did speak in Māori to my children, but the community we were in was all white. They had no one to speak Māori with except me, and that's only at night or in the mornings, and it wasn't very encouraging for them - its my own fault I suppose. (Participant 13).

Wano's (2000) study identifies similar problems for children from a Kura Kaupapa Māori in Taranaki, where even though the networks of association had a strong Māori orientation, access to the language was still limited.

An idea of the overall access that children have to the language outside of their homes can be gauged from the reported use of the language in a variety of domains. Figure 5.3 shows that the level of use by participants in the Baseline Study within three domains and with three nominated groups of interlocutors was limited. Given that Māori children will also be interacting in situations and with people other than Māori, it is clear that in most cases access to the language will be minimal.

Two participants who were parents of children attending a particular Kura Kaupapa Māori reported on the attempts of the school to create a community of Māori language use by encouraging interaction amongst the children and families in situations outside the school. This included fulfilling cultural obligations such as attending tangi (Māori funeral) and other hui (gatherings) together as a whānau, playing sports, and regular whānau get-togethers. This can be seen as an attempt to maintain some degree of what

Fishman describes as 'ethno-cultural separation' (1991:105) and therefore protection from the overwhelming influence of English in the wider community. Typically most participants were very heavily involved in their Māori communities.

We've got three going to Kura Kaupapa at the moment. We support the Kura by going to whānau hui as many as we can, fundraising, myself and (partner) are on the Board of Trustees for the Kura. I'm one of the kaiarahi reo for Te Ātaarangi, I've been in there for probably 10 years, and we're also involved in the taurahere here in (place name). We are also involved in kapahaka [Māori performing arts group] for ... as well as marae and that. (Participant 30).

The research suggests that a high degree of commitment was required by parents and families who wanted to provide for their children a linguistic environment sufficient to satisfy the requirements for high quality language acquisition.

5.4.2 Māori language learning

Because of the limited access (discussed above) that children have to acquiring Māori language as a consequence of their family and community life, language learning opportunities in schools and other educational operations have been looked to to fill the gap. It has also been easier for language planners and activists to influence the policy and programmes of schools than the daily informal interactions that occur within families. This is consistent with Fishman who maintains that

Most modern RLS movements have quickly and naturally, almost as a matter of course, moved to emphasise schools and schooling as the central thrust and process of the entire RLS endeavour. (1991:368).

It is also through the education system that the parent generation have access to learning the language in order to re-create a situation of natural inter-generational transmission within their families.

On the surface, access to language learning opportunities did not seem to be problematic for the participants in the study. Eighty one percent of Baseline Study respondents indicated that they thought there was 'enough opportunity now for people to learn Māori language' (Te Hoe Nuku Roa 1999). However a different picture emerged when discussing this in greater depth with the Cohort Study participants. Problems that were reported included access to the type of learning programmes appropriate for the needs of the participants, and often where something was available, the quality of the course was variable.

We've only got the one Kura Kaupapa, but one of the colleges is starting a total immersion I think this year or last year and there's a bilingual. I don't think its enough to keep up with all of the Kōhanga around here. And another one is transport. Like the Kura has a bus that goes right through to (place), and it comes through every day, and it's a long day for the children, and some parents don't like their children being exposed to a school day like that, 7.00 till about 4.30 - that's a really long day for a kid. It may be a good idea that there is another Kura Kaupapa in the south. (Participant 30).

No not lack of availability of Kōhanga -that hasn't been a problem here, but it's the quality of reo in that Kōhanga. Its not up to standard as far as I'm concerned, no mokopuna [grandchild] of mine will go to that Kōhanga. I want the kaiako to know what they are speaking about. With school, of course there is a problem. They don't get enough time. Forty minutes is the length of every lesson. I was teaching at the Intermediate down here and that is a long lesson forty minutes. Okay, forty minutes a week to learn the reo? What does that tell you. It's a token gesture as far as I'm concerned. (Participant 32).

I found that the second class that I did there was a lot of mucking around - nothing really planned or organised, just sort of float into it whereas the first one that I did was excellent because the guy was taking it was a trained teacher and he was very organised. The second one was person who hadn't come from a teaching background. Lots of knowledge but just ah well do this today, and everything was disjointed, it was really hard. (Participant 05).

I'm still not competent in the reo and I've been doing it for ten years. And you know that's what's happening - a lot of them aren't even moving on because in the kaupapa with us being second language learners, we can only take them to a certain point and that's as far as we can take them. (Participant 30).

He koretake (ētahi o ngā kaiako) engari kei reira tētahi he kaha ake, he tino pai ia. Taku mōhio, kei reira wētahi mō te moni noaiho - he mahi noaiho, he pōuri tēnā. Kāore rātou i te kōrero Māori i ngā wā katoa. (Participant 04).

They're not very good (some of the teachers). But there's one there who's good, she's better. What I see is that some are there just for the money - its just a job, which is sad. They are not speaking Māori all the time. (Author's translation).

Such comments may reflect a more discerning attitude amongst this group of medium to high proficiency speakers, that access to or availability per se of language courses is not as important as the opportunities such courses present to become a speaker of Māori. As has been discussed in section 5.2.3, participants who were second language learners also recognised the importance of access to Māori language interactions as a normal part of informal daily life in complimenting the more formal learning undertaken in the classroom.

Some of the participants reported that they had consciously decided against trying to provide access for their children to the Māori language, preferring instead to leave the choice to them as to whether they wanted to learn or not

... the main thing is to have the desire - if you want to learn it you can learn it alright so you can speak English first and learn Māori no problems and really that was my attitude with my children. I told them

- they complained a few times and I said look if you really want to learn Māori you can do it, even now. But don't come to me and complain that I didn't do this didn't do that. If you got the desire you learn it alright but all of them are proficient in English, and they can hold their own in the bigger world. But when it comes to Māori they can't, but they still got the opportunity, and I'm sure they can handle it. So it doesn't really matter. (Participant 35).

These old buggers up here, they spoke all the time, and when it came to Dad, it stopped there and then it stopped at us, and now we're picking it up again. I might be guilty of not giving it to my kids cause I don't force them to kōrero either. (Participant 07).

One fluent speaker who brought her children up as speakers of the language, and then experienced them preferring to use English as they got older had decided that she would not put pressure on them to speak Māori, she would leave it to them to decide. This was because she herself as a child had experienced the feeling of not wanting others to know that she could speak Māori - of wanting to be the same as everyone else and speak English.

Mēnā au e kōrero Māori ana ki aku tamariki, ka kī au kua e kōrero Pākehā, nā kua taki kōrero Māori. Engari kāore au i te pirangi kia pērāhia e au aku tamariki, ne. Ki ahau ā tō rātou ake wā. Kei a rātou tērā. Mōhio ahau anei tonu ahau, pakeke mai au i roto i te reo, e hia ngā

tau au korekore rawa e hiahia ana kia mōhio te tangata e mōhio au ki te kōrero Māori. Roa te wa. (Participant 29).

If I speak Māori to my children, and say to them to not speak in English, then they will speak in Māori. But I don't want to do that to them. To me, leave it to them in their own time. Its over to them. I know for myself that I grew up in the language, but for a long time did not want anyone to know that I could speak Māori. For a long time. (Author's translation).

Another major barrier reported by participants mitigating against successful language learning for adults was the time commitment required to attend courses, and the need to balance this with other work and family commitments. For many adults the total dedication of parents of Kura Kaupapa Māori children described in section 5.4.1 was not possible. For students who were full time, the need to focus on subjects other than Māori language was also an inhibiting factor.

Now I think I've gone backwards like I learnt Te Kākano 1 and I was pretty confident like I just learnt the basics and that. But once we started getting on to longer sentences and that I found it quite difficult, and I suppose cause of like studying and that I was busy doing other subjects so that got in the way of learning. Like I suppose if I was in a better environment to learn it would have been easier cause I would have been able to focus more on learning Māori kind of thing. (Participant 14).

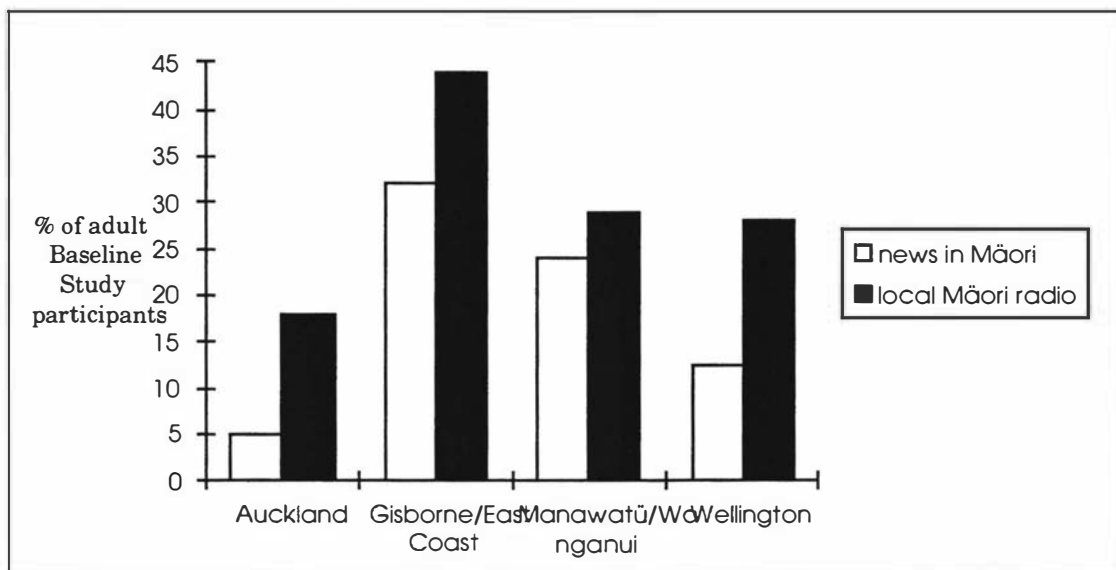
I would like to but I think they apparently do it down here where you have to attend the wānanga and that's very difficult - my husband works very long hours - I just can't shift out for a week basically - its just impossible - I actually said I would really like to do some papers and I'm capable of doing it but I can't shift out of my house for a week - I've got a family so I don't know how the others get on. (Participant 08).

When you go and do courses you haven't got enough time to recharge your batteries. So I decided that I wouldn't do any more. (Participant 05).

5.4.3 Māori language broadcasting

Participants in the Baseline Study were asked how often they listened to Māori language radio, and interestingly this was one question in which answers showed quite wide variance between the regions. Figure 5.7 shows that respondents in the Gisborne East Coast region reported listening to Māori radio more often than those in the other areas, with Auckland respondents listening far less. In contrast, all regions showed very little variance in listening habits across the age groups.

Figure 5.7 Percentage of people who 'often' listen to Māori radio and the news in Māori by region



While this could have been because of less access to mainstream radio in the Gisborne East Coast area, and a proliferation of stations in the Auckland area competing for listeners, the Cohort Study shows that access to Māori radio and general satisfaction were also important. Gisborne East Coast participants reported high levels of satisfaction with and support of their local Māori radio stations.

E rua ngā teihana, Ngāti Porou me tētahi atu, Tūranga FM taku mōhio.

He rawe te mea o Ngāti Porou. Kāore au i te rongō i te mea o Tūranga i

ngā wā katoa. Ka kōrero Māori ka huri ki te reo tauwiwi engari he rawe.

He rerekē ērā teihana ki te teihana o konei (wāhi kē). Kāore au i te

whakahīhi engari ko Ngāti Porou he kaha ake, tērā pea he roa tō rātou

haerenga, i timata rātou i ngā wā o mua i ngā tau i mua. He mōhio rātou

ki te kōrero Māori. He hātekehi. He rawe. Pai rawa atu te āhua o ngā

pāhotanga. (Participant 04).

There are two stations, Ngāti Porou and another, Tūranga FM I think. Ngāti

Porou is excellent. I don't hear to much of Tūranga. They speak in Māori, and

change to English, its good. Those stations are quite different to the station here (place name). I'm not skiting off, but Ngāti Porou is much better, perhaps because they've been going a long time - they started ages ago. They also know how to speak Māori. They're entertaining, their broadcasts are really good. (Author's translation).

In contrast, several Auckland participants did not even know if there was a Māori language station in Auckland, and for some who did, the quality of the broadcasting was problematic.

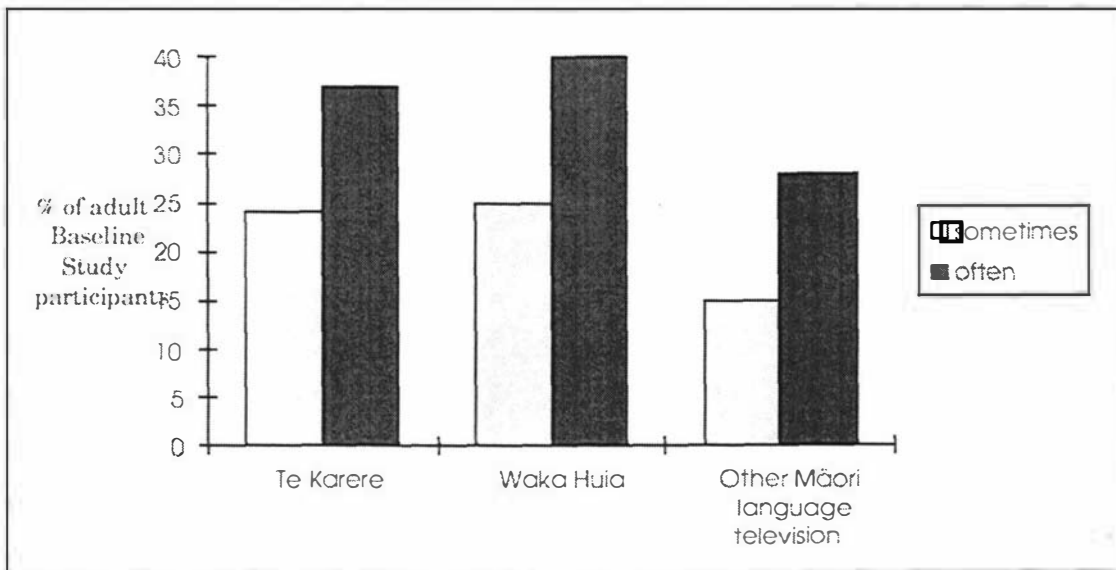
We need more stations who are broadcasting in te reo, or more te reo input on stations like Mai FM. I mean they're slowly getting there, they say a few phrases in Māori. (Participant 38).

I think they do need to - to me we need more Maori programmes put out or even a Māori station brought back in again. I really honestly feel like this radio station I know of they call themselves Ngāti Hine, what is it Taitokerau, and this guy he calls himself Pāpā Rūrū he talks from midnight through and he's talking to all sorts of kaumātua and kuia and he has some real neat talkbacks. He talks both in Pākehā and te reo Māori or mainly in te reo Māori, and you hear some of the things they say, and I enjoy listening to Ngāti Hine, I enjoy listening to the radio up north. In '97 I heard the station from here in (place name) and they're nowhere as pleasant and the information that you hear, and Ngāti Hine does it. (Participant 37).

A more detailed study of the listenership of Kia Ora FM (Manawatū local Māori language radio) showed a significant 'reach' into the Māori community, with 45% of Māori in the station's primary broadcast area reporting that they listened to the station. The study also suggested that there was room for Kia Ora FM to have a stronger focus on helping learners of the Māori language, and the participants were eight times more likely to favour having increased amounts of Māori language content than less, and fourteen times more likely to favour having more Māori music than less (see Fitzgerald and Christensen 1999).

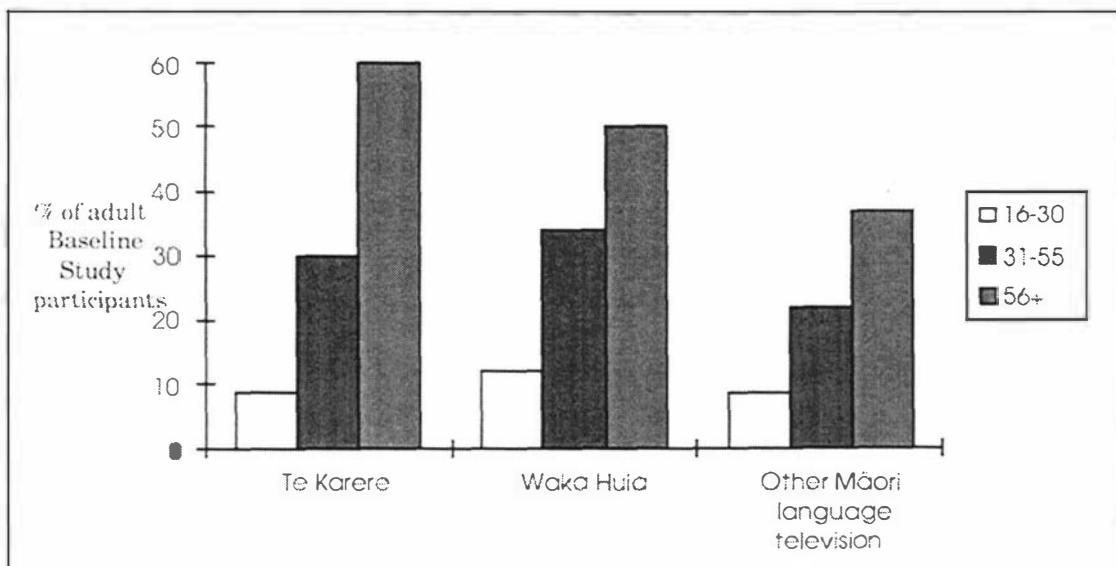
While access to Māori language radio broadcasting has increased (see Allan 1998:27) over recent years, the same could not be said for television. The broadcasting of Māori language on television is severely limited in the quantity of programming, the type of programming, and in access to premium time slots. In spite of this however, the programming that was available enjoyed healthy support from Māori viewers. Evidence from the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Baseline Study shows that over 60% of viewers watched Te Karere and Waka Huia 'sometimes' or 'often' (Figure 5.8). Other Māori language television which was almost non-existent at the time of the survey was nevertheless watched by 40% of viewers either 'sometimes' or 'often' when it was available.

Figure 5.8 Adult Baseline Study participants who 'often' or 'sometimes' watch Māori language television



When these viewers are analysed according to age groups however, it is clear that the restricted type of programming that was available (mainly news and documentary at the time of the survey) was favoured by older people, as shown in Figure 5.9.

Figure 5.9 Adults from Baseline Study who often watch Māori language television, by age group



Cohort Study participants identified the lack of access to Māori language on television makes it difficult to promote the language in the home, especially for children.

Ko te pouaka whakaata kei te whakauaua i tā mātou hāpai i te reo i te kāinga. (Participant 04).

Television makes it difficult for us to promote the language at home. (Author's translation).

... he mea, he taihana Māori mō tātou nē. He pai. Koinā pea hei mau mai i te reo ki roto i ō tātou kāinga, kia mōhio ai ā tātou tamariki nē. (Participant 16).

... a Māori station for us, eh. It would be good. That would surely help in bringing the language into our homes, so that our children will learn. (Author's translation).

Yes I'd like more of Māori language television. More content of te reo Māori in particular at the children's level. We watch Marae on a Sunday but specially the first bit of it, unless you're actually quite a fluent speaker with your ears tuned in its very hard to pick up cause they generally only talk to native speakers. The new kids programme Tikitiki is brilliant its amazing - more of that would be brilliant. (Participant 08).

Several participants also discussed the potential of Māori language broadcasting, and television in particular, to assist in the learning and acquisition of Māori language. This was seen to apply to both items of vocabulary and the colloquial use of Māori in everyday situations.

Ko te wāhanga pai ki ahau ko ngā wā ka puta mai ngā kōrero, ki te whakarongo atu ki ngā kupu tauhou nei i runga i Te Karere, ae. (Participant 22).

To me, the good part about it is to listen to the words that I am unfamiliar with on Te Karere. (Author's translation).

It's a good medium for helping learners. Just the news, Te Karere as often as I can about - it's only on about 5 times a week eh. Not really on at a good time for me. There's not enough Māori language television on. One of the main reasons is that where people can see - for the simple reason that people or students are not getting that interaction inside family houses where they would see those people having a cup of tea or making their beds and the language used there and how to fit it in to context with the Maori living style, and they become much more au fait with the feel of it I guess, and improve their diction or their whole reo. (Participant 20).

5.4.4 Access to written Māori

Results from the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Baseline Study show that the amount of reading of the Māori language is limited. Only ten percent of respondents read 'often' in Māori, and the main reason given was the paucity of materials that were available.

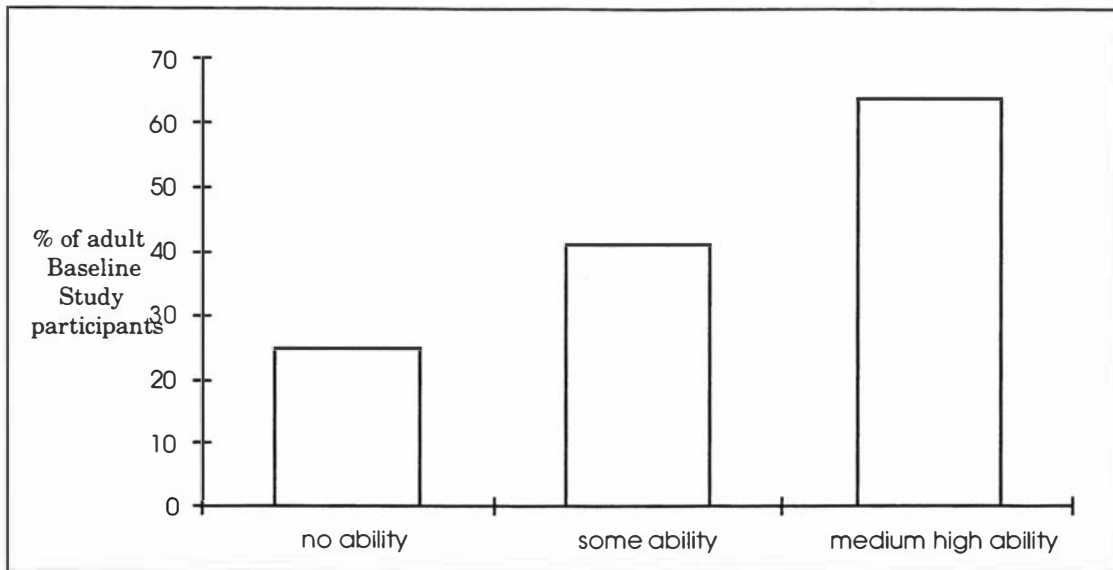
We try and get resources and books in Maori. But you just can't get stuff eh. (Participant 24).

As could be expected, those with medium to high fluency were more likely to read in Māori than those with less fluency. However, as shown in Figure 5.10 there was enough reading in Māori by the less fluent group and non-speakers to suggest that if there were more material available and it was targeted at a variety of fluency levels, the uptake might be greater, and it may be a useful avenue to increase fluency in the language.

A book, what's a book that's easy to read from or learn from. If they made - the books that they give to those kiddies at Kōhanga to the adults who are trying and struggling to learn it it would have made it much easier. Its still can be done, but. Why don't they learn from the books that the kiddies have at Kōhanga. (Participant 19).

The aptitude and enthusiasm that Māori had for reading and writing in Māori in the nineteenth century was discussed in Chapter Two, and this could again be promoted and harnessed in the work to revitalise the language.

Figure 5.10 Adults from Baseline Study who read Māori 'often' or 'sometimes' by fluency level.



5.5 Attitude toward and aspiration for Māori language

One feeling that was expressed strongly in the Cohort Study interviews was the preciousness that participants felt about their language. Many participants, especially those in the older age category described their emotional satisfaction and fulfilment when they had the opportunity to interact in the language, or when they heard high quality Māori language being spoken.

It's precious to be able to talk Māori. I think it's my age when we never learnt anymore. I was stuck in the middle and that's the reason why I missed out. (Participant 09)

But anyway I'm proud when I hear one of my mokopuna can speak the fluent Māori, can understand and the haka - I feel good. (Participant 12)

Its awesome like when you're up town and you hear Māori being spoken.

I love it when the little ones speak te reo, it's choice. (Participant 26)

Nō te mea he reo ātaahua. E ware au mai i te mutunga mai o taku kura koinā tonu te reo e rongō ana au e kōrerongia ana. Kāti i ngā wā e karakia ana ka puta te reo. Nā te mea he ātaahua ki ahau te reo.

(Participant 22)

Because it's a beautiful language. I remember from the time I finished school, that's the main language I've heard being spoken. When we have karakia, the language comes out. Because it's a beautiful language to me. (Author's translation)

Ko ētahi o ngā wāhi e haere ana au ... ka puta mai ētahi tāngata e matatau ana mō te reo Māori, a kua kōrero Māori. Kua noho mātou i reira kōrero Māori ka kata, a kua whakautu mai. Ka rawe, kua ngata tō mātou hiahia, ka matekai mō te reo Māori. Kāore he take mō te kōrero Māori i te kāinga, kāore he tangata whakautu. (Participant 11)

Some of the places I go ... I come across some fluent speakers of Māori, and we talk. We sit down and talk, we laugh, and converse. Its neat, our desire to speak in Māori is fulfilled, we are hungry for opportunities to speak Māori. There's no use speaking Māori at home, there's no one to reply. (Author's translation)

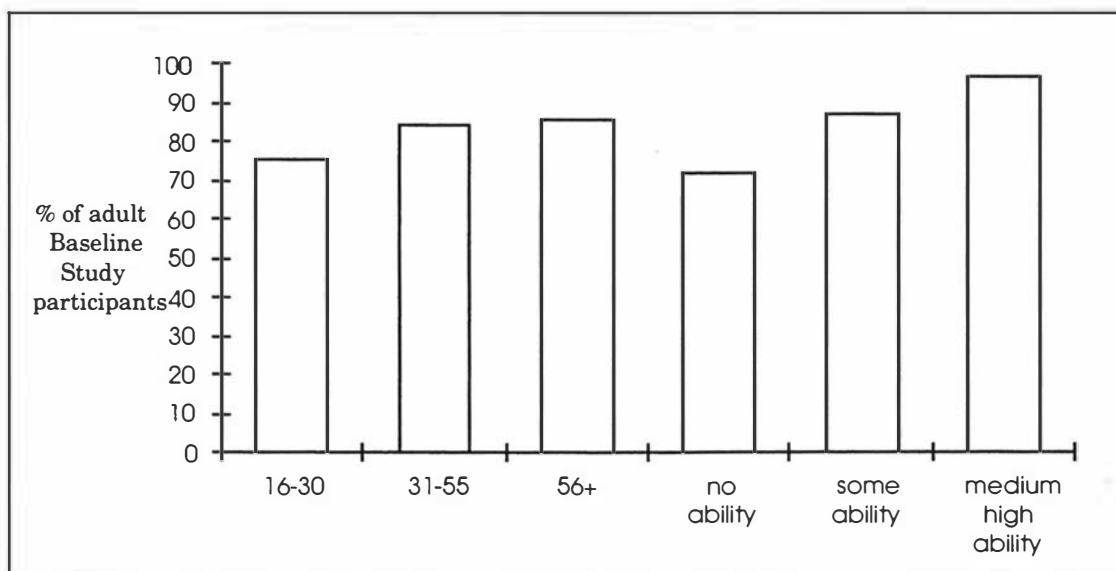
I can't think of that boy's name, he's on at night on the local station and he's so beautiful to listen to, his reo. And he gets all the oldies' requests for our requests. (Participant 13)

For some, the preciousness manifested itself in hurt and grief that the language was in a state of ill-health, or that they themselves had missed out on acquiring the language. Not having the language was reported by several as a barrier to participation in their Māori world.

When I came back from school to home I was just sort of left out because I missed out on the reo. I spent about 4 years away from the family and then went back again. My brothers and that they all kōrero. I am hoping for my mokos that they don't have that same problem. My daughter was up here on Sunday and I told her to make sure. Somewhere along the line in life if you haven't got that identity that Māori in you, you can feel sort of left out. (Participant 09)

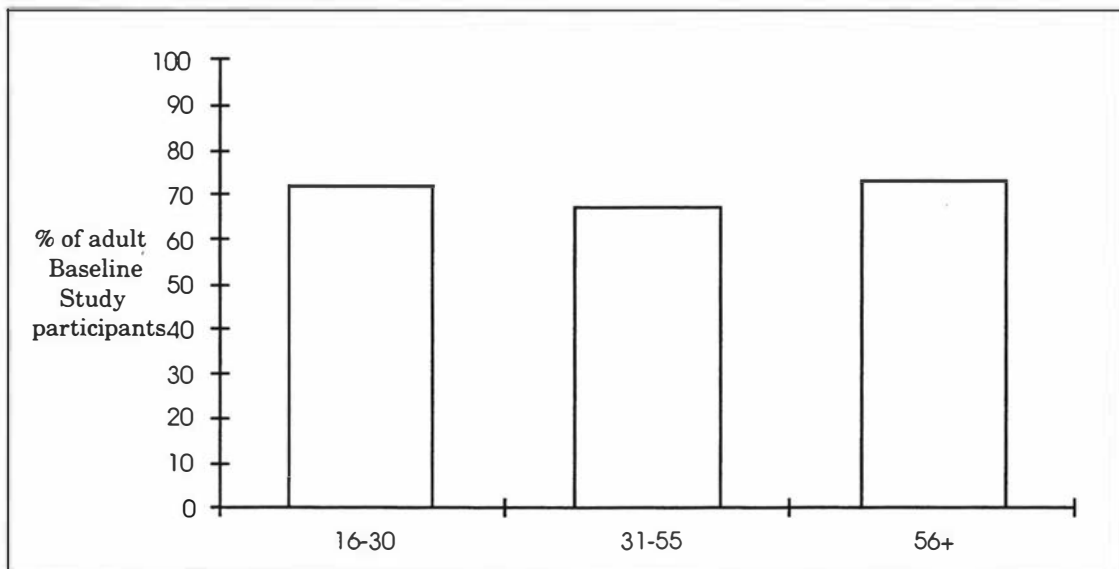
Although it was somewhat difficult to gauge whether or not this attachment to the language was manifest more widely across other fluency groups, there was some evidence from the Baseline Study to suggest that this was in fact the case. Eighty percent of participants said that it was either important or extremely important for them to be able to speak Māori, and this was consistent across all age groups and all proficiency levels as shown in Figure 5.11.

Figure 5.11 Adult Baseline Study participants who thought it was important or extremely important for them to be able to speak Māori, by age group



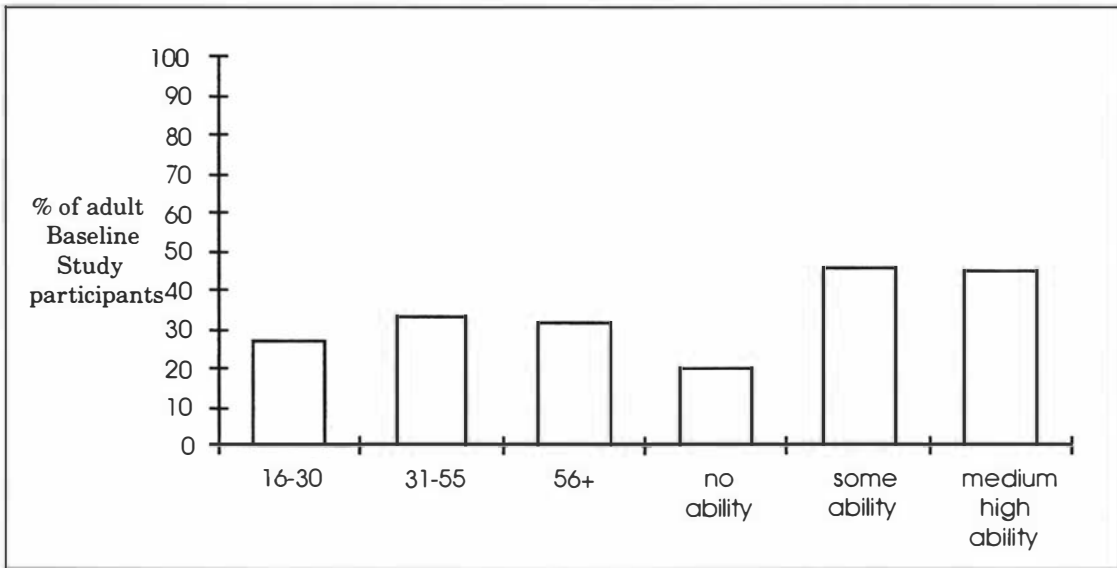
There was also a large amount of dissatisfaction expressed with respondents' own levels of proficiency in the language, and significantly, this was consistent across all ability groups. Figure 5.12 shows that 72% of adult non-speakers, were dissatisfied with their level of ability, and this figure was the same for the medium to high proficiency group. This again illustrates the concern that the Cohort Study participants expressed for language quality (see 5.2.2).

Figure 5.12 Adult Baseline Study participants who were dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with their own level of ability in Māori language, by age.



Ironically, the attitude shown toward the language described in this section did not always transfer into action. Only thirty percent of all Baseline Study participants had been learning the language in the twelve months previous to the research, dropping to a low of twenty percent for those in the non-speaking category (see Figure 5.13). In spite of this almost all placed Māori language revitalisation as a high priority. This may indicate that there were other more pressing concerns in participants' lives that competed for attention.

Figure 5.13 Adult Baseline Study participants who had been learning Māori language in the previous 12 months, by age and proficiency groups.



The mother of one of the younger Cohort Study participants raised the possibility that the commitment to Māori language activism may not be as great in the present generation of young people. She thought that those who have had the opportunity to acquire the language and attend Kōhanga Reo and bilingual/immersion schools may not fully appreciate the struggle and commitment of the parent generation to this cause, and perhaps take the ability to speak Māori for granted. This is an important point, and one which warrants further investigation. Present day complacency about the language could have as much effect on the future health of the language as the discriminatory policies and practices of the past.

It's interesting that his perception is that we just accidentally got into bilingual classes. Because it wasn't, it was absolutely deliberate policy.

It's interesting that because your generation thinks that was the norm but we worked really hard to get bilingual classes going here. (Mother of participant 25)

Me and my sister and brother all speak Māori. It would be because our parents wanted it I suppose. (MOTHER: Its interesting cause they think it's natural now they don't realise that when they were born there was like no Kōhanga Reo here, now they're all over the place. And the struggles that we've been through to get them.) (Participant 25 and mother)

5.6 Significance of findings

Chapter Five has reported on the findings of the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Baseline Study, and the Language Cohort Study. The quantitative data generated in the Baseline Study is representative of Māori living in the four regions in the study. In addition to this, these regions were chosen because of their ability to reflect the variety of contemporary Māori realities across wider New Zealand society. This has provided macro level information about the position of the Māori language *vis-à-vis* the numbers of speakers, their general proficiency levels, and their use of the language. Validity of the information is confirmed by the close correlation with data from the 1995 Māori Language Commission survey. The Baseline Study has provided a general 'snapshot' picture of the Māori language at a particular time in its history. It is important to realise however that the snapshot was taken during a time of change, and intense activity within some sectors of the community to secure the future of the language, and is somewhat limited in its ability to reflect that change. This will be possible when data from the Longitudinal Study becomes available.

The general snapshot nature of the data is important in allowing macro type goals to be set at a national level such as those set out in the Government's Māori language strategy to:

1. increase the number of people who know the Māori language by increasing their opportunities to learn Māori;
2. improve the proficiency levels of people in speaking Māori, listening to Māori, reading Māori, and writing Māori;
3. increase the opportunities to use Māori by increasing the number of situations where Māori can be used;
4. increase the rate at which the Māori language develops so that it can be used for the full range of modern activities;
5. foster among Māori and non-Māori positive attitudes towards, and accurate beliefs and positive values about, the Māori language so that Māori-English bilingualism becomes a valued part of New Zealand society. (Te Puni Kōkiri 1999:12)

However, as a basis for planning and focussing initiatives to achieve those goals, the macro type information is limited, and herein lies the value of the complementary methodology employed in the Language Cohort Study. The qualitative information was able to add illustration at the micro level of human interaction, thereby showing the day to day conflicts and difficulties in maintaining and improving fluency, and challenging the widespread norms of English language usage. This is consistent with Gumperz who maintains that:

There is a need for a social theory which accounts for the communicative functions of linguistic variability and for its relation to speakers' goals without reference to untestable functionalist assumptions about conformity or nonconformance to closed systems of norms. (1982:29)

The Cohort Study has obvious limitations in terms of its sample size, and the fact that it included only those from the Baseline Study who had self assessed as having a medium to high level of Māori language proficiency. The ability therefore to make generalisations based on the information to the total Māori population (in the tradition of the quantitative approach) is limited. However it has been valuable in exposing and confirming what Gumperz (above) has called the ‘communicative functions of linguistic variability in relation to speakers’ goals’ within the group of medium to highly fluent speakers represented in Cohort Study sample. It is argued that there is no one general truth about Māori language use and proficiency that can be uncovered through research, and the information that has been generated may or may not be transferable to other groups. The micro situation at the human level of interaction will differ from family to family, and from community to community. What is important is that the information is able to form the basis for language planning and the targeting of initiatives by families and communities, as well as Māori and public sector agencies. Chapter Six argues for an intersectoral approach to Māori language revitalisation, and presents a framework to conceptualise this strategy. Based on the information from the Cohort Study, various language initiatives are suggested for some parts of the framework, and these can be evaluated by families and communities for their appropriateness at the local level. They could be adopted, adapted or discarded depending on local goals and conditions.

5.7 Summary

Participants in both the Cohort Study and the parent Baseline Study reported an overwhelmingly positive aspiration for the future of the language, as evidenced by the comments and results reported in this chapter. A strong desire was expressed to:

- achieve higher proficiency personally
- ensure the language spoken was of high quality
- be able to use Māori more often in their own homes and in the community
- have greater access to Māori language in the course of their everyday lives
- ensure that their children or grandchildren were brought up speaking Māori

The research showed that there were a number of significant barriers to achieving these goals, and also highlighted catalysts to increased proficiency and use. The main points raised by the participants are summarised in Table 5.8 below and are discussed in more detail in Chapter Six.

Table 5.8 Summary of main research findings

	Māori language proficiency	Māori language use	Access to Māori language	Attitude and Aspiration
Historical Factors	<p>intergenerational decline in quality</p> <p>intergenerational switch in pathway to proficiency from being brought up in the language to formal education</p>	<p>entrenched norms of English language usage</p> <p>marriage to a non-Māori speaking partner</p> <p>punishment for speaking Māori at school</p>	<p>decline in the access children have to Māori language in their homes over the generations.</p>	<p>resurgence in Māori identity results in positive attitude to, and aspiration for the language</p>
Situational Factors (e.g. age, location, socio-economic circumstance)	<p>access to Māori language most important factor in acquiring proficiency</p> <p>opportunity to practice language with children important in acquiring proficiency</p>	<p>little contact with other speakers of Māori</p> <p>the presence of other Māori who cannot speak the language</p> <p>little or no support from partner/other household members</p> <p>the birth of a child can ignite a desire to learn and use Māori</p> <p>requirement by Kura Kaupapa Māori that at least one parent speak only Māori with child</p>	<p>large commitment required of parents in order to provide Māori language environment for their children</p> <p>limited access to hearing and interacting in the language in homes and community settings.</p>	<p>a possible decline in activation toward the language in the present generation - some possibly taking access to the language for granted</p>
Linguistic Factors	<p>tendency toward a diminished perception of fluency</p> <p>concern with language quality</p>	<p>unable to participate due to low level of ability</p> <p>does not have the language ability to communicate about some topics</p>	<p>ability of children often outstrips that of parents who are second language learners</p> <p>access to natural Māori language environments identified as the most important factor in acquiring proficiency</p>	<p>aspiration to ensure quality of language</p>
Idiosyncratic Factors (e.g. upbringing, psychological)	<p>second language learners want to be sure that their language is correct before speaking</p>	<p>lack of confidence to use Māori</p> <p>good manners mitigates against speaking Māori when Pākehā are present</p> <p>not wanting to appear as a show off</p> <p>lack of trust in interlocutor by fluent speaker</p> <p>inappropriate approach by second language learner</p> <p>laziness, loss of motivation</p>	<p>some parents reluctant to provide access to Māori language for their children, preferring to allow them to choose</p>	<p>satisfaction felt when opportunity to hear or interact in Māori presents itself</p> <p>feeling of hurt at being denied access to the language as a child remains</p> <p>the language is precious</p> <p>lack of ability in the language is a barrier to participation</p>
Structural factors		<p>lack of support for and acceptance of Māori language use within the workplace and community settings</p> <p>requirement that parents speak Māori in the home pre-requisite for enrolment in Kura</p>	<p>limited access to higher level language courses</p> <p>lack of access to the language in public and community settings</p> <p>limited amount of broadcasting, limited types of programmes, and lack of access to prime-time</p> <p>limited access to reading material and other multi-media Māori language resources.</p>	<p>over promotion of Māori language may have a negative effect on attitude and use</p>

Chapter Six

A Framework for the Maintenance and Development of Māori Language

- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 The contexts and realities for Māori language revitalisation and maintenance.
 - 6.2.1 Macro factors impacting on Māori language revitalisation
 - 6.2.2 The socio-economic context for Māori language revitalisation
- 6.3 Māori language proficiency and use
- 6.4 Barriers to increased proficiency and use
 - 6.4.1 Negative feedback
 - 6.4.2 Solidarity with listeners
 - 6.4.3 External negativity
 - 6.4.4 Over promotion
 - 6.4.5 High level of commitment required
- 6.5 Domains for Māori language use
 - 6.5.1 The inter-relatedness of proficiency, use and status
 - 6.5.2 The domains of Māori interaction
 - 6.5.3 Language status and orientation
 - 6.5.4 Māori language promotion
- 6.6 The Potential Threat Posed by Institutional Efforts at Promoting Māori Language
- 6.7 Guiding principles for a framework for the revitalisation and maintenance of Māori language.
- 6.8 Summary

6.1 Introduction

In Chapter Three, the contexts for revitalising and maintaining indigenous minority languages were discussed, with reference to four case studies, and their similarities and differences with the context for Māori language. This chapter focuses further on the unique situation of the Māori language, drawing on the international case studies and the results of the Te Hoe Nuku Roa research, to present a framework for revitalisation and maintenance. The framework is based on three principles which emerge from the unique context: Mana Māori (control and responsibility), Mana Tangata (personal empowerment), and Tūhonotanga (interconnectedness). It is argued that the revitalisation and maintenance of Māori language will best be realised if it is planned for and co-ordinated across a number of sectors, with various agents taking responsibility for the particular type of activity that is most appropriate to them.

6.2 The contexts and realities for Māori language revitalisation and maintenance.

6.2.1 Macro factors impacting on Māori language revitalisation

It is important that macro level trends in the health of the language (as outlined in Chapter Two) are viewed in the wider context of the political, demographic, socio-economic and sociolinguistic realities faced by Māori. These realities may be similar in varying degrees to those faced by other peoples involved in the struggle for language maintenance and revitalisation, and should form the basis and justification for an integrated intersectoral approach. The realities are summarised in Table 6.1, and are consistent with Baker (1996) who identifies three groups of factors which can lead to either language maintenance or language loss. They are the political, social and demographic factors, the cultural factors, and the linguistic factors. He argues that the

relative importance of each factor in contributing to maintenance or loss is debated and unclear, and that 'the factors interact and intermingle in a complicated equation' (1996:45). For example, the availability of Māori medium education may be more important to language maintenance in the urban setting, than, say, in the Eastern Bay of Plenty where the cultural context of community affairs may be more significant. Overall however, the Māori realities presented here, and the factors discussed by Baker when applied to the Māori language situation are weighted far more strongly to affect language loss than language maintenance. It follows therefore that action to reverse the decline of the Māori language will need to be focussed on a broader front, and take into account all the factors or contexts to varying degrees and according to local circumstances.

Language planning may seek to create language vitality by attending to the economic, social and symbolic status, geographical distribution and institutional support accorded to a minority language. Not to plan for language maintenance and spread may be to court language death. (Baker 1996:49)

Table 6.1 The macro context for Māori language maintenance and revitalisation

Context	Māori reality
Political context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited political power - democracy gives little power to Māori as a minority group. • Rights of indigenous peoples. Māori language rights protected under United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. • Rights derived from the Treaty of Waitangi - language is protected as a taonga. Principles of partnership, participation and protection.
Sociolinguistic Context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Māori language is not maintained elsewhere in the world. • In many families up to two or more generations of non-speakers. • Large numbers of second language learners in comparison with native speakers of the language. • Widespread inter-marriage, integration and involvement in wider community activity.
Legal context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Māori is an 'official' language of the country by statute (1987), however in law, the official status extends only to an individual's right to use Māori in court. • Right to retrospective justice under the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, as colonisation was the main cause for language decline (see Waitangi Tribunal 1986).
Socio-economic context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Māori are marginalised, and over represented in negative statistics relating to income, housing, education, crime and health. • 38% percent of Māori families with dependent children are sole parent families (Statistics New Zealand 1997a). • Emergence of a Māori 'middle class' involved in language maintenance (see Chrisp 1996). • Growing opportunities for employment for people fluent in Māori (e.g. in education and broadcasting). • Widespread loss of land and therefore an economic base for development.
Cultural context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The marae remains as an integral and vibrant centre for Māori gathering and expression of culture. Establishment of some pan-tribal marae in cities. • Difficulties in re-establishing norms of Māori language usage in a variety of domains other than for ceremonial usage on marae.
Educational context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increasing disparity between outcomes for Māori children and non-Māori children in mainstream schools. • Recent establishment of pre-school and primary school Māori immersion schooling based on Māori culture and pedagogy. • Limited supply of trained teachers fluent in Māori language and severe lack of Māori language resource material for learning programmes (see McKinley et al 1997).
Demographic context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New Zealand is an island nation, insulated from the widespread presence and use of diverse languages. Eighty four percent of the population are monolingual speakers of English (Starks 1998). • Dislocation of a large percentage of the Māori population from the traditional extended family and tribal base of Māori society.
Māori development context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Māori aspirations for autonomy and self-determination. • Pursuit of economic self-sufficiency, social equity and cultural enhancement. • Renewed interest and activity in tribal development

6.2.2 The socio-economic context for Māori language revitalisation

Sociolinguistic theories of minority language maintenance and reversing language shift (RLS) are generally based on Fishman's graded scale of disruption to inter-generational transmission of the language in question, and a subsequent hierarchy of ameliorative priorities for the revitalisation of the language. Fishman's model rightly identifies the intergenerational transmission of the language in the household as the most important goal for RLS, and argues that the key to achieving this is based on the ability of the minority group in question to 'maintain sufficient ethnocultural separation from Yish [non-Māori] encroachment on their own family-home-neighbourhood community intragroup institutional bases.' (Fishman 1991:105)

Fishman argues that 'without that early level of strong intra-Xish [Māori] support, nothing done subsequently will be enduring and governmental efforts may either be purely pro-forma or even calculated to turn off more people than they turn on ...' (ibid:82). However, the hierarchical nature of his ameliorative priorities ignores the influence that language norms and orientation in other areas of society can have on the household. Furthermore, his argument that not until the intergenerational transmission of the language at the household level has been secured is it worth expending effort, money and resources to promote the language under question in other domains and areas of society fails to take account of the demographic, socio-economic and sociolinguistic realities for Māori households as outlined in Table 6.1. In reality, it is extremely difficult for many Māori households to reclaim the responsibility for intergenerational transmission, and therefore the ongoing maintenance of the language. These difficulties were reported by many of the participants in the Te Hoe Nuku Roa study, and include the limited proficiency of the present parent generation, limited access to Māori

speaking role models, the cost of attending Māori language courses, and the entrenched English speaking norms of the community (see Chapter Five).

The final stages of preparation of the thesis coincided with the release of Fishman's follow up volume to 'Reversing Language Shift'. The new book 'Can Threatened Languages be Saved' is an evaluation of efforts over the preceding decade in reversing the decline of some of the world's threatened languages, and a critique of his GIDS (Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale) theory. It is interesting to note that Fishman now gives greater recognition to the importance of linkages between the various stages of disruption and ameliorative priorities.

Nor must RLS be worked on in a lock-step stage-by-stage progression. As long as the crux stage is targeted consensually and with a clear understanding of what false priorities will 'cost', and as long as the linkages from that stage to those below and above it are constantly reinforced and reassessed, there is no harm in skipping over a stage that does not correspond to a desired functional sphere for Xish (Fishman 2000:467).

Each of the contexts highlighted in Table 6.1 will influence, or be a justification for Māori language initiatives. For example, the socio-economic position of Māori families and the associated stresses and strains make it difficult in many cases for attention to be given to efforts aimed at RLS. The former Māori Language Commissioner recognised this situation with a recent comment:

Ko ētahi kei te kī mēnā he kai tō te puku, he moni tō te pūkoro, he oranga tō te tinana, he pai te noho, ka āhei te tangata ki te whai i te ara tikanga, te ara toi, te ara pūoro engari inā kore, ka warea ki te kimi oranga tinana, ka mahue a oranga wairua, a oranga ngākau, a oranga hinengaro. (Kāretu 1998:2)

Some would argue that only when physical well being and a comfortable lifestyle have been achieved is a person able to pursue the customs and arts of ones people. If not, the burden of ensuring physical needs are met become too great, and completely overshadow one's spiritual, emotional and intellectual sustenance.

(Author's translation)

The report on language revitalisation policy by Grin and Vaillancourt, commissioned by Treasury also recognised the connection between the socio-economic position of Māori people and the health of the language.

These socio-economic facts can hardly be expected not to have a detrimental effect on the position of the language; the corollary is that a proactive policy is indispensable (Grin & Vaillancourt 1998:5)

This signals the need for language initiatives to be integrated with efforts to improve the socio-economic position of Māori, or at the very least to ensure that Māori efforts to learn or promote Māori language do not cause further socio-economic disadvantage. This is consistent with other commentators who argue for an integrated approach to Māori development (see for example Durie 1998).

A common historical misconception has been that in order to escape socio-economic disadvantage, it is necessary to discard ones 'Māoriness', and assimilate through English to Pākehā culture. Fishman highlights how being pro-active towards one's own indigenous culture has often been seen as synonymous with socio-economic disadvantage.

However it is also true of minoritized indigenous populations who have been peripheralized (some would say colonized) even while remaining in some of their traditional areas of residence. They too are commonly

characterized by briefer school attendance and by lower income, by lower literacy in any language and by poverty, by lack of social graces as defined by the majority population, and by lack of the conveniences of everyday life that are so common among the majority population. If such is the picture of the bulk of the remaining speakers of Xish [Māori], then it becomes part of what Xish stands for or symbolizes, both in the eyes of most Ymen [Pākehā] and in the eyes of many Xmen [Māori] too. This is a problem for pro-RLSers, because many - including many who consider themselves Xmen [Māori] - will oppose RLS on the grounds that such efforts will lead to prolonging the disadvantage, rather than counteracting it. (1991:59)

He goes on to argue however that it need not be a 'black or white', an 'either or' situation. Socio-economic advancement is not necessarily guaranteed by the pursuit of English and assimilation to Pākehā culture, nor has it been proved necessary to abandon Māori language and culture in such pursuit. Recent developments in education, broadcasting, tourism and public sector agencies have resulted in far more employment opportunities for speakers of Māori, and there is a need to promote the socio-economic advantages that fluency in Māori can bring. Evidence also tends to suggest that a person who is well grounded in their own language and culture has higher levels of self-esteem and self-efficacy, and will therefore be more employable and better equipped to participate in the economy (see Goulton-Fitzgerald 1998).

Baker argues strongly that the future of language minorities is 'centrally related to individual, home and community economies' (1996:57), and although the trend toward internationalism 'appears to awaken a basic need for rootedness, for an anchor in a local

language and identity' (ibid), such a need will not be operationalised or long lasting if the local language and identity does not also provide economic opportunity.

There is sometimes a danger that writing and speeches about minority languages become romantic and cloistered. The love of a language and the need to preserve all that is valuable from the past is important. But life is often about finding a job, getting enough money to buy food, find shelter and own a TV, avoiding unemployment and poverty. For others, life is much about increasing salaries, affording a bigger house ... (ibid)

This is reflected in the results of the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Baseline Study (see Chapter Five) which show that while participants overwhelmingly reported positive attitudes toward Māori language, this was often not reflected in positive behaviour (e.g. in using or learning Māori language). Fishman's hierarchical model for RLS relegates action to establish an economic status for the minority language to the periphery, disregarding any desire of the minority group in question to participate in local, national and global economies on their own terms. For Māori, it preserves the status quo of power relations between Māori and English, whereby Māori people are required to make a 'black or white' choice between English for economic advancement, or Māori for rootedness in Māori culture. Williams (1992) is also critical of Fishman's model in that it gives little recognition for the political struggle of minority people for recognition of their linguistic rights. Baker suggests that Fishman tends to

... play down the conflict while ignoring power, thereby not expressing the anger, discrimination and frustration felt by language minority groups and their members. (Baker 1996:73)

The Māori language claim to the Waitangi Tribunal taken by Huirangi Waikerepuru and the Wellington Māori Language Board in 1986 was able to give some expression to the anger, discrimination and frustration felt by Māori with regard to the historical and continuing injustices toward the Māori language. The gains made for the language subsequent to the Tribunal's findings and recommendations are immense (see Chapter Two), and include an emerging economic function for the language as evidenced in the growth in employment opportunities for Māori speakers in education, tourism, broadcasting, music, entertainment, translation and consultancy services, as well as government and local body agencies. This serves to illustrate the benefits that can accrue from approaching RLS from within a conflict paradigm.

Table 6.1 also shows that the present generation of Māori parents are ill equipped linguistically to re-start a cycle of inter-generational transmission of Māori language. Figures from the language survey undertaken by the Māori Language Commission in 1995 show that only 0.9% of Māori people in the 16-44 year old age bracket fell into the high proficiency profile. There is a need to target RLS initiatives to assist the present generation of parents who have limited proficiency in the language, but who wish to ensure that their children do not suffer the same dislocation from their mother tongue. This should include access to information about child language acquisition, and the things that they can do to assist the process, access to language courses which focus on the type of communicative language that a parent would use with their children, and unlimited access to exemplary models of language use through radio and television.

Clearly there are responsibilities that need to be undertaken by agents outside the household and community environment. To place the burden of RLS solely on households, and take the position that until the language situation in households is

strong then it is largely a waste of time effort and resources (in the words of Fishman 1991:95, 'tilting at dragons'), to promote the language in other domains, is akin to telling a person in poor health that they must become healthy again before efforts will be made to ensure healthy environments in places of work, education and public gathering.

It is for these reasons that an inter-sectoral framework for the maintenance and revitalisation of Māori language is preferred (see Table 6.2). This ensures that public sector and Māori agencies are encouraged to play responsible and appropriate roles, and are not discharged of their responsibilities to Māori language until intergenerational transmission within households is strong. However, value is also seen in retaining Fishman's hierarchical model and superimposing it on the inter-sectoral matrix in an attempt to ensure that initiatives undertaken in the public sector are tied to, and evaluated for their effectiveness in assisting inter-generational transmission.

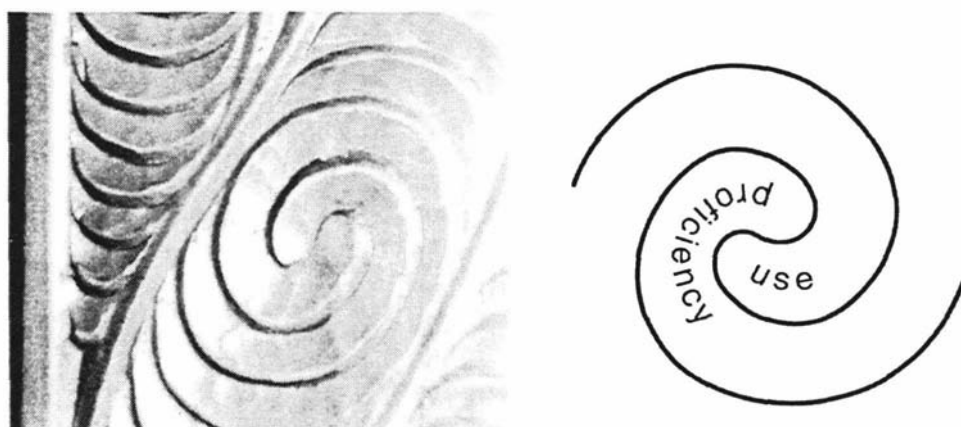
6.3 Māori language proficiency and use

In terms of activating the framework, it is important that objectives for RLS that have been outlined in the matrix have at least some focus on assisting people to acquire proficiency in the language and to become users of the language in a variety of situations, especially in the household with children when they become parents (or grandparents). This highlights the dynamic interaction between proficiency and use of the language. Participants in the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Language Cohort Study identified that their own level of proficiency in the language had a large influence on their decision to use Māori or not use Māori as the medium of communication in various domains and with various interlocutors (see 5.3.2). They also reported that opportunities to use the

language in non-threatening situations (e.g. with their children) was a major factor in improving proficiency.

As proficiency in language is gained, confidence to actually use the language is increased, initially in domains which offer comfort and protection for the emerging speaker, moving gradually to more public and potentially threatening domains. As an individual's use of the language increases, proficiency also improves. This relationship can be represented graphically in the raperape spiral used as a basic Māori carving pattern.

Figure 6.1 The dynamic of proficiency and use at the personal level



The spiral symbolises a person's proficiency in the language, and the level of use of the language growing side by side, each supporting the other. This, of course, is the ideal situation. There are however significant barriers impeding this growth, especially in terms of language use, and one thrust of revitalisation initiatives should be to target the removal of these barriers.

6.4 Barriers to increased proficiency and use

6.4.1 Negative feedback

Native speakers of the language have been known to be critical of the way learners use the language - their often aberrant grammatical forms and use of 'new' items of vocabulary, their pronunciation, or the influence of English sentence structure. The former Māori Language Commissioner Timoti Kāretu, in his 1995 Ngahuru Lecture at Massey University quoted one elder who said

Tukuna taku reo ātaahua kia mate pai noa iho, kāti tā koutou kohuru mai i
kona kohuru mai ai (Kāretu 1995)

Allow my beautiful language a dignified death, rather than to be murdered by you.
(Author's translation)

Adult learners of Māori outnumber fluent speakers by fifteen to one, and the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Study confirmed that learners generally have limited access to hearing Māori used by fluent native speakers in ordinary everyday situations, and therefore opportunities to interact with them are correspondingly few. This makes it very difficult for learners to acquire advanced proficiency in the language especially in the use of idiom and colloquial phrases unique to the language, and essential to its vitality and integrity. There is also evidence that English structure is beginning to have a widespread influence on the structure of learners' Māori (Jacob 1998). Harlow (1991) gives a number of examples of such utterances which he argues have become 'normalised' in spoken Māori even in the language of many native speakers (see Chapter Two). Such aberrant grammatical structure is further reinforced when learners interact with each other in Māori. With regard to the Welsh language, Jones claims that lexical and syntactic borrowing from English has had a detrimental effect on the Welsh spoken

by younger learners of Welsh with the outcome of 'undermining attitudes towards the language and encouraging a feeling of Welsh linguistic inadequacy' (1981:49)

Most would agree that it is important to encourage learners at whatever level of proficiency to use their language (and therefore develop fluency), and it is equally important to try and ensure that the language that is spoken and that survives into future generations, retains its uniqueness of structure, and its beauty and depth of expression. The responsibility for this is shared. Learners must aspire to continual improvement, develop good self-monitoring strategies, be open to correction, and actively seek situations where they will be exposed to fluent speakers and have the opportunity to interact with them. Metacognitive skills that can assist language learning also need to be taught in Māori language classes (for example how to listen effectively to chunks of discourse).

On the other hand, fluent native speakers must be encouraged to use their language in as many situations as possible providing access for learners to their exemplary models of usage, and develop ways of correcting and assisting learners without damaging their self-esteem. The Te Hoe Nuku Roa Language Cohort Study showed that interaction in Māori between generations is problematic, and targeting initiatives to encourage more inter-generational communication in Māori could advance revitalisation. This situation also highlights the need for high quality Māori language broadcasting, both radio and television in order to enable greater access for learners to exemplary usage of the language, the importance of the language model that teachers provide to their students, and the language quality of print resources such as books, pamphlets and notices.

6.4.2 Solidarity with listeners

Some people will also be reticent to speak Māori in certain situations for fear of damaging the self esteem of the listener/s. If the listener, or one of the listeners does not understand the language, the emotional upset of identifying as Māori but being unable to participate can be acute. This poses a significant problem in places of Māori control such as marae. Any move by a marae committee, or informal moves by the people to re-establish the marae as a Māori language zone may result in the alienation of some members of that marae. Selby (2000) documents instances of emotional trauma felt acutely by elders who are unable to speak Māori either being confronted by or just being in the presence of younger Māori or Pākehā people speaking the language. In many cases, wanting to retain solidarity with people who do not speak or understand Māori will militate against the use of the language. There may also be a reticence on the part of the speaker to use Māori for fear of being seen as arrogant, superior, or a show off. Participants in the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Language Cohort Study reported that such issues do have an effect on whether or not they choose to use Māori language in particular situations (see 5.3.2).

6.4.3 External negativity

These aspects can be described as Māori specific cultural norms influencing the use of Māori by an individual. There are also barriers to Māori language use in contexts not specific to Māori. Timoti Kāretu has articulated the experiences of many Māori, who upon using Māori amongst themselves in public places, cause heads to turn, and often questions to be asked such as 'What language are you speaking?' or 'Do your children know how to speak English?', or comments implying that it is rude to speak Māori in front of people who do not understand it. Kāretu attacks this as being the 'height of linguistic arrogance and ignorance on the part of the monoglots that make up by far the

majority of New Zealand society' (Kāretu 1995). A recent example of such linguistic racism came before the courts, when a Levin shopkeeper was fined for objecting to two people speaking Māori to each other in his shop, and insisting that they speak in English in his presence (Berry, New Zealand Sunday Star Times 28/2/99).

While this type of attitude is changing, perhaps in part due to an increased presence of immigrant languages, and therefore a greater general acceptance of languages other than English, there is enough anecdotal evidence to confirm that it continues to be an inhibiting factor to Māori language use. The results of the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Language Cohort Study discussed in Chapter Five support this claim.

6.4.4 Over-promotion

There are two further potential barriers to improved proficiency and use of the Māori language that can ironically arise from revitalisation efforts themselves. Bentahila and Davies (1993) highlight the possible damage to the aims of RLS that can accrue from the over promotion of the language in question, and are critical of Fishman's dogged advocacy that 'the family, the neighbourhood, the elementary school and the church need to be urged, instructed, rewarded and guided to play their respective roles' (Fishman 1987:10). They question whether programmes which originate from outside the heartland community can ever succeed in gaining real support within it, and point to the fact that those wanting to revitalise minority languages are over represented 'among the academics of industrialised societies and are strikingly absent from third world agricultural communities' (Bentahila and Davies 1993:359). They also report on the negative effect that over promotion of the language in schools can have on children:

... one of the authors who as a child, adolescent and young adult, was subjected to a barrage of such exhortations on behalf of Welsh, supposedly

'her' language, well remembers how the campaign had quite the opposite of the intended effect on her, producing negative attitudes towards the language and a lack of sympathy with the revivalists (ibid:363)

A reaction against over-promotion of Māori language was reported by some of the informants in the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Language Cohort Study, both by older native speakers and amongst respondents' school aged children (see Chapter Five). While it is unknown how prevalent such an attitude might be both within the Māori community and wider New Zealand society, it will be important to monitor and guard against any potential negative effects of over-promotion. This could happen at a number of levels, for example, within families, within Māori institutions such as marae, and within society at large perhaps through the planned post censorial Māori language surveys.

6.4.5 High level of commitment required

The second barrier to improving proficiency and use of the language which arises from the revitalisation efforts themselves, is the high commitment required of individuals and families in becoming part of the Māori language community. This particularly applies to communities outside the language heartland such as Eastern Bay of Plenty, the East Coast, and rural Northland, where there is a need to re-create a de-facto language community, and/or for individuals and families to regularly return to the heartland to remain involved. The cultural imperatives of *kanohi kitea*, *whanaungatanga* (family ties), and *ahi kā* (keeping the home fires burning), require a commitment of time, energy and money (see Taiapa 1994), that will often impact on a person's (and their family's) ability to balance other aspects of their lives such as work, leisure, and other social networks of association. Joan Metge recognises that there are costs and benefits involved in maintaining active involvement in *whānau* (both kinship based *whānau*, and

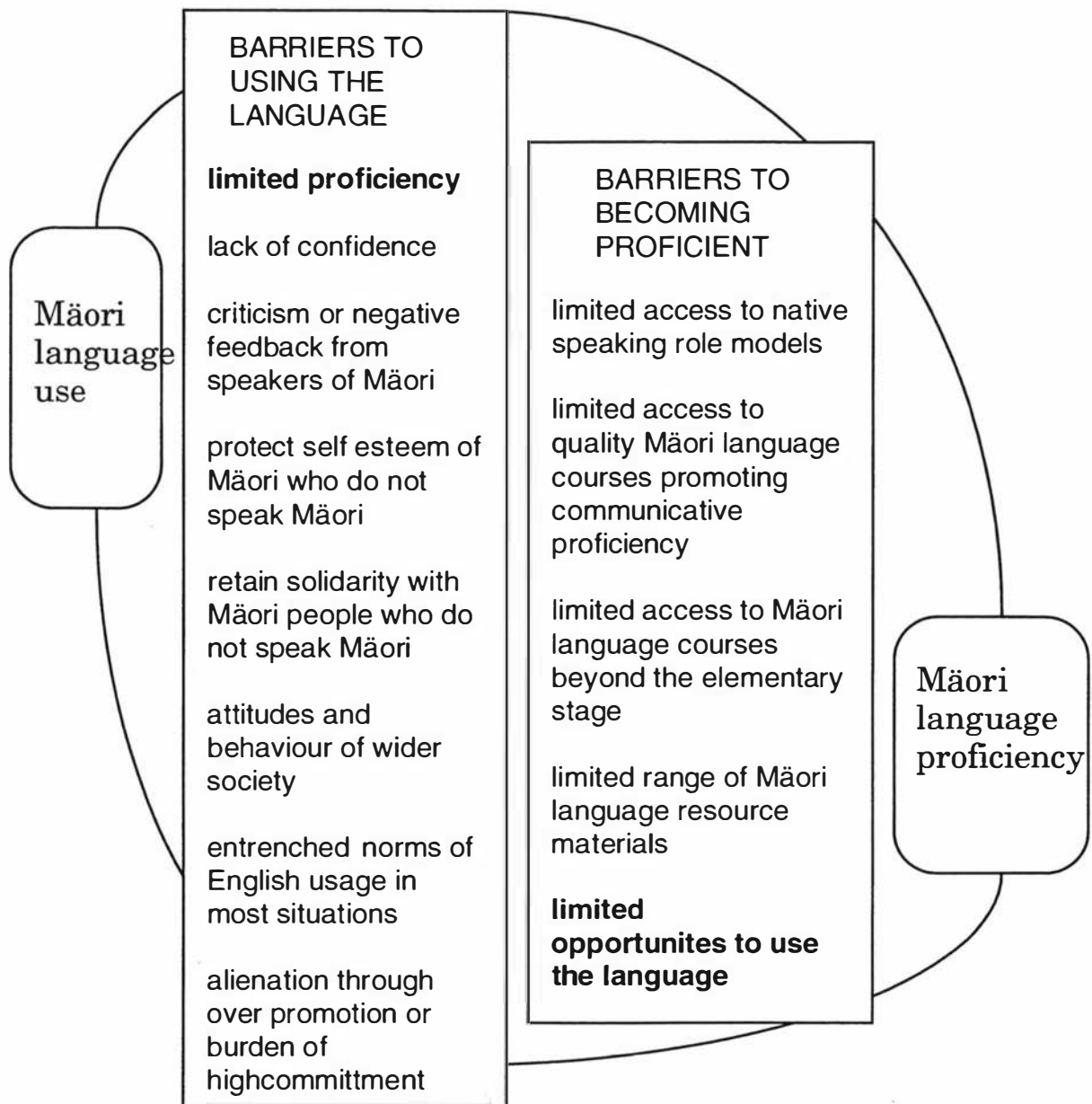
whānau that might be based on other kaupapa such as a Kōhanga Reo for example), and concludes that:

If costs outweigh benefits, if participation is too much of a burden, or if other kaupapa are seen to matter and offer more, individuals and nuclear families can and do opt out of active participation (1999:11)

Wano (2000) made a study of families involved in an urban based Kura Kaupapa Māori, and reported several instances of the high commitment of some parents of Kura children. One example was resigning from long standing employment and relinquishing other involvements in order to learn the language on a full time basis, and therefore be able to provide some degree of Māori language environment for children in the home. While the high degree of commitment required from those who do become involved in the Māori language community was discussed by some informants in the present study (see 5.4.1), the extent to which participation becomes too much of a burden is again unclear, and should form the basis for a further study. What is evident however is that communities, whānau and other organisations involved in Māori language initiatives will need to consider this issue in order for it not to become too great a barrier to participation.

The barriers that exist to impede the growth of proficiency and use are summarised in Figure 6.3.

Figure 6.2 Barriers impeding the dynamic growth of Māori language use and proficiency



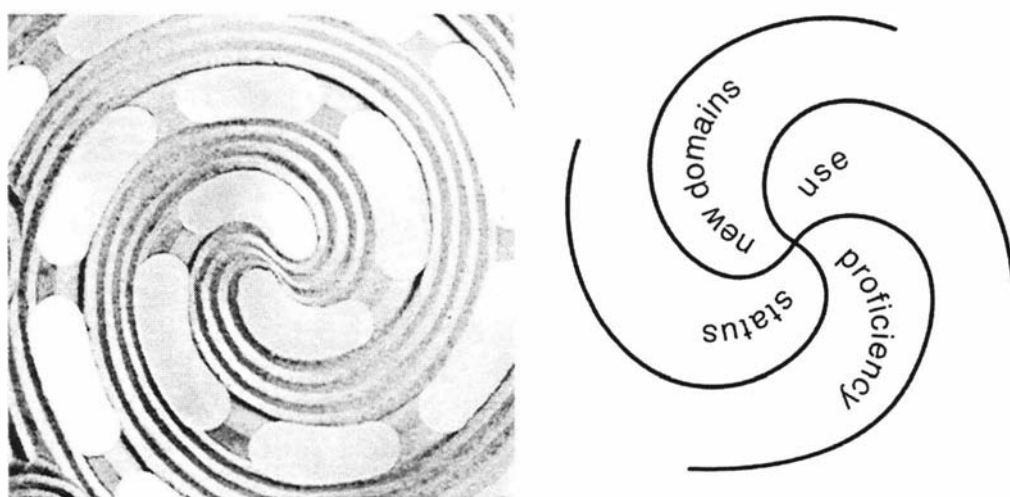
6.5 Domains for Māori language use

6.5.1 The inter-relatedness of proficiency, use and status

As more people begin to use Māori language as a means of communication, the collective strength of the language will increase, and proficiency levels improve because

of the increased opportunity to use the language. The status of the language will also increase, and eventually the norms which influence the choices an individual makes with regard to which language to use with whom, and in which domain is challenged. This could happen within a household, within a community, within an association of people, or within a particular domain (e.g. marae, workplace, sports club). The takarangi spiral can be used to represent the interaction of these four aspects.

Figure 6.3 The dynamic of proficiency and use at the collective level



The four elements represented in the takarangi spiral are inter-related, and develop in association with each other. Each influences the other. For example, as the language is used more, the status of the language grows. This in turn encourages greater use of the language, which helps individuals acquire higher levels of proficiency, and eventually growth into new domains of Māori language use. The framework for the revitalisation and maintenance of Māori language presented in Table 6.2 is based on the inter-relatedness of these aspects, and the argument that if effort is made to increase the status of the language, then this will promote more widespread use of the language, and vice versa.

6.5.2 The domains of Māori interaction

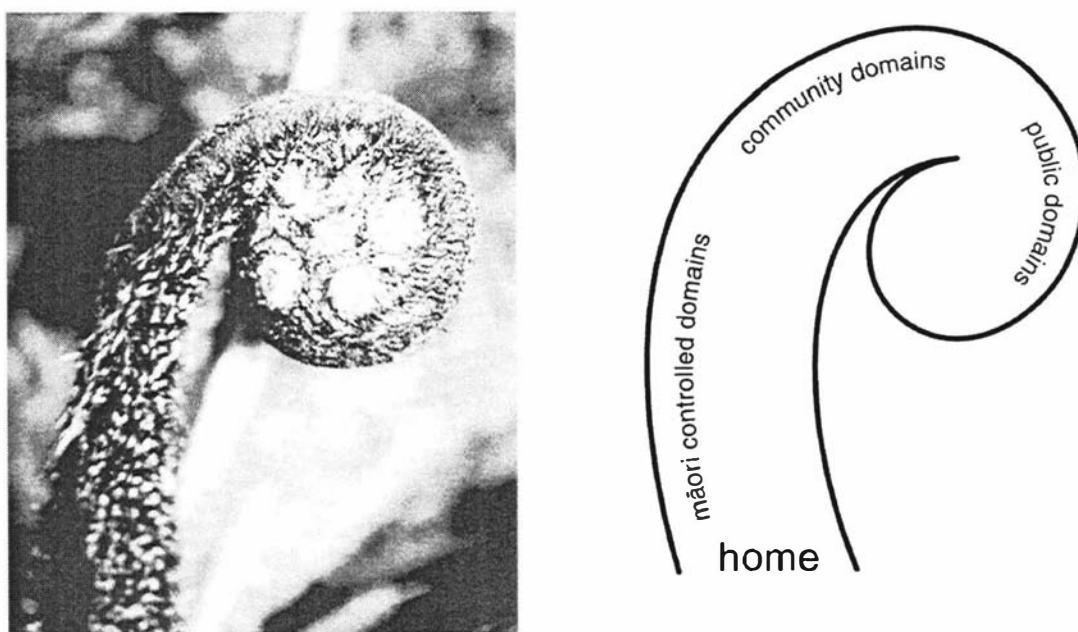
The Te Hoe Nuku Roa Baseline Study confirms that there is no single stereotype of Māori identity (Durie 1998a:59). While the respondents overwhelmingly identified positively with being Māori, (including recognising the importance of the Māori language) the study showed clearly that there are a diverse range of realities, networks of association and ways of expressing a Māori identity. It is clear that Māori individuals and households are not ethno-culturally isolated, that Māori realities are expressed through a number of different domains, and there is a continuous movement between those domains in daily life. At the same time however, there are commonalities that validate the notion of a Māori identity. Drawing on data generated by the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Baseline Study, Durie notes that the commonalities include 'similar aspirations, similar values, similar histories, and a strong desire to retain te reo Māori' (Durie, Dominion 11/10/00).

The Māori Language Commission's survey and the Te Hoe Nuku Roa study show that the language is strongest in remote geographical areas where there is a sufficient population mass, and Māori have been able to maintain 'sufficient ethno-cultural separation'. These areas are the Eastern Bay of Plenty, the Far North, and the East Coast. However, 82% of the Māori population live in urban centres (Statistics New Zealand 1995:12) where their lives are generally fully integrated into the wider community, where ethno-cultural separation may only be possible for short periods of time, such as in weekly kapa haka practices, or during a tangihanga. Because of this, a different approach to that advocated by Fishman is necessary in order to become intergenerationally secure.

The data collected shows that the domains of interaction for Māori individuals can be broadly categorised as the household; places of Māori gathering which are under Māori control, such as the marae, or Kōhanga Reo; community associations such as sports clubs; and more public places such as mainstream schools, work places, and local service centres such as libraries and health centres.

The domains are represented in Figure 6.4 as a koru (bulb shaped motif). The base of the koru represents the household, and is the base from which growth into other domains develops and the koru unfolds. From here, all outward growth is nurtured and protected. This is te ūkaipō, (the physical, emotional and linguistic sustenance received while being nurtured at the breast). From here strength is gained which eventually enables an individual to interact with confidence in the other domains that may offer varying degrees of nurturing or hostility toward the use of Māori language.

Figure 6.4 **Categorising the domains of Māori language use**



6.5.3 Language status and orientation

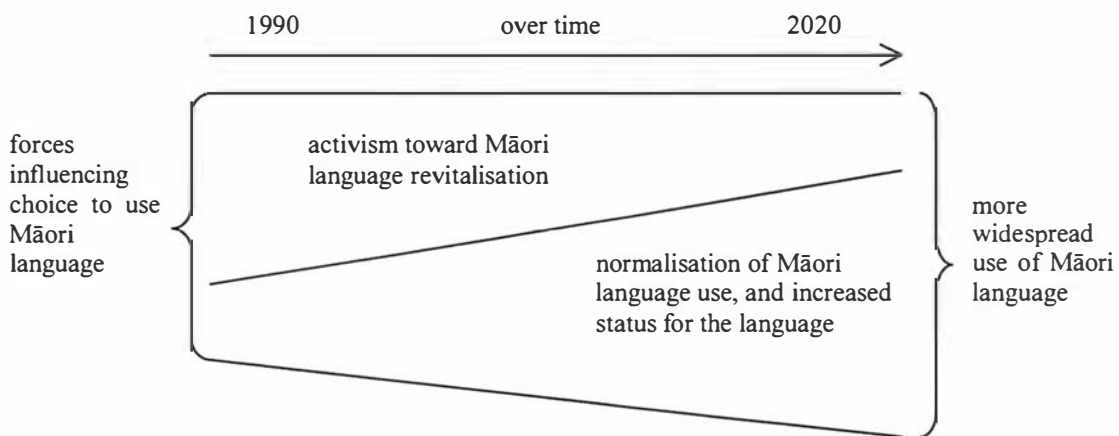
The status and level of use of the Māori language in any one domain will have an effect on the other domains. In a study of children from one Kura Kaupapa Māori, Murphy and Hollings (1993) found that as the children moved into adolescence, their linguistic growth had not kept pace with their cognitive development, and the messages they received from wider society in terms of the use and status of Māori language became stronger influences on their own use of the language. They began to speak English amongst each other in the playground and outside of school. The status of the Māori language outside the precincts of the home and the school had an important impact on these children's use of the language as they grew up and began to venture out into the domains of wider society.

Te Haumihiata Mason (1998) also reports that teenage students from the country's most successful Māori medium schools prefer to speak English amongst themselves outside of class, supporting the contention that as children get older they become more aware of the diglossic division of labour, and therefore the power relationship between Māori and English. The books, technology, and expertise they are able to access through English, the places they hear English being spoken, the range of topics that they hear English being used for, the heroes and other people they hear speaking English make English a very attractive language for them to use.

It may also be unreasonable to expect the new generation of Māori language learners to have the same degree of language orientation as that of their parents' generation - their commitment to language activism may not be as great, nor perhaps is the threat of extinction so vivid. Many will not experience for themselves the emotional distress of not being able to speak or understand their ancestral language, of not being able to

access ngā taonga tuku iho a ngā mātua tīpuna (the treasures passed down from previous generations). This point was raised by one of the respondents in the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Language Cohort Study (see Chapter Five), and is simply mentioned here as a conjecture which needs further investigation. Figure 6.5 presents graphically what might be a change over time in the forces influencing an individual to choose to speak Māori or not in any given situation. This further highlights the need to ensure a greater normalisation of Māori language use across a variety of domains, in order to compensate for a possible decline in commitment to RLS activism in the future.

Figure 6.5 Possible change over time in forces influencing Māori language choice



Catalonia held its first democratic elections for a regional parliament in 1980, after the demise of the dictatorial Franco regime which had oppressed the Catalan language for over fifty years. One of the first decisions of the new parliament was to establish a language agency whose aim was to encourage the population to return to using Catalan in all social situations. A propaganda campaign was run for several months through the media, and while its effect on substantially changing the Franco imposed norms of language use is questionable, it did provide 'an institutional boost to those Catalans who do constantly use their language, despite the norm'. (Strubell 1996:265). The Catalan

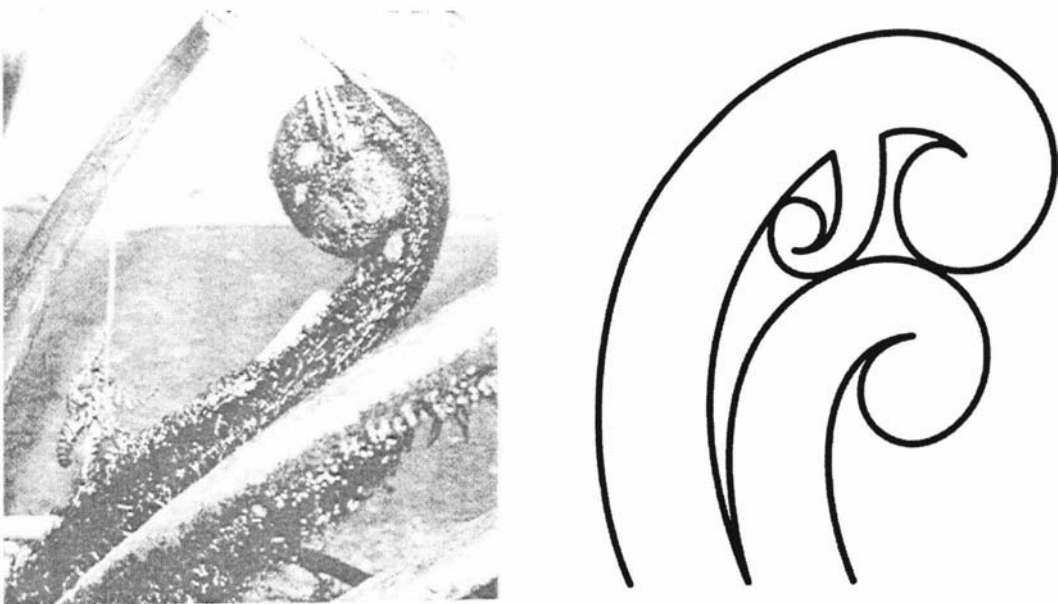
language agency also tried to ensure that as many opinion leaders as possible in Catalan society promoted the normal everyday use of Catalan in social situations. More recently a locally produced television soap has included a character with whom people only speak Catalan. Such examples of institutional support may not have a major effect on the social norms of language use, they may however be able to tip the balance in many situations, for example in encouraging students educated through the medium of Māori (such as those studied by Murphy and Hollings 1993) to use their language in a wider range of domains.

6.5.4 Māori language promotion

In the past, a combination of laws such as the 1867 Education Act, poor attitudes toward Māori language in the public domain, and negative perceptions of Māori language, have all had a powerful impact on the decline of the language both in public and private domains (see Chapter Two). It is not unreasonable to expect that a positive impact on RLS can also be achieved through efforts to promote the language through statute and public policy, and through influencing public perceptions of and attitude toward the Māori language. Programmes promoting healthy lifestyle amongst Māori have been successful in improving Māori health (see for example Barnes et al 1996), and there is no reason why this could not also happen with regard to the normalisation of Māori language use. Nicholson and Garland in their study of New Zealanders' attitudes to the revitalisation of the Māori language concluded that at least the 'passive tolerance of New Zealanders to the presence of the Māori language in contemporary society will allow active and explicit promotion of the Māori language' (1991:406). They suggest an initial marketing strategy aimed first and foremost at the Māori community. However, the potential for a negative reaction to over promotion discussed earlier in this chapter would need to be monitored and guarded against.

Promoting more widespread use of the language in public and community domains will influence the use of Māori in interpersonal situations and more private domains. This can be illustrated by returning to Figure 6.6, the koru depicting the major categories of Māori language domains. As the koru unfolds and matures it contributes to the emergence and development of new koru by providing protection and an environment conducive to growth. In addition to this, conditions outside of the plant itself - the nutrients in the soil, the rain, the sun - also contribute to the growth. The analogy can be taken one step further by reference to the proverb ‘Mate atu he tētēkura, ara mai anō he tētēkura’ (when one fern frond dies, another arises to take its place). In essence, the proverb refers to intergenerational transmission, and if Māori language policies and practices in the public domain take cognisance of the major goal of intergenerational transmission of the language, then they have the potential to provide similar protection, and a conducive environment for households and whānau to maintain and transmit the language.

Figure 6.6 Mate atu he tētēkura, ara mai anō he tētēkura (When one fern frond dies, another arises to take its place).



6.6 The Potential Threat Posed by Institutional Efforts at Promoting Māori Language

Fishman raises some important points that need to be taken into consideration if RLS activity is to be promoted in the public sector. He argues that the expansion of the minority language into public domains must be done with caution particularly in regard to the ownership of the language. Public institutions must not act to further marginalise a people from their language. The line between institutional support for a minority language and institutional control of that language becomes even more blurred when minority group people employed by institutions are required to undertake language policy and initiatives set down by the institution. Such initiatives and policy may be at odds with the principle of minority group advancement, and control over their resources.

Even those functionaries and specialists who remain physically within the Xish [Māori] region are likely to be substantially orientated toward colleagues, superiors and constituencies whose roots and loyalties are elsewhere. This danger needs to be acknowledged and guarded against by suitable ideological heightening and organized (and organizational) countersteps. (Fishman 1991:107)

Such a conflict of interests is experienced regularly by Māori working in Government institutions. There is no better example of this than the conflict of loyalties faced by the former Chief Executive Officer of the Ministry of Māori Development, and almost all of his Māori employees, when in 1996, they were charged with the task of promoting the Government's 'Fiscal Envelope' policy for providing redress of historical injustices under the Treaty of Waitangi. In spite of his own personal disagreement with the policy, and his advice to the Crown that it would not be accepted by Māori, and would be

contrary to Māori development, the Government persisted, placing their Māori employees in a compromised situation. (see Gardiner 1996).

Such examples highlight a perceived conflict inherent in Article Two of the Treaty of Waitangi, and its interpretation by the Crown. Article Two guarantees to tribes the right to full control and determination over their taonga, including the Māori language. In addition, the courts have reminded the Crown of an obligation to actively protect the language. Active protection however, does not mean usurping control. In a recent review of the Māori Language Commission, the reviewers appeared to confuse protection with control by recommending:

Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori should be reconstituted with the specific, overarching function of Kaitiaki for Māori language. The aim of the designation is to capture the essence of stewardship of the taonga, and leadership in its revitalisation. (Te Puni Kōkiri 1998:38)

The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines a steward as a ‘person entrusted with management of another's property’. It is argued that the guardianship of the language rests with the people within whose hearts and minds it is treasured, a point acknowledged by the Minister himself (perhaps inadvertently) in his foreword to the Review where he opens with his greeting

Kia mihi atu ahau ki a tātou katoa, ngā kaitiaki o te reo rangatira i roto i ngā āhuatanga o te wā. (ibid:5)

I acknowledge us all, the guardians of Māori language with respect to the vicissitudes of the present time. (Author's translation)

A more appropriate response from the Crown to fulfilling its obligations would be to seek suitable ways to support Māori initiatives that will enhance rather than diminish Māori responsibility for and control of the language, and this delineation is reflected in the intersectoral approach presented in the framework in this chapter. Māori involved in broadcasting have for some time been quite clear in espousing what an appropriate role for the Crown might be (see Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo 1997:12-14).

In 1995, Te Puni Kōkiri, the government's Ministry of Māori Development set about establishing a Māori language strategy. Ministry officials pursued the strategy in isolation with little input from the Māori language community. It was agreed to by Cabinet in 1998, and subsequently published in 1999. At the same time as Te Puni Kōkiri was developing its Māori language strategy, the Treasury commissioned a study by two international academics which took an economic approach to language planning. The paradigm of theoretical economics upon which their analysis was based reduced the context of Māori language revitalisation to issues of supply and demand, of profit and investment. It ignored the important human factors reported by the Cohort Study participants, and discussed in Chapters Four and Five (see for example Figure 4.2 and Table 5.8), and assumed that language users were empowered and free to exercise choice.

It develops a causal model where speakers' behaviour, including language use, is seen as the result of an optimisation procedure; people will tend to use one or another language depending on their *preferences* or *tastes*, which contribute to the definition of their *objectives*; however, their behaviour is *constrained* by limits on available resources (Grin & Vaillencourt 1998:18).

The report tends to separate language users themselves from the process of language planning which is given over to 'specialists' in the public sector.

Language planning authorities, however retain an irreplaceable role for overall co-ordination, and for the integration of specific measures into the higher-level perspective of public policy (ibid:170).

The approach being pursued by the present Māori Language Commission is in direct opposition to that being advocated by both Te Puni Kōkiri and in the report for Treasury. It is however firmly based on the human and specific cultural aspects of the Māori language situation, and is in accord with that being advocated for on the basis of this study. The Commission is establishing Puna Reo or district language centres to assist language planning, promotion and use at the local level of whānau, communities, marae, hapū (sub tribe), and iwi (Piripi 2001).

This serves as a reminder of the dangers expressed by Fishman when what he calls 'the continental divide' is crossed, that is when RLS efforts move away from being focussed on the intimate domains of homes and neighbourhoods and into the public sphere. Fishman advocates that the contribution that RLS effort in the public domain make to intergenerational mother tongue transmission 'must constantly be monitored empirically' (Fishman 1991:107).

6.7 Guiding principles for a framework for the revitalisation and maintenance of Māori language.

The preceding discussion suggests three major principles as the basis for the proposed framework for the revitalisation and maintenance of the Māori language.

1. The principle of Mana Māori. (Control and responsibility)

Efforts toward the maintenance and revitalisation of the Māori language should ensure that control of the language remains with Māori, and that promotion of the language contributes to Māori advancement and development. This principle is particularly important with regard to the part public agencies might have in RLS, and the processes they use to initiate RLS activity. This principle also recognises the importance of what Fishman terms 'foundational' RLS activity (1991:83), in that responsibility for such activity is carried by Māori, and is conducted in spheres of Māori control and influence. It aims to not only revitalise the language but also affirm and restore Māori culture and social structures.

2. The principle of Mana Tangata. (Personal empowerment)

Efforts toward the maintenance and revitalisation of the Māori language should ensure that the status, position and well being of Māori individuals is uplifted. This principle is particularly aimed at ensuring that individuals learning Māori as a second language have access to environments that are supportive of their efforts to learn and use their language, and recognises the potential benefits (including economic benefits) of fluency in Māori for Māori individuals and families. The corollary is that Māori language speakers should not be disadvantaged because of their language use and preference.

3. The principle of Tūhonotanga. (Interconnectedness)

Efforts toward the maintenance and revitalisation of the Māori language should be based on a Māori worldview of interconnectedness. Action and behaviour in one area of endeavour is connected to, and will have an impact on other areas. This principle has particular application at the present time in the revitalisation of the Māori language,

where this generation is charged with ensuring that their 'learnt' language becomes a language 'transferred' naturally to the next generation. It recognises the fact that many Māori households are in a poor position socio-economically and linguistically to reclaim the responsibility for inter-generational transmission, and therefore support from institutions outside the household is necessary (e.g. marae, education, broadcasting etc).

The framework for the maintenance and revitalisation of the language shown in Table 6.2 is based on the research in this thesis, and is presented as a way of conceptualising the type of work that needs to be done, the most appropriate sector to undertake responsibility for the work, and the interconnectedness of each sphere of activity. The vertical axis signals the nature of the various types of initiative that are needed, and the horizontal axis assigns responsibility to an appropriate sector. The RLS objectives suggested in the cells of the framework are illustrative rather than exhaustive. Fishman's hierarchy of ameliorative priorities has been superimposed on the framework in the form of a number (or numbers) in each cell which correspond with his various levels of intergenerational disruption. In this way, the objectives contained in the cells achieve further focus.

The objectives are written in a way that enables them to be measured, or assessed. To illustrate this, the objectives which have been suggested for Māori institutions such as marae with regard to language learning are reproduced in Table 6.3, with their corresponding measure alongside.

Table 6.2 A framework for the maintenance and revitalisation of Māori language

type of activity	domains and agents			
	households and whānau	Māori controlled e.g. <i>marae, runanga, wānanga, kōhanga reo ...</i>	Community e.g. sports and leisure associations	Public e.g. schools, government agencies, local bodies, providers of services
language acquisition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to ensure intergenerational transmission 6 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to provide a Māori language environment in close proximity (social and or demographic) to the home 6 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to provide a Māori language environment in close proximity (social and or demographic) to the home 6 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to provide information to and support for Māori language households 6
language learning and teaching	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to support the school aims to extend language proficiency and develop literacy and numeracy 6, 4a 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to provide appropriate language learning opportunities for members (e.g. wānanga reo) 7,4a to ensure the continuity of tikanga 7,6 to ensure the continuity of performance in the language arts 7,6 to provide support for members learning Māori 7,5,4a 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to provide access to a range of quality Māori language learning opportunities 7,4b to ensure a supply of quality teachers 4a,4b to provide information about Māori language issues 7,4a,4b to provide appropriate funding for Kaupapa Māori education 4a
Māori language resource materials	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to become 'consumers' of Māori language materials, creating demand 6, 2 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to produce resource material aimed at ensuring the transmission of tribal dialect and language treasures 6 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to produce Māori language material related to the aims of the association (e.g. newsletters etc) 5 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to provide a range of quality Māori language resource materials 7,6,5,4 to monitor and achieve a high standard of publication 7,6,5,4
language recording archival		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to provide a 'language bank' of exemplary native speakers of the tribal dialect 8,7 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to provide a language bank of exemplary native speakers of Māori 8,7,4
broadcasting and print media	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to exercise choice becoming 'consumers' of the Māori language media, therefore creating demand 6, 5, 2 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to provide support for Māori language households 6,5 to create awareness of language issues 6,5 to assist in transmission of tribal dialect 6 to act as a unifying mechanism for the community 7,6,5 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to ensure the provision of a range of quality Māori language media for the purpose of entertaining and informing 6,4,2 to provide exemplary models of language use 6,4
corpus development		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to ensure the transmission and maintenance of tribal dialect 7,6,5 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to ensure the ongoing development of Māori language in order to cater for contemporary use 6,4,3,2 to develop orthographic conventions for written Māori 5,4,2,1 to develop a 'standard' form of Māori for official and national publications 4,2,1
status planning		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to establish norms of Māori language use with regard to the activities and day to day running of the organisation 6 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to establish norms of Māori language use within the community 6 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to encourage social norms of Māori language use within a range of situations 6,4,3,2,1 to uphold consumers language rights 4,3,2,1 to promote positive attitudes to Māori language 7,6,2,1 to provide information on Māori language issues based on quality research 8,7,6,5,4,3,2,1
language arts		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to ensure the creative development of language performance arts associated with the agency 7,5,4a 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to provide opportunities for the creative use of Māori language across a range of arts (writing, theatre, music) 4,2,1

Table 6.3 Measuring outcomes of Māori language initiatives (Māori institutions and language learning)

Objectives (possible examples)	Output Measures (possible examples)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to provide appropriate language learning opportunities for members (e.g. wānanga reo) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • language classes and/or wānanga have been established and conducted to cater for a variety of proficiency levels
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to ensure the continuity of tikanga 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wānanga on tikanga (custom) have been held • tikanga is able to be upheld in appropriate situations • appropriate members have been identified for learning and carrying specific tikanga
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to ensure the continuity of performance in the language arts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wānanga on language arts have been held • various members are skilled in and able to perform language arts in appropriate situations
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to provide support for members learning Māori 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • support structures are in place (e.g. tuakana/teina, exemplary role models, ‘kōrero Māori’ events etc.)

While ‘outputs’, such as those exemplified in Table 6.3 are able to be measured with relative ease, it is the outcome of the initiatives that will be more useful measures, although more difficult to assess. The outcomes will also be more important to monitoring the long-term health of the language. In Chapter One, the following definition of a ‘revitalised’ Māori language was presented: ‘The Māori language will be healthy when there are significant numbers of Māori people who speak Māori proficiently, who have the opportunity to use their language in a variety of different

domains, and choose to do so especially in the home and in community contexts.’ There are several significant outcome measures associated with this definition. The first is increasing the numbers of speakers sufficient to establish and maintain communities of speakers. The second concerns proficiency – ensuring that language proficiency of speakers is sufficient to maintain quality of language across all domains of usage. The third concerns increasing access to a variety of Māori language domains, and the fourth is about normalising the use of Māori whereby an individual’s choice of which language to use in any given situation is not constrained by norms of English language usage and negative attitudes toward Māori language.

A variety of methods to measure the achievement of such outcomes will need to be developed in order to monitor revitalisation progress over time. This should include both the quantitative and qualitative approaches advocated in this thesis, and be targeted on a national and a local community basis.

The principles of Mana Māori and Mana Tangata are applied vertically in the framework. This results in delineation between the Māori agents of revitalisation, and agents in the wider community and public sphere, which play a more supportive, but nonetheless very important role. This is especially so in the short to mid term, until the cycle of intergenerational transmission is once more secure. The types of language activity suggested in columns one and two on the framework are foundational, in that they are focussed on the nexus of language reproduction in homes and communities. Columns three and four are focussed on how language reproduction activity can be supported by language production activity in the wider community and through public institutions.

The principle of interconnectedness applies both horizontally and vertically. Horizontally, it takes a particular type of language activity focus (for example, language acquisition), and shows how the appropriate contributions from each of the agents are interrelated. For example, with regard to language acquisition, the framework shows that there are initiatives appropriate for all four agents. The application of the principles of Mana Māori and Mana Tangata make it clear that responsibility for and control of acquisition rests with Māori. The role public institutions have to play is largely on the periphery, providing support and assistance, and this is reflected in the types of objectives that have been suggested.

Applied vertically, the principle of interconnectedness integrates the range of different types of activity that each agent could be involved in. For example, the framework clearly assigns to whānau and households the responsibility for language acquisition (i.e. recreating an environment for intergenerational transmission), and a supportive role for more formal language learning. The framework suggests that this is where whānau and households need to do their active language revitalisation work – their appropriate areas of production. They will also have an involvement in other types of language activity, however this will be a more passive and receptive role (for example choosing to listen to and view Māori language broadcasting)

While a particular responsibility may have been assigned to the public sector (for example 'to provide information to and support for Māori language households), this does not preclude Māori organisations at the community level from being involved in providing services in order to fulfil that particular objective. Indeed, in many instances, it would be more effective for organisations that are closely and intimately involved with the people such as marae or kura kaupapa Māori to be contracted to provide the

appropriate service. It would allow for both an overall coordination of effort at the national level, and what Fishman (1991:86) has called 'tailor-made efforts' at the local level responding to local conditions and opportunities and using local networks and expertise.

6.8 Summary

Chapter Six has highlighted the need for an integrated and co-ordinated approach to planning the revitalisation of the Māori language based on the particular circumstances of the Māori population. Fishman's argument about the paramount importance of securing the natural intergenerational transmission of the language in homes and communities is accepted. However because of the contemporary realities of Māori households, greater significance than that afforded by Fishman needs to be given to the role that agencies outside the home can play (in the short to medium term at least).

In a keynote address to the Fourth European Conference on Immersion Education, Professor Miquel Strubell, Director of The Institute of Catalan Linguistics, argued that language planning was possible, that it was legitimate, and that it was necessary in order to ensure the health of any lesser used language. These arguments are taken a step further in the framework presented in this chapter, with the contention that in the New Zealand situation, language planning is possible, legitimate and necessary at a variety of levels, including the level of individual whānau and households, Māori community and tribal organisations, as well as public sector agencies. Planning for the most appropriate and focussed language revitalisation initiatives at each of these levels will result in the best possible outcomes for the language.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion

"It is, or should be, every person's right to have her own job and her own language. It is with these tools that she makes for herself a place in the social world, formulates her sense of herself, and creates the relationships which bind her to herself, to the world, and to other people ... Your own language is the language you have a real relationship with ...

It is only by using your language, the language we ourselves have a relationship with, that we can establish relationships in turn with the world and with reality, establish contacts with our fellow people through which the beat of another heart, the vibrations of another being can be felt. The borrowed language holds a human being apart from reality, comes between her and her world, isolates her in a world without relationships.

The borrowed language is the one you have no relationship with, it does not grow in you, and you do not grow in it; reality comes to you ready made with it, tinned or bottled, packaged so that you cannot taste, feel, smell or see the genuine quality of reality; using it you are only a

receiver, not a giver. The borrowed language demands obedience, it eases you like a horse into a stall away from your freedom.

The borrowed language is a level surface, spreading out before you without depth or any savour of experience. Your own language is the country you inhabit, you can walk in it with movements that are your own, you can breathe your own breath in it, your own eyes can glitter in it, or you can see it before you with its own movements, winds blowing, water shining still or glistening in movement.

Our own language grows in us out of our own experiences, it constantly puts out the shoots of new and green relationships, it loses old and withered ones. It offers us concourse with reality, in the course of which both emotional and rational energies we repeatedly test, examine, assent and reject.

... The world and we ourselves only come really to be familiar presences to us when we speak about it and about ourselves in our own language. The images of reality in the borrowed language are no more than pictures seen through the lens of a camera, never with the eye of the senses. In the borrowed language, in the language which is not growing within us but rather settling within us like sediment, we are anonymous

not only to others, but also to ourselves." (Sandro Key-Aberg, quoted in Skutnabb-Kangas 1981:54)

This writing by Key-Aberg is a reminder about what is at stake. The current macro position of the Māori language as discussed in Chapter Two in terms of the numbers of speakers, proficiency levels, and frequency of use, show clearly that this period in history is critical to its future survival. Will the right of future generations of Māori to know themselves, to sense, enjoy, and interact with the world 'with our own language' be secured, or will they be consigned to live through 'the borrowed language'.

This thesis has discussed three main questions with regard to the revitalisation of the Māori language, namely:

1. What are the influences on Māori language decline, revitalisation, maintenance and transmission?
2. What are the various agents for Māori language revitalisation, and how are they interrelated?
3. What influences an individual's choice to use Māori language or not in various situations?

A central assumption alluded to in Chapter One was the justness and rightness of Māori language revitalisation, and that it is also pragmatic and useful in an everyday sense to both individuals and society. It is appropriate in the concluding chapter to return and discuss this issue which has been implicit and taken for granted throughout the course of the study.

The importance of language revitalisation to mana Māori (the status and vitality of Māori as tangata whenua of Aotearoa New Zealand), and mana tangata (the identity, the self esteem, the belongingness of Māori individuals, and their connections with the physical, cultural and social environment of their country) was discussed briefly in Chapter One. These concepts were also developed further to form two of the three basic principles for the framework for revitalisation presented in Chapter Six.

So what will happen if the language is lost or declines further to a point of greater weakness? Will the status and vitality of Māori as tangata whenua, and the identity, self esteem and belongingness of Māori individuals be threatened? Or will English be a sufficient language to maintain mana Māori and mana tangata (or as Fishman (1991) puts it being Xmen via the Yish language). In addition to the concerns about mana Māori and mana tangata, what about mana whenua, what would be lost to the nation as a whole, and what would the cost be to all of New Zealand society?

The growing weight of opinion and evidence suggests that the costs would be high on all three counts. Durie discusses the connection between a secure cultural identity and positive lifestyle indicators.

What is suggestive, however, is that a secure identity may have advantages beyond cultural affirmation. It may for example afford some protection against poor health; it is more likely to be associated with active educational participation and with positive employment profiles. The corollary is that reduced access to Māori resources and the wider Māori world, may be associated with cultural, social, and economic disadvantage. (1998a:58)

Evidence from the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Baseline Study shows that participants who had a positive Māori identity were more likely to be employed, to have better health, and generally a more positive outlook. Ability to speak Māori is a key component of a positive Māori identity. In addition to this, participants in the Cohort Study reported a sense of catharsis, a deep feeling of satisfaction when they had opportunity to interact in Māori. A study by two researchers at Victoria University found that a lack of pride and knowledge about whakapapa (ancestry) and Māori language was related to a greater chance of offending (see Maxwell and Morris 1999). The cognitive benefits to individuals of balanced bilingualism have been well documented, and this indeed is one of the major reasons that many parents in countries throughout the world demand access to bilingual education for their children. An enhanced cognitive ability will lead to improved educational outcomes, and therefore improved life chances.

It is not such a quantum leap to see that the benefits for individuals discussed above would also accrue to wider New Zealand society. The benefits could be immense, and would also be an investment that this generation could make toward helping secure a peaceful future for our country, minimising the prospect of racial and ethnic conflict which has been prominent throughout much of the world in the latter part of the 21st century. The colonial approach has been to suppress Māori culture, and to assimilate Māori to Pākehā culture, often in the name of national unity – the rhetoric being ‘we are all one people’. This policy has clearly failed. Unity has not been achieved, Māori are unequal no matter which social measure is applied, and resistance to assimilation and the abandonment of Māori language and culture has been strong and enduring. In many places throughout the world, a more enlightened approach to nation building is now being pursued (for example the settlement between the Canadian government and the

Nishga tribal nation). This approach is based on valuing the diversity of cultural groups within a nation, and recognising the contribution that minority groups can make to achieving a strong and prosperous nation. Fishman poses the rhetorical questions with regard to North America.

What is lost by the country when the country loses its languages? We have had this very haphazard linguistic book-keeping where you pretend nothing is lost – except the language. It is just a little language. But after all, a country is just the sum of all of its creative potential. What does the country lose when it loses individuals who are comfortable with themselves, cultures that are authentic to themselves, the capacity to pursue sensitivity, wisdom, and some kind of recognition that one has a purpose in life? What is lost to a country that encourages people to lose their direction in life? (1996:80)

In addition to these aspects of internal nation building, is the way a nation portrays itself and interacts in the international scene. Undoubtedly, nations face increasing pressure to compete in the global market economy of which English is the undisputed lingua franca of interaction. In spite of this however, Benton maintains that Māori does have utility value in the global village.

As a Malayo-Polynesian language, it links New Zealand with many other Pacific and South East Asian nations: an important competitive advantage in a part of the world where kinship and cultural ties remain key factors in political and economic decision making. The Māori language therefore gives us all a sense of place, not only in our own ethnic group, but potentially, if we are open and forward thinking, in our country and in our rather large corner of the world. This is a world in which ethnocentrism is

not just undesirable, but a tragically destructive trait, and in which institutionalised monolingualism limits the potential for growth of both individuals and societies. Strong nations contain within themselves different world views, different languages, different ways of doing things, different talents, alternative solutions to problems. (1999:37)

Perhaps the greatest impact however, if the decline in the Māori language is allowed to continue will be to what has been termed *mana Māori*, the status and vitality of Māori as the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand. Fishman argues that there is a deep and substantive relationship between language and culture, that a culture cannot be lived and expressed through a language foreign to its internal concerns, its subtleties and overtones, its emphases and values, its experience and tradition. He uses an interesting analogy to make his point:

What is the relationship between language and culture? Is it like the relationship of my handkerchief to my trousers: you can take it out and throw it away and put another handkerchief in? (1996:81)

He goes on to discuss that which is lost from a culture when a language dies.

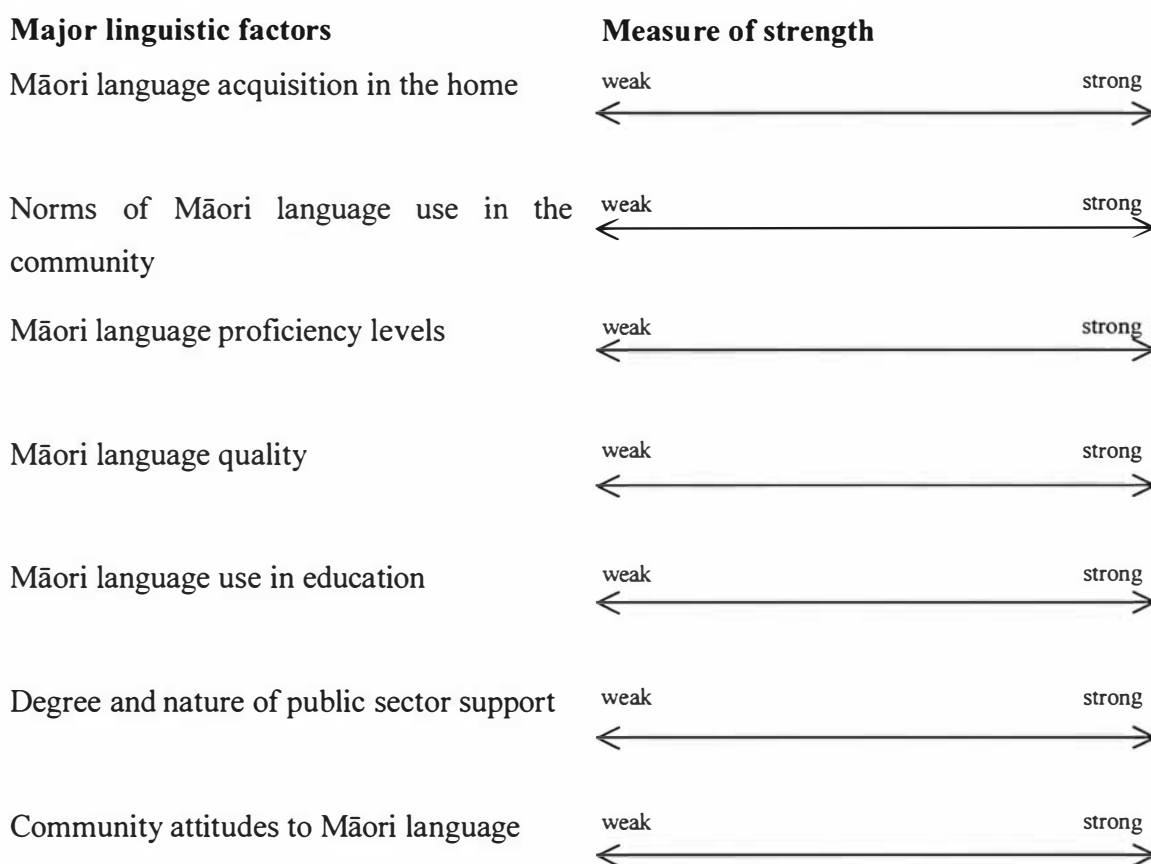
Take it away from the culture, and you take away its greetings, its proverbs, its cures, its wisdom, its prayers ... What would be left? ... you are losing all those things that essentially are the way of life, the way of thought, the way of valuing and the human reality that you are talking about. (ibid.)

Kāretu (1990) and Muru (1990) echo these sentiments when they ask how it would be possible to welcome one's visitors to the marae, and to mourn and farewell one's dead

through the medium of English. In essence, what would be lost to the world would be the unique Māori identity.

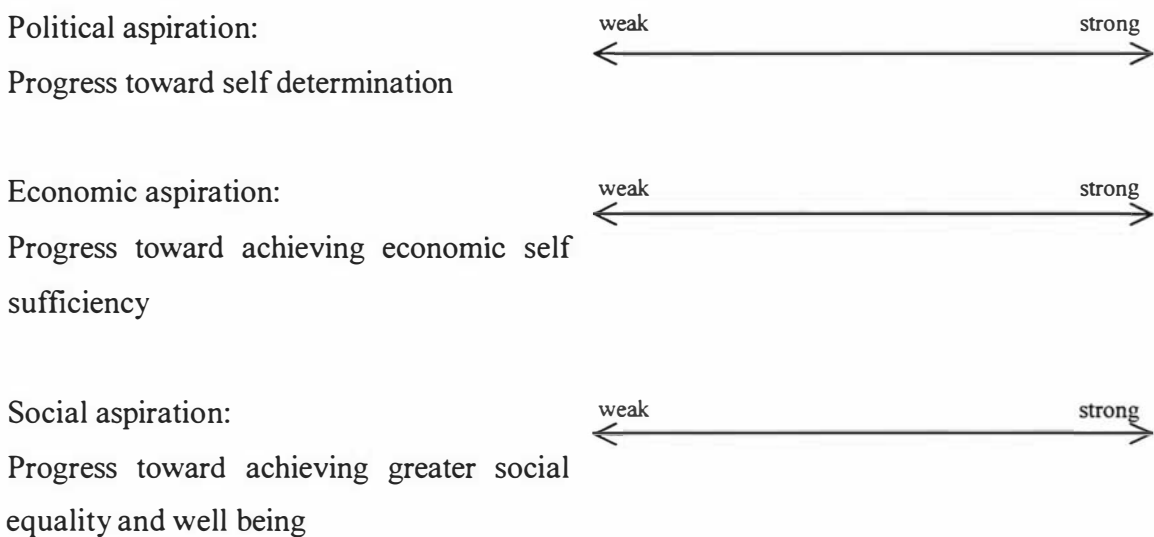
This thesis has discussed the objectives and priorities for revitalisation, along with the difficulties and barriers. What then are the possible future prospects for the language? What will the nature and strength of the language be in 50 or 100 years time? The major linguistic factors that will provide important measures have been highlighted, and they are summarised in Figure 7.1. It is possible to locate all factors on a continuum from weak to strong.

Figure 7.1 Linguistic factors impacting on the health of the Māori language



Recognising that the language does not exist in a social vacuum, this thesis has also highlighted the political, economic and social contexts that impact on the health of the language. Māori aspirations to achieve self-determination, economic self-sufficiency, and social well being will also be important determinants, and progress in these areas can also be measured on the strong – weak continuum (Figure 7.2).

Figure 7.2 Extra-linguistic factors impacting on the health of the Māori language



Measuring each of these factors will depend on individual perspective and level of involvement in language issues. Optimists buoyed by the not insignificant progress made in the last twenty or so years, and also perhaps those who have watched from the side, may tend toward the strong end of the continuum. Others confronted daily with some of the barriers and difficulties that participants in the Cohort Study reported may tend toward the weak end. In reality however, it is likely that the measurement of each of these factors fifty years hence will vary from community to community, and will depend on the activation of the various agencies in the community toward implementing initiatives most appropriate to their function. This was highlighted in the framework for

revitalisation discussed in Chapter Six. The framework advocated local solutions to local issues to achieve locally negotiated goals, within a backdrop of public sector support. This will be important to ensure that ownership of the language, and therefore ultimate responsibility for it remains with Māori people in the context of their everyday family and community life.

This thesis has attempted to contribute to revitalisation in three important areas: the methodology of sociolinguistic study of the Māori language, and both the theory and practice of Māori language revitalisation.

The methodology sought to integrate the essential elements from the emerging ideas on kaupapa Māori research with the quantitative approach of sociolinguistic survey, and the collecting of qualitative data to illustrate the micro level perspective of individuals on an everyday basis. The principles of a kaupapa Māori approach to research provided an over-arching framework to focus and orientate both the quantitative and qualitative approaches that were employed. It is interesting to note that a similar methodology is to be used for the next national Māori language survey planned for the year 2001. The Ministry of Māori Development will undertake a macro survey similar to that of 1995, with a sample size of 10,000 Māori individuals. This will inform a series of community language studies which will follow, aiming to describe the daily realities of Māori language use, proficiency, participation and aspiration at the household and community level. Significantly, it is planned to involve the communities themselves in the design and implementation of the methodology, and will ultimately enable communities themselves to better plan for the revitalisation and maintenance of the Māori language at a local level.

The thesis also set out to provide a theoretical model upon which language planning and language policy could be built. The model provides a conceptual framework, which integrates the various types of language initiative with the 'agents' of revitalisation, and allows the wider picture of revitalisation to be seen, rather than a uni-dimensional focus on individual sectors such as the Government, or education. Particular types of language initiative undertaken by various agencies can be seen in relation to each other, and the relative importance of each can be evaluated and prioritised. The framework could also serve to coordinate a national Māori language research plan. Initiatives in each area of the framework would benefit from research in order to better inform the practice of Māori language revitalisation, as well as evaluate the gains that are made.

Finally, it is hoped that the actual practice of Māori language revitalisation is informed by the research, that the various agents, whether they be family, Māori, community, or public institutions, are better able to evaluate the various types of initiative most appropriate for them to undertake, their inter-relatedness with initiatives in other sectors, and their possible prioritisation.

Durie has noted that '... beyond doubt the enthusiasm of Māori to promote te reo Māori (Māori language) is high. More than any other single factor it is that enthusiasm which is probably the most essential prerequisite for language revitalisation.' (1998:75). This thesis has argued the critical importance of a coordinated and sustained approach to Māori language revitalisation and maintenance over the next twenty years to capitalise on this enthusiasm, and ensure that the gains made in the previous twenty years are consolidated, strengthened, and widened. The unique circumstances of Māori as an indigenous minority language co-existing with what is arguably the most powerful

language in the world, must be taken into account to ensure that maximum benefit for the language is gained from the efforts that are expended. As an island nation situated at the periphery of the South Pacific, there is potential for Aotearoa New Zealand to lead the world in promoting the conditions necessary for indigenous languages to flourish. If language is the ‘pedigree of nations’, encapsulating the ‘genius of nationhood’, what indeed will be the pedigree of Aotearoa-New Zealand, twenty, fifty, one hundred years hence. The actions, behaviours and foresight of this generation are crucial.

Ka ngaro te reo, ka ngaro tāua, pērā i te ngaro o te moa¹.

If the language is lost, so too is the Māori genius, the Māori identity, just like the great moa bird, gone and never to return. (Author’s interpretation)

¹ A quote from the late Sir James Henare to the Waitangi Tribunal on the Te Reo Māori claim (Wai 11), 1986.

Glossary

ahi kā	keeping the home fires burning (a presence in one's tribal/sub-tribal affairs)
Aotearoa	New Zealand
aroha ki te tangata	human respect and understanding
hapū	sub tribe
hui	gathering
inihi	inch
iwi	tribe
kanohi kitea	a face seen
kapahaka	Māori performing arts group
karakia	spiritula chant or prayer
kaumātua	respected elder
kaupapa	topic, theme, project, initiative
kawanatanga	government
kerona	gallon
kia ora	greeting, hello
kīwaha	colloquial sayings
koata	quarter
koha	gift
Kōhanga Reo	Māori language pre-school
kōrero	speak
koru	bulb shaped motif

kupu	word/s
Kura Kaupapa Māori	Māori language school based on Māori values and pedagogy
mahi	work, job
mana	power, authority, prestige
Māori	indigenous people of New Zealand
marae	Māori community complex based on Māori values and custom
mehua	measure
mokopuna	grandchild. grandchildren
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
pauna	pound
pukapuka	book
puna reo	language source, language centre
raperape	a spiral design used in carving
reo	language
takarangi	a spiral design used in carving
tangata	person
tangata whenua	indigenous people
tangi	Māori funeral
tāone	town
taonga	treasure
taraka	truck

tauirā	students, example
Te Ātaarangi	community based Māori language learning initiative
Te Puni Kōkiri	Ministry of Māori Development
Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori	Māori Language Commission
teina	younger sibling of same sex
tikanga	Māori custom
tīma	steamer
titiro	look
tohunga	Expert Spiritual Leader
tuakana	older sibling of same sex
tūhonotanga	interrelatedness
ūkaipō	sustenance received from mothers breast
wairua	spirit
wānanga	learning centre
whakahīhi	boastful, a show off
whakapapa	genealogy
whakarongo	listen
whakataukī	proverb
whānau	family/extended family
whanaungatanga	relationship ties (most usually based on kinship)
whenua	land
wiki	week

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TE HOE NUKU ROA A RESEARCH STUDY OF MAORI HOUSEHOLDS

Tena koe.

You may remember helping us with the study of Māori households called Te Hoe Nuku Roa. Our researchers visited you and worked through a questionnaire on a variety of topics, with the aim of providing information so that Māori development can be more solidly based on the actual circumstances, hopes and desires of Māori people.

The information you provided is very valuable, and we have tried to keep you informed with newsletters and summaries about the project. We have also been able to provide information to iwi and other Māori groups, as well as government agencies such as Te Puni Kōkiri in an attempt to influence their policies.

We are about to start a new phase of the research project which is a more in-depth study of te reo Māori. Previous research has told us that generally our language is not in a good state of health as we head into the year 2000. We hope to find out some information that will help improve the position of the language - what are the barriers and difficulties for Māori households in providing a sound language environment for the children coming through, how have some families overcome these difficulties, what can Māori and other organisations do to help improve the situation with regard to the language and so on.

We would like to visit you in the next month or so to ask you if you would be willing to take part in the research. This would mean arranging a time when our interviewers could visit you, ask you some questions, and take note of your views and ideas.

If you agree to become involved, then your identity remains confidential to the research. Typically, interviews will take about 40 - 60 minutes of your time. We realise that this is a big commitment and that many people are too busy to become involved. However, we believe that we will be able to generate some information that will be of help in improving the situation of the language.

We are keen to emphasise that this research belongs to the people who participate. So, once we have the findings from our survey, we will be sharing them with the participants first. Later we hope to be able to influence Māori language policies and programmes so that positive outcomes for the language can be achieved.

We hope that you will consider participating in the study when one of our fieldworkers contacts you. If you have any questions or queries please write or telephone us to discuss them.

Te Hoe Nuku Roa
Department of Māori Studies
Massey University
Private Bag 11222
PALMERSTON NORTH

Ian Christensen
Department of Māori Studies
Telephone 06 3569099
Fax. 06 3505634

**Te Pūtahi-a-Toi, School of Māori Studies,
Massey University**

Māori language research study

INFORMATION SHEET

What is this research study about?

The aim of this research is to gather information about the Māori language, about peoples level of ability in Māori, about their use of the language, and any barriers or difficulties they experience in using the language in different places.

Who is the researcher?

The research is being coordinated by Ian Christensen, a lecturer in the School of Māori Studies at Massey University, as part of the Te Hoe Nuku Roa study on Māori households. It will also contribute toward his doctorate research.

The main supervisor for the research is:

Professor Mason Durie, Head of School of Māori Studies, Massey University

Contact

Any queries about the research can be directed to Ian Christensen at:

Te Pūtahi-ā-Toi,
The School of Māori Studies,
Massey University,
Private Bag 11222,
Palmerston North.

Phone: (06) 3569099

Fax: (06) 3505634

Why are you being asked to take part?

We have randomly selected 50 people who were involved in the Te Hoe Nuku Roa baseline study, and who indicated that they would be prepared to be involved further at a later stage.

What will you be asked to do?

We would like to ask you some questions and discuss some issues relating to te reo Māori. The interview should take about an hour, and we would like to record the discussion on cassette tape if you agree.

If you decide that you do not want to answer a particular question, or want to withdraw from the interview at any stage, that is your right, and no further question will be asked.

The interview can happen at any time, and at any place that is convenient to you. Two interviewers will be involved - one to ask the questions and involve you in the discussion, and one to record your thoughts and ideas. You may wish to have one of your friends or whānau with you to help as the interview takes place.

Appendix Two

What will the information be used for?

The main concern of the research is to look at ways to strengthen the position of the Māori language. We are hoping to generate information that will be of assistance to individuals, households, Māori communities and Māori language groups who are working to ensure the maintenance of the language. This information will be reported back to you the participants, and to other groups such as Kōhanga Reo and marae. A comprehensive report will also be written for the Ministry of Māori Development, the Māori Language Commission, and the Ministry of Education.

Will the information be confidential?

The information you give us will not be linked with your name, so that no one will know who you or any other participant in the study are. We are interested in putting the information into a broad picture, so it will not be possible to identify you in any of the reports.

Where will the information be kept?

All the information gathered will be kept in a secure cabinet in the School of Māori Studies at Massey University. Names, addresses and any other identifying information will be kept in a separate cabinet to the actual information contained in the completed questionnaires and recorded on the cassette tapes.

Summary.

You have the right to decline any further involvement in this study.

If you agree to be involved, you have the right to:

- Decline to answer any particular question.
- Withdraw from the study at any particular time.
- Ask for the tape recorder to be turned off at any time if you have agreed for your interview to be recorded.
- Ask any further questions that you may have about the study at any time.
- Have your information handled in a way that it will not be possible to identify you in any reports that are written from the study.
- Be sent a summary of the findings of the research when it is finished.

Appendix Three

Te Pūtahi-a-Toi, School of Māori Studies, Massey University

Te Oranga o te Reo: Māori language research study

CONSENT FORM

I have read the Information Sheet, and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time and to decline to answer any particular questions.

I agree to provide information to the researchers on the understanding that my identity will remain completely confidential. After the conclusion of the research, I agree that the information can be used for research reports and publications.

π I agree to the interview being tape recorded, though I reserve the right to request that no recording be made for all or any part of the interview.

π I do not agree to the interview being taped.

I agree to participate in the study under the conditions set out above.

Signed: _____

Name: _____

Date: _____

Appendix Four

**Te Hoe Nuku Roa/Toi te Kupu
Cohort Study Te Oranga o te Reo Māori.
QUESTIONNAIRE**

1. Do you know what language your mother/ female guardian was brought up speaking as a child at home?

- π Only Māori
- π Mostly Māori, some English
- π About equally Māori and English
- π Mostly English, some Māori
- π Only English
- π Don't know
- π Another language _____

2. Do you know what language your father/ male guardian was brought up speaking as a child?

- π Only Māori
- π Mostly Māori, some English
- π About equally Māori and English
- π Mostly English, some Māori
- π Only English
- π Don't know
- π Another language _____

3. Can you identify the adults who lived in your home when you were growing up, and what language they spoke to you.
(language used showcard - LIGHT BLUE)

adult person	language they spoke to you					
e.g. mother	$\pi 1$	$\pi 2$	$\pi 3$	$\pi 4$	$\pi 5$	$\pi 0$
	$\pi 1$	$\pi 2$	$\pi 3$	$\pi 4$	$\pi 5$	$\pi 0$
	$\pi 1$	$\pi 2$	$\pi 3$	$\pi 4$	$\pi 5$	$\pi 0$
	$\pi 1$	$\pi 2$	$\pi 3$	$\pi 4$	$\pi 5$	$\pi 0$

Appendix Four

4. What ethnicity are your parents or guardians?

Mother/female guardian	Father/male guardian
------------------------	----------------------

5. When you were growing up, what language do you remember adults in your household using when speaking to each other.

- π only Māori
- π mostly Māori, some English
- π about even amounts of Māori and English
- π mostly English, some Māori
- π only English
- π another language

6. Do you remember your parents / guardians talking to you about learning or speaking English or Māori? If so, what was their message to you?

- π no
- π yes _____

7. Think of your immediate whānau going back as many generations as you can. Over the years, would you say your whānau has:

- π generally held on to speaking Māori language (go to question 15)
- π generally shifted toward speaking mainly English

Appendix Four

8. Can you identify when this shift to English happened and the reasons for it?

9. Have there been efforts in your whānau to move back towards speaking Māori?

π no (go to question 15)
π yes

10. Which members of your whānau?

11. Can you identify when this happened and the reasons for it?

12. What are some of the ways you promote Māori language in your whānau or household?

Appendix Four

13. Can you identify anything which would help you in maintaining Māori language in your whānau or household?

14. Can you identify anything which would help promote opportunities to speak Māori language in the wider community?

15. Do any of the following cause problems for you in your efforts to promote Māori language in your household?

the cost of:

- π attending Māori language classes for adults
- π Kōhanga Reo for your children
- π Māori language schooling for your children

the availability of Māori:

- π language classes for adults
- π Kōhanga Reo for your children
- π Māori language schooling for your children

the quality of:

- π Māori language classes for adults
- π Kōhanga Reo for your children
- π Māori language schooling for your children

Māori language radio -

- π it's availability in your area
- π the types/variety of programmes broadcast _____
- π the quality of programmes broadcast
- π the availability of Māori language television

Appendix Four

16. What things make it difficult for you to promote the speaking of Māori language in your whānau or household?

17. Can you conduct everyday conversation in Māori? (e.g. talking to your child about school, or your friend about going out etc.)

(use Māori language proficiency showcard - BLUE)

1 2 3 4

18. Can you tell a story to a child in Māori? (not reading)

(use Māori language proficiency showcard - BLUE)

1 2 3 4

19. Can you talk in Māori about issues that are in the news?

(use Māori language proficiency showcard - BLUE)

1 2 3 4

20. Can you give directions how to get to the local school in Māori?

(use Māori language proficiency showcard - BLUE)

1 2 3 4

21. Can you talk in Māori to a friend about something like a movie or sports game you've seen?

(use Māori language proficiency showcard - BLUE)

1 2 3 4

Appendix Four

22. If you were overseas on holiday, could you write a letter to a friend in Māori, talking about your experiences?

(use Māori language proficiency showcard - BLUE)

1 2 3 4

23. Can you write a more formal letter in Māori? (e.g. to the local Council about a land matter)

(use Māori language proficiency showcard - BLUE)

1 2 3 4

24. Are you involved in any of the following Māori language activities? If you are please tell us briefly about your involvement.

a) Performing karanga _____

e) Performing whaikōrero _____

h) Composing waiata _____

i) Learning waiata _____

25. Which language do you find easiest to converse in (in most situations)?

- π Māori
- π English
- π Equally Māori or English
- π Other

Appendix Four

26. Is your knowledge and ability in any of these areas of concern to you? If so, how concerned are you?

Your pronunciation of Māori
1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____
extremely concerned of some concern a little concerned of no concern

The way you say things in Māori (the structure of your sentences)
1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____
extremely concerned of some concern a little concerned of no concern

Your ability to use Māori sayings and expressions
1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____
extremely concerned of some concern a little concerned of no concern

Your ability to communicate as well as you would like to in Māori
1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____
extremely concerned of some concern a little concerned of no concern

The influence that thinking in English might be having on your Māori language
1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____
extremely concerned of some concern a little concerned of no concern

Your knowledge of and ability to use your own tribal dialect
1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____
extremely concerned of some concern a little concerned of no concern

Your range of vocabulary for a variety of topics
1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____
extremely concerned of some concern a little concerned of no concern

27. Is your first language

π Māori
π English
π Other _____

28. Is your strongest language now

π Māori
π English
π Other _____

Appendix Four

37. How important are these things in influencing your choice in whether to speak Māori or not in places outside your home.

your own ability in Māori language

1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____
has a large influence has some influence has a little influence has no influence

the Māori language ability of the person you are talking with

1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____
has a large influence has some influence has a little influence has no influence

the place you are at

1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____
has a large influence has some influence has a little influence has no influence

the topic of conversation

1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____
has a large influence has some influence has a little influence has no influence

the other people who are around you at the time

1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____
has a large influence has some influence has a little influence has no influence

your relationship with the person you are talking with

1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____
has a large influence has some influence has a little influence has no influence

your own confidence in using Māori language

1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____
has a large influence has some influence has a little influence has no influence

the mood you are in at the time

1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____
has a large influence has some influence has a little influence has no influence

other _____

1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____
has a large influence has some influence has a little influence has no influence

38. Do any of the following reflect your feelings about your use of Māori in your home?

I would like to use Māori more, but

π I often do not know how to say things

π I often forget and slip into using English

π it is easier to use English

π there are not enough other people living here who can also speak Māori.

comments _____

Appendix Four

39. How satisfied are you with the amount of Māori language:

that you use while at home

1
very satisfied
2
satisfied
3
dissatisfied
4
very dissatisfied

that is used by everyone who lives in your home

1
very satisfied
2
satisfied
3
dissatisfied
4
very dissatisfied

that is generally used by visitors to your home

1
very satisfied
2
satisfied
3
dissatisfied
4
very dissatisfied

1 2 3 4

1 2 3 4

1 2 3 4

40. Think of the visitors that you have had in your home in the last couple of weeks. In what language have your conversations been?
(language used showcard - LIGHT BLUE)

relationship of visitor to you	level of Māori language use
	<u>1</u> <u>2</u> <u>3</u> <u>4</u> <u>5</u> <u>6</u>
	<u>1</u> <u>2</u> <u>3</u> <u>4</u> <u>5</u> <u>6</u>
	<u>1</u> <u>2</u> <u>3</u> <u>4</u> <u>5</u> <u>6</u>
	<u>1</u> <u>2</u> <u>3</u> <u>4</u> <u>5</u> <u>6</u>
	<u>1</u> <u>2</u> <u>3</u> <u>4</u> <u>5</u> <u>6</u>
	<u>1</u> <u>2</u> <u>3</u> <u>4</u> <u>5</u> <u>6</u>

Appendix Four

43. How much Māori language television do you watch in a typical week?

programme	length of time spent watching (approx)

44. Think of all the places you have been in the last three days. Name any places where you conversed with other people in Māori.

45. Think of all the places you have been in the last three days. Name any places where you heard people conversing with each other in Māori.

46. Are there any situations in which you feel uncomfortable in speaking Māori? Are you able to say what makes you feel uncomfortable in these situations?

situation	reason for feeling uncomfortable

Appendix Four

47. Have you been to any of the following places in the last week. If so what language did you use when talking to people? If you spoke to people in Māori, how comfortable did you feel in using Māori?

(use language used - LIGHT BLUE and comfort level showcards - BLUE GREY)

place	language used					comfort level			
to the marae	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4
visiting whānau	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4
visiting friends	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4
church	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4
sports clubs and events	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4
iwi, hapū or whānau hui	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4
government agencies/offices	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4
local council offices	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4
library	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4
a kōhanga reo	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4
an early childhood centre other than Kōhanga Reo	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4
a Kura Kaupapa Māori	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4
a primary school	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4
a secondary school	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4
a meeting _____	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4

a pub or club	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4
other _____	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4

Thank you for your help with this interview. Do you have any other comments to make about Māori language or about this interview?

Appendix Five
Showcards for Cohort Study Questionnaire

**Te Hoe Nuku Roa Māori Language Study -
Questionnaire Showcards**

Māori language proficiency

1. Limited ability

I can only use a few words

It is hard to get my message across

My language is often mixed up and incorrect

I think in English

My language is often hesitant, and sometimes I am not sure of my pronunciation

2. Basic ability

I can usually get my message across, although I sometimes don't have a wide enough vocabulary

Sometimes my language is mixed up and incorrect, except for short sentences

I usually think in English

Sometimes my language is hesitant, but pronunciation is usually good

3. Good ability

I can always get my message across, although sometimes I wish for a wider vocabulary

My language is usually grammatically correct

My responses are usually fluent and automatic

I usually think in Māori

4. Excellent ability

My responses are always fluent and automatic

I can say things in a variety of ways

I can use Māori sayings and expressions

My language is grammatically correct

Appendix Five

Te Hoe Nuku Roa Māori Language Study - Questionnaire Showcards

Language used

- 1 always speak in Māori
- 2 mostly speak Māori, sometimes English
- 3 about an even amount of Māori and English
- 4 mostly English, sometimes Māori
- 5 always English
- 6 another language

Appendix Five
Showcards for Cohort Study Questionnaire

**Te Hoe Nuku Roa Māori Language Study -
Questionnaire Showcards**

Frequency

- 1 often (several times a day for news, one hours or more a day for music, documentary or talkback)
- 2 sometimes (say once a day for news, several hours a week for music, documentary or talkback)
- 3 hardly ever (say once a week for news, less than one hour a week for music, documentary and talkback)
- 4 never

Appendix Five

Te Hoe Nuku Roa Māori Language Study - Questionnaire Showcards

Comfort level

- 1 very comfortable
- 2 generally comfortable
3. a little bit uncomfortable
4. uncomfortable

Te Hoe Nuku Roa/Toi te Kupu
Te Oranga o te Reo - Rangahautanga Reo Māori
NGĀ TIROTIRO A NGĀ KAIMAHI RANGAHAU

Ko te whārangi nei hei tuinga mā tētahi o ngā kaimahi rangahau i te wā e whakawhitiwhiti kōrero ana ki ngā tāngata e whai wāhi mai ana ki te kaupapa nei. Ko ngā tirotiro a ngā kaimahi rangahau hei hāpai i ngā whakawhitinga kōrero ka kohia mā te papapatai, ka hopukina ki runga rīpene.

1. Tau kiri _____
2. Te wā _____
3. Te wāhi _____
4. Te roa o te whakawhitinga kōrero / patapatai _____
5. I whakamahia te patapatai reo Māori, reo Ingarihi rānei? _____

6. Pēhea nei te ngāwari ki te whakarite i te hui _____

7. He ngākaunui ki te kaupapa? _____

8. He ngākaunui ki te whakaputa whakaaro ki ngā pātai? _____

9. Ka puta he raruraru ki t/ētahi o ngā pātai? _____

10. He tangata atu anō i noho mai, i whai wāhi mai ki te whakawhitinga kōrero? _____

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Te Hoe Nuku Roa
Māori Language Study
Rangahautanga reo Māori

1. BACKGROUND

Te Hoe Nuku Roa research study

Te Hoe Nuku Roa is a study of Māori households being carried out by Te Pūtahi-a-Toi, Massey University, and has been developed in consultation with iwi, rūnanga Māori and Māori communities. The purpose of the study is to gather information on Māori households that cover all aspects of life so that planning for the future will be more solidly based on the actual circumstances and aspirations of Māori people.

Māori language study

The baseline study of 700 households (1577 people) was completed in 1998. The answers that participants gave to questions about Māori language showed that there were 178 people who reported having a medium to high fluency in Māori. The language study involved re-visiting 40 of these people and discussing issues regarding the language in greater depth with them. Preliminary results, trends and ideas that emerged from these discussions are reported in this pamphlet.

If we were asked to report on the finding that emerged most strongly from the Māori language study, it would be that within this group of people there is huge enthusiasm, commitment and energy for the language.

Large surveys like the National Māori Language survey conducted in 1995 and our own baseline study give us valuable information about the numbers of speakers, the proficiency levels, the use of Māori and so on. However, they do not give a deep understanding on issues such as:

- how people can reach and maintain higher levels of proficiency
- why people chose to speak Māori or not in various situations
- what barriers and difficulties people experience in trying to increase their proficiency and use of Māori
- what strategies people use to overcome these difficulties

This sort of information is very important and helpful for individuals, whānau, and groups such as Kōhanga Reo, iwi runanga, and public agencies who want to establish policies, initiatives and priorities to ensure revitalisation and improved health for the language.

2. MĀORI LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

Our baseline study showed results similar to those that emerged from the National Māori Language Survey conducted in 1995 by the Māori Language Commission. With regard to proficiency levels, these surveys tell us that only about 16% of the Māori population have a medium to high fluency in the language, and that the majority of these people are in the older age bracket. In the last 15 - 20 years, energy to reverse this decline has been directed mainly toward the education sector. Hopes

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for the revitalisation of the language have been pinned on the new generation of children being educated in Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori, and while children under the age of 16 were not included in the National Māori Language Survey, our own baseline study did include them and the results are of concern. Only a small percentage were reported to have medium to high fluency in the language appropriate to their age.

While many may be surprised at this low percentage, it is consistent with other figures for this age group which show that only 20% of Māori children under the age of five attend a Kōhanga Reo, many of these do not have the opportunity to attend a Kura Kaupapa Māori or Māori immersion school, and even fewer still have access to the language in their homes.

Having regular access to an environment where Māori is used naturally as the means of communication was identified by participants in the language study as the key to them achieving their present level of proficiency in the language. For native speakers of Māori, this meant growing up with the language all around them. For learners, this was seen as crucial in order to progress beyond what can be achieved by simply doing Māori language classes.

However, gaining access to Māori language environments as a part of their daily lives was a difficulty experienced by many participants in the study, and this had the effects of:

- limiting the progress toward fluency of learners
- proficiency levels declining through lack of practice and exposure for both learners and fluent native speakers
- making it difficult for learners to sustain motivation for learning the language.

Some participants reported that increased exposure to the language through broadcasting (both radio and television) had helped, but a greater variety of radio programmes and quantity of Māori language television would prove even more beneficial, especially with regard to television programmes for children. Many participants reported that their children generally respond in English even though they are able to speak Māori, and television was seen as one way of encouraging them to use Māori more often in the home.

The opportunity to attend immersion language courses for up to a week or more at a time also featured as a way of both learning and gaining access to the language, and therefore improving proficiency.

3. MĀORI LANGUAGE USE

Although all the participants in the Māori language study had self assessed as having medium to high fluency in the language in the baseline study, the reported use of the language was generally very low. Key features of the study with regard to the use of Māori were:

- Older fluent native speakers of Māori tended to use Māori only when speaking with someone about their own age, and in a Māori environment such as at a tangi.

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- Learners of Māori often lacked confidence to use Māori in many situations. This was usually either because they wanted to be sure that their language was of a high quality, or because they felt that their language might be judged negatively by others.
- Some chose to use English out of politeness if they felt that someone was present who could not understand Māori.
- The birth of children, the desire to bring them up as speakers of Māori, and the fact that babies were a non-threatening, non-judgemental audience to practice Māori with, were reasons commonly given for the establishment of a Māori language environment in the home.

Other barriers and difficulties in using Māori reported by the participants were:

- For fluent native speakers of Māori, limited access to other people who were also fluent.
- For learners, their limited proficiency and confidence.
- Both fluent native speakers and learners found it difficult to get away from the 'habit' of using English in many situations, despite their wish to 'korero Māori i ngā wā katoa'. Many participants said that it was easy to slip in to using English.

4. MĀORI LANGUAGE QUALITY

The vast majority of participants spoke about their concern for the quality of the language. For fluent native speakers the concern was often about the quality of the language being spoken by learners, or by children, or on the radio and television. The concerns were generally about new words, or about saying things the way they would be expressed in English.

Learners were concerned with the quality of their own language and that of their children, and keen to reach higher levels of proficiency, but were often unaware about how to go about achieving this. Some expressed difficulty in having access to Māori language courses which took students beyond the basics.

All agreed that it was important to have high quality speakers of Māori in positions such as Kōhanga Reo, other areas of the teaching profession and broadcasting.

5. FUTURE ACTION

Even though what is reported here is only a preliminary analysis of the information that has been collected in this research project, four general themes emerge strongly enough to suggest they become or continue to be a focus for action aimed at revitalising and maintaining te reo Māori.

1. Māori language initiatives need to be co-ordinated across a number of sectors. While it is important to maintain and strengthen what is happening in Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori and other parts of the education sector, there is perhaps too much reliance and expectation on them alone to revitalise the language. Broadcasting, especially television is very important.

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2. If the language is to be restored to health, it must be spoken in Māori homes. Energy and resources need to be focussed more strongly on helping families to establish and maintain Māori language environments in their homes.
3. We need to find ways to encourage more dialogue between fluent native speakers of the language and learners, including children. The potential benefits that fluent speakers of the language could contribute in terms of providing exemplary models of language use are not being fully realised.
4. Strategies need to be targetted to help learners to become users of the language, especially at home but also in other situations. This would include ways to overcome anxieties about using the language in various situations with various people. At the same time, strategies to help people continually improve the quality of their language are important.

Ko te Whare Whakamana:
Te Whakaora i te Reo Māori

Ian Christensen

He kaupapa i tuhia mō te

TOHU KAIRANGI

Te Pūtahi-ā-Toi

Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa, Papaioea, Aotearoa

MATARIKI 2001

HE WHAKARĀPOPOTO

Nō te tau 1981 i whakatūria te Kōhanga Reo tuatahi, ā, koia te wā i kaha ake ai tā te iwi Māori whai i ngā kaupapa whakaora reo. Mai i taua wā, he hohoro te tipu o ngā kaupapa reo Māori, pērā i ngā kaupapa rūmaki i te pūnaha mātauranga, ngā kaupapa pāpaho, me ngā kaupapa i ngā tari tūmatanui. Arā hoki ētahi iwi (ko Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga pea te tino taurira), e whakatakoto ana i ā rātou mahere rautaki mō te reo. Otirā, ko te aka matua i roto i ngā ariā mō te whakaora i tētahi reo itinga, ko te whakapakari i te tuku ihotanga o te reo i te kāinga. Koirā hoki tētahi kaupapa kātahi anō pea ka tīmata te tiro tirohia mō te reo Māori. I roto i tēnei tuhinga, ka whakatakotoria he kōrero mō te āhua o te reo Māori e haere ake nei ki roto i te manotau hou, arā, ngā āhuatanga reo, āhuatanga hapori, āhuatanga ohanga, āhuatanga tōrangapū kei te pā ki tōna oranga. Ka whakatakotoria hoki tētahi anga kōtuitui i ngā kaupapa mō te whakaora me te whakapūmau i te reo. I takea mai te anga nei, i ngā kōrero i puta i ngā 1577 tāngata i whai wāhi mai ki Te Rangahau Matua o te Hoe Nuku Roa, me Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti – he tiro hōhonu i ngā take reo kei te pā ki ētahi tāngata 40, he matatau, he āhua matatau rānei ki te reo. Ko ngā mātāpono o te Mana Māori, te Mana Tangata, me te Tūhonotanga hei tūāpapa mō te anga. He mea waitohu anō hoki ngā momo rōpū e tika ana hei kawē i ngā mahi whakaora, me te tohe kia hāngai te aro a ia rōpū ki ngā mahi e tika ana mā rātou. Waihoki, kia hono anō ā rātou mahi ki te kaupapa matua, te whakapakari i te reo i roto i ngā kāinga Māori

HEI WĀHI I NGĀ KŌRERO

Ko te nohoanga whānui o te kaupapa

E rua pea ngā ia matua i te taunga mai o te manotau tuatoru, ā, e āhua taukumekume ana tētahi i tētahi. Ko te ia tuatahi, ko te heke o ngā āhuatanga matatini i roto i ngā aitanga katoa, tangata mai, kararehe mai, tipunga mai – te whakakotahitia o ngā iwi, ngā reo, me ngā tikanga puta i te ao, kia ōrite te āhua o tēnā me tēnā. E noho hāngai ana ki tēnei, te ia tuarua, arā, ko te whawhai a ngā iwi taketake o te ao, kia mau tonu i a rātou ā rātou ake tikanga, ō rātou ake reo, tō ratou ake mana rangatira. I ētahi whenua tōkeke, e tautokohia ana, e whakahautia ana tēnei āhuatanga, arā, kia whakanuia ngā tikanga, ngā reo, me ngā iwi rerekē o te whenua. I ētahi anō whenua, e tutū ana te puehu. Kāore te iwi whai mana e hiahia kia tū rangatira ngā iwi itinga me ō rātou ake ahurea i roto i ngā whakahaere me ngā rawa o te whenua. Koia nei te horopaki e noho nei te whakaora i ngā reo taketake o te ao. Tērā te whakapae, he haurua noa iho o ngā reo 6000 e kōrerohia ana i tēnei wā, ka ora tonu a te tau 2100 (Swerdlow 1999). He kaupapa hou tonu tēnei mea te whakamahere kia ora tonu tētahi reo itinga, ā, kāore e kore ka ngaro mēnā ka waiho kia pōteretere noa i runga i ngā whakanekeneke o te wā, kia tātāngia ki ngā momo pāpaho me ngā pānga ohaoha o te ao. He mea whakahirahira te whakamahere reo, arā, ko te raupapa i ngā whāinga matua. Otirā, ko te mea matua tonu, ko te hiahia, ko te hihiri, ko te ngākaunui, ko te māia o te iwi nō rātou te reo. E haere ngātāhi ana te mahi me te ariā. Kāore he take o ngā ariā whakaora reo, mēnā ka kore e puta he māramatanga ki ngā momo mahi whakaora, ka kore rānei e pūtake mai i ngā āhuatanga motuhake e noho nei te reo. He moumou anō hoki te whakapau kaha ki tētahi mahi whakaora reo, ki te kore e āta whakaarohia i te tuatahi. Ka noho tēnei tuinga hei tuinga whare wānanga, engari

ko te tūmanako, tērā ka tau ētahi whakaaro hou, ētahi māramatanga hei āwhina i te kōkiri whakamua i te reo Māori i Aotearoa, kia ora tonu ia ki roto rā anō i te manotau tuawhā kei te paenga tawhiti e tū mai rā. He mea puta hoki ngā whakaaro o roto i tēnei tuhinga i ngā kōrero a te hunga e whai ana kia ora te reo i roto i ngā whakatipuranga kei te heke mai, me ngā āhuatanga whānui e noho nei ngā hapori Māori. Ko te ora o te reo tētahi o ngā miro matua e whiria ana ki te whāinga whānui o te tino rangatiratanga.

I tapaina tēnei tuhinga ‘Ko te Whare Whakamana’, i runga anō i te koingo o te ngākau ki tōku kaiako, otirā, ki te tangata nāna tonu i whakatō te kākano o te reo Māori ki roto i a au, arā, ki a John Tapiata. Ko ia te tumuaki o te Tari Māori i te Kāreti Whakangungu Pouako o Papaioea i ngā tau whitu tekau, nāna te mahi nui, i hikina ai te whakamahia o te reo, ngā taumata matatau, me ngā waiaro reo Māori i te Kāreti me te hapori whānui o Papaioea i taua wā. Nāna tētahi waiata i tito i runga i tana titiro whakamua kia hangaia tētahi wharenuī i te papa o te Kāreti, ā, ‘Ko te Whare Whakamana’ tētahi rārangi nō roto i taua waiata. Ko Te Kupenga o te Mātauranga te whare (tirohia tā Goulton-Fitzgerald rāua ko Christensen 1996 – kei reira te roanga atu o ngā kōrero mō Te Kupenga). Ka whakaritea te reo anō nei ko te whare tonu. Ko te kupu, e mea ana he wāhi whai mana, engari i tua atu i te mata o te kupu, he wāhi manaaki tangata, he wāhi noho ā-whānau. He maurioho tō te whare, he ngoi, he wāhi whakaputa i te katoa o ngā kare-a-roto o te tangata. He wāhi mātauranga, he wāhi tuku mātauranga. He rite katoa ēnei āhuatanga o te whare ki te reo. I titoa te waiata e rima tau i mua i te whakatūtanga o te whare, ā, koia e whakaatu ana i te ngākau rorotu o John, tana titiro whakamua, tana āhei ki te whakamahere, tana ū ki te kaupapa, tana hihiri, me tana pukumahi ki te whakatutuki i ana

whāinga. He poto te waiata, engari he tuku i te pōhiri kia kuhu mai te iwi ki roto, mā rātou anō e manaaki e tiaki te whare hei taonga mā te katoa.

Anei te rōpū ākongā
e mihi atu nei ki a koutou e te iwi nau mai.
Manaakitia mai
ko te taonga nui e
ko te Whare Whakamana i a tātou.

Nō reira, haere mai ki ‘Te Whare Whakamana: Te Whakaora i te Reo Māori’.

Te āhua o te tuhituhi

Kua tuhia te kaupapa nei i roto i te reo Māori me te reo Ingarihi. Nā te mea he kaupapa e pā ana ki te reo, e tika ana kia tuhia ki te reo – mā te reo tonu e tino whakaatu ngā āhuatanga ake o te reo. Mā konei hoki e tipu ai te pātaka tuhinga kōrero reo Māori o ngā whare wānanga, he whakahau anō i te reo i tēnei o ngā papa kōrero. I tuhia ki te reo Ingarihi, kia whai wāhi anō ai ngā iwi whānui e whai ana i ngā kaupapa reo Māori i Aotearoa, tae atu hoki ki te hunga reo o tāwāhi. Ko te whakaaro i te tīmatanga, kia tuhia ki te reo Māori i te tuatahi, kātahi ka whakawhitia ki te reo Ingarihi. Kāore i tino tutuki te whakaaro, ina te nuinga o ngā tuhinga mō te reo Māori i pānuihia e au, i roto anō i te reo Ingarihi, ā, ko te nuinga o aku whakawhitiwhiti kōrero ki aku hoa āwhina, he reo Ingarihi. Waihoki, ko tōku reo tuatahi te reo Ingarihi, koirā te reo he ngāwari ake mōku te whakaputa kōrero. Nā ēnei āhuatanga, kotahi anake te wāhanga i tuhia tuatahitia ki te reo Māori, ka whakawhiti ai ki te reo Ingarihi. Ehara i te mea he whakamāori kōrero noa iho

te mahi, engari he kimi i te whakatakotoranga reo Māori e tika ana hei kawē i te whakaaro. Ko te tūmanako, e mārama pai ana taku reo, ahakoa he uaua i ētahi wā te kimi kupu hei whakaputa i ngā whakaaro e pā ana ki ngā tini wāhanga o te kaupapa. Akene pea ka puta te whakahē ki te āhua o ngā kupu – kāore i te mōhio whānuitia ētahi. Ko te nuinga pea o aua kupu, he kupu tawhito tonu, he mea kite atu i roto i Te Wiremu, i roto rānei i Te Matatiki (tā Te Taura Ehiri). Kua whakarārangihia ngā kupu i āta kimihia, i āta wānangahia rānei i te kuputaka i muri o te tuhinga. Nāku anō i whakamāori ngā kōrero Ingarihi i tangohia i pukapuka kē, kia māhorahora ai te pānui. Kei muri o ia wāhanga aua kōrero i te reo Ingarihi, hei tiro tiro mā te kaupānui.

He rerekē hoki te āhua o te tuhituhi i ngā reo o ngā kaiuru i whai wāhi mai ki te rangahau, e ngāwari ai te kitea o te reo ōkawa o te tuhituhi whare wānanga nei, me ngā reo ōpaki a te tangata tonu. He mea whai hoki ngā tikanga tuhituhi a Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (pērā i te whakamahi tohutō mō te pūare roa).

Arā ētahi wāhi o te tuhinga nei, ka whakaputaina he kōrero mō te ātaahua, mō te hōhonu, mō ngā āhuatanga whakanikoniko o te reo. Rangona ai tēnei momo reo i roto i ngā waiata, i ngā mōteatea, i ngā tauparapara, i ngā toi reo o tēnā iwi o tēnā iwi puta noa i te motu. Kāore i tino whakaaturia tēnei whakarākeitanga o te reo i tēnei tuhinga, i runga i te whakaaro kia waiho ērā taonga tuku iho hei pupuri mā te iwi tonu nō rātou aua taonga. E tika ana mā rātou e whakaora, e kawē tērā momo reo ki roto i te manotau hou, koia hoki hei whakapūmau i tō rātou mana ake.

Ngā mihi

E kore e mutu aku mihi ki te hunga nā koutou au i poipoi, i whakahau, i whakatika, i whakaako i roto i taku hīkoi i te huarahi o te reo Māori me tōna ao, i te roanga o ngā tau kua hori. E tāpaetia ana tēnei tuhinga hei whakamaharatanga ki a John Tapiata, nāna tonu i whakatō tētahi kākano ki tōku whatumanawa i te wā e taitamariki tonu ana, nā wai rā ka tipu, ko te tuhinga nei tētahi o ngā hua. Kei te matua, e pakari tonu ana te taura herenga tangata nāu tonu i āta whiriwhiri. Moe mai rā i te okiokinga mutunga kore

E mihi ana ki te hunga kaiuru o te Hoe Nuku Roa. Tēnā koutou katoa i whakaae mai ki te tonono kia whai wāhi mai ki te rangahau, ki te kōrero mai mō ngā take reo kei te pā ki a koutou. Nā koutou te wāhanga matua o te tuhinga nei, ā, ko te tūmanako, i tika taku whakarongo me taku tātari i ā koutou kōrero, i te huaki taku ngākau ki ngā rongō katoa, ā, e whakaatu pai ana aku tuhituhi i ngā kaupapa i puta.

Kāore e wareware aku hoa mahi i Te Pūtahi-ā-Toi, Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa. Nā koutou ngā momo pātai hei wero i te hinengaro, kia tōtika ai te haere o te kaupapa. Me kī he papa whakawhitiwhiti whakaaro. Nā koutou anō i tau aku waewae ki te whenua. E tika ana kia tukuna aku mihi ki a Pare Richardson, nāna i whakatauiria mai te ū ki te kaupapa me te aroha, nāna anō ngā tohutohu, ngā whakahau me ngā kōrero tautoko i ngā wā o te ngoikore. E whae, noho mai rā i te kāpunipunitanga o ngā wairua, i te okiokinga mutunga kore. I ngā tau whakamutunga o te tuhinga, ka uru mai a Darryn Joseph, ko ia hei hoa whakawhitiwhiti kōrero mō ētahi o ngā whakaaro, he hiki anō i te manawa. E noho nama ana au ki te rōpū rangahau o Te Hoe Nuku Roa, arā, ki te kaiwhakahaere o te

kaupapa a Eljon Fitzgerald. He rawe te āhua o te mahi tahi me ngā whakawhitiwhiti kōrero. Tēnā hoki a Margaret Forster me tana āwhina ki te whakaputa i ngā raraunga i te rorohiko.

Nā Indiana Hotereni rāua ko Piripi Hita i takahi te huarahi ki te whakawhitiwhiti kōrero ki ngā kaiuru o Te Hoe Nuku Roa, ā, i tutuki pai tērā wāhanga o te rangahau i runga anō i tō rāua ū ki te kaupapa, me ō rāua ngākau māhaki ki ngā kaiuru.

Ka mutu te pai o aku kaiarataki. E mihi ana ki taku tumuaki, ki a Meihana Durie, ki a Cynthia White hoki o te Tari Reo o Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa (Te Whare Wānanga o Massey). I ngā wā katoa, he mārama, he whai hua anō te haehae o ā kōrua pene whero. Nā kōrua i whai kaha anō ahau ki tēnei mahi, te rangahau. Ahakoa he tōmuri aku mahi i ētahi wā, he roa rānei te wā kia taka ai te kapa, ko te māhaki tonu te āhua. Ki a koe Meihana me ō āwhina katoa i roto i nga tau, tō whakaponono e taea ana e au tēnei momo mahi, me tō tuku i ahau ki te whai i tēnei kaupapa e noho nei i te ngākau, hei kaupapa tuhituhi mō te whare wānanga. E miharo ana ki te āhua o tō whakahaere i te Te Pūtahi-ā-Toi, me te ū anō ki ō kaupapa maha. Nōku anō te whiwhi i mahi au i raro i a koe.

Ko aku mihi whakamutunga ki tōku whānau ake – ki a Bud me ā māua tamariki, a Rosie, Lisa me Tama. I kore i memeha tā koutou manawanui, tō koutou aroha, tā koutou tautoko i a au, ahakoa ngā wā e ngaro ana, e ngenge ana, e kore rānei e aro ki ngā mahi whānau. Nā koutou me te whakaaro ki ā tātou mokopuna kāore anō kia whānau mai, ahau i whakakaha, i whakahihiri i ngā wā o te uaua.

Tēnā koutou katoa ngā pou āwhina, ngā pou tautoko, ngā puna aroha e whakahuahuatia ana i runga nei, me te tokomaha anō kāore e taea te tuhi i konei. Mēnā he hua ka puta i aku mahi, nā koutou tonu. Mēnā e hapa ana, nōku anō te hē.

Ian Christensen,

Matariki 2001.

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Te Wāhanga Tuatahi

He Kupu Whakataki

- 1.1 Hei wāhi i te kaupapa
- 1.2 He kōrero mō te kairangahau
- 1.3 Ngā pātai rangahau
- 1.4 He titiro whānui ki te tuhinga

1.1 Hei wāhi i te kaupapa

E rua rautau ki muri, nā Samuel Johnson i whakapuaki tōna whakaaro, ko te ‘āhua rangatira o tētahi whenua, ko ōna reo’ (tirohia tā Muru 1990:26). Ka whakatata mai ki ināianei, ko tā te ahorangi tawhito o Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, a Timoti Kāretu, ko te āhua rangatira o te tangata, ko tōna reo.

Ki a au nei, ko tōku reo, ko tōku mana. Ki te kore tōku reo Māori, he Māori tonu ahau? Kāore pea. Nā tōku reo tonu, ka whai au i tōku mana, koirā hoki tōku āhua motuhake. Arā kē ngā wā, kua pōhēhē te tangata nō iwi kē ahau – i Aotearoa tonu – engari i tua atu i te toto o ōku tīpuna Māori, ko tōku tuakiri Māori, ko tōku reo, tōku urunga ki tōku ao Māori, āna waiata, āna whakataukī, ōna ariā, me āna toi reo¹ (Kāretu 1990a:19).

Ko te kaupapa o tēnei tuhinga, ko te whakaora i te reo Māori, ā, ko ngā whakapuakinga kōrero e rua nei, e whakaatu ana he tino whakahirahira, he take nui tonu te whakaora i te reo. Mēnā ka whakahāngaitia tā Johnson kōrero mō te āhua rangatira o tētahi whenua, ki Aotearoa, ko te ‘mana Māori’ tērā, te tū me te ihiihi o te iwi Māori hei tangata whenua, ko ngā tikanga me ngā uara Māori, ko te mātauranga Māori, ā, ko ngā wawata

me te haere whakamua a te iwi Māori. Ko te pūtake o te kōrero a Kāretu, ko te ‘mana tangata’, arā, te tuakiri, te kiritau, te tūrangawaewae tonu o te tangata Māori, me ōna tātai hono ki te taiao me ngā āhuatanga ahurea, hapori hoki o tōna whenua.

Nō te tau 1975 te hīkoi nui a te iwi Māori mai i Te Rerenga Wairua, ki Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, ā, koirā te wā i āta arohia ngā take nui e pā ana ki te oranga me te haere whakamua o te iwi Māori. Ko ngā take ahurea ērā, i te taha o ngā take whenua, take ohaoha, ngā mahi takahi a te Karauna i te Tiriti o Waitangi, ngā take noho ōrite, me ngā whakaritenga noho tahi a te Karauna me te iwi Māori. Mai i taua wā, ki te manotau hou nei, ko aua take tonu e whawhaihia ana, e tautohetia ana, e rangahautia ana, e kawea ana ki te ture, e whakakaupapahia ana, e manakohia ana. Engari ko te reo tonu me ōna tikanga tētahi take tūāpapa tonu, ā, ko te amorangi tērā o te kōti teitei a Eddie Durie e whakatūpato ana i te aronga tahi ki ngā take tōrangapū me ngā take ‘oranga tinana’. Kei wareware te reo, kei waiho ki rāhaki i roto i ngā kaupapa haere whakamua a te iwi Māori. E kōrero ana ia mō te hunga whai pūkenga e putaputa ana i ngā whare wānanga:

Kāore e kore e whai pūkenga ana te hunga e putaputa mai ana i roto i ā rātou kaupapa mahi, engari pea i tipu mai i te tāone, ā, kāore i mau ki ngā tikanga a ō rātou tīpuna. Ko te take nui e whāia ana e te iwi Māori, ehara i te turuki noa iho, engari ko te oranga ahurea tonu. Nō reira e tika ana mā te tangata mātau tonu ki tōna ao Māori, mā te tangata i whakapakeke mai i roto i te iwi, mā te tangata e mau tonu ana ki nga taonga tuku iho a ōna tīpuna, māna e arataki, e hautū ngā kaupapa, māna e whakamahi ngā pūkenga a te hunga hou e kōrerohia nei. He aha hoki te take o te oranga tinana, mēnā e mate ana te wairua, e ngaro ana te ngākau Māori (1995:19).

E tohe ana a Kāretu, ko te wāhanga matua o te ‘ngākau Māori’ e kōrerohia nei e Durie, ko te reo tonu, ko ngā momo kōrero motuhake e taea ai te whitiwhiti whakaaro Māori, e whakaahua ai i tā te Māori titiro ki tōna ao. I tana titiro whakamua, ka kiia e Muru, kātahi te parekura nui rawa atu, ko te marae tē rangona te reo e kōrerohia ana (Muru 1990:26).

Ko te kaupapa o tēnei tuhinga, kia whakamaua kia tīnā te oranga o te reo mō ngā whakatipuranga e heke mai ana. Ka whakatakotohia ngā whakaaro i puta i ngā mahi rangahau, kia āta whakamaheretia te reo, kia kōtuitui anō i ngā mahi whakaora. Mā konei e tutuki ai te whāinga kia tokomaha ngā kaikōrero o te reo, kia eke anō aua kaikōrero i ngā taumata o te reo, kia whai wāhi hoki rātou ki te kōrero, ā, koirā hoki te reo ka matua whakamahia e rātou i ngā wāhi maha. Ko te kāinga me te hapori tata ngā wāhi whakahirahira, ina te tūāpapa mō te tuku ihotanga o te reo.

1.2 Ngā kōrero mō te kairangahau

Kāore e kore, ka puta te wero, te pātai noa rānei, ko wai tēnei e rangahau ana, e tuhi ana i tēnei kaupapa mō te reo Māori. E tika ana te whiu o te kupu, ina kāore ōku tātai whakapapa Māori. Nō te tau 1878, i heke mai ōku tīpuna ake i te whenua o Tenemāka, i Ūropi. He mea tāmi rātou i tō rātou whenua, he tāmi anō te mahi a ngā Ingarihi i te wā e haere mai ana mā runga waka, i tō rātau taenga mai hoki ki Aotearoa. He wā i tērā rautau, i whakatūria tētahi ture e te kāwanatanga o Aotearoa, e mea ana kia rehitatia ngā tāngata o Ūropi, ka kiia he rāwaho, he manene, nō ao kē. Ka tāmia tō rātou reo, kāore i roa, ka ngaro i te mata o tō rātou whenua hou. Ka heke mai ki ahau i tēnei whakatipuranga, ka ū ki te ngākau te hiahia kia ākona he reo tua atu i te reo Ingarihi e mau nei ahau. Nā tōku matua te kī, he aha hoki te take o te ako i te reo Tenemāka –

kāore hoki he hoa kōrero i konei. Nō Aotearoa tonu koe e tama, kua rima ngā whakatipuranga e noho ana tātou ki konei, me ako kē te reo taketake ake o tō whenua. Nōku te waimarie, nōku te whiwhi, i manaakitia au, i āta kukume au ki roto i te reo Māori me tōna ao whānui. Me kī, i whāinutia ki te waireka o te aroha. Ka tae ake ki te wā, ka puta au hei kaiwhakaako mō roto i ō tātou kura, i roto tonu i aku taringa ngā whakatūpato a ōku pakeke, nā rātou au i poipoi.

Kei tua atu i te rua tekau tau ināianei e whai ana i ngā mahi whakaako i te reo Māori, ā, ko aku kitenga, ko aku wheako, ko aku mahi katoa i roto i taua wā, ka noho hei whakanikoniko, hei whakamōmona i te tuhinga nei. Koirā hoki te takenga mai o ngā pātai rangahau. I a au e whakaako ana ka puta ngā momo pātai e pā ana ki te hononga o aku mahi me ngā whāinga o te kura, ki ngā whāinga whānui mō te whakaora i te reo. Pēhea nei te taumata o te reo e eke nei aku ākongā? E uru atu ana rātou ki ngā whakaakoranga teitei o te reo? E mau ana ki ngā rautaki ako reo ā-taringa? E whakamahi ana rātou i te reo? Ki ēhea wāhi? Ki ēhea tāngata? Ka whai wāhi anō rātou ki te whakamahi i tō rātou reo Māori? Nā te mea he ako reo rua, pēhea nei te tika o ō rātou reo ki te taringa matatau? E whai hua ana aku mahi whakaako ki te orange o te reo, kāore rānei he take o te whawhai? Ira kē te nui, me te ia o ngā pātai e korikori ana i tōku hinengaro!

I takea mai taku urunga atu ki te tuhinga nei i ēnei pātai, i aku whitiwhiti kōrero ki aku hoa mahi, i aku pānui i ngā tuhinga a ngā pūkenga mō ēnei take, me te tipu o taku whakapono, taku māia hoki, mā te rangahau e puta ai he whakakitenga ki ēnei pātai.

1.3 Ngā pātai rangahau

Ko te whakaaro matua i āta whakamātautauria i roto i te tuhinga nei, e ora tonu ai te reo Māori hei reo whakawhiti kōrero i roto i ngā wāhi maha me ngā nekeneke o ia rā, me matatini te kōkiri i te kaupapa e te kiritahi, e te whānau, e te pūnaha mātauranga, i roto hoki i te hāpori me te ao tōrangapū. E toru ngā pātai i puta, koia hei pūtake mō te rangahau:

1. He aha ngā āhuatanga ka pā ki te heke, te whakaora, me te whakapūmau i te reo Māori?
2. Ko wai mā ngā rōpū ka whai wāhi atu ki te mahi whakaora i te reo, he aha hoki te hononga o tēnā me tēnā?
3. He aha ngā āhuatanga ka pā ki tā te tangata kōwhiri i tōna reo kōrero i ngā momo horopaki ka whai wāhi ai ia, me tōna matatau ki te reo?

Ko te pātai tuatahi e whakaatu ana i te hononga tata o te oranga o tētahi reo me ngā āhuatanga noho, āhuatanga ohanga, āhuatanga tōrangapū, āhuatanga nehe o te iwi nō rātou te reo. E haere ana te whakaora i te reo Māori i te taha o ngā whakanekeneke hāpori, ahurea, ohaoha, tōrangapū hoki e whāia ana puta noa i te ao. Mō te rua rautau e whāia ana te whakaaro ‘he iwi tahi tātou’, arā, kia kotahi te reo, kia kotahi te ahurea, ā, ka mutu, ko te takahi, ko te tāmi i te reo me ngā tikanga Māori te otinga. Ka whakamarua te mana Māori e ngā whakahaere Pākehā. Otirā, i ngā tau tata kua pahure nei, kua kaha ake te rangona o ngā iwi taketake o te ao, me te whai mana anō o ō rātou reo, ā rātou kōrero i takea mai i ngā mahi tāmi a tauwiwi.

Arā te ia o te wā e noho nei te horopaki mō tēnei tuhinga. Ko te aro ki ngā āhuatanga o nehe me te whakahuri i aua āhuatanga i ēnei wā, ko te whakarite i ngā āhuatanga whai

mana i waenganui i te iwi whakamaru me te iwi i whakamarua, ko te whakakotahitanga o te ao, ko te whawhai kia mau tonu i ngā iwi taketake ō rātou āhuetanga, ā rātou whakahaere motuhake.

E mea ana te pātai tuarua, me whakamahere, me whai take anō te mahi whakaora reo. Ki te kore e ngana te iwi, ki te kore e māia, e kore tētahi reo hohore e ora. Waihoki, e tino whai hua ai ngā mahi whakaora, me whakamahere ka tika, ā, kia tūāpapa tonu te whakamahere i te horopaki ake o taua reo. Mō te reo Māori, e tohea ana, he maha ngā momo rōpū hei kawē i ngā mahi whakaora, ā, e eke ai ngā hua ka puta, e tika ana kia aro ia rōpū ki ngā mahi e tika ana mā rātou. Me kōtuitui anō ngā mahi a ngā rōpū kia hoea kotahitia te waka. Ko te kaumātua nei a Joshua Fishman te pūkenga nāna tonu i tīmata te wehenga mātauranga e kiia nei te ‘reopori’. Ko tāna whakahau ‘kia arorau, kia nahanaha te kōkiri i ngā kaupapa reo kua roa nei e whai ana i te ia o te ngākau me ngā kare-ā-roto, arā, kia whai i ngā mahi katoa ahakoa te aha, akene pea ka puta he hua.’² (Fishman 1991:1)

Ko te pātai tuatoru kei te pokapū o ngā mahi whakaora, arā, ko te whakamahia o te reo i roto i ngā momo wāhi o te hāpori, mō ngā momo kaupapa o ia wāhi. Ko te nuinga o tēnei whakatipuranga (akene pea me te whakatipuranga hoki e heke mai) he mea ako i tō rātou reo Māori hei reo tuarua. Ko te hīkoi matua e ora anō ai te reo, kia pakari anō te tuku ihotanga o te reo, arā, kia tukuna iho e tēnei whakatipuranga tō rātou reo tuarua hei reo ūkāipō mō ngā whakatipuranga e heke mai ana. Ko te mātātaki nui, kia whawhati, kia turaki i ngā hanga kōrero i te reo Ingarihi kua roa nei e ū ana ki ngā wāhi maha o te hāpori, tae atu hoki ki ngā kāinga me ngā hāpori Māori. Koia hoki nei ngā tino wāhi mō te tuku ihotanga o te reo. Arā kē ngā take kei te pā ki tā te tangata kōwhiri i tana reo kōrero, ahakoa i pakeke mai taua tangata i te reo, i ako kē rānei hei reo tuarua. Ki te

mārama tātou ki ngā take e kōrerohia nei, kātahi ka tino hāngai ngā kaupapa whakaora reo ki te whakakore i ngā āhuatanga e aukati ana, e whakauaua ana i tā te tangata whakamahi i tōna reo Māori.

Ko te puna matua i puta ai ngā rangahau kōrero mō ēnei pātai, ko te kaupapa rangahau o Te Hoe Nuku Roa, he tiroiro i ngā āhuatanga noho o te kāinga Māori. Nō te tau 1994 a Te Hoe Nuku Roa i whakaterea ai, he kaupapa e whāia ana i Te Pūtahi-ā-Toi, Te Kura Māori i Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa (Te Whare Wānanga o Massey). E 700 ngā kāinga Māori mai i ētahi rohe e whā o Te Ika a Māui, i uru mai ki te rangahau matua. Kāore e ārikarika ngā raraunga tatauranga kua puta i ēnei kāinga me ō rātou tāngata, e pā ana ki te reo, te hauora, te whiwhi mātauranga, te ohanga, me ngā āhuatanga noho. Tāpiri atu ki te rangahau matua, i tīpakohia ētahi tāngata 40, nā rātou te aromatawai ā-kiri he matatau, he āhua matatau rānei ki te reo, ā, ka whakahaerehia he rangahau tiro hōhonu i ngā take reo kei te pā ki a rātou i roto i ngā nekeneke o ō rātou ao. Ko te Rangahau Reo Whāiti e kōrerohia nei te rangahau matua mō tēnei tuhinga kairangi.

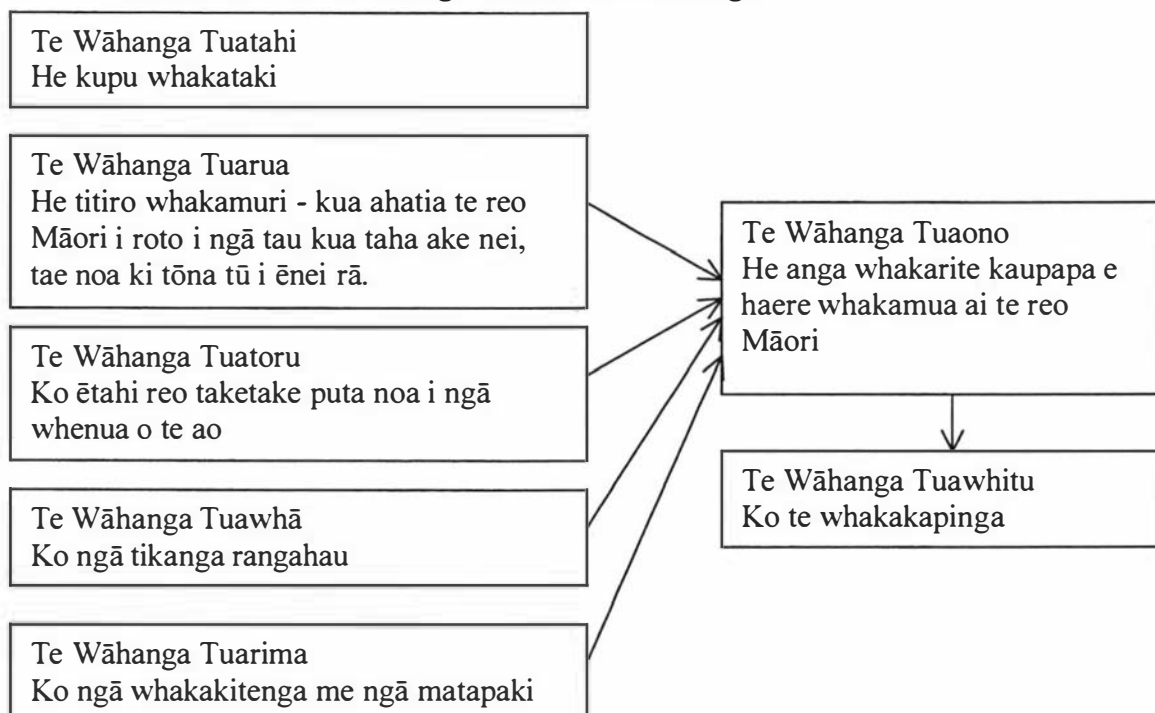
Arā hoki ngā kōrero i puta i te tiroiro ki ētahi atu reo taketake o te ao me ngā āhuatanga motuhake o ngā horopaki tōrangapū, kōrero o nehe, horopaki noho hapori, horopaki reo, horopaki ohanga hoki kei te pā ki a rātou. He mea tiroiro hoki ērā atu rangahau reo Māori o roto i ngā tau kua pahure nei, ka rau atu ki te kete hei tātaritanga i te roanga atu o te kaupapa rangahau nei.

1.4 He titiro whānui ki te tuhinga

E tūāpapa mai ana ngā wāhanga o tēnei tuhinga i te whakaaro, me arorau, me nahanaha hoki ngā mahi whakaora i te reo Māori, ā, mā ngā momo rōpū o roto i te hapori e

whakamahere e whakahaere ngā kaupapa e hāngai ana ki a rātou anō. Ko ngā rōpū whakaora reo Māori e kōrerohia nei, ko te kiritahi, ko te whānau, ko te hapū, ko te marae, ko te Kōhanga Reo, ko te Kura Kaupapa Māori, ko te Rūnanga-ā-Iwi, tae atu ki ngā whakahaere hapori, tūmatanui hoki, pērā i te whare pukapuka, te whare hauora me te tari kāwanatanga. E whirinaki ana te ora o te reo ki ngā whakataurua me ngā mahi (te ngoikore rānei) a ēnei rōpū e pā ana ki ngā take reo pērā i te whakamahia o te reo, me ngā taumata matatau o te reo. E tōtika ai ngā whakataurua a ngā rōpū e kōrerohia nei, me tūāpapa mai i te puna rangahau kōrero o te wā, e hāngai ana ki te matatini o ngā take reo. Ka noho paparanga mai ngā whakaaro, ngā whakakitenga me ngā tātaritanga kōrero ki ia wāhanga o tēnei tuhinga, koia hei āwhina i ngā whakataurua me ngā mahi a ngā rōpū whakaora reo. Kei te Whakaahua 1.1 te tirohanga whānui ki te tuhinga me ōna wāhanga.

Te Whakaahua 1.1: He tirohanga whānui ki te tuhinga



Kei te Wāhanga Tuarua ngā kōrero mō te heke o te reo Māori, me ngā take i heke ai. Ehara i te mea ka taki haere noa iho te hekenga o te reo i roto i ngā tau (pērā i ngā kōrero a Benton 1981), ka āta tātarihia ngā take e toru nei mō te whakamahere reo, me ō rātou pānga anō ki te heke o te reo. Koia nei ngā take e toru: ko te tū o te reo; ko ngā āhuatanga e pā ana ki te tinana o te reo; ko te hopu i te reo. I pēnei ai te tuhinga i runga i te tūmanako, tērā e kitea te hononga i waenganui i ngā take e heke ai tētahi reo, me ngā take ka pā ki te whakaora reo. Hei te whakamutunga o te Wāhanga Tuarua ka whakaaturia te āhua o te reo Māori i tēnei wā tonu, arā, ka kōrerohia ngā whakakitenga i puta i ngā rangahau tatauranga – te Tatauranga ā-Motu 1996 (koirā te wā tuatahi i whakaurua ai he pātai e pā ana ki ngā reo o Āotearoa), Te Rangahau Reo Māori ā-Motu i whakahaerehia e Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori i te tau 1995, me te rangahau reo Māori i whakahaerehia e Te Rūnanga o Aotearoa mō te Rangahau i ngā whitu tekau. Ka whakaaturia anō hoki ngā tatauranga i puta i Te Rangahau Matua o Te Hoe Nuku Roa.

Ka tirohia ngā momo kaupapa whakaora o ētahi atu reo taketake, reo itinga hoki i te Wāhanga Tuatoru. Koia nei ngā reo ka matua kōrerohia: ko te reo Airihi, ko te Katarana, ko te Nawahou, ā, ko ngā reo o Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa i Aotearoa. Ka kōrerohia ngā hua kua puta i a rātou kaupapa, ā, ka whakatairitea ki te horopaki ake mō te whakaora i te reo Māori.

Ko tētahi o ngā whakakitenga matua i puta i te rangahau, ko te hiranga taketake o te whakamahia o te reo hei reo whitiwhiti kōrero i ngā wāhi tūmataiti, pērā i te kāinga, i roto i te whānau, i te hapori hoki. Otirā, e kore e taea e te rāwaho te whakatakoto ture mō ēnei wāhi tūmataiti. E kore e ū ngā kaupapa here mō te reo ka whakatakotohia e ngā whakahaere tūmatanui, koirā pea te take kāore anō kia tino tirohia ngā kaupapa e tika ana mō ēnei wāhi e ngā kaiwhakamahere reo. Kei te Wāhanga Tuawhā ngā kōrero mō

te āhua me ngā tikanga rangahau i whāia i roto i te kaupapa o Te Hoe Nuku Roa, ā, i konā, ka tino arohia Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti. Ko Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti, he tiro hōhonu ki ētahi kaiuru 40, nā rātou anō te aromatawai whaiaro he matatau, he āhua matatau rānei ki te reo. Ka haere ngā whakawhiti kōrero me ngā tāngata 40 nei, ā, ka tātarihia ngā take i puta, kia mārama ai ngā āhuatanga matatini kei te pā ki a rātou me tā rātou whakamahi i te reo.

I whakahaerehia Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti, nā te mea e kore e puta te hōhonu o ngā kōrero i ngā rangahau tauranga noa iho hei arataki i ngā kaupapa whakaora. Mā ngā rangahau tauranga e mōhiotia ai te tokomaha o ngā kaikōrero me ā rātou aromatawai ā-kiri i ō rātou taumata matatau. Otirā, e tino whai hua ai ngā kaupapa whakaora, me tūāpapa mai i ngā āhuatanga matatini mō te reo kei te pā ki te tangata i roto i ngā nekeneke o ia rā. Arā ko ngā uauatanga, ko ngā whakararu, ko ngā āhuatanga whakapiki hoki i te matatau me te whakamahia o te reo. Mai i ngā whakakitenga o ngā rangahau tauranga, ka puta ngā momo pātai huhua anō, ā, e tika ana kia hōhonu te tiroiro i ēnei pātai – e kore e taea mā te tatau noa iho. Mā te pēnei, e mārama ake ai, e tōtika ake ai te whakatū kaupapa whakaora, ina takea mai i ngā āhuatanga noho o te iwi.

Ka kōrerohia ngā whakakitenga o Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti o Te Hoe Nuku Roa me ērā i puta i te rangahau matua i te Wāhanga Tuarima. Ka tātarihia ngā take matua, me te pā o aua take ki te matatau, te whakamahi, te whitinga o te reo i roto i nga whakatipuranga, te whai wāhitanga atu ki te reo, me ngā waiaro hoki. Ka āta whiria ēnei take, ā, ka noho koia hei tūāpapa mō te anga whakaora reo ka whakatakotia i te Wāhanga Tuaono.

I te tīmatanga o te Wāhanga Tuaono ka tiro hōhonutia te horopaki ake mō te whakaora i te reo Māori, arā, ko ngā take ohapori, ko ngā take tōrangapū, ko ngā take mātauranga,

ko te āhua tonu o te taupori Māori, me te āhua o te reo. Ka āta whiria ngā take matua me te ia o ngā kōrero o ērā atu wāhanga o te tuinga, ā, ka whakatakotoria tētahi anga whakarite kaupapa mō te whakaora me te whakapūmau i te reo Māori. I roto i te anga, ka kitea te whānui o ngā momo kaupapa whakaora me te tūhono anō o ngā kaupapa me ngā rōpū e tika ana hei kawē i ngā mahi.

Ko te Wāhanga Tuawhitu te whakakapinga. Me kī, ka whiria ngā miro, ka herea ngā whenu, ka whakaoti i te whatunga o ngā kōrero.

He ātaahua tonu ngā kōrero a Muru, me tana whakaatu he rongoā tā te kupu. Arā, ko tana whakahua i te reo pōhiri a te kaumātua:

“Haere mai rā kia pā mai koe ki au, kia pā atu au ki a koe. Kia rongo au i tōu mahana, kia rongo koe i tōku mahana. Kia kai tahi, kia moe tahi, kia tangi tahi, kia karakia tahi, kia kata tahi ai tātou ...” (1990:106).

Nō reira, haere mai ki tēnei tuinga. Ko te tūmanako o te ngākau, ko te tākohā iti nei hei paku rongoā mō tēnei reo ātaahua, reo taketake ake o te whenua nei o Aotearoa. e ora pai ai ia i roto i ngā reanga tangata e heke mai ana.

¹ For me, language is central to my mana [prestige, power, authority]. Without it could I still claim to be Māori? I do not think so for it is the language which has given me what mana I have and it is the only thing which differentiates me from anyone else. I have been mistaken for many other nationalities - even here in Aotearoa [New Zealand] - but what makes me Māori apart from the blood of my Māori ancestors which courses through my veins, is my language, the key to the song, proverb, legend, philosophy and rhetoric of my Māori world.

² a more rational, systematic approach to what has hitherto been a primarily emotion-laden 'lets try everything we possibly can and perhaps something will work type of dedication

Te Wāhanga Tuarua.

He titiro whakamuri - kua ahatia te reo Māori i roto i ngā tau kua taha ake nei, tae noa ki tōna tū i ēnei rā

- 2.1 Te kupu whakataki
- 2.2 Te tū o te reo Māori: te pūmau, te heke me te whakaora
- 2.3 Te tinana o te reo: te whanake, te taharangi, te whakaora
 - 2.3.1 Te hekenga me te whanaketanga o te puna kupu
 - 2.3.2 Te rerekē haere o te wetereo
- 2.4 Te hopunga o te reo: te pūmau, te kokoti, te whakaora
 - 2.4.1 Te ako i te reo Māori
- 2.5 Te ora o te reo i tēnei rā
- 2.6 Te whakarāpopoto

2.1 Te kupu whakataki

Ko te iwi Māori tonu te iwi taketake ake o Aotearoa, he mea whakawhiti mai i Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa, ā, kua āhua kotahi mano tau ināianei e noho tangata whenua ana ki konei. He māhorahora te noho mai o te reo Māori mai i taua wā, tae noa ki te pānga mai o te reo Ingarihi me ētahi atu reo o Uropi i te paunga o ngā tau 1700. Ka poua ko te reo i mauria mai i Hawaiki tawhiti nui, ā, ka rerekē haere i roto i te takanga o te wā, e taea ai te whakaahua ngā āhuatanga katoa o te whenua hou, te āhua o te noho mai o te iwi, tōna puna mātauranga, āna tikanga anō hoki.

I te taenga tuatahi mai o tau iwi, kāore he paku āwāngawanga a te Māori ki tōna reo, kāore e kitea ngā raruraru ka pā ki te reo i ngā tau i muri mai. I taua wā, kāore i pēhia

te reo Māori e kōrero whānuitia ana i ngā tōpito katoa o Aotearoa, e ngā reo hou ka tae mai, ina he tokoiti tonu ngā kaikōrero o aua reo. Ka tū rangatira te reo Māori hei reo kōrero i roto i ngā whakahaere katoa o te wā.

Mārama ana tātou e noho nei i te paenga o te tau 2000 e titiro whakamuri ana ki ngā 200 tau i muri mai i te taenga mai o tauīwi, ki ngā take huhua i heke ai te reo. Kāore hoki e tino rerekē ake i ngā take i heke ai ngā reo tāngata whenua maha puta noa i te ao. Koia nei te kaupapa tuatahi o tēnei wāhanga, arā, ka tirohia te hekenga o te tū o te reo, o te tinana o te reo, me te hopunga o te reo, ēnei aronga nui e toru a ngā tāngata whakamahere reo i roto i ngā tau (tirohia tā Cooper 1989). Ka āta whakatakotohia te whakaaro nā ngā momo kaupapa pēhi i te reo me ngā whakanekeneke i roto i ngā tau, i heke ai te reo. I roto i te rua tekau tau kua hori kua kōkiritia whānuitia ngā kaupapa e ora anō ai te reo, ā, koia anō tētahi kaupapa i tēnei wāhanga o te tuhinga.

Ko te āhua o te tū o tētahi reo ka āta kitea atu i roto i te kaha o te iwi ki te whakamahi i tō rātou reo mō ngā take maha o te hapori. Mā te iwi anō e whakatakoto he tikanga 'e rerekē ai te whakamahi i tēnā reo, i tēnā reo i roto i te hapori' ¹ (Cooper 1989:99), mā ngā whakanekeneke tōrangapū, hapori, ohaoha o te wā rānei, koia rā ngā take e rerekē ai te tū o tētahi reo.

Ko te 'tinana o te reo' koia tērā ko ōna kupu, ōna momo whakatakoto kōrero, ōna kīwaha, whakataukī, ōna whakanikoniko, e taea ai te whakawhiti whakaaro, tangata ki te tangata. Katoa ēnei āhuratanga ko te pūnaha o te reo, ā, ka whai wāhi atu ko te reo kōrero, te reo tuhituhi, te reo ōkawa, te reo ōpaki, otirā ngā momo reo katoa, e taea ai te kī, āe marika he reo motuhake tēnei, he reo ora, he reo rangatira. He whānui, he hōhonu kē atu te pūnaha reo i ōna kupu me ōna ture wetereo noa iho, arā, mā tōna reo

e whakaahuatia ai te iwi me āna tikanga, e kitea ai ōna āhuatanga motuhake, he taonga tuku iho i ngā mātua tīpuna. Ka tipu haere te 'tinana o te reo' i runga i tā te iwi whakatakoto kaupapa mō te reo (pērā i tētahi pūnaha tātai kupu, te hanga kupu hou rānei) i runga rānei i te pānga mai o reo kē. Ka āta kitea atu te 'tinana o te reo' i te āhua o tā te iwi whakamahi i te reo i roto i ngā horopaki maha o te hapori.

Mēnā he kaha te tū o te reo i te hapori, he māhorahora te hopu, te ako rānei i te reo. Arā ki te whakamahia te reo i roto i ngā kāinga, i roto anō i te hapori, ki te akohia te reo i ngā kura, kāore e kore ka hopukina e ngā whakatipuranga hou, ka mau i a rātou hei reo matua, hei tāhuhu hinengaro anō hoki. Kei roto i te āhua o tā te iwi hopu, ako rānei i tōna reo, e kitea ai te tū me te mana o te reo i te hapori me te pā mai o ngā whakanekeneke tōrangapū, ohaoha hoki. Mēnā e hopukina ana te reo i roto i ngā kāinga me ngā takiwā o te hapori, akene pea e taea te kī he iwi motuhake tēnā, e mau tonu ana tōna rangatiratanga. Tua atu i tēnā, ki te akohia taua reo i roto i ngā kura ki ngā tamariki e mau ana te reo hei reo matua, kei te iwi tonu pea te ringa whakahaere i ngā āhuatanga tōrangapū, te mana rānei ki te whakatakoto kaupapa tūmatanui mōna anō. Ki te kore e kaha te hopukina o te reo i roto i ngā kāinga me te hapori, engari e akohia ana i ngā kura hei reo tuarua, tērā e kitea kei te iwi tonu tētahi mana hei whakatau i ngā kaupapa mōna, engari, kāore pea e tino mana ana te reo, e tino kaha ana te tū o te reo i roto i te hapori, ina he tokoiti tonu ngā kaikōrero.

Ko te kaupapa tuarua o tēnei wāhanga o te tuhinga, he titiro ki te ora o te reo i tēnei wā. Ka tirohia ngā hua i puta i ngā rangahau tauranga mō te reo i ngā tau tata kua taha ake nei, arā, te tauranga whānui-a-motu 1996, tā Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori 1995, te rangahau tiroiro i te āhua o ngā kāinga Māori a Te Hoe Nuku Roa e whakahaerehia ana e Te Pūtahi-a-Toi, Te Kura Māori o Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa (Te

Whare Wānanga o Massey), me tā te Rūnanga Whakawā Mātauranga o Aotearoa i whakahaeretia i te tau 1978.

2.2 Te tū o te reo Māori: te pūmau, te heke me te whakaora

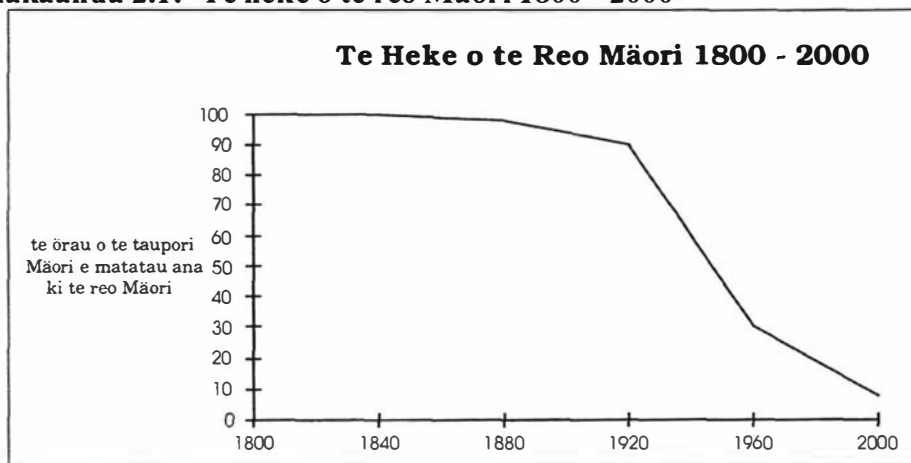
Nō te tau 1840 i hainatia ai Te Tiriti o Waitangi, tētahi kawenata i waenganui i te karauna o Ingarangi me ngā upoko o ngā hapū o te iwi Māori, he whakaritenga i te mana o Ingarangi me tērā ka mau tonu ki te Māori. I taua wā, e 50 te whakareanga ake o te taupori Māori ki tērā o tauwi. Tērā te whakapae i te takiwā o te 100,000 ki te 200,000 te taupori Māori, e 2000 noa iho te tokomaha o tauwi (tirohia tā Pool 1971, Adams 1977). Kāore he paku āwangawanga ki te tū o te reo Māori - koia tonu te reo o ngā kura i whakatūria e ngā mihinare (ahakoa te kaupapa kia whāia e te Māori ngā tikanga o te hāhi); tere tonu te Māori ki te ako i te pānui pukapuka me te tuhituhi i te reo Māori; he painga anō mā tauwi ki te kōrero Māori, kei hea kē atu he huarahi hei oranga mō rātou i tō rātou kāinga hou.

Engari nō muri mai i te hainatanga o te Tiriti o Waitangi me te whakatūtanga o te Kāwanatanga tauwi i te tau 1852, ka tino huakina te kuaha, ā, kāore i ārikarika te taetae mai o tauwi i Ūropi. Kāore hoki i roa, e rima kē te whakareatanga ake o te taupori tauwi ki tērā o te Māori, arā, kua eke noa atu tō tauwi ki te 256,393, ā, kua heke tō te Māori ki te 45,479 (Pool 1971:237). He wā poto noa iho kua huri kōaro te noho mai o te reo Māori me te reo Ingarihi. Kua kake kē atu te reo Ingarihi, koia hei reo whakahaere i te kāwanatanga, te ture, me te mātauranga. Kāore hoki he take kia akona e tauwi te reo Māori, kua āhua kore nei rātou ināianei e whakawhirinaki ana ki te iwi Māori hei oranga mō rātou. Waihoki, kua tīmata te akoako a te Māori i te reo Ingarihi i te kura. Nā te Ture Kura Māori (1867) te whakatau kia reo Ingarihi katoa

ngā whakahaere o te kura (tirohia tā Barrington 1966), ā, kua mārō haere te tū o te reo Ingarihi i ngā wāhi maha o Aotearoa.

Mai i tēnei wā, ka hohoro te heke o te reo, ā, kāore hoki e tino rerekē ki ētahi atu o ngā iwi tāngata whenua o te ao i whakamarua e tauwiwi. Ka kitea atu te kaha o te heke ina tirohia te tokomaha o ngā kaikōrero e matatau ana ki te reo i roto i te takanga o te wā (te Whakaahua 2.1). Ko ngā tatau, ko ērā i puta i te rangahau reo Māori i whakahaeretia e Tākuta Richard Benton i te tau 1978, tērā a Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori i te tau 1995, me te rangahau whānui i te āhua o ngā kāinga Māori, a Te Hoe Nuku Roa i whakahaeretia e Te Pūtahi-a-Toi, Te Kura Māori o Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa (Te Whare Wānanga o Massey) i ngā tau 1995 ki te 1997. Ko te pūtake o ngā tatau i mua i ēnei tau ko ngā pūrongo a ngā kaitiro tiro kura me ngā tuhinga a ngā tohunga reo (tirohia Te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi 1986; tā Benton 1981; tā Benton 1979).

Te Whakaahua 2.1: Te heke o te reo Māori 1800 - 2000



E rārangi ake nei ngā take matua i heke ai te tū o te reo i roto i te hapori, ā, ka āta whakamāramatia i te roanga ake o tēnei wāhanga o te tuhinga.

- i) Ka riro i a tauwi te mana kāwanatanga, ā, nā āna ture te reo i patu (hei tauira: Native Schools Act 1867, Tohunga Suppression Act 1907).
- ii) I takahia te reo i roto i ngā kaupapa tūmatanui (hei tauira: te mātauranga me te pāpaho).
- iii) Ko ngā whakaaro o te wā e pā ana ki te reoruatanga, arā, he reo pohara noa iho te reo Māori nā te mea kāore ōna tuhinga tuku iho, ka mate rānei te hinengaro o te tamaiti ki te ako i ngā reo e rua.
- iv) Kāore i tino kaingākautia te reo Māori i roto i te hapori.
- v) I muri mai i Te Pakanga Tuarua o te Ao, i tere hunuku ai te iwi Māori ki ngā tāone nui, nā, ka noho tawhiti te reanga matua, reanga tamariki i ō rātou kaumātua, pakeke, me te mātotoru o te reo, tikanga hoki o te wā kāinga. Ko te kaupapa o te Tari Māori a te Kāwanatanga i taua wā, kia noho marara ngā whānau Māori i ngā tāone i waenganui i ngā whānau Pākehā, kia wawe te huri a te Māori ki te reo Ingarihi me ngā tikanga Pākehā.
- vi) Ko te kaha uru mai o ngā pāpaho reo Pākehā ki ngā taringa Māori, me tōna kawae i ngā tikanga, i ngā kaupapa Pākehā o te wā.

Ko te kaupapa i aro nuitia i te rautau rua tekau, kia whāia e te Māori te mātauranga a te Pākehā, mā konei e ora ai te iwi Māori, koia hoki tōna huarahi whakamua. Nā ngā rangatira Pākehā, Māori hoki o taua wā tēnei kaupapa i kawae, i kauhautia i roto i ngā kura, i ngā hāhi, i ngā rōpū rangatahi, me ngā tari tūmatanui, ā, ka pā atu ki te āhua noho o te Māori, tōna wairua, tōna hinengaro hoki. Engari, tae rawa ake ki te ngahuru tau 1960, kātahi ka āta kitea atu kāore e ōrite tā te Māori whiwhi i ngā hua o te wā ki tā te Pākehā, waihoki ka tīmata te uru haere o te kōingo ki te ngākau o te Māori e noho tāone ana mō tōna reo, āna tikanga hoki kua ngaro nei i a rātou i roto i ngā tau (i ētahi whānau, kua rua, kua toru rānei ngā whakatipuranga e noho tāone ana). Nā te

kaha o te ngaro haere o te reo me ngā tikanga i ētahi whānau, kāore i eke te āhua o te tuku tūpapaku ki tā te Māori tuku. Ka mau tonu te āhua Māori o te tinana, engari he tokomaha kua whakarere i ngā tikanga, i ngā waiaro, i ngā whakapono i ngā mātauranga Māori, ina kua noho tawhiti i te wā kāinga me ngā āhuatanga o reira, arā, te noho a-whānau, me te mau anō ki te reo me ngā tikanga tuku iho a ngā mātua tīpuna. Nō muri mai te kite, ko te noho pōhara a te Māori ki tōna reo me āna tikanga tētahi o ngā take matua o ngā momo mate hinengaro (hei tauira, tirohia Durie 1998b, Maxwell rāua ko Morris 1999).

Koia nei ngā āhuatanga noho i roto i ngā tau, te tūāpapa i tīmata mai ai te whawhai kia tū tangata anō ai te Māori i tōna whenua taketake. Tae rawa ake ki te tīmatanga o te ngahuru tau 1970, kua āhua tokomaha haere ngā Māori e whai tūranga ana ki roto i ngā tari tūmatanui, ki roto hoki i ngā kura. Ahakoa kua whiwhi ki ngā tohu mātauranga Pākehā, ko te nuinga o ēnei tāngata he mea whakatipu i ngā kāinga tuawhenua, nō reira, e mau tonu ana ki te reo Māori me ōna āhuatanga katoa. I aro nuitia ngā tūranga mahi i roto i te pūnaha mātauranga, nā runga i te whakapono mā te whai i te mātauranga e tū tangata anō ai te Māori, koia hoki te huarahi whakaora i te reo. He tohe tonu te mahi a ēnei tāngata, ahakoa he whakatoihara, he takahi i te Māori te āhua o ētahi o ngā tari tūmatanui nei (kura hoki), kia mau tonu i te Pākehā te ringa whakahaere i ngā kaupapa. I ētahi wā ko tō rātou ake ora te utu. Nō te tau 1973 i riro i a John Tapiata te tūranga tūmuaki o te tari Māori o te Kura Kaiwhakaako o Pamutana (ko ia hoki te tuatahi), ā, ahakoa tana whawhai ki ngā waiaro me ngā āhuatanga whakahaere i te Kura, ka hua mai tētahi kaupapa Māori motuhake mō te whakangungu kaiwhakaako kura (tirohia tā Goulton-Fitzgerald me Christensen 1996). He pērā anō ngā hua i puta i te mahi a ētahi atu i roto i te pūnaha mātauranga, me ngā whakahaere tūmatanui.

Koia hoki te wā ka kaha haere te korikori a te Māori nā runga i te ngarohanga atu o te whenua me ngā rawa, ngā tūkinotanga o mua, me te kore whiwhi i ngā hua o te wā pērā i tā te Pākehā whiwhi. Nā te whakariuka i puta ai te whakaaro mō te hikoī nui mai i Te Reinga ki Poneke i te tau 1975, he whānui hoki te tautoko a te iwi Māori, tae atu ki ētahi o te iwi Pākehā e kaingākau ana ki te kaupapa Māori.

Ki te titiro whakamuri ki ngā nawe a te Māori i kawea ki mua i te aroaro o te Kāwanatanga i taua wā, kāore e kore ka tau te whakaaro he pāpaku noa iho tā rātou aro mai. Engari ko tōna hua nui, he whakakotahi i tā te Māori kōkiri i ngā kaupapa, he whakatakoto i te tūāpapa e haere whakamua ai te Māori i roto i ngā tau o muri mai. Nō te tau 1974 i hurihia ai Te Ture mō ngā Take Māori kia whai mana ai te reo Māori ‘hei reo tuku iho’ o te iwi Māori, engari kāore ōna niho, kāore i āta whakatakotohia he kaupapa hei whakatīnana i te ture. Ka whakatūria ngā hōtaka ‘taha Māori’ i roto i ngā kura tuatahi, arā, he wā poto noa iho ia wiki mō te whakaako i te waiata-a-ringa, mahi toi, me ētahi āhuatanga māmā noa iho nei o te reo (pērā i te mihi, ngā tae, me te tatau) ki ngā tamariki katoa, Pākehā mai, Māori mai. Ahakoa he ruarua nei ngā hua i puta i ēnei kaupapa mō te oranga tonutanga o te reo, kāore hoki e tino tika te āhua o te whakaako ki tā te Māori whakaako (he Pākehā tonu te nuinga o ngā kaiako), e taea te kī, koirā te tīmatanga, arā, ka paku huakina te kuaha, e tū mai ai ngā kaupapa Māori ā tōna wā, pērā i te whakaako pouako Māori, te reo rua, te rūmaki me ētahi atu.

Ko te aronga nui mō ngā kaupapa whakaora i te reo, ko te pūnaha mātauranga tonu, engari ehara i te takitahi. He mea haere anō i te taha o ētahi atu kaupapa i puta i tā te Māori whai i tōna tino rangatiratanga, pērā i te kawē i ngā nawe ki mua i te aroaro o te kōti, te mautohe, te pāpaho, ngā kaupapa ohanga, me te whakaea i ngā tūkinotanga o

mua a te kāwanatanga e pā ana ki te Tiriti o Waitangi. He nui ngā hua, ngā painga i puta i te kerēme mō te reo i kawea e Huirangi Waikerepuru, Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo, me Te Kaunihera Māori hei whakawātanga mā Te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi i te tau 1986. Ko te whakataunga a te Rōpū Whakamana, āe marika, he taonga te reo ka tiakina i raro i te upoko tuarua o Te Tiriti o Waitangi, ka tahi. Ka rua, ko ngā tūkinotanga o mua a te Kāwantanga tētahi o ngā take matua i heke ai te reo i roto i ngā tau, ā, e tika ana kia whakatūria he kaupapa whakaora reo hei utu i āna hara, ka toru.

E rima ngā taunakitanga a Te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti i whakatakotohia ki te Karauna:

- i) Kia whakatūria he ture e mana ai tā te tangata whakamahi i te reo Māori i roto i ngā kōti katoa, i roto hoki i āna whakapānga atu ki ngā tari kāwanatanga, kaunihera-a-rohe, tari tūmatanui rānei.
- ii) Kia whakatūria tētahi rōpū hei ārahi i ngā mahi whakaora i te reo e whai mana ana i raro i te ture.
- iii) Kia whakatūria wawehia tētahi rōpū tiro tiro i te āhua o te tuku mātauranga ki te tamariki Māori, me ngā momo kaupapa hei whakatūtanga, hei huringa rānei mā Te Tari Kura e tutuki ai te hiahia a te hunga mātua e hiahia ana kia whakaakona ā rātou tamariki mā roto i te reo Māori. Me utu e te kāwanatanga, me eke anō te kounga e tino puta ai ngā hua ki aua tamariki.
- iv) Kia arohia atu e te Karauna tēnei whakataunga a Te Rōpū Whakamana kia āta tiakina te reo, i roto i āna whakahaere pāpaho, ā, kia hurihia Te Ture Pāpaho 1976 e mana anō ai tēnei āhuetanga.

- v) Kia hurihia Te Ture Ratonga Karauna 1962, me Te Ture Āhuetanga Mahi Karauna 1977, kia whai wāhi ai te reoruatanga (reo Māori, reo Pākehā) hei kaupapa here i roto i te whiwhinga tūranga mahi.²
(Waitangi Tribunal 1986:51)

Kāore te Karauna i tino whai i tā Te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti i whakatau ai. Kua mana te reo i roto i ētahi o ngā kōti whakawā, engari kāore anō i ngā tari kāwanatanga me ērā atu whakahaere tūmatanui. Waihoki ki te whakamahia te reo Māori i te kōti, ko tā te kaiwhakamāori whakapākehā i ngā kōrero te mea ka hopukina hei tuhinga mana mō te kōti. Kāore i tino whakatinana i tā Te Rōpū Whakamana i whakatau ai mō te tū o te reo hei reo whai mana i roto i ngā kaupapa tūmatanui.

Me whai niho anō ngā kaupapa whakamana i te reo, arā, kia mau tonu i te tangata te mana ki te whakamahi i tōna reo Māori i roto i ngā kaupapa tūmatanui, i roto rānei i āna whiriwhiri ki tētahi whakahaere tūmatanui. Ko te whakatīnana i te kōrero ‘he mana tō te reo Māori’ te mea nui. Me whānui kē atu i ngā kōti te mana ki te whakamahi i te reo. Me mana tonu ki roto i ngā tari katoa, tae atu ki ngā whakahaere-ā-rohe, kei kiia *tūtonu ahiahi, whakarere hāpara*.³ (Te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi 1986:47)

Ahakoā tēnā, ka noho tonu te whakatau a Te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti hei tūāpapa mō te whawhai e ora anō ai te reo i roto i ngā wāhi maha o Aotearoa. Ko te kōkiri i ngā kaupapa pāpaho tētahi. Kua eke noa atu i te 13 ngā kawenga a te Māori i ngā nawe e pā ana ki te pāpaho i te reo ki mua i te aroaro o te kōti. Ko te kaupapa matua, ko te kore aro mai a te kāwanatanga ki ngā tika i raro i te upoko tuarua o te Tiriti.

Ko tā te Māori i tohe ai, he nui ngā hua ka puta mō te ora o te reo, ina he pakari ngā mahi pāpaho. Ko Piripi Walker tētahi o ngā pou here i ngā kaupapa pāpaho i roto i ngā tau. Nāna te kōrero, ‘ko te pouaka whakaata te ūkaipō o tēnei whakatipuranga’ (1995). Ko tāna, he āwhina nui tō te pouaka whakaata hei whāngai i te reo ki ā tātou tamariki i tēnei whakatipuranga, ina, ko te heke o te reo i roto i te reanga mātua, me te matareka anō o ngā tamariki ki te noho ki mua i te pouaka. E tutuki ai tēnei, me rawaka te tuku pūtea mai a te kāwanatanga hei utu i ngā pāhotanga reo Māori ka tukuna mā ngā reo irirangi-ā-iwi ka tahi, mā tētahi teihana pouaka whakaata motuhake ka rua. Ka toru, mā ngā pāhotanga reo Māori i runga i ngā teihana whānui i ngā wā he tokomaha ngā kaimātakitaki. Waihoki, me noho whāroa ngā whakaritenga pūtea nei tae noa ki te wā e whai pūtea ana mai i ngā pāhotanga pānui hokohoko. Koia e kite anō ana i te takaroa a te kāwanatanga me tōna ‘*arero rua*’ ki te tuku mai i te āwhina e tika ana i raro i ngā here a Te Tiriti o Waitangi, e utua ai āna hara o mua.

E ai ki a Gorman (1973:73) ko te mahi whakatakoto kaupapa mō te tū o te reo i te hāpori, ‘he whakatau rangatira i ngā wāhi e whakamahia ai te reo’.⁴ Ko ngā kōrero kua tuhia i mua nei e whakaatu kau ana, āe marika, i oti i ngā tāngata whai mana o te kāwanatanga o te wā, ā rātou ‘whakatau rangatira’ e iti ai ngā wāhi reo Māori. Hāunga ngā wāhi mana Māori pērā i te marae me te kāinga, ka aukatia te reo Māori ki ngā wāhi maha o Aotearoa. Tua atu i tēnā, ka pā atu anō ēnei ‘whakatau rangatira’ ki te kōrerohia o te reo Māori i ngā wāhi tūmataiti, arā, he maha tonu ngā kāinga Māori ka huri ki te reo Pākehā hei reo kōrero mō rātou (hāunga o tātou marae me te reo ōkawa o reira), ka heke rānei te kōrerotia o te reo i ēnei wāhi i roto i te takanga o te wā.

Ko tētahi āhuatanga o ngā mahi whakaora i te reo, ko te ‘whakatauranga rangatira’ i ngā kaupapa e pakari anō ai te tū o te reo i roto i ngā wāhi maha o te hāpori, me te aronga nui ki ngā kaupapa mātauranga. Ko te tūmanako tērā, ka pā atu anō ki te kāinga, ka tokomaha haere o tātou whānau e whakatauranga ana, ‘āe, he kāinga reo Māori tō mātou’. Mā konei e pakari ake ai te tū ihotanga o te reo mai i tētahi whakatipuranga ki tētahi. Ehara i te mea he ngāwari ki o tātou whānau - he uaua tonu i runga i te āhua o te reo o te hunga mātua, te āhua noho me te taha ohaoha hoki. Ka āta kōrerohia ngā āhuatanga e whakauaua ana i te kōrerotia o te reo i te Wāhanga Tuarima, Tuaono hoki.

2.3 Te tinana o te reo: te whanake, te taharangi, te whakaora

E haere tahi ana ngā mahi aukati, whakanui rānei i te kōrerotia o tētahi reo i ngā wāhi maha o te hāpori, me te heke, te tipu rānei o te tinana o taua reo. Arā ki te aukatia te reo i ētahi wāhi, kāore e whai kupu hou, ka ngaro rānei te momo reo e tika ana mō taua wāhi. Ki te whakanuia te kōrerotia o te reo i tētahi wāhi, kātahi ka whai kupu hou e taea ai ngā āhuatanga katoa o taua wāhi te whakaahua mā roto i te reo.

Koia hoki te kōrero a Karetū me tana whakamārama i te mahi a Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori ki te whakawhānui i te puna kupu o te reo Māori.

... ko te reo e kore e noho ki te āhua kotahi i roto i te wā, ka rere kē haere. I whērā ai hoki nā te pā mai o ngā āhuatanga o te wā, o tētahi atu reo rānei, ki taua reo nei. (Karetū 1995)

E toru pea ngā takiwā hei tiroiro e kitea ai te heke, te tipu rānei o te tinana o te reo Māori. Nō muri mai i te taenga tuatahi mai a tauwiwi, he wā poto i tipu ai te reo, e taea

ai ngā āhuatanga hou o tauwi te whakaahua. Ahakoa he wā poto, he hirahira tonu nā te mea he wā roa i muri mai ka heke te reo, ka noho taharangi. Ko te takiwā tuatoru e noho nei tātou ināianei, he wā whakaora i te reo, ā, kua āhua hohoro te tipu o te reo hei whakatika i te wā e noho taharangi ana.

I te wā i tae tuatahi mai a tauwi, kotahi tonu te reo Māori i rangona e rātou, ahakoa ngā rerekētanga-ā-iwi o tēnā rohe, o tēnā. Ko ngā rerekētanga, i rangona, ko te whakahua, ko ētahi hoki o ngā kupu. Ko Te Rangihiroa tētahi rangatira whai mātauranga, nāna te kōrero ‘... arā ētahi rerekētanga o ngā reo-ā-iwi, engari kāore e tino nui.’⁵ (Buck 1982:74)

I tēnei takiwā tuatahi o te taenga mai o tauwi, he huhua ngā āhuatanga hou i mauria mai e rātou, nō rēira, he huhua anō ngā kupu hou i urutomo mai ki te reo. Ko te whakamāori mai i te pāoro o te kupu Pākehā te tikanga i whāia nuitia, ā, ka puta ngā kupu pēnei i te ‘kāwanatanga’ (government), te ‘tima’ (steamer), me te ‘pāuna’ (pound) hei whakaahua i ngā hangarau, ngā tauhokohoko, me ngā āhuatanga hapori hou o taua wā. Mēnā e pakari ana te tū me te ora o tētahi reo, kāore pea he āwangawanga ki ngā kupu whakawhiti oro mai i tētahi atu reo. Ki te pā tētahi reo ki tētahi koirā hoki tētahi o ngā āhuatanga ka puta noa mai, arā, te urutomo atu o ngā kupu o tētahi reo ki tētahi. Te huhua hoki o ngā kupu o roto i te reo Pākehā i pūtake mai i reo kē (hei tauira noa, ko te kupu kindergarten mai i te reo Tiamana).

Nō te tau 1858, i whakamāorititia tētahi pukapuka 'mahi whika' mō roto i ngā kura Māori o te wā. Koia rā te tuatahi mō te whakamahi i te reo Māori mō tēnei kaupapa, ā, he mea whakawhiti pāoro mai ngā kupu Pākehā mō ngā āhuatanga hou o te mahi

whika, ki te reo Māori. Arā, ka puta ngā kupu pēnei i te mehua (measure), te koata (quarter), te kerona (gallon), me te huhua noa atu. (Taratoa 1858:3).

Ināianei, kua noho tangata whenua ki te reo Māori ētahi o ngā kupu whakawhiti e kōrerotia nei, e whakamahia whānuitia ana, kāore hoki he āwangawanga. Koia rā ngā kupu pēnei i te pukapuka (book), te wiki (week), te taraka (truck), me te tāone (town). Engari ināianei, kua kore te hunga e whai ana i ngā mahi whakaora i te reo Māori e whakaae ki te whakawhitinga o te kupu mai i reo kē, kia noho mai hei kupu mō te reo Māori. E whai kē ana kia whakamahia he kupu tawhito, kia hangaia rānei tētahi kupu hou mai i te puna kupu o te reo Māori. Engari ētahi, kei te mau tonu ki ngā kupu whakawhiti - ko te hunga kaumātua tērā, i pakeke mai rātou i roto i te mātotorutanga o te reo me te whakamahinga o ēnei momo kupu i taua wā.

Ko Hēmi Potatau o Ngāti Rākaipāka tētahi. He tangata whai mātauranga i roto i te reo Māori. I mua i tana matenga i te tau 1991, nāna i tuhi tētahi pukapuka mōna anō, e kōrero ana i ngā āhuatanga i pā ki a ia i roto i ngā tau. Arā, he haukiri mō te wā e whai ana ia i ana tohu mātauranga i Te Whare Wānanga o Te Upoko o te Ika, mō tana haere ki tāwāhi i Te Pakanga Tuarua o te Ao, mō āna mahi hei minita i te hāhi Perehipiteriana i ētahi rohe o Te Ika a Māui. He tohunga anō ia ki te waihanga, ki te whakamahi i ngā kupu whakawhiti mai i te reo Pākehā, ā, i tētahi o ngā whārangi, e 27 o ēnei kupu e noho ana. (tirohia tā Potatau 1991:47). Ahakoa kāore i ārikarika tana whakamahi i ēnei momo kupu, he pārekareka tonu tāna tuhi i te reo, he ātaahua anō te takoto mai o te kupu.

Ko tētahi anō āhuatanga i hora whānuitia i te taenga tuatahi mai o tauwiwi, ko te tuhituhi me te pānui pukapuka. Ko te reo Māori tonu te reo whakaako o ngā kura i

whakatūria e ngā mihinare, ā, e ai ki ngā kōrero, he poto noa iho te wā, kua tokomaha haere ngā Māori e mōhio ana ki te pānui pukapuka, tuhituhi hoki.

... tae atu ki te tau 1842, he mōhio katoa pea ngā tāngata mai i te 10 ki te 30 tau te pakeke i ngā kāinga katoa o Te Ika-a-Māui, ki te pānui pukapuka, tuhituhi hoki i tō rātou reo, ā, ka tāwaitia ngā ware tauwi he kore mōhio nō rātou te take.⁶ (Miller 1958:97-98)

He waimarie te hunga whai i te reo Māori o ēnei rā i te mea, he kaha nō ngā mātua tīpuna ki te tuhituhi. E kitea tonutia ana ā rātou momo tuhinga - ngā reta tōrangapū, reta ōpaki, ngā tuhinga e pā ana ki ā rātou tikanga-ā-iwi, ngā kōrero neherā, whakapapa, aha atu, aha atu, i tuhia e rātou i tērā rautau, hei akoako mā tēnei whakatipuranga. Ko te hikoinga tuatahi o tā Fishman (1991) raupapa i ngā mahi whakaora i tētahi reo, ko te hopu i te reo o ngā kaikōrero e ora tonu ana. He pakari tonu tēnei āhuatanga o te reo Māori, ina, he autaiā tēnei whakatipuranga ki te whakaputa pukapuka, ā, he maha hoki ngā tuhinga nō mua ake.

Engari i pā kino atu ngā mahi aukati, tāmi hoki i te reo Māori i te wāhanga tuarua o te rautau 1900, ki te tipu haere o te tīnana o te reo. Nā te mea kāore i whakamahia whānuitia te reo Māori i roto i ngā kura, i ngā kaupapa pāpaho, i ngā wāhi maha rānei o te hāpori, kāore i whai kupu hou i taua wā, ka āhua nanati te reo. Kāore hoki he take mō te tipu haere o te reo ina kāore e tino whakamahia ana, he ruarua noa iho ngā kāinga tuawhenua, pērā i Te Urewera, Te Taitokerau, me Te Tairāwhiti ko te reo Māori te reo kōrero i roto i te hāpori. He rawaka hoki te puna kupu o te reo hei whakaahua i ngā kaupapa kōrero o te wā i aua wāhi.

E rua ngā tino aronga o tēnei whakatipuranga ki te mahi whakaora i te tīnana o te reo, (arā, ōna kupu, ōna whakatakoto kōrero), ā, he mea puta mai i ngā takiwā kua kōrerotia i runga nei - te wā i whanake ai te reo, me te wā i noho taharangi.

2.3.1 Te hekenga me te whanaketanga o te puna kupu

He wā roa tonu (neke atu i te kotahi rautau) i noho taharangi te reo, he wā kāore i tino puta he kupu hou (nā te kore i whakamahia te reo i ngā wāhi maha). Nā tēnei, kāore e ārikarika ngā kupu hou huhua e putaputa mai ana i tēnei whakatipuranga nā runga i te hiahia kia whakamahia te reo ki ngā wāhi whānui tonu. Engari kāore e ōrite te mahi kimi kupu hou o ināianei ki ā ngā mātua tīpuna - kāore e pai ana te whakawhiti kupu mai i reo kē - he āhua kawa pea te ngākau ki ngā kupu o te iwi nāna tonu i takahi te reo Māori i ngā wā o mua. Nā te huhua hoki o ngā kupu e hiahiatia ana, tērā te whakaaro ka riro te wairua o te reo, ina whāia te huarahi o te whakawhiti kupu, ka memeha te taonga tuku iho nei a ngā mātua tīpuna.

Koia hoki te take e whāia ana kia waihangatia ngā kupu hou mai i roto i te puna kupu o te reo Māori ake. E rua ngā huarahi e kitea ai he kupu. Tuatahi, he whakamahi i tētahi kupu tawhito tonu, e hāngai ana ki te tikanga o te kaupapa, engari kua āhua waimeha te whakamahi i taua kupu mō tōna kaupapa o mua. Hei tauira ake, ko te kupu 'kōkiri'. I nehe, ko te haere whakamua o tētahi ope tauā te tikanga. Ināianei, ko te kawē whakamua i tētahi kaupapa, ā, koia hoki te tikanga i tapaina ai tērā o ngā tari kāwanatanga e kawē ana i ngā take Māori, ko 'Te Puni Kōkiri'.

Ko te huarahi tuarua, he whakaemi i ētahi kupu e rua, e toru rānei hei waihanga i tētahi kupu hou. Ko te 'pāngarau' tētahi tauira, koia hoki tētahi o ngā marautanga o roto i ō tātou kura, he whakakotahi i te kupu 'pānga' (arā, he tātai hono) me te 'rau'

(arā, he maha). Kei roto i te kupu te whakamārama i te tikanga o te kaupapa - ngā momo pānga maha o tētahi āhuatanga ki tētahi. I mua rā, ko te 'mahi whika' te kupu e whakamahia ana, engari he whakawhitinga o te kupu '*figure*' mai i te reo Pākehā, he whāiti hoki te tikanga. Ko te 'tikanga tātai' anō tētahi kupu e whakamahia ana i ōna wā, engari kei te whakamahia tonuhia aua kupu mō ngā kaupapa o roto i te mātauranga Māori pērā i te 'tikanga tātai whetū', me te 'tikanga tātai whakapapa', ā, ko te whakaaro tērā kia waihotia te kupu 'tātai' ki tōna tikanga Māori ake.

Ko Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori tērā, te rōpū e tino whai ana i te mahi kimi kupu hou, engari e meatia ana, kei te hunga kōrero Māori tonu te mana whakaae, whakahē rānei i ngā kupu ka puta. Arā, ki te whakamahia te kupu, ka ora, ki te kore, ka mate.

Ahakoia tērā, kua whuia ngā whakahē ki ngā kupu 'hou' nei, e rua hoki ōna mata. Tuatahi, ko ngā whakahē mai a te hunga pakeke i tipu mai i te mātotorutanga o te reo, e huri tuara ana ki te huhua o ngā kupu hou, me te rerekē o te reo e kōrerotia e te hunga mokopuna o roto i ngā Kōhanga Reo. Ahakoia kua mau tonu i a rātou tō rātou reo Māori i akohia i ngā rekereke o ō rātou kuia, koroua, i te wā i a rātou, he āhua whāiti pea ngā momo kaupapa i kōrerohia ai te reo. Kāore he raruraru te whakawhitiwhiti whakaaro, te whakaputa kōrero e pā ana ki ngā kaupapa o ia rā, me ngā kaupapa o roto i te ao Māori i ngā kāinga tuawhenua. Engari he rerekē te ao o ngā mokopuna o ēnei rā. Arā ke ngā momo kaupapa o tēnei ao hou e hiahia ana rātou ki te kōrero, nō reira me whai kupu hou ka tika - ki te kore, ka tere huri rātou ki reo kē, ki te whakaputa i ā rātou kōrero, ki te whakamārama hoki i ngā ariā hou o ēnei rā. Ko te uaua o te hunga pakeke ki te whakawhiti kōrero ki te hunga mokopuna tētahi āhuatanga i puta i te Rangahau Reo o Te Hoe Nuku Roa, ā, ka kōrerotia i te Wāhanga Tuarima o tēnei tuhinga roa.

Tuarua, ko ngā whakahē mai a te hunga e whakaaro nui ana ki ō rātou ake mita-ā-iwi. Mēnā ka hora whānuitia ngā kupu hou ki te motu katoa, kāore e kore ka pā atu ki ngā mita-ā-iwi. Ka kaha kē atu te pā mai nā te tokomaha o te hunga e ako ana i te reo hei reo tuarua. E whakawhirinaki ana te hunga nei ki ngā pukapuka me ngā rauemi reo e whakaputahia ana ki te motu whānui. Mēnā e pakari tonu ana te tuku ihotanga o te reo i roto i te kāinga, kāore he raruraru o te reo ake o te kura, o te ao mātauranga, o te ao tūmatanui - kāore e tāmia ngā reo-ā-iwi, nā te mea koirā hoki te reo tuatahi e hopukina ana e te tamaiti i te kāinga. Aroha ana te āhua o te nuinga o ngā reo-ā-iwi - he tokoiti nō ngā kaikōrero, kāore e pakari ana te tū, ā, kāore hoki e rawaka te pūtea hei whakaputa i ngā momo tuhinga i roto i tēnā reo-ā-iwi, i tēnā.

Nō te tīmatanga o tērā rautau te takenga mai o ngā āhuatanga whakararu i ngā reo-ā-iwi, arā, nō te haerenga a Hongi Hika rāua ko Waikato (he rangatira rāua nō Ngāpuhi) i te taha o Thomas Kendall ki Ingarangi, ki te mahi tahi me tētahi tohunga wetereo o reira, a Samuel Lee. Ko tā rātou, he waihanga i ētahi tikanga mō te tuhituhi i te reo, ā, ko tā rātou pukapuka i puta i te tau 1820 *A Grammar and Vocabulary of the language of New Zealand*, '... koia tonu te tūāpapa mō te tuhituhi i te reo Māori e mōhio nei tātou i tēnei rā'⁷ (Garlick 1998:30). He ruarua noa iho ngā tuhinga e whakaputahia ana e ngā iwi i roto anō i ō rātou ake reo (ko ētahi he pānui-a-iwi), ā, he tōmuri, he iti rawa pea, kāore hoki e pātata ana ki te tino wāhi e puritia ai ngā reo-ā-iwi, arā, te kōrerohia o te reo i roto i te kāinga me te hapori.

Kāore e kore, ka hopukina e te ākongā te mita o tōna kaiako, me te pā mai anō o te momo reo o roto i ngā pukapuka ako. Engari, he wā anō ka puta te hiahia kia whai i te mita o tōna ake iwi, e tū tangata ai ia i roto i tōna iwitanga. Mēnā he papakupu, he

pukapuka wetereo, he kohinga kīwaha, he kohinga reo o ngā tino pū kōrero o tēnā iwi, o tēnā iwi, kātahi ka tino pai rawa atu tā te ākongā whai i tōna ake mita.

2.3.2 Te rerekē haere o te wetereo

Tērā tētahi anō āhuatanga o te tīnana o te reo e rerekē haere ana i tēnei wā, ko te wetewete o te reo, arā, te āhua o te whakatakoto i te kupu hei rerenga kōrero. I roto i tana kauhau ki te hui-ā-tau o Te Rōpū Ātaarangi i te tau 1993, ka puta i a Timoti (ko ia te Ahorangi o Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori i taua wā) tana tautoko i ngā kupu hou e urutomo ana ki te reo, me tana ngākau kawa anō ki te āhua o te whakatakoto i te kupu e rerekē haere ana i tēnei reanga.

Ko ngā kupu hou te oranga o te reo, engari kia kaha tātou ki te pupuri i tā te Māori whakatakoto i te kupu. (Karetū 1993)

E ai ki a Timoti, kei roto i te āhua o te whakatakoto i te kupu te wairua o te reo, tā te Māori titiro, ōna waiaro, ōna anō tātai hono ki tōna ao. Mā te āhua o te whakatakoto i te kupu, e hikina ai te wairua o te kaiwhakarongo. Hei whakatauirā ake, ko te whakamahinga i ngā pūriro 'a' me 'o'. Tua atu i te whakaatu i te rirohanga, e tohu ana ēnei kupu i te āhua o te hononga i waenganui i te tangata me tērā e riro ana i a ia.

Nā, i ēnei wā, ko te rerekē haere o te āhua o te whakatakoto i te kupu tētahi āhuatanga e tino whakararu ana i te hunga e whai ana i te whakaorangatanga o te reo. He mea puta tēnei āwangawanga i te tini o ngā tāngata e ako ana i te reo hei reo tuarua mō rātou, me te tokoiti o te hunga i pakeke mai i roto i te matotorutanga o te reo. Kāore e taea e te tangata ako i te reo hei reo tuarua mōna te karo te pā mai o tōna reo tuatahi, arā, ka whai i tā te reo tuatahi whakatakoto i te kupu, ahakoa nō te reo Māori tonu te kupu. Nā te kore e tino rangona te reo o ngā tāngata matatau, ngā mea i pakeke mai i

te reo, kātahi ka uua rawa atu tā te ākongā rongo i āna ake hapa, me te whakatikatika haere i roto i te takanga o te wā. Koia hoki tētahi āhuatanga kua pā ki te reo Māori, arā, e mea ana te Rangahau Reo Māori i whakahaeretia i te tau 1995, kua heke ki te 100,000 ngā tāngata e tino matatau ana ki te reo, ā, 153,000 ngā mea e ako ana.

E toru anō ngā mea kei te whakararuraru i tēnei āhuatanga. Tuatahi, kāore anō kia tino arohia atu ngā momo rautaki ako i roto i ō tātou akoranga reo Māori. Arā, ko te whakaako i ngā momo rautaki e mana ai te ākongā i roto i āna mahi, e āta whakarongo ai ia ki āna ake whakahuatanga i te reo, me ngā akoako anō i roto i ngā reo o ngā tāngata matatau ka pā atu ki ōna taringa.

Tuarua, kāore e nui ngā whakawhitiwhiti kōrero i waenganui i te hunga matatau me te hunga ako. E ai ki ngā kōrero a te hunga ako, kāore rātou i te tino māia ki te kōrero i te reo ki te hunga matatau, kei hē tā rātou whakatakoto i te kupu, kei whakawāngia ō rātou reo e te hunga matatau, kei mamae rānei ngā taringa o te hunga matatau. Āpiti atu ki tēnei, e āhua hāngū ana te hunga matatau, i runga i te hōhā, ka kore e mārama te hunga ako, me te tapepe anō o ngā whakahoki kōrero mai. Koirā ētahi o ngā whakakitenga i puta i te rangahau o Te Hoe Nuku Roa, ka āta kōrerohia i Te Wāhanga Tuarima o tēnei tuhinga roa.

Tuatoru, ko te kaha horahia o ngā hapa reo. Nā te tokoiti o te hunga matatau, kāore e kore, he nui rawa ngā whakawhitinga kōrero a te tangata ako ki te tangata ako i roto i ngā nekeneke o ia rā. Nā tēnei, ka ū tonu ngā hapa, ka horahia, ka kore pea e whakatikahia e te kaiwhakarongo. Ka nui atu anō te pā mai o tēnei whakararu, mēnā ka rangona whānuitia ngā hapa o tētahi - akene pea he kaiako, he kaipāpāho rānei.

E rua ngā take me mātua kōkiri - ko te whakahau i te hunga ako kia kōrero i te reo me te whakangāwari anō i ngā āhuatanga e ngākaunui ai rātou ki te whakaputa kōrero, ka tahi. Ko te tika o te reo, tōna wairua anō hoki kia kore ai e maroke, e pātata rānei ki te āhua o te reo Pākehā, ka rua. Me eke te kounga o te reo o te hunga kaiako, te hunga pāpāho, te hunga tā pukapuka hoki, koia hei tauira mō te hunga ako.

E rua ngā hapa whakatakoto kupu i kōrerohia e Karetū (1993):

i) *Kua wini ahau i te kēmu.*

Kāore ia i te tino āwangawanga ki ngā kupu whakawhiti 'wini' me 'kēmu', engari ka puta tōna kawa ki te whakamahinga o te kupu mahi, kāore te kupu mahi āhua. Koia hoki tētahi hapa nui i ngā reo o te hunga ako. Me pēnei kē te whakatakoto i te kupu:

Kua wini i ahau te kēmu.

ii) *He aha tēnā mō?*

E whai ana tēnei i te whakatakoto kupu o te reo Pākehā, arā, 'What is that for?' Ko tā te Māori, he huri kia pēnei te takoto 'For what is that intended?' Arā:

Mō te aha tēnā?

He huri pēnei rānei 'What is its purpose?':

Hei aha tēnā?

Akene pea ka meatia he āhuatanga paku noa iho tēnei, engari he nui ngā hapa wetereo, he tokomaha anō ngā tāngata e hapa ana. Heoi anō, i roto i te takanga o te wā, ka pāngia nuitia te reo, kāore e kore ka rerekē haere, ka memeha tōna wairua. I roto i ngā mahi whakaora reo, ko tētahi o ngā whaingā nui kia pūmau tonu te wairua o te reo, e taea ai tā te Māori titiro, ōna waiaro hoki, te whakaahua, kia kore ai e rite ki tā te reo Pākehā whakatakoto i te kupu, whakaputa i te whakaaro.

Ko Rangimarie Turuki Rose Pere tētahi o ngā tino kuia i pakeke mai i roto i te mātotorutanga o te reo, i akohia anō ki ngā mātauranga tapu o ōna mātua tīpuna. Nō Waikaremoana ia, ā, nāna i whakatauiria tōna pōuri ki tēnei āhuatanga kei te pā ki te reo, arā, ko te whai i tā te reo Pākehā whakawehe i te wahine me te tāne.

Te ihirangaranga tuatahi o te kupu 'tangata', arā, te tā, ko te 'tāmoko', te wāhanga tuarua, a te 'ngā', ko te 'hā', te wāhanga whakamutunga, arā, he tā anō, engari ka hoki ki te tāia o te tangata, te rite ki ngā Atua. Hoki katoa ēnei ihirangaranga, te wairua o te kupu, ki ngā Atua Kotahi kē. Ka kite ai te tino ātaahua o te kupu 'tangata', engari he hanga aroha, kua rongu ahau i ētahi tāngata e kī ana "Tēnā koutou ngā tāngata me ngā wāhine!" Auē taukuri e! Ka hoki katoa tātou, a tamawahine me tamatāne ki a Tama-te-rā/Hine-te-rā ngā kaiwhakangira mai i te pūtake o te MataĀIO Wairua. Ko te reo tōna tapu, ko te reo tōna noa. (Pere 1999:8).

Ko te kīwaha tētahi anō āhuatanga o te reo, e hono atu ana ki te āhua o te takoto o te kupu. Ko te kīwaha me te kupu whakarite ētahi āhuatanga whakareka i te reo kia kore ai e maroke noa tā te tangata whakaputa i ōna whakaaro. Mā te auau o te rongu i te kīwaha me te kupu whakarite e whakamahia ana i roto i tētahi horopaki whitake, e hopukina ai e te tangata, ū tonu ki te hinengaro. He uaua te ako i roto i te akomanga. Koia rā pea te take e ngaro haere ana ēnei āhuatanga o te reo – kāore e tino rangona ana e te nuinga o ngā tāngata ako. Engari, e mea ana a Karetū (1997), mā ēnei āhuatanga e hāpaitia ake ai, e pūmau ai 'te wairua o te reo'. Kei te Whakaahua 2.2 e noho mai ana he tauira.

Te Whakaahua 2.2: Te wairua o te reo

Reo Pākehā	Te whakamāoritanga o te reo Pākehā	Tā te Māori whakatakoto	Te whakapākehātanga o te whakatakoto Māori
The food is ready.	Kua reri ngā kai.	Kua hora te tēpū. Kei te karanga a Rongo.	The table is spread. Rongo (God of cultivated foods) is calling
Thank you for looking after us.	Tēnā koutou mō tā koutou manaaki i a mātou.	Kei whea mai tā koutou manaaki i a mātou.	How excellent indeed is the hospitality that you have shown us.
Listen carefully	Āta whakarongo.	Me whakarongo pikari ngā taringa	Ears should be open in expectation like the mouths of baby birds in the nest waiting for their mother to return with food

Ki te āta tirohia ngā taura i tuhia ki te Whakaahua 2.2, tērā e kitea atu ko te waiaro Māori, tā te Māori titiro ki tōna ao, e puta mai ana i te āhua o te whakatakoto i te kupu. Ko te mea tuatahi e whakaatu ana i te noho pātata mai o te ao wairua me te ao kikokiko, arā, ahakoa he kaupapa māmā noa iho, mā te tiki atu i tētahi kōrero mō ngā Atua, ka whai wairua ai te reo. Ko te mea tuarua e whakaatu ana i te āhua o tā te Māori whakamihī i te tangata, arā, mā te reo e hāpaitia ai te tangata, koia hoki tētahi āhuatanga nui i roto i ngā huihui Māori. Kei roto i te taura tuatoru e kitea mai ana tā te Māori noho pātata tonu ki te taiao, arā, mā te whakaahua i tētahi āhuatanga o te taiao, ka hikina ai te reo, ka whai wairua anō.

Tērā tētahi tokorua, a Bentahila rāua ko Davies (1993), e whakahē ana i tā te hunga whakaora reo whai kia pūmau tonu ngā āhuatanga motuhake o te reo i te wā i a kui me koro mā. E mea ana rāua he koroingo, he moemoeā noa iho kia hoki anō ki te āhua o te reo o taua wā. Ko tā rāua e kī ana, mā roto i te mahi whakaora i tētahi reo ka rerekē haere taua reo, e kore e hoki ki te āhua o mua. Ki te pērā, ka pāngia te hunga

kaumātua, te hunga i pakeke mai i roto i te reo, ki te whakakaikiri, ki te kōingo rānei mō tō rātou reo. Engari pea, ehara i te mea he aronga kotahi anake, arā, me hoki whakamuri ki te āhua o mua, me haere whakamua rānei ki tētahi āhua hou o te reo.

Tērā anō te huarahi e whakahautia ana i konei, arā, kia pūmau tonu tā te Māori whakatakoto i te kupu me ōna āhuatanga whakanikoniko katoa, me te whai hoki i ngā kupu hou e taea ai te whakaahua ngā āhuatanga katoa o te ao o ināianei e noho nei tātou. Ka āhua ngoikore pea te mahi whakaora i te reo mēnā, ko tā te reo Māori he whai noa i tā te reo Pākehā whakatakoto i te kupu, whakahua i te whakaaro, ā, ko te kupu anake te mea e rerekē ana. He pērā anō hoki mēnā kāore he kupu hei whakakapi i ngā kaupapa katoa e hiahia ana te tangata te kōrero, e taea e ia te whakaputa ōna whakaaro.

2.4 Te hopunga o te reo: te pūmau, te kokoti, te whakaora

Ko te tūāpapa o te ariā o Joshua Fishman mō te whakaora i tētahi reo, ko te whakapūmau i te tuku ihotanga o te reo i roto i te kāinga me te hapori tata (arā, te tuaono o tana whakaraupapa i te tauwhatinga o tētahi reo). Ahakoa ngā mahi tāmi i te reo i roto i ngā wāhi tūmatanui, mēnā ka pakari tonu te kōrerotia i roto i te kāinga me te hapori tata, ka autai te ora, nā te mea e hopungia ana e tētahi wāhanga nui o tēnā whakatipuranga, o tēnā, hei reo tuatahi mō rātou. Tērā a Martinez-Arbelaz e kōrero ana mō tana reo Basque, me te kaha o tana iwi ki te mau ki tō rātou reo, ahakoa ngā takahi nui i te wā i a Franco.

E 40 tau e noho huna ana te kōrerotia o te reo Basque me ōna āhuatanga katoa ... Engari nā ngā takahitanga ka pakari tonu te iwi i roto i a rātou anō:

ka kaha ake te takahi a te Kawanatanga Pāniora, ka kaha anō te iwi ki te tiaki i tō rātou reo me ōna tikanga.⁸ (1996:361)

Nō reira, ko te pakari o te tuku ihotanga o te reo mai i tētahi whakatipuranga ki tētahi, tētahi tohu nui i te ora o taua reo. I te wā i tae tuatahi mai a tauwi ki Aotearoa, arā ētahi Māori i ako i te reo Ingarihi, e pai ai tā rātou uru atu ki ngā mahi hokohoko, me te mārama anō ki ngā āhuatanga hangarau hou. Ko ētahi anō i piritata ki ngā hāhi Karaitiana, ā, ahakoa i roto tonu i te reo Māori ngā akoako a ngā mihinare, kāore e kore, ‘ko tā ngā mihinare, he tō mai i te iwi Māori kia whakarerea ō rātou tikanga mohao, kia whai i ngā tikanga torire a tauwi’⁹ (Kaai-Oldman 1998:22). Ahakoa ēnei whakanekeneke, kāore i rarua te reo Māori hei reo whakatipu tamariki i roto i te kāinga me te haporī tata, koia tonu te reo ka hopungia e tēnā whakatipuranga e tēnā.

Nō te whakataunga o te Ture Mātauranga (1867) ka whakatōngia te kākano e rerekē ai tēnei āhuatanga i roto i ngā tau ka heke mai. Ko te ture nei e mea ana kia reo Pākehā katoa ngā whakahaere o te kura, ā, i ētahi kura ka whāia rawatia tēnei whakatau, oti anō i ētahi, ka tautokona e Ngā Mana Mātauranga o te rohe me te iwi anō hoki. I te tau 1986, i whakatakotohia ki mua i te aroaro o Te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi ngā kōrero a ētahi kaumātua mō te wā i patua rātou mō te kōrero i tō rātou reo Māori te take. I pā kino atu tēnei mahi ki tō rātou tuakiri tangata, tō rātou tū māia, mana tangata, tae atu anō ki ngā taumata o te mātauranga i taea e rātou. Ahakoa kāore i pā atu ki te tuku ihotanga o te reo i roto i te kāinga i taua wā tonu, kua whakatōhia te kākano, ā, ka kino te pā ki ngā whakatipuranga o muri mai.

Ko te whakatīnanatanga o te ture, he mea takahi i ngā tino waiaro me ngā tino uara o te iwi Māori. ‘He wā i tāmi nuitia te wairua o te iwi e te tai kino o tauwi’¹⁰ (Kaai-

Oldman 1998:23). I te tīmatanga, he mea kite e te hunga mātua me ngā kaiārahi o te iwi Māori, ngā painga tērā pea ka puta, ina whakaakona te hunga tamariki ki te reo Ingarihi. Arā, he kuaha e uru atu ai rātou ki ngā āhuatanga hou o te hangarau me te tōrangapū, nō reira, ka whakahautia kia mau pai i a rātou ngā akoranga Pākehā i te kura. I ētahi wā, ka tino whakahautia e te hapori Māori, te kaupapa ‘reo Pākehā anake i te kura’, me te whakaaro ka pai noa iho te reo Māori i te kāinga. I ētahi anō hapori, ka tino tohea te kaupapa, engari i roto i te takanga o te wā, ka tokoiti haere, ka memeha haere. Koirā hoki te wā i tino puta ai ngā hua o te mahi whakamaru whenua o tauīwi, arā, ngā pakanga whenua, ngā māuiui, ngā raupatu whenua, te wewehe i ngā taitara whenua me te hekenga o te taupori, te tū māia, me te oranga o te iwi Māori (tirohia tā Barrington 1970).

Tāpiri atu ki te kaupapa ‘reo Pākehā anake i te kura’ ko te whakapono a ngā tāngata mātauranga o taua wā, he mea whakararu i te hinengaro o te tamariki te reo rua, ā, kāore te tamariki Māori e eke i ngā taumata o ngā reo e rua, nā te marahea o te roro. He pai kē atu kia uru atu rātou ki ngā momo mahi ā-ringa.

Te āhua nei, kāore e tōtika ngā kaupapa e whāia ana i te kura – kāore e tino whakaarohia ana ngā momo mahi tērā ka whāia ina mutu ana te kura. Mō te tamariki Māori, ko ngā mahi ā-ringa tērā.¹¹ (te pūrongo a Hunn 1960).

Kāore e tino rerekē atu tēnei kōrero a Hunn ki tērā i puta i te tau 1907, arā, ‘kia tino hāngai ngā akoranga e tukuna ana ki ngā Māori ki te mahi ahuhenua’.¹² (Harker 1982).

Te urunga atu ki ngā tau 1900, e whai tamariki ana te hunga i puta tuatahi mai i te kaupapa ‘reo Pākehā anake i te kura’. I taua wā, e pakari tonu ana te kaupapa, ā, ko te

tino hiahia o ngā mātua nei kia kaua ā rātou tamariki e patua kinotia mō te kōrero i te reo Māori, pērā i te wā i a rātou. Nō reira, koia rā te tīmatanga o te kokotinga o te tuku ihotanga o te reo i roto i te kāinga me te hapori tata. I roto i te wā poto ka ara mai te reo Pākehā hei reo kōrero o te matua ki te tamaiti, ahakoa ka rangona tonutia te reo Māori i waenganui i te hunga pakeke. He whānui te huringa o tēnei reanga ki te reo Pākehā hei reo matua mō rātou, ā, ka panaia te reo Māori hei reo taringa noa iho. Ka tino horahia te rongō ko te reo Pakehā me ōna tikanga te huarahi whakamua, ā, ia whakatipuranga ka heke anō ai te pakari o te reo.

I māmingatia ngā kaihautū o te iwi Māori kia whai i te kaupapa reo Pākehā anake i te kura. Nā tō rātou hiahia kia ōrite ki tā te Pākehā tū i te hapori, me te whakapono mā te ako i te reo Pākehā e ekea ai ngā taumata o te ao hou i pēnei ai ō rātou whakaaro. Engari kāore i tutuki tā rātou i whai ai.¹³ (Kaai-Oldman 1988:24)

Ko roto i te whānau te wāhi e tukuna ai te reo mai i tētahi whakatipuranga ki tētahi, engari, i muri mai i Te Pakanga Tuarua o te Ao, i pāngia kinotia te whānau me te hapori e noho ana te whānau, ki ngā momo whakanekeneke o te wā. Nā te horapa me te hohoro o te hunuku o te Māori ki ngā tāone nui, i whakauaua tā te whānau mahi nui ki te tiaki, ki te manaaki, ki te whakatipu i ōna tāngata. I ngā kāinga Māori i tuawhenua, ko tēnei mea te whanaungatanga me ōna tikanga te tūāpapa o te noho hapori o te iwi, arā, ka whai tonu i tā ngā tīpuna i whakataukī ai, *nāku te rourou nāu te rourou ka ora te iwi*. Engari, i te tāone nui, ka noho takitahi te iwi, me te whai a tēnā i tōna ake oranga, a tēnā i tōna.

Kua kore e noho pātata te hunga tamariki ki ō rātou tīpuna me ō rātou whanaunga whānui – i a rātou hoki tētahi kawenga nui ki te whakatipu i ngā tamariki i roto i te

reo me ngā tikanga o te kāinga. Arā te whakataukī *tāngata i ākona ki te kāinga, tū ana i te marae, tau ana*. Ko te kaupapa ‘noho takitahi’ i whāia e Te Tari Māori a te kāwanatanga i taua wā, i whakararu anō i te tuku ihotanga o te reo. Arā, ka whakanohia ngā whānau Māori ki waenganui i te hapori Pākehā i runga i te whakaaro ka tere huri rātou ki te whai i te reo me ngā tikanga Pākehā.

Ka nui haere te moenga tahi a te Māori me te Pākehā, te moenga tahi a te arero kōrero Māori me te arero kōrero Pākehā hoki. Nā tēnei ka riro ko te reo Pākehā te reo matua i te nuinga o ngā kāinga, ahakoa te matatau o tētahi ki te reo. Ko ngā torona mai a ngā whanaunga pakeke noho tuawhenua me ngā hokihokinga a te whānau ki ngā tangihanga me ētahi atu o ngā hui o te wā kāinga, koirā anake ngā wā rongō ai te hunga tamariki/taiohi noho tāone i tō rātou reo Māori. Ko ētahi i kaha pupuri ki te ahikā, arā, te āta whiri i te taura hono ki ngā whanaunga i te wā kāinga, ko ētahi, i āhua memeha haere i roto i te takanga o te wā. He mea kōrero mai e te katoa o ngā tāngata i whai wāhi mai ki Te Rangahau Whāiti o Te Hoe Nuku Roa (tirohia te Wāhanga Tuarima), ko te moenga tahi Māori/Pākehā, tangata reo Māori/tangata reo Pākehā rānei, tētahi take matua i pā ki ō rātou whānau i tō rātou nā whakatipuranga, i te whakatipuranga o ō rātou mātua, ō rātou tīpuna rānei, ā, nā tēnei i kokoti ai te tuku ihotanga o te reo.

Ko te kaha uru mai o ngā tūmomo pāpāho ki ngā kāinga Māori tētahi anō take i pā kino atu ki te tuku ihotanga o te reo. Ko ngā kōrero, ko ngā whakaahua, ko ngā whakatangitangi, ngā waiata, ngā pakiwaitara, pakiwaituhi, tae atu ki ngā tāngata rongonui, ngā pānui hokohoko, ngā rongō kōrero o te wā, he reo Pākehā katoa. Ka waiho ki rāhaki te reo Māori, ōna tikanga me ōna kaupapa kōrero. Waihoki, he kino te whakaahua i te ao Māori me ōna tāngata, te whakahua hoki i te kupu Māori. Ka

horapa te tipu o te whakaaro whakatoihara i te iwi Māori, ā, ka heke te whakapono a te tamaiti/taiohi Māori ki a ia anō me tōna ahurea tuku iho.

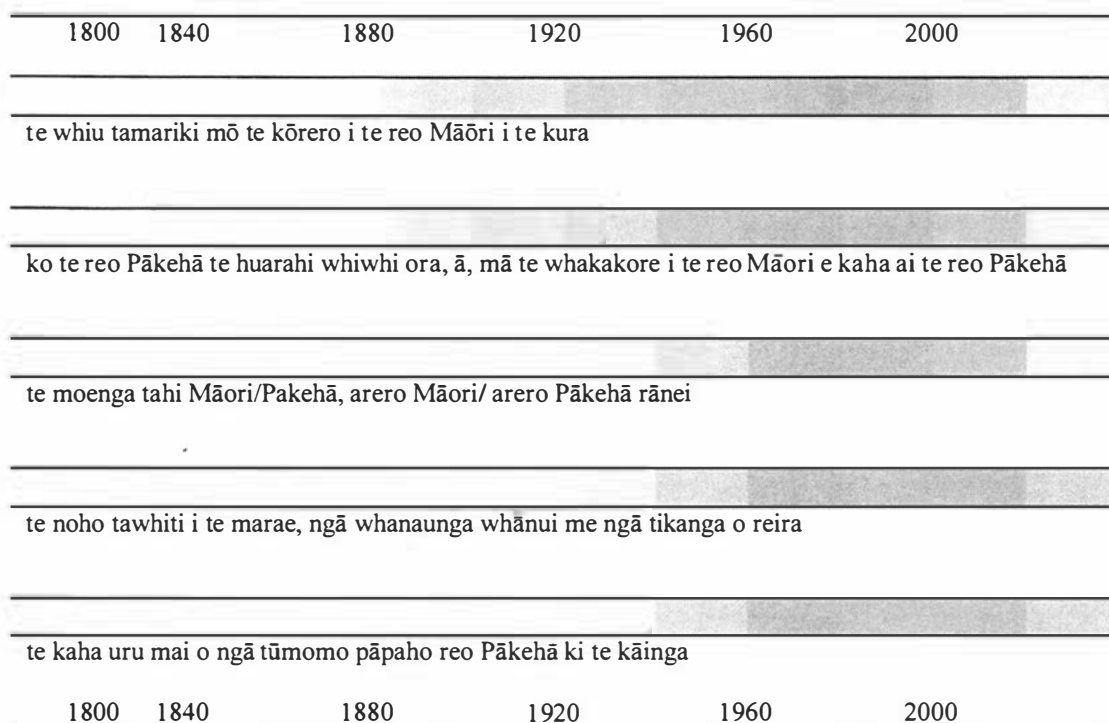
Kei te Whakaahua 2.3 te whakarāpopoto i ngā kōrero mō ngā take i kokoti ai te tuku ihotanga o te reo i roto i te kāinga me te hapori. E whakaatuhia ana te wā i pā ai ngā take e kōrerohia nei, engari he whakataunga tata noa iho ngā tau – kei tēnā rohe, kei tēnā ōna anō rerekētanga. Ko te kaha o te kauruku e tohu ana i te kaha pā mai o ngā take.

Ahakoia kua memeha haere te pā mai o ētahi o ēnei take, kua mimiti rānei, kei te rangona tonutia, kāore i te tino tawhiti i te hinengaro Māori. He tokomaha ngā tāngata i whai wāhi mai ki ngā whakawhitinga kōrero o Te Rangahau Whāiti o Te Hoe Nuku Roa (tirohia Te Wāhanga Tuarima), i āta whakaatu mai i te pānga ki a rātou anō, ki ō rātou mātua rānei, o te mahi patu tamariki mō te kōrero i te reo Māori i te kura te take. Tērā anō te pānga o te ariā i whakapono nuitia i aua wā, arā, e kore e taea e te tamaiti kōrero Māori te eke i ngā taumata o te reo Ingarihi, ā, i konā ka kore e haere whakamua ai i roto i ngā āhuatanga o te ao hou. He nui ngā kōrero i puta, e pēnei ana te wairua:

Inā whakaaro au ki ngā āhuatanga i pā ki taku kōkā, he mea whakatipu i roto i te reo Māori i tana kāinga, engari he reo Pākehā katoa i te kura. I tana wehenga atu i te kāinga, he tere tonu te kite i te korenga whai wāhi o tana reo ūkaipō ki ngā nekenekehanga o te hapori whānui. Hāunga anō ko te whakaaro nui i taua wā, he reo taurekareka noa iho te reo Māori, ā, mā te reo Pākehā anake e whai oranga ai koe i roto i te ao mahi me ngā āhuatanga katoa o te hapori. Ahakoia he mea pāmamae ki

te ngākau, ka waihotia tōna reo Māori ki muri, ā, i te wā ka whānau mai āna tamariki, kua ū kē te whakaaro kia whāngaitia mātou ki te reo Pākehā i runga anō i tōna ngākau aroha ki a mātou.¹⁴

Te Whakaahua 2.3: Ngā take i kokoti ai te tuku ihotanga o te reo.



Nō reira e whakapaetia ana i konei, ko tētahi wāhanga nui o ngā mahi whakaora i te reo ko te whakakore i ngā āinga e pā kino ana ki te tuku ihotanga o te reo, kia hoki anō ai te mana ki te whānau, mā reira e whāngaitia ai ngā uri whakatipu ki tō rātou reo ūkaipō.

2.4.1 Te ako i te reo Māori.

Ko ngā hua i puta i te Rangahau Reo Māori Whānui i whakahaeretia i te tau 1995, e whakaatu ana i te tino heke o te whakamahi i te reo i roto i ngā kāinga.

Ko te nuinga (96%) o te hunga 16-24 te pakeke i whakatipua i roto i te kāinga ko te reo Ingarihi te reo matua. Kotahi haurua o te hunga kaumatua (60 tau neke atu) i pakeke mai i te kāinga reo Māori (Te Puni Kōkiri 1998:46).¹⁵

Ko te take matua e whakararu ana i tā te whānau tuku i te reo ki ngā whakatipuranga hou, ko te kore matatau o te hunga mātua/pakeke o te kāinga. E ai ki a Holmes, e toru ngā tino kaupapa kei te pā ki te hopunga o te reo, ā, ko tētahi, ko te kounga o te reo e rangona ana.

Mā te whānui me te hōhonu o te puna kupu, mā te whānui o te wetereo me ngā momo kōrero e rangona ana, e eke ai te tangata ki ngā taumata o te reo.¹⁶ (1987:12)

Ki te kore te hunga pakeke o roto i te kāinga e mōhio ki te kōrero i te reo, kāore i a rātou te whiriwhiri mēnā ka whakamahi rātou i te reo, kāore rānei. Nō te Rangahau Reo Māori Whānui o te tau 1995 te Whakaahua 2.4, ā, e mārama ana te kite atu e kore e taea e ngā mātua o tēnei whakatipuranga te whāngai te reo ki ā rātou tamariki, mā konei e whakapakari anō ai i te tuku ihotanga o te reo.

**Te Whakaahua 2.4: Ngā taumata matatau o te hunga pakeke Māori (ōrau)
(Te Puni Kōkiri 1998:35)**

Pakeke	Tāngata kāore e kōrero Māori ana	Tāngata kōrero Māori			Tapeke
		Paku nei te matatau	Āhua matatau	Tino matatau	
16-24	39	53	7	--	100
25-34	46	45	--	--	100
35-44	45	41	--	--	100
45-59	34	34	12	19	100
60+	30	24	--	32	100

-- He paku rawa te rahinga hei whakaatu atu

I te mea i whakatōpūhia ngā tatau, tērā pea kāore ngā tatau o ngā rārangi e eke ki te 100

Hāunga te hunga kaumātua, e whakapaetia ana ko te nuinga o ngā tāngata kōrero Māori i tēnei wā, he mea ako hei reo tuarua, āra, e whakawhirinaki ana ki te pūnaha mātauranga, koia hei whakakapi i te ūkaipō o te hunga kāinga. Waihoki, ko te nuinga o ngā kaupapa whakaora reo, e arotahi ana ki te ao mātauranga.

Mai i ngā tau whitu tekau kua whakatūria haerehia ngā momo kaupapa mātauranga – ko ngā pae tata kua maua, ko te pae tawhiti e whāia ana ko te kaupapa Māori motuhake. Ko te whakaaro nui, mā konei e whaimana ai ā tātou ākongā, e tū tāngata ai rātou i roto i tō rātou āo Māori, te hāpori whānui o Aotearoa, tae atu anō ki te ao katoa (tirohia Te Aho Matua). Kua tāpirihia te reo Māori hei kaupapa ako i roto i te nuinga o ō tātou kura tuarua; i whakarewatia te kaupapa reo rua i te kura takiwā o Ruatoki i te tau 1978, ā, kua whānui haeretia ki ētahi atu kura tuatahi; i whakaūngia Te Kōhanga Reo e ngā hāpori Māori ake (i waho i te pūnaha mātauranga i tōna tīmatanga) i ngā tau tōmua o ngā waru tekau tau; ko Te Ātaarangi anō tērā e hiki ana i te hunga kaumātua i pakeke mai i roto i te reo, ko rātou hei kaiako mō te hunga pakeke e ako ana i te reo hei reo tuarua; ko ngā kaupapa kukume i te hunga matatau

me te hunga ngākaunui ki roto i ngā kāreti whakangungu kaiako; ko Te Kura Kaupapa Māori me ērā atu kaupapa rūmaki reo e ngata ai te hiahia o te hunga e whai ana kia whakaakohia ā rātou tamariki mā roto i te reo Māori me ōna tikanga; ko ngā momo akoranga o ngā whare wānanga e pā ana ki te reo me ōna tikanga, ngā toi, ngā taonga tuku iho, me te ao tōrangapū; ko te whakatū i ngā wānanga ā-iwi, wānanga Māori hoki, pērā i Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Awanui-ā-rangi, me Te Wānanga o Aotearoa - arā anō ngā momo kaupapa kua whakatūria i roto i ngā tau, kei te whakaahua 2.5 te whakarāpopoto.

Nā te horapa nui o ngā kaupapa mātauranga reo Māori kua tipu te hiakai o te hunga whai wāhi mai ki ngā momo rauemi ako, otirā kua kitea hoki te torutoru o ngā tāngata hei hautū i ngā kaupapa. E ai ki te rangahau a Keegan, kāore e whai tohu ana tētahi whā tekau ōrau o ngā kaiako ki ngā momo mātauranga e hāngai ana pērā i te whakaako reo rua. Tua atu i tērā, i whakaputaina te kōrero ‘he mate nui te torutoru o ngā kaiako reo Māori i roto i ngā kura tuatahi, tuarua hoki.’¹⁷ (1997:2)

Te Whakaahua 2.5: Ngā kaupapa mātauranga Māori

Te Kaupapa	Ōna Āhuatanga
Ko te reo Māori hei kaupapa ako i ngā kura tuarua	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● E whā hāora anake i te wiki mō te hunga e hiahia ana ki te ako ● E arotahi ana ki ngā whakamātautau a-motu, pērā i te kura tiwhikete me te takuhe ● Ko te wetereo me te tuhituhi ngā tino kaupapa ako ● Kāore e tino eke ngā ākongā i ngā taumata whakawhiti kōrero
Ko ngā kaupapa reo rua (te nuinga ki ngā kura tuatahi)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● E whakawhirinaki ana te kaha kōrerotia o te reo Māori ki te taumata matatau o te kaiako me ngā kaupapa here o te kura ● Ko te whakawhitiwhiti kōrero te kaupapa e tino whāia ana ● I te nuinga o ngā kura kotahi anake, he ruarua rānei ngā karaehe reo rua e haere ana i te taha o ngā karaehe reo Pākehā. I ētahi anō (pērā i a Ruatoki) ka whāia te reo rua i te katoa o te kura ● I ētahi kura, ka whai wāhi atu te hāpori Māori ki ngā whakataunga kaupapa mō te kura ● Ka hikina te kiritau o ngā ākongā Māori, ā, mā konei e ngākau pai ai rātou ki te kura me te mātauranga
Te Kōhanga Reo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● He kaupapa rūmaki reo ● I whakatūira e te Māori mō te Māori ● E tūāpapa ana te marautanga i te ao Māori me ōna tikanga ● Ko te hiki i te taha whakawhitiwhiti kōrero te tino aronga ● Ka āhua kipakipa te hunga mātua ki te ako i te reo kia kore ai rātou e mahue i ā rātou tamariki
Te Ātaarangi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● E noho ana tēnei kaupapa i roto i te hāpori Māori, ā, ka riro mā te hunga matatau e whakaako te hunga pakeke e ako ana i te reo hei reo tuarua ● E takea ana tēnei kaupapa i te momo whakaako a Caleb Gattegno, e kiia ana ko te ‘Silent Way’. ● Ko te hiki i te taha whakawhitiwhiti kōrero te tino aronga ● Ka hikina te kiritau o te hunga ako nā te āhua o te noho a-whānau me te pupuri anō ki ngā tikanga whakaruru
Te Kura Kaupapa Māori	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Mā te reo Māori e kawē ngā kaupapa katoa o te kura ● E tūāpapa mai ana te marautanga o te kura ki te ao Māori me ōna āhuatanga katoa, ka tutuki anō hoki te marautanga kura o te motu ● Ka eke ngā ākongā i ngā taumata o te matatau, he mātau anō ki ngā tikanga Māori ● Ka hikina te kiritau o ngā ākongā, ka tū māia anō rātou i roto i ngā whakanekeneke o te ao
Te Wānanga	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● E tūāpapa ana ngā momo akoranga ki te mātauranga Māori, ka whakaakona ki te reo Māori ● Ka whakatūria he wānanga reo (kotahi wiki neke atu te roa) mō te hunga pakeke e ako ana i te reo hei reo tuarua

Arā anō ngā kairangahau kua oti kē i a rātou te tuhi mō te ruarua o ngā rauemi me te pānga mai o tēnei ki te whakauaua i te mahi whakaako – ko Hirsh (1990), ko Fairhall rāua ko Shuker (1994), ko Boyce (1995), ko te pūrongo Ngā Kete Kōrero (1995), ko Hohepa rāua ko Smith (1996), ko McKinley mā (1996) ētahi. Katoa ēnei kairangahau kua whakaaturia mai te takaroa o Te Tari Mātauranga a te Kāwanatanga ki te aro ki ngā kaupapa reo Māori kua whakatūria i roto i ngā tau. Nā te totohe, nā te whakaputa riri, nā te pētihana, i haere whakamua ai ngā kaupapa, otirā, nā te ngākau whakapuke me te pukumahi a te hunga whai i te reo Māori i tutuki ai ngā kaupapa.

E tino aro ana ngā tuhinga a Graham Smith ki ngā momo pātūwatawata ka whakatūria e ngā mana mātauranga hei aukati, hei whakauaua rānei i ngā kaupapa reo Māori (tirohia tā Smith 1995), ā, ko te whāinga nui i roto i ngā tau tata kua pahure nei, ko te whakatū i tētahi Mana Mātauranga Māori Motuhake. Ko wai ka hua ko wai ka tohu ka āta tutuki tēnei hiahia ā ngā tau tata e heke mai nei. Mā te pēnei ka tino arohia ngā hiahia o te iwi Māori, ka kawea whakamua ai – ka kore e riro mā tautohe rāua ko pukuriri ngā kaupapa e kōkiri.

Ko te wero nui ki te hunga e ako ana i te reo hei reo tuarua, kia matua eke atu ki tētahi taumata matatau, kia māia anō ki te whakamahi i te reo hei reo kōrero i roto i ō rātou kāinga me ngā horopaki o te hāpori. E tutuki ai tēnei wero, me matua arotahi te pūnaha mātauranga ki ngā momo akoranga e tika ana, e eke ai ngā ākongā ki ēnei taumata kōrero. Mā tēnei ka heke haere te tokomaha o te hunga e ako reo rua ana i te reo, nā te mea e hopukina ana te reo i roto i ngā kāinga me ngā takiwā hāpori. Hei taua wā (e rua, e toru pea ngā whakatipuranga), kua huri pea ngā momo akoranga ki te whakawhanake i te hōhonutanga o te reo kōrero, te tuhituhi, te pānui me te huhua anō o ngā kaupapa ako.

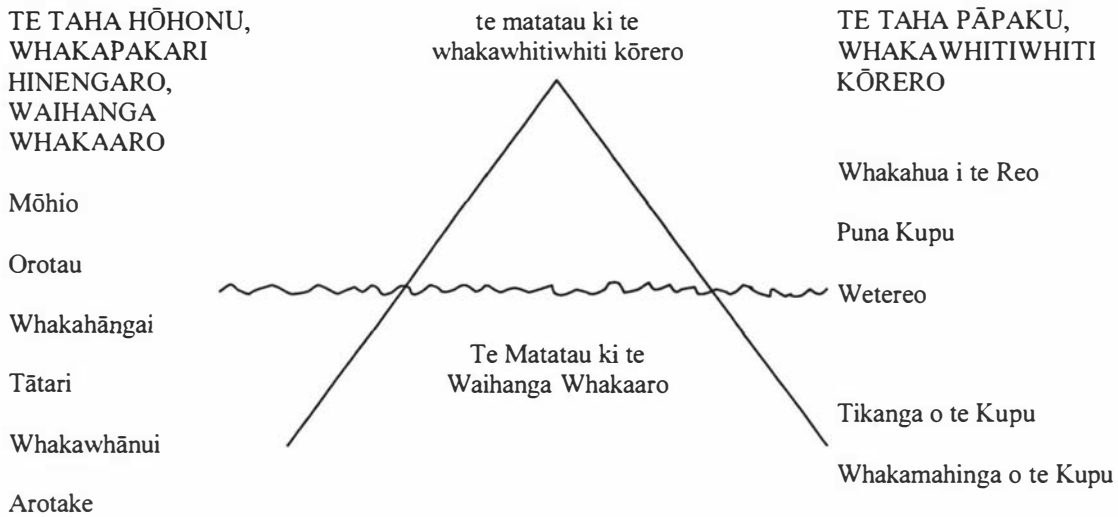
Ka hanga pōuri te ngākau mēnā ka rite te āhua o te reo Māori ki ō te reo Airihi, arā, kua 70 tau e whakaakona ana tō rātou reo i roto i te kura, kua whai wāhi anō ki te whakapāho pouaka whakaata, reo irirangi hoki, engari,

... ahakoa ngā kaupapa here mō te whakaako i te reo Airihi ki ngā tamariki katoa i roto i ngā kura, ka noho tonu ko te reo Ingarihi te reo matua e kōrerohia ana. Kāore e tino whakamahia ana te reo Airihi hei reo whakawhiti kōrero mō ia rā, ā, ko te titiro whakamua, ka heke tonu, ka heke tonu.¹⁸ (Paulston 1990:17)

Āpiti atu ki te mahi nui a ngā kura ki te āwhina, ki te whakakapi rānei i te whānau hei puna reo mā te hunga tamariki o ēnei rā, ko te whakaū i te reo hei tāhuhu waihanga whakaaro i roto i ō rātou hinengaro. Nā Cummins (1984) i kōkiri te ariā a Skutnabb-Kangas rāua ko Toukomaa (1976), ka whakaputaina e ia tana whakaaturanga mō te āhua o te matatau ki tētahi reo (te Whakaahua 2.6). Ka wehea ko te āhua o te matatau ki te whakawhitiwhiti kōrero, me te āhua o te matatau ki te waihanga whakaaro i roto i te hinengaro. Ko tāna, ka waiho ki muri te taha whakapakari i te hinengaro ki te waihanga whakaaro, inā ka arohia e ngā kura te taha whakawhitiwhiti kōrero. Koia hoki pea te take e aukati ana i tā te tamaiti ekenga atu i ngā taumata o te mātauranga.

E tohe ana a Cummins, ki te kore e whakapakari i te matatau o te ākonga ki te waihanga whakaaro i roto i tana hinengaro, e kore ia e eke i ngā taumata o te mātauranga. Waihoki, nā te pai o te taha whakawhitiwhiti kōrero, tērā te pōhēhē, he mate nō te ākonga, nō tōna iwi rānei tana kore ekenga atu i ngā taumata o te mātauranga (Cummins 1984:136).

Te Whakaahua 2.6: Ko ngā taumata pāpaku me ngā taumata hōhonu o te matatau ki tētahi reo (He mea tango mai i a Cummins 1984:138)



I pōtitia te kāwanatanga Reipā i te tau 1999, ā, ko tāna he whai i tētahi kaupapa kua tapaina te ingoa ‘Closing the Gaps’. Ko te whāinga nui mō roto i te pūnaha mātauranga, kia āhua whakatata atu tā te Māori eke i ngā taumata mātauranga ki tā te Pākehā. E tutuki ai tēnei whāinga nui, me matua aro e ngā kura te whakapakari i te matatau o te ākongā ki te waihanga whakaaro i roto i tōna hinengaro. E tika ana kia arotakea te mahi a ngā kura ki te kōkiri i ngā taha e rua – te whakawhitiwhiti whakaaro me te waihanga whakaaro. I konei pea ka puta te raruraru ki ngā kura ‘reorua’, i runga anō i te āhua o te matatau o ngā kaiako ki te reo, me te pāpaku anō o te reo e kōrerohia ana i ngā akomanga (te reo tohutohu me te reo mihimihi anake pea) (tirohia tā Keegan 1997).

Ka kōkiri whakaterunga anōtia tēnei kaupapa e Skutnabb-Kangas, inā tana kōrero mō te whakahoki i te mana tangata me te tino rangatiratanga o ngā iwi itinga o te ao, e ū ai te hapori matatini tōkeke.

E tutuki ai tēnei āhuatanga, me matua eke ā tātou tamariki i ngā taumata hōhonu o te reo o te reorua rānei, e taea e rātou te tātari ngā whakanekeneke o tō rātou ao¹⁹. (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981:327).

2.5 Te ora o te reo i tēnei wā

E rua ngā rangahau whānui i te āhua o te reo Māori – ko tērā i whakahaeretia e Tākuta Richard Benton i ngā whitu tekau tau, e 6470 ngā kāinga noho i ngā rohe matua o Te Ika-a-Māui i whai wāhi mai. Nā Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori i whakahaere tētahi anō rangahau i te tau 1995, e 2441 ngā kaiuru, he Māori katoa pakeke atu i te 16 tau, mai i ngā takiwā katoa o Aotearoa. Katoa ēnei rangahau i aro atu ki ngā taumata matatau o ngā kaiuru, tō rātou kaha, ngoikore rānei ki te whakamahi i te reo i ngā tūwāhi katoa, tō rātou hopu, ako rānei i te reo, me te waiaro anō ki te reo.

Koia nei ngā whakaputanga matua o tā Benton, he mea whakarāpopoto i te pūrongo i puta mō te rangahau o 1995.

- i) Kāore i te tino pai te titiro whakamua mō te oranga o te reo i roto i ngā hāpori.
- ii) Kotahi anake te hāpori e taea te kī ko te reo Māori te reo kōrero o ngā whakatipuranga katoa.
- iii) He torutoru ngā hāpori ko te nuīnga o ngā tāngata e mātau ana ki te whakarongo, engari kua riro ko te reo Ingarihi te reo kōrero o te hunga taiohi.
- iv) He maha ngā hāpori ko te reo Māori te reo kōrero o te hunga pakeke ki a rātou anō, engari ko te reo Ingarihi ki ētahi atu.

v) I te nuinga o ngā hapori, ko te reo Māori te reo kōrero o te hunga kaumātua,
ko te reo Ingarihi o ētahi atu, mātua mai, rangatahi mai, tamariki mai.²⁰

(Te Puni Kōkiri 1998)

E 25 tau i muri mai, ka whakahaeretia tā Te Taura Whiri, ā, he kaha ake te aro ki te taumata matatau o te hunga whai wāhi mai, nā te āwangawanga whānui o te wā ki te tokomaha o ngā kaikōrero i te reo me te kounga o te reo e kōrerotia ana. Ko te āwangawanga ki te hē o te takoto o te kupu, tōna rite haere ki te reo Ingarihi, te maroke o te reo, te itiiti haere o te puna kupu e whakamahia ana, me te ngaro haere o ngā kīwaha, ngā kupu whakarite, me kī ngā āhuatanga whakanikoniko o te reo.

Ahakoia kua heke tonu te reo i roto i ngā tau i muri mai i te rangahau o 1978, e taea te kī kua āhua pōturi te heke. I te tau 1978, kei te takiwā o te 64,000 ngā tāngata e matatau ana ki te reo (tētahi 16% o te taupori Māori), engari i te tau 1995, kua heke ki te 10,000 ngā tāngata pakeke ake i te 16 tau e tino matatau ana ki te reo (tētahi 8% o tērā wāhanga o te taupori Māori). Tērā anō tētahi 8% i kī mai he āhua matatau, e 43% te hunga e paku mōhio ana ki ētahi kupu, me tētahi 40% kāore e mōhio ana ki te reo. Tua atu i tērā, e 73% o te hunga matatau kei runga atu i te 45 tau te pakeke, e 63% o te hunga paku mōhio ki te reo kei raro iho i te 35 tau.

Nā ngā kaiuru tonu i waitohu o rātou taumata matatau - he whakatairite ki ētahi paearu e hāngai ana ki tēnā taumata ki tēnā. Ahakoia ngā āhuatanga ngoikore o tēnei momo aromatawai i te matatau o te tangata, tua atu i te whakamātautau, i te noho rānei i te taha o te tangata mō te wā roa, whakarongo ai ki tōna reo, me pēhea kē e aromatawai. Kāore te tangata e whakaae kia whakamātautauria tōna reo, kāore hoki e taea te tuku kairangahau kia noho atu i te taha o te tangata tokomaha – koia pea te

take e mea ana te hunga rangahau reo, ko te aromatawai ā-kiri te huarahi e hāngai ana mēnā he tokomaha ngā kaiuru. Ko te ngoikore matua, ka kore e ōrite te orotau o tēnā tangata o tēnā, ki ngā taumata matatau. He rerekē te orotau o tēnā me tēnā, i runga i te kounga o te reo kei te kōrerohia i ngā hapori e whai wāhi ana ia, i runga hoki i te āhua o te tangata – tōna kaha whakapono ki a ia anō, tōna whakapono ki te kaupapa, tōna whakahīhi, whakaiti rānei, me te taumata o te reo e whāia ana e ia.

Mēnā e whai wāhi ana te tangata ki te hunga reo rua anake, ā, he pāpaku te reo o taua hunga reo rua, akene pea ka uru te whakaaro, kei runga tōna reo, ina whakatairitea ki taua hunga rā. Mēnā ka kaha whai wāhi atu taua tangata anō ki te hunga matatau i pakeke mai i te reo, ā, ka whakatairitea ki tō rātou taumata matatau, kei raro pea tōna aromatawai i tōna anō reo. Nā te āhua noho matatapu o te tangata ka uru ki ngā momo rangahau whānui, me te mea nei, kāore e tirohia te tika, te aha rānei o āna whakautu ki ngā pātai, akene pea ka āhua whakapikia ana whakautu, kia hāngai anō ki te taumata matatau e hiahia ana. Nā tēnei, ka whai tūranga anō te tangata ki te āhua e paingia ana e te wā.

Ko Te Tatauranga Nui ā-Motu i te tau 1996 te wā tuatahi i whakaurua he pātai e pā ana ki te reo. E pēnei ana te pātai ‘Ko ēhea ngā reo e taea ana e koe te whakawhitiwhiti kōrero mō ngā kaupapa maha o ia rā? Te Reo Ingarihi, Te Reo Māori, Te Reo Hāmoa, Te Reo Tohu o Aotearoa, Tētahi Reo kē atu’. I roto i tana pepa i kauhautia e King ki tētahi huinga reo i Arizona, ka whakatairitea e ia ngā hua o te pātai e pā ana ki te reo i roto i Te Tatauranga Nui ā-Motu 1996, ki ngā hua o te Rangahau Reo 1995. He mea kite e ia, e 4-5% te tūpono ka whakapikia te taumata matatau e te hunga 16-34 te pakeke, ā, he pērā anō te tūpono ka whakahekea te

taumata matatau e te hunga nui atu i te 45 te pakeke i roto i ā rātou whakautu ki te pātai reo o te tatauranga ā-motu, nā te mea pea he mata kore kitea.

Ko tētahi pea o ngā take i āhua whakapikia te taumata matatau e te mātātahi, ko te hunga kōrero Māori e mōhio nei rātou, e taea te whakatairite te taumata o ō rātou nā reo, he reo rua anō hoki rātou. Engari ko te mātāpuputu e mahara tonu ana ki te taumata o ngā pū kōrero o te whakatipuranga i mua i a rātou, me tō rātou tohunga ki te whakairo i tēnei mea te kupu²¹ (King 1999).

Ko Hineihaea Murphy te kairangahau matua o te Rangahau Reo Whānui 1995 i whakahaeretia e Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, ā, nāna hoki tēnei āhuatanga i kōrero i roto i tana pūrongo tuatahi.

Mō te nuinga o ngā tāngata, mā te whakatairite i tō rātou reo ki te reo o te hunga kōrero Māori e mōhio nei rātou, e āta whakatauria e rātou tō rātou ake taumata matatau. I te rangahau reo o ngā whitu tekau (tā Benton), he tokomaha tonu ngā tauira tiketike o te reo, ā, e mōhiohia whānuitia ana rātou i roto i ō rātou hapori. Kāore i te pērā rawa i ngā tau iwa tekau, nō reira he āhua uaua ake te aromatawai ā-kiri i te taumata matatau.²² (Murphy, tē whakaputaina)

I kitea anōtia tēnei raruraru i roto i te rangahatanga o Te Hoe Nuku Roa, ina ka whakatairitea ngā whakautu a ngā kaiuru ki ngā pātai o te Rangahau Tūāpapa, me ngā kōrero i puta i te Rangahau Whāiti (tirohia Te Wāhanga Tuarima)

Ahakoia tēnei raruraru, koia ko te Rangahau Reo 1995, e tino whakaatu mai ana i te āhua o te ora whānui o te reo i te kapinga o te rau tau 21. Ahakoia e taea te kī, kua

pōturi te heke o te reo, kei te heke tonu te tokomaha o te hunga matatau, ina whakatairitea ki te rangahau i oti i ngā whitu tekau tau. Ko tētahi mea pai i puta, ko te kaha tautoko, te kaingākau o te iwi Māori ki te reo. ‘Tērā tētahi 41% o te hunga 16-34 tau te pakeke i te ako i te reo, ā, e waiaro pai ana te iwi ki te reo me ngā take reo rua.’²³ (Te Puni Kōkiri 1998:5). Tua atu i tēnā, e 39% o te hunga pakeke e noho tahi ana me te tamariki, e kōrero Māori ana ki aua tamariki i ētahi wā, ā, tērā anō tētahi hauwhā kotahi o ngā kaiuru i mea mai, e noho tahi ana rātou me te tamariki kōrero Māori.

Ko tētahi wāhanga e hapa ana te rangahau whānui 1995, ko te kore whai wāhi atu o te hunga tamariki i raro i te 16 tau. Koia hoki te whakatipuranga o Te Kōhanga Reo e tino manakohia ana kia ora te reo i a rātou. Engari, anō te Rangahau Tūāpapa o Te Hoe Nuku Roa, e 39% o ngā kaiuru he tamariki. E whā ngā rohe o te rangahau o Te Hoe Nuku Roa (Manawatū/Wanganui, Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa me Te Tairāwhiti, Pōneke, me Tāmaki-makau-rau), mai i te 1996 o ngā tau ki te 1998, e haere ana te Rangahau Tūāpapa. E 645 ngā kāinga, 1577 ōna tāngata, i āta tīpakongia i runga i tētahi kaupapa tauanga hou i tapaina te ingoa ‘Whaihua Tatau. Mā tēnei kaupapa e taea te kī, he rite ngā kaiuru ki ngā mata tini o te iwi Māori me ngā āhuatanga rerekē o te ohanga, wāhi noho, ahurea, o te hapori hoki. (tirohia Fitzgerald mā 1996)

He paku rerekē ngā pātai i tukuna ki te hunga tamariki, ā, mēnā he tamariki rawa – kāore e taea e rātou te whakautu – nā tētahi matua tonu i whakautu ngā pātai. Kāore i pai ngā hua i puta – e whā ōrau anake te tokomaha o tēnei hunga i mea mai he matatau rātou ki te reo (me te hāngai anō ki tō rātou pakeke). He rerekē tō tēnā rohe tō tēnā, i eke noa atu ki te 17% i Tūranganui-a-Kiwa/Te Tairāwhiti. Engari, he hāngai anō ngā hua i puta ki ngā tatau a Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga e mea ana e 20% anake o

te hunga tamariki Māori i raro i te 5 tau e haere ana ki tētahi Kōhanga Reo, ā, he wāhanga paku anō o te hunga Kōhanga Reo ka whai wāhi atu ki tētahi Kura Kaupapa Māori (3,222 ngā ākonga i te tau 1996). E ai ki a Keegan (1997), e 22,809 (16%) ngā ākonga Māori e whai wāhi atu ana ki tētahi akoranga reo rua i te kura tuatahi, tuarua rānei, engari e 25% anake o tēnei hunga kei tētahi ‘akoranga reo rua taumata tuatahi’ – arā, nui atu i te 81% o ngā mahi whakaako e haere ana mā roto i te reo Māori. E kārangirangi ana a Keegan ki te taumata reo e taea ana i ērā atu o ngā akoranga reo rua (arā i raro iho i te 80% ngā whakahaere i roto i te reo Māori).

E kore rawa pea te nuinga o ngā tamariki i ēnei tūmomo akoranga e eke ki te taumata e taea te kī, he matatau ki te reo. He poto rawa te wā e haere ana te reo Māori.²⁴ (1997:19)

Tua atu i te matatau o te iwi, ko tā rātou kaha whakamahi i te reo i ngā wāhi maha o te hapori, tētahi take matua kei te pā ki te oranga o taua reo. Kāore i pai ngā hua i puta i te Rangahau Reo 1995 mō tēnei āhuatanga – kotahi haurua anake o te hunga matatau i kī mai ka whakawhitiwhiti kōrero rātou ki tētahi atu tangata i ō rātou kāinga i roto i te reo Māori, ia rā; 25% o te hunga he āhua matatau; 5% o te hunga he paku nei te matatau ki te reo. I waho atu i te kāinga, ko te marae, te Kōhanga Reo me te kura anake ngā wāhi e kōrerohia ana te reo. E 83% o ngā kaiuru o Te Hoe Nuku Roa i raro i te 16 ngā tau i mea mai, ko te reo Ingarihi te reo e matua kōrero ana rātou ki te hunga pakeke. E hāngai ana tēnei ki ngā whakakitenga i puta i Te Tatauranga Nui ā-Motu 1996, e mea ana karekau he tangata mōhio ki te kōrero Māori i roto i tētahi 63% o ngā kāinga Māori, kotahi anake te kaikōrero i roto i te 12% o ngā kāinga, tokorua, nui ake rānei ngā kaikōrero i te 25% o ngā kāinga. E tino whakaatuhia ana te iti o te whakamahinga o te reo hei reo kōrero i te kāinga.

E tino whai take ana ngā rangahau whānui kua kōrerohia i runga nei ki te whakaatu i te āhua o te ora whānui o te reo, engari kāore pea i te tino whakaatu mai i ngā raruraru me ngā uauatanga kei te karapoti i te tangata, i tōna kāinga rānei, me te hiahia ki te whakapiki i tōna matatau me tāna whakamahi i te reo. E ai ki a Kremnitz:

Ko te āhua o tētahi whakawhitinga kōrero, kei te pāngia e ngā āhuatanga rangatiratanga, e ngā tikanga huatau, e ngā hanga whakamahi reo, me ngā tikanga tangata i waenganui i te hunga kōrero ... kia āta tirohia rā anō ... ēnei āhuatanga tangata, kātahi ka puta he māramatanga whānui ki te ora o tētahi reo²⁵. (1981:72)

Koia hoki te whai hua o Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti o Te Hoe Nuku Roa e kōrerohia ana i Te Wāhanga Tuawhā me Te Wāhanga Tuarima, inā āta tirohia ngā āhuatanga kei te pā ki te tangata i roto i āna whakanekeneke o ia rā. Ka tāpirihia atu ēnei whakakitenga ki ērā o Te Rangahau Matua, kātahi ka puta he māramatanga whānui, hōhonu anō hoki.

E rima ngā kaupapa matua i puta mai i Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti o Te Hoe Nuku Roa, e pēhi nei i tā te tangata whakamahi i te reo (tirohia Te Wāhanga Tuarima mō te hōhonutanga o ngā kōrero):

- i) ko te pāpaku o te matatau;
- ii) ko te kore whai wāhi atu ki te hunga kōrero Māori, he āhua rite te matatau;
- iii) ko te kore e māia ki te kōrero i te reo;
- iv) ko te whānui o te whakaaro, e hē ana te kōrero i te reo, ina kei reira he tangata tē mōhio ki te reo;
- v) kua mārō kē te whakamahinga o te reo Ingarihi, koirā te hanga – ahakoa te kaha hiahia ki te kōrero Māori, he ngāwari noa te hoki anō ki te reo Ingarihi.

Nō reira, e rua ngā tino aronga mō ngā rautaki me ngā kaupapa whakaora i te reo – ko te whakapiki i te taumata matatau me te tokomaha o ngā tāngata e matatau ana ka tahi. Ka rua, ko te whakapiki anō i te whakamahinga o te reo i ngā wāhi maha.

2.6 Te Whakarāpopoto

Ko te tino kaupapa o Te Wāhanga Tuarua nei o tēnei tuhinga, ko te whakaatu i te heke o te reo mai i te wā i marua ai a Aotearoa e tauwiwi, te wā i pēhia ai te reo Māori ki te reo Ingarihi. Kua tohea i konei i heke ai te reo – tōna tū, tōna tinana, tōna tuku ihotanga – nā te āhua o ngā whakatau kia aukatia te reo i roto i te hapori, me te heke anō o te mana motuhake, te ohanga, me ngā āhuetanga noho o te iwi Māori. Nā tēnei i kokoti anō te whanaketanga o te reo, ōna kupu, ōna whakatakoto kōrero, ōna kīwaha anō hoki. Kua arotahi atu ngā mahi whakaora i te reo ki te punaha mātauranga, me te whāinga nui kia whakapikia ngā taumata matatau. Nā te tokomaha o te hunga reo rua, ina whakatairitea ki te hunga i pakeke mai i te reo, i heke anō ai te āhua o te kōrerotia o te reo. Kua urutomo mai tā te reo Ingarihi whakatakoto i te kupu, kua pāpaku haere te reo e kōrerohia ana, arā, kua maroke, kua heke anō te taha whakamahi i te kīwaha, te kupu whakarite, me ērā atu o ngā āhuetanga whakanikoniko i te reo. Kāore anō kia tino arohia atu ngā kaupapa whakapiki i te tū o te reo, tōna whakamahinga i ngā wāhi maha o te hapori. Otirā ko te kāinga te wāhi matua, mā reira e ora anō ai te tuku ihotanga o te reo mai i tētahi whakatipuranga ki tētahi.

Nō te tau 1984, i whakaputaina tētahi tuhinga a Tainui Stephens i roto i te moheni o taua wā, ko *Tū Tangata* te ingoa. I roto i te tuhinga nei, i whakapuakina e Tainui ngā mātātaki e aroa ana e te hunga mātua, otirā, ngā titiro whakamua me ngā kōhukihuki

hoki o te hunga reo rua e tino manako ana kia whakatipu i ā rātou tamariki i te taiao reo Māori. Ka tīkina e ia te reo Hīperu hei whakatauirā i ngā mahi nui e aroa ana e te iwi Māori o ēnei rā.

Kāore e kore ka kitea te mate, te ora rānei o te reo Māori i roto i ngā tau e heke mai nei i raro i te ātaarangi o te rau tau hou. Ki tāku nei titiro, ka ora te reo, ā, he tauira hei tirohanga mā tātou i tāwāhi. I roto i te wā poto nei, te kotahi rau tau, ka poipoiā te reo Hīperu mai i tana kore hā, ki tōna āhua o ināianeī, arā, koia te reo matua, te reo ūkaipō o te iwi o Iharaira. Nā te tangata kotahi, nā Ben Yehuda tēnei kaupapa nui i tīmata. Nāna te whakatau, kia whāngaihia tōna mātāmua ki te reo Hīperu hei reo matua mōna, ko ia te tuatahi kia pērā i roto i te kotahi mano tau. Ahakoa ngā mātātaki nui, ka māia tonu ia – ko ia pea te whakatīnanatanga o te whakataukī e kī rā, *mā te ūpoko pakaru rawa!* Kia mahara tonu tātou ki tēnei tauira, ā, mōku anō ka mārō anō taku whai i te reo. E whakapono ahau ka ora te reo. Ko te āhua o te ora, kei roto i ō tātou ringaringa.²⁶ (Stephens 1984:37)

Tekau mā ono tau i muri mai, e hāngai tonu ana tēnei kōrero a Tainui ki te āhua o te reo Māori e anga atu nei ki roto i ngā tau o te rua mano.

¹ allocation of functions amongst a community's languages.

²

i) That legislation be introduced enabling any person who wishes to do so to use the Māori language in all Courts of law and in any dealings with Government Departments, local authorities and other public bodies.

ii) That a supervising body be established by statute to supervise and foster the use of the Māori language.

iii) That an enquiry be instituted forthwith into the way Māori children are educated including particular reference to the changes in current departmental policies which may be necessary to ensure that all children who wish to learn Māori should be able to do so from an early stage in the educational process in circumstances most beneficial to them and with financial support from the State.

iv) That in the formulation of broadcasting policy regard be had to this finding that the Treaty of Waitangi obliges the Crown to recognise and protect the Māori language, and that the Broadcasting Act 1976 (section 20) enables this to be done so far as broadcasting is concerned.

v) That amendments be made to the State Services Act 1962 and the State Services Conditions of Employment Act 1977 to make provision for bi-lingualism in Māori and English to be a prerequisite for appointment to such positions as the State Services Commission deems necessary or desirable.

³ Official recognition must be seen to be real and significant which means that those who want to use our official language on any public occasion or when dealing with any public authority ought to be able to do so. To recognise Māori officially is one thing, to enable its use widely is another thing altogether. There must be more than just the right to use it in Courts. There must also be the right to use it with any department or local body if official recognition is to be *real*, recognition, and not mere tokenism.

⁴ authoritative decisions to maintain, extend, or restrict the range of uses (functional range) of a language in particular settings.

⁵ 'while variation within the language did exist, the differences were not major'.

⁶ ... by 1842 there was scarcely a village in the North Island whose members between the ages of 10 and 30 could not read and write in their own language, and poorer class Europeans were often taunted for their illiteracy.

⁷ ... forms the basis of written Māori in its various forms today.

⁸ There were 40 years during which doing anything related to the Basque language was clandestine ... These years of oppression had a 'boomerang' effect: the more the Spanish Government tried to forbid and eliminate the symbols of a national identity among the Basque people, the more important they became in the eyes of the Basques themselves.

⁹ the missionaries saw themselves as the instrument by which the Māori people would be brought from the state of barbarism to civilised life'

¹⁰ It was a period in which raw power was used to suppress the heart and soul of a people.

¹¹ Apparently the children are allowed too often allowed to take 'soft' options at school, without regard to their vocational future - which, in the case of Māoris is likely to lie more and more in the skilled trades

¹² This comment is not very different from the one made in 1907 that "the primary education of the Māori should have what may be termed an agricultural bias."

¹³ The Māori leaders of the past were beguiled into accepting the policy of promoting English in the education system and denying Māori language. They complied with this policy because of the desire to achieve social parity with the Pākehā. They believed that knowledge of English would bring them equality. It has not.

¹⁴ When thinking of my mothers experiences as a child, I am aware that she grew up speaking Māori at home, and being taught via English at school. Upon leaving her home, Mum soon discovered that her beloved native tongue had no place in wider society. Worse than that, word at the time had it that only 'dumb' people spoke Māori - society had decreed that Māori was dying, and that English was the only language worth acquiring if you wanted to be successful, gain employment, operate a bank account, purchase goods, gain a 'real' education, and in general move forward into the 21st century. Mum learnt that to be Māori and speak Māori was 'backward', and best left behind her in the rural backblocks. Therefore, by the time Mum had me she had already decided that she would do her best to equip me for the future by teaching me English only, and leaving all that Māori stuff behind.

¹⁵ Whereas almost all 16-24 year olds (96%) spent their childhood in a home where English was the main language spoken, around half of all people aged 60 years and over grew up in a home where Māori was the main language spoken.

¹⁶ The richer the range of vocabulary, the more diverse the grammar, and the wider the stylistic range we are exposed to, the more varied will be our linguistic competence.

¹⁷ there is a critical shortage of Māori language teachers especially in the primary/secondary sector.

¹⁸ ... in spite of the educational policies of teaching Irish to all school children, English is primarily spoken. The central problem however, is that popular use of the language (Irish) has remained at a low level and current indications are that this is contracting further in some important respects.

¹⁹ Its precondition is that minority children and young people have an instrument for analysis: a language. Or two.

20

- i) The picture was bleak for sustaining Māori language usage in Māori communities.
- ii) Māori was the everyday language of most residents, from youngest to oldest, in only one community.
- iii) In a few communities most people understood the Māori language but younger people preferred to use English.
- iv) In many communities, adults spoke the Māori language when conversing amongst themselves but English was used for other situations.
- v) In most communities, Māori was the language of the older people and English the language of the middle-aged and young people.

²¹ One reason for the over reporting by younger speakers may well be because many of those in this group of second language learners can only compare their ability with their cohorts and teachers, who are often second language speakers themselves. Conversely, older speakers often have experience or memory of others with much deeper and subtle ability than themselves.

²² For many people the judgement of their own language competence is carried out by comparison with other known speakers of the language. For the 1970's survey Māori language role models were of a high standard, numerous and widely known amongst the Māori communities, The lack of visible language role models in our communities in the mid 90s makes the task of self assessment slightly more difficult.

²³ Forty one percent of those in the 16-24 year old age group reported that they were or had been involved in learning Māori, and attitudes towards the Māori language and biculturalism issues are generally positive.

²⁴ It is highly likely that many Māori students in such programmes will never acquire a high degree of Māori language proficiency. There is simply too little classroom time to provide an effective Māori language learning environment.

²⁵ In each communicative act, the relationship between interlocuters is governed by constraints of power, politeness, habit, and by taboos and it is these that determine actual linguistic practices ... it is

only when we take account ... of these micro-situations that we will arrive at more accurate descriptions of the overall situation.

²⁶ The years between now and the turn of the century will determine whether or not Māori as a living language will survive. I think that it probably will, and history does have a precedent. In the short space of one hundred years the Hebrew language was nurtured from a state where it was not spoken to the present where it is the native tongue of the people of Israel. This immense task was started by one man - Ben Yehuda. He decided that his first child would be the first in over a thousand years to grow up with Hebrew as his first language. It seemed impossible, but he persevered. This example is worth remembering and personally gives me cause for long term optimism. I believe that our Reo Māori will live. What life it has however is largely up to us now.

Te Wāhanga Tuatoru

Ko ngā reo taketake puta noa i ngā whenua o te ao

- 3.1 Te kupu whakataki
- 3.2 Te reo Airihi
- 3.3 Te reo Katarana
- 3.4 Te reo Nawahou
- 3.5 Ngā reo o Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa i Aotearoa
- 3.6 Te whakarāpopoto

3.1 Te kupu whakataki

Ko tēnei wāhanga o te tuhinga, he tiro tiro i ētahi atu reo tāngata whenua o te ao, me ētahi reo itinga, e kitea ai ētahi ahuatanga e hono ana ki te whakaora i te reo Māori i Aotearoa. Ahakoa e rerekē ana ngā take o mua, ngā āhuatanga o te taupori, me ngā take tōrangapū o tēnā reo o tēnā reo, tērā anō hoki ētahi whiringa. Arā, e whawhai ana ngā reo itinga katoa kia whai tūranga ai i te taha o ngā reo whai mana ruarua nei (pērā i te reo Ingarihi, te reo Paniora me te reo matua o Haina). Akene pea kei roto i ngā kaupapa whakaora reo e whāia ana e iwi kē, he āhuatanga hei āwhina anō i a tātou e whawhai nei kia ora anō ai te reo Māori.

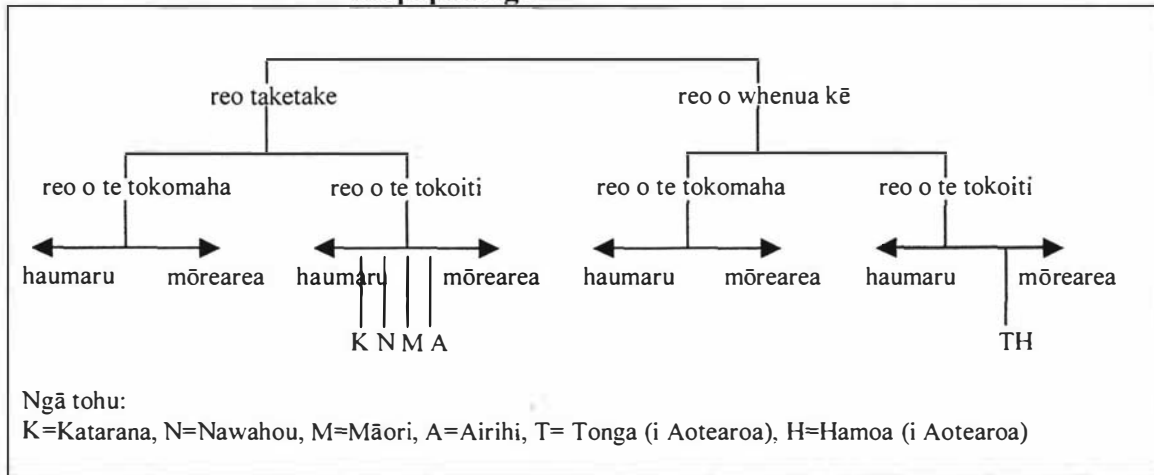
Kei te Whakaahua 3.1 he raupapatanga reo. Koia e whakaatu ana i ngā horopaki matua e ōrite ana, e rerekē ana rānei o tēnā reo o tēnā, me te whakatairite anō ki te reo Māori. Kei

te papa tuatahi, ko te whakawehe i ngā reo – ko ētahi he reo tāngata whenua, ko ētahi nō whenua kē. Me te mōhio, i te nuinga o te wā, ko te reo tāngata whenua tērā e whawhai ana kia whai tūranga ai i te taha o te/ngā reo hou. Koia hoki e whakatau ana i te hononga wairua o te reo ki tōna whenua. Arā, nō taua reo tonu ngā ingoa, ngā pūrākau, ngā taunahanahatanga, ngā mōteatea mō te whenua me ōna āhuatanga katoa. Kāore hoki te reo tāngata whenua e kōrerotia i waho atu i tōna whenua ūkaipō, nō reira he take tōna kia whiwhi āwhina ai i runga ake anō i ngā reo hou ka uru mai. Kāore ngā reo hou nei i te whai hononga wairua ki te whenua me ōna tāngata, ka ora tonu i whenua kē, ā, akene pea he reo tino whai mana puta i te ao.

Ko te papa tuarua, e whakaatu ana i te tūranga o te reo i raro i ngā mana whakahaere o te whenua. Arā, he whakaatu i te whai mana o te iwi me tō rātou reo. I ētahi whenua, ko te reo taketake tonu te reo o te tokomaha, engari pea, kei reira tonu ētahi āhuatanga e whakararu ana i te reo. Pērā i te hekenga mai o iwi kē ki te whenua, ā, mehemea me ako rātou i te reo tāngata whenua e whai ora ai rātou, kāore rānei. Kei reira hoki pea ngā whakararu o ngā āhuatanga ohaoha o te ao, me ngā reo whai mana e whakahaere ana i ngā hokohoko. I ētahi wāhi anō, ka riro ko te reo tāngata whenua he reo itinga i tōna ake whenua, ā, ahakoa tēnei he rerekē tonu te whai mana tōrangapū o tēnā iwi, o tēnā iwi. He rerekē anō hoki te āhua o te noho ngātahi, te noho wehe rānei o te tangata whenua me iwi kē, tae atu ki te pānga mai o ngā take o mua ki te oranga o te reo.

Ko te papa tuatoru e whakaatu ana i te āhua o te ora o te reo, arā, he whakanoho i te reo ki tētahi wāhi i te āwhata mai i te ‘haumarū’ ki te ‘mōrearea’.

Te Whakaahua 3.1: He raupapatanga reo



Ko ngā reo i āta kōwhiria hei kōrerotanga i konei, e whakaaturia ana i te Whakaahua 3.1. Ko te whakanoho i ngā reo nei ki te hoahoa raupapatanga reo he whakaatu i te rite ki te reo Māori me ōna āhuatanga ora. Ko te reo Airihi tērā, te reo Nawahou, te reo Katarana, me te reo Hamoa, Tonga hoki i Aotearoa.

Ko te kōrero whakamutunga o tēnei wāhanga e mea ana, arā ētahi āhuatanga noho o te reo itinga me matua whakatau, e ora tonu ai taua reo, ahakoa te reo. Ko tōna kōrerotia i te kāinga tērā, ko te kura rūmaki hoki tērā. Hāunga tēnei, e rerekē ana te āhua o te whakatau i te kaupapa, tōna hiranga, ngā hua ka puta, me te tōkeke anō o te whakapau tahua tūmatanui, mō tēnā reo me tōna wāhi noho i te hoahoa raupapatanga reo, mō tēnā.

3.2 Te Reo Airihi

E hia kē nei ngā rautau e tāmia ana, e takahia ana te iwi Airihi me tō rātou reo e iwi whakamaru whenua, e te pakanga, e te wā o te tūpuhi, e te hekenga o te iwi ki whenua kē,

e ngā whiu o te hāhi rānei. I roto i ngā tau kua taha ake nei, kua whai kaha anō te iwi ki tō rātou reo me tōna oranga tonutanga. Arā, koia hoki te reo ‘whai mana’ i raro i te ture mō ngā tau 80 kua hori, mai i te wā i whakatūria a Airani hei whenua motuhake i te tau 1922. Nā tēnei, kua āhua kaha te tautoko mai a te kāwanatanga Airihi i ngā kaupapa reo, ā, kua tino arohia atu ko ngā kaupapa mātauranga. Ahakoa tēnei, e heke tonu ana te tokomaha o te iwi e matatau ana ki tō rātou reo Airihi, me te kōrerotia o te reo i te hapori. Ko te nuinga o ngā tohunga tiro reo e mea ana, kāore e ora te reo Airihi hei reo kōrero i waho atu i te pūnaha mātauranga. (Tirohia O’Riagain 1988, Paulston 1990, Spolsky 1998, me Fishman 1991)

Kāore i pērā rawa te heke o te reo Airihi i te takiwā ki te hauāuru, arā, i te Gaeltacht. E ai ki te tauranga nui o te motu i te tau 1981, e 77% o te taupori o taua takiwā, pakeke ake i te toru tau, e mōhio ana ki te kōrero i te reo Airihi. E 31% anake mō ērā atu takiwā o te whenua. Ehara te Gaelacht i te rohe nui, (āhua 10% o te katoa o te whenua), he noho tuawhenua te iwi o reira, ā, he āhua pōhara anō hoki. E 2.3% anake o te taupori katoa kei taua takiwā e noho ana. Ahakoa koirā te wāhi e āhua pakari ana te ora o te reo, e heke tonu ana te whakamahia o te reo i reira.

... E 29,000 te āwhiwhi mō te hunga kei te Gaelacht e noho ana, e whakamahi ana i tō rātou reo Airihi hei reo kōrero i roto i ā rātou whakanekeneke o ia rā. Arā, he haurua tēnei o te hunga e kī ana, e mōhio ana rātou ki te kōrero i te reo. Ko te tokomaha hoki o te hunga mātua o taua takiwā, kua tīmata ki te whakatipu i ā rātou tamariki i te reo Ingarihi (kia ōrite rātou ki te nuinga atu o ngā tamariki Airihi). Ināianei, e tiro

korotahangia ana te whānau e whakatipu ana i ā rātou tamariki i te reo Airihi, anō nei he rerekē.¹ (Fishman 1991:124)

Te āhua nei, kua whānui te horapa o te reo Ingarihi, me te whakaaro koia rā te reo e whiwhi ai te tangata i ngā painga o te ao, ā, mā te waiho i te reo ūkaipō ki rāhaki, e mau pai ai te reo Ingarihi me ōna rawa. Kāore e taiapatia te horapa o tēnei whakaaro, ā, kua ū anō ki te whānau e noho tuawhenua ana, me te āhua o te hapori o reira. Koia hoki te ariā matua o te kaupapa ‘reo Ingarihi anake’ i whakatūria ki ngā kura o Aotearoa me ētahi atu whenua i takahia e tauwiwi. E kōrerohia ana te pā o tēnei āhuatanga ki te ora o te reo Māori i Te Wāhanga Tuarua, me Te Wāhanga Tuarima o tēnei tuhinga.

Āpiti atu ki tēnei, e mea ana a Fishman, ko tētahi o ngā take kāore e tino ū ana ngā kaupapa whakaora reo i te takiwā o te Gaelacht, ‘ko te hunga rāwaho tonu kei te whakatau, kei te kawē i ngā kaupapa mō te takiwā o te Gaelacht, kāore i huakina te kuaha kia uru mai te iwi ki ngā whakawhitiwhiti kōrero, te whakatau i ngā kaupapa, kia whai wāhi anō rātou ki te kawē i ngā mahi’² (Fishman 1991:126).

Ko te tokomaha rawa o te hunga e noho ana i ērā atu takiwā o te whenua, he mea ako i te reo Airihi hei reo tuarua mō rātou, ā, e ai ki ngā tatauranga nui o te motu, e piki ana te tokomaha e kī ana, he mōhio rātou ki te kōrero i te reo. E tino ū ana tēnei āhuatanga ki te hunga e haere ana ki te kura tuarua. Engari, ki tua atu o tēnei hunga, ka heke te taupāpātanga o tēnā reanga o tēnā, e mōhio ana ki te kōrero i te reo (tirohia tā O’Riagain 1988). Koia pea e whakaatu ana, inā mutu te kura, kāore e tino pūmau ana te tangata ki

tōna reo Airihi. Nā te kore e whai wāhi atu ki te taiao reo Airihi i waho atu i te kura, ka heke te matatau o te tangata ki te reo, arā, ki te kore e whakamahia te reo, ka ngaro. Ahakoa ngā kaupapa reo o roto i ngā kura, ahakoa te ū o te iwi ki te whakaaro kia ora anō ai tō rātou reo (tirohia tā Fishman 1991:123), kāore e ārikarika te horapa o te reo Ingarihi hei reo kōrero i roto i te whānau, me te hapori whānui.

Ko te raruraru matua, kāore e tino kōrerohia ana te reo Airihi, ā, tērā anō te titiro e heke tonu ana.³ (An Coiste Comhairleach Pleanala 1988:x)

E toru pea ngā āhuatanga o te reo Airihi me ā rātou mahi whakaora reo e tino hāngai ana ki te reo Māori i Aotearoa nei. Tuatahi, me mataara te iwi ki te urunga mai o te reo Ingarihi hei reo kōrero i ngā kaupapa ahurea Māori (Airihi rānei). Ahakoa te ū o te iwi ki ā rātou tikanga, ahakoa te kaha whai o te iwi i te tūranga motuhake i tō rātou whenua, ahakoa te ngākau aroha ki tō rātou reo, ko te reo Ingarihi tonu te reo e tino kōrerohia ana. Ko te kōrero a Fishman (2000) mō tēnei āhuatanga, ko te ‘hoariri o roto’. Arā, ka riro ko te iwi tonu kei te patu i a rātou anō.

Tuarua, ahakoa kua mau i te Airihi te tino rangatiratanga o tō rātou whenua, kei te heke tonu te reo. Arā ētahi kaituhi e mea ana, e kaha ake ana tā te iwi aro ki tō rātou reo, me te kōrerohia o te reo, mēnā e whawhai ana, e pakanga ana kia tū motuhake rātou me tō rātou tino rangatiratanga. Ko ngā āhuatanga o te reo Airihi e tino whakaatu ana, me mataara tonu ki te reo, me kaha tonu te aro o te tangata ki tōna reo, ahakoa e mau ana te tino rangatiratanga. Akene pea, e whakaaro ana te iwi, mā te kāwanatanga me ā rātou kaupapa whakaora reo e kawē te haepapatanga, kāore he wāhi mā rātou anō e kawē. Anō

nei ka ora te reo i ngā wāhi tūmatanui pērā i te kura, engari e whai kē ana te iwi i te reo Ingarihi i roto i ngā whakahaere ake o te whānau me te hāpori. Koia hoki tētahi take i kauhautia i te whenua o Wēra i te tau 1998, i te whakatūtanga o te paremata Wēra.

Ko te whakaaro tuarua, ka ara ake i te whakahokinga mai o te mana tōrangapū motuhake ki te iwi o Wēra. Akene pea ka kaha ake te aro o te iwi ki te taha ohaoha, me te whai kia angitu ai i te papa hokohoko o te ao. I konei pea ka uru mai te whakaaro, kāore he take o te kōrerohia o te reo Wēra, he pai kē kia waiho hei tohu noa iho, ka whakamahia pea i ētahi wāhi ōkawa noa iho. Ka peia ki rāhaki te kōrerohia o te reo. I tēnei wā tonu, kāore e tino matapakihia ana ngā take o te reo Wēra i ngā wāhi tōrangapū, kāore e tino taukumekumetia ana. Ināianei, kua aro ngā kōrero ki tēnei mea te kākanotini, me te whai wāhitanga o ngā iwi katoa e noho nei i tēnei whenua, koia hei huarahi whakamua mō Wēra.⁴ (Dafis 1998:1)

Ko te mea tuatoru, kia kua e tino whakapono ki te pūnaha mātauranga, mā reira e ora anō ai te reo. E whakanui ana a Fishman (1991:144) i ngā kura Airihi, me tōna whakaaro kua tino eke te pūnaha mātauranga Airihi ki ngā taumata e taea ana e te pūnaha mātauranga. Engari, ka puta te ākongā i tana kura, kua kore te taiao reo Airihi, kua kore ngā kaupapa hāpai i te kōrerohia o te reo Airihi, nō reira, ka tere huri ia ki te whakamahi i te reo Ingarihi e whai oranga ai ia i te ao kōrero Ingarihi. Kāore e tino kitea ana ngā tāngata toa o te ao Airihi e kōrero ana i tō rātou reo, kāore hoki e tino whai wāhi atu ana te tangata ki ngā wāhi kōrero Airihi, nō reira, ka tīmata te heke o tōna matatau ki te reo. Akene pea, ko te taumata o te reo e taea ana i te kura tuarua, kāore i te tino eke ki te

taumata e taea ai te whakawhitiwhiti kōrero mō ngā kaupapa maha ka puta i ngā whakanekeneke o ia rā. I waho atu i te kura, kāore e tino ū ana te hanga kōrero Airihi, nō reira, he ngāwari noa kia whai te tangata i te ia o te tokomaha, arā, kia kōrero i te reo Ingarihi.

3.3 Te reo Katarana

Kei te iwi Katarana te mana tōrangapū i tō rātou takiwā motuhake, i te whenua o Pāniora, pērā anō i te iwi Airihi i tō rātou whenua. Ahakoa tēnei, e heke tonu ana te reo Airihi (kua kōrerohia i runga nei te āhua o te reo Airihi), engari, he rerekē i Katarana. Nā te whakahokinga mai o tō rātou rangatiratanga, kua tīmata te tipu me te horapa haere o te reo Katarana, puta noa i tō rātou takiwā whenua.

Mai i te rautau tuawaru e kitea ana te pakari o te iwi Katarana i roto i tō rātou āhuatanga ahurea, ngā kaupapa tōrangapū, ohaoha hoki. I te taha ki te reo, i te takiwā o te rautau tekau mā rua, i whakakotahingia ngā mita ake o tēnā rohe o tēnā, koia hei reo tuhituhi mō te whenua katoa. I konei, kāore i ārikarika te puta mai o ngā momo tuhituhi ahurea. Ka taka te wā, tae noa mai ki te rautau tekau mā waru, me te kakenga ake o Piripi hei kīngi mō rātou, koia te tīmatanga o te heke o te reo.

I konei, ka huri ngā whakaaro ki te reo, ā, ka whāia hunahia te kaupapa whakapakari i te reo Pāniora hei whakakapi i te wāhi rangatira o te reo Katarana.⁵ (Strubell, 1996:263)

Ahakoia tēnei kaupapa takahia reo o te kāwanatanga, ka kuhu anō te iwi i a rātou, ka ū ki tō rātou reo i ngā wāhi tūmataiti, pērā i te kāinga, arā, kāore i kokoti te tuku ihotanga o te reo ki ngā uri whakatipu. He mātātoa nō rātou. I muri i te pakanga o roto i te whenua Pāniora i te tau 1939, ka tū a Franco hei kaiwhakahauhau mō te whenua, nōna te ringa kaha rawa atu ki te tāmi i te iwi Katarana me tō rātou reo.

I muri tata mai i tā rātou toa i te Pakanga Roto, ka whakatakotoria e Franco me tana kāwanatanga ngā momo kaupapa here e tino takahia ana i te rangatiratanga o te iwi Katarana. Ka whakakorengia te mana motuhake o Katarana, ka riro i a Madrid te mana whakahaere i ngā āhuatanga o Katarana, ka whakawehea ki ngā rohe e whā. Ka rāhuitia te kōrerohia o te reo Katarana i ngā wāhi tūmatanui; ka whakakapingia ngā ingoa Katarana, ka tapaina ki ngā ingoa Pāniora; ka whakakorengia ngā momo tuhinga Katarana, ngā tohu huarahi me ngā pānui hokohoko i te reo Katarana, ā, ka hāmenetia te hunga hara (arā, ka whainahia, ka panaia i te tūranga mahi, ka whiua ki te herehere rānei). Ka aukatingia ngā tuhinga me ngā whakahaere Katarana. Kāore i ārikarika te tau mai o te ringa patu i ngā āhuatanga Katarana, ā, he mōrearea tonu, ina rangona ai te reo Katarana e kōrerohia ana.⁶ (Fishman 1991:297)

Āpiti atu ki tēnei, ka horahia te kupu whakaparahako i te reo Katarana, ka kiia he ōrite te tangata e kōrero ana i te reo Katarana ki tētahi kuri e auau ana, he tūtūā rānei. (tirohia tā Woolard 1989)

He tino wero ēnei tū āhuatanga takahi a Franco, i te wairua māia o te iwi Katarana, engari, ka kuhu i a rātou anō, ā, ka ū ki te reo hei reo kōrero i ngā whānau, me ngā hapori tata. Nō reira, ka āhua pai tonu te tuku ihotanga o te reo ki ngā whakatipuranga. Ahakoa tēnei, e mea ana a Strubell (1996:264), ‘i raro rawa atu te reo Katarana’⁷ i muri i ngā whā tekau tau o te ringa kaha o Franco. Ko tāna:

He tokoiti noa iho ngā tāngata e mōhio ana ki te pānui, ki te tuhituhi hoki i te reo, he huna tonu te āhua o te whakaako i te reo i ētahi wāhi torutoru noa iho. He tokoiti rawa atu ngā kaiako ... korekau ngā kaimahi tūmatanui e mōhio ana ki te whakamahi i te reo hei reo i ngā wāhi whai mana nei, kāore he kaupapa rangahau kupu hou, kāore hoki i eke te mahi whakaputa pukapuka ki te taumata whakaputa o ngā tau 1930. (Strubell, 1996:264)

Mēnā ka whakatairitea te āhua o te reo i muri i te wā o Franco ki tōna āhua rangatira o mua noa atu, tērā e kitea te take ka meatia e te iwi Katarana i raro rawa atu tō rātou reo e takoto pōhara ana. Engari, nā tō rātou kuhu i a rātou anō me tō rātou wairua māia, ka pakari tonu te kōrerotia o te reo i waenganui i ngā whānau, ā, i te wā ka puta i a Franco, i reira tonu te tūāpapa e hoki anō ai te reo ki ngā wāhi tūmatanui, e tū rangatira anō ai te reo a tōna wā. Ki te pērā te tūāpapa mō ētahi atu iwi itinga e whawhai ana kia ora o rātou reo, koia kei a rātou! Āpiti atu ki tēnei, ka puta a Katarana e mau tonu ana i ōna pae whenua, e pakari ana tōna ohanga, nō reira he āhua māmā te whakahokinga mai o te tino rangatiratanga.

Ahakoia te mana tōrangapū, me te pakari o te ohanga o Katarana (ina whakatairitea ki ētahi atu iwi itinga), kei reira tonu ngā āhuatanga e pēhi ana i te oranga o te reo. Ko tētahi o ngā wero nui pea, he mea puta i te āhua pakari o te ohanga. I te wā i a Franco, i muri hoki i a Franco, he tokomaha ngā Pāniora i hūnuku atu ki Katarana noho ai. He whai mahi te take, arā, he nui ngā tūranga mahi hakorea i ngā umanga hanga me ngā wheketere. Ko te iwi Katarana ngā kaiwhakahaere. E ai ki tā Woolard, kāore i āriarika te taetae atu a te iwi Pāniora:

Nā te tokomaha o te hunga uru whenua ka whakatūria ngā hōpuni me ngā whare noho; i ētahi wā ka whakahokia ngā tereina kī tonu i te tangata Pāniora. I waenganui i te tau 1950 me 1975, kei te takiwā o te 1.4 miriona ngā tāngata i uru whenua atu ki Katarana.⁸ (1989:30)

Ko te rite o te taupori tāngata whenua me tērā o tauwiwi i Katarana, kāore i pērā rawa te takahuri, pērā i Aotearoa i muri mai i te hainatanga o Te Tiriti o Waitangi (tirohia Te Wāhanga Tuarua). Engari he whakararu tonu i te reo Katarana. Kei te takiwā o te 60% o te taupori katoa e mea ana he mōhio ki te kōrero i te reo Katarana, kua heke rawa ki te 22% te āwhiwhiwhi mō te tāone matua o Barcelona. Koirā hoki te wāhi haere ai te nuinga o te hunga uru whenua. Nā te mea he kaimahi hakorea te nuinga o rātou, kua puta ngā karangatanga tangata rerekē i waenganui i te iwi kōrero Katarana me te iwi kōrero Pāniora. Ko te nuinga hoki o te iwi kōrero Katarana, he mōhio tonu ki te reo Pāniora, nō reira, ka riro ko te reo Pāniora te reo kōrero i ngā wāhi tūmatanui, me ngā whakawhitinga kōrero a te tauhou ki te tauhou. Kāore hoki he take kia akohia te reo Katarana e te iwi uru whenua.

Hei kaupare atu i tēnei tū āhuatanga, i whāia tētahi kaupapa kia hōrapa te hanga kōrero Katarana, i muri i te wā o Franco. E rua ngā whaingā. Tuatahi, ka hāngai ki te iwi Katarana. I te putanga mai i te wā i a Franco, he tokomaha te iwi Katarana e mau ana i te kākahu pararau, he kore mōhio ki te pānui, ki te tuhituhi rānei i tō rātou reo ūkaipō, he whakakumu hoki ki te kōrero Katarana i waho i te kāinga, ki te tauhou rānei. Ko te whaingā matua o te kaupapa, kia whakakapia te hanga kōrero Pāniora i whakatakotohia e Franco, arā, kia horapa whānui te hanga kōrero Katarana. Ka whāia he rautaki pāpaho, ka whakahautia ngā tāngata rongonui Katarana kia kōrero Katarana hei tauira mā te iwi, ka āwhina ā-putea te kāwanatanga i ngā kaupapa pērā i te tuku pānui hokohoko i te reo Katarana. Ka whakarewatia whānuitia tētahi kaupapa i te pūnaha mātauranga, hei whakaako i te iwi ki te pānui, ki te tuhituhi hoki i te reo Katarana’, tamariki mai, pakeke mai.

Ko te whaingā tuarua, ka whakahāngai ki te iwi uru whenua, arā, te whakatītina i te whakaaro me ako rātou i te reo Katarana, ina koia te reo whai mana, te reo taketake o te whenua e hūnuku nei rātou. E mārama ana te kitea i te whai mana o te reo Katarana, arā, he hononga tōna ki te ohanga o te whenua. Nō reira mā te ako i te reo Katarana e piki ake ai ngā uru whenua i ngā taumata o te hāpori. Kāore hoki he take kia uruhia te hunga Pāniora ki te ako i te reo Katarana; he painga tonu mō rātou mēnā e mōhio ana rātou ki te kōrero i te reo o te wāhi tauhokohoko.

E whā ngā kaupapa matua kua puta i te matapakinga i runga nei, e hāngai pū ana ki te whakaora ake i te reo Katarana. Ko te tuatahi, ko te tuakiri māia o te iwi i roto i ā rātou ake tikanga ā-iwi, ā-whenua hoki. Ko tō rātou reo kei te pokapū o te tuakiri, waihoki, he kura pounamu ngā taonga reo a ō rātou mātua tīpuna, pērā i ngā tuhinga, ngā pūrākau me ngā mōteatea. Ahakoa ngā whakawhiu i roto i ngā tau, ka mau tonu te iwi ki ō rātou āhuatanga ahurea, mana motuhake tonu. Ka hihiri tonu te ngākau Katarana ki te reo Katarana, ā, nā te kaha ū ki tēnei āhuatanga, ka mau tonu te tuku ihotanga o te reo ki ngā uri whakatipu.

Tuarua, ko te rautaki hokohoko i āta whakatakotohia kia aro pai mai anō te iwi ki te reo Katarana. Ka hopukina e te tamaiti ngā hanga whakamahi reo e whāia ana i te hapori, ā, ka ū tonu ēnei hanga ki te hinengaro, he uaua tonu te whakahuri. Mēnā he rerekē tā te tangata whakamahi i ōna reo ki ngā hanga whakamahi reo o te hapori, he whakawhiu tana kai. He mea kite e ngā tāngata whakamahere kaupapa reo, he kōrero Pāniora te hanga reo o te hapori i muri mai i te wā o Franco. Āpiti atu ki tēnei, ko te horapa o te uru whenua o te iwi Pāniora. He mea kite anō hoki, kāore he take o te whakaako i te reo Katarana i te kura, mēnā ka noho tonu ko te kōrero Pāniora te hanga whakamahi reo i waho atu i te kura. I whāia ko te kaupapa hōrapa i te reo Katarana hei whakahuri i ēnei āhuatanga, kia aro anō ai te iwi ki te reo taketake o te whenua, hei reo kōrero puta noa i ngā wāhi katoa o te hapori.

Ko te take tuatoru, kua mau anō i te iwi Katarana te mana tōrangapū, me te mana ohanga o tō rātou ake whenua. Ahakoa te whakararu o te tokomaha o te Pāniora e hūnuku ana ki

Katarana noho ai, he painga tonu te matatau ki te reo Katarana, ina koia te reo e whiwhi mahi rangatira ai te tangata, e eke ai te tangata i ngā taumata o te hapori. I tutuki ai tēnei āhuatanga nā te whakatau tōrangapū kia whakaurua atu te reo ki ngā wāhi whai mana o ēnei rā (tirohia tā Fishman 1991:229). E kitea ana i konei, nā ngā whakatau tōrangapū, kua hikina te turanga o te reo, ā, kua korikori te iwi ki te ako, ki te whakamahi hoki i te reo i ngā wāhi katoa o te hapori. Ko te mana tōrangapū me te mana ohanga ētahi āhuatanga nui kua pā ki te oranga o te reo.

Ko te kaupapa tuawhā, ko te whakatō i te wairua pai ki te iwi uru whenua, kia aro pai mai rātou ki te reo tāngata whenua, kia horapa anō te hanga ako i te reo Katarana. Mā konei e pai ai tā rātou noho ki tō rātou whenua hou, e eke anō ai rātou i ngā taumata o te hapori.

3.4 Te reo Nawahou

Kāore e rite ngā āhuatanga whakaora i te reo Nawahou, ki ērā o te reo Airihi, reo Katarana rānei, arā, kāore e tino kitea ana mēnā ka aukatingia te heke o te reo i roto i ngā tau kei te tū mai, kāore rānei. He pērā anō hoki pea te reo Māori. He uaua tonu te horopaki i Amerika ki te Raki mō te ora o ōna reo taketake, inā, te kaha ū me te hōrapa whānui o te reo Ingarihi me ngā tikanga Amerikana, te rahi o te whenua, me te nui hoki o ngā reo taketake. Kei te takiwā o te 300 ngā reo tāngata whenua i te wā i tae atu ai a Columbus, e āhua 210 e kōrerohia ana i tēnei wā. Engari ko te mea pōuri tonu, e 26 noa iho ngā reo e akohia e te hunga tamariki, ā, e matapae a Krauss (1996), kāore pea e ora ērā atu o ngā reo.

Kei te āhua pakari te ora o te reo Nawahou inā whakatairitea ki ngā reo o ētahi o ngā tāngata whenua. Kei te raki o Arizona, kei New Mexico, kei te tonga hoki o Utah te whenua motuhake o te Nawahou. He hauwhā pea o te rahi o Aotearoa tōna rite, ā, he āhua 250,000 te taupori. Neke atu i te haurua kotahi o te iwi Nawahou e mea ana he mōhio ki te kōrero Nawahou (160,000 tā te tatauranga ā-motu), engari e horo ana te heke i roto i ngā 30 tau kua hori (Holm rāua ko Holm 1995). He rerekē te āhua o te reo ki tēnā hapori ki tēnā, nā te mea he rerekē anō ngā āhuetanga i pā ki aua hapori i ngā tau o mua, me te pātata o te noho mai o te reo Ingarihi. Kāore i pērā rawa te pāngia o te reo Ingarihi ki ngā hapori o te pokapū o te whenua, ki te ngā hapori kei ngā paenga, arā, e noho pātata ana ki ngā wāhi reo Ingarihi.

Ahakoia kua roa nei te pāngia mai o ngā āhuetanga whakamaru whenua o iwi kē, nā te kaha kuhu o te Nawahou ki a rātou anō, me te pūmau hoki ki ā rātou tikanga, kei te āhua pakari tonu te reo. Engari, i roto i ngā tau tata nei, kua whai kaha anō ngā tikanga Amerikana ki te uru mai ki te whakararu i te noho motuhake o te Nawahou. Kua ngāwari noa atu te nuku haere o te tangata me āna rawa; kua kaha anō ngā pāpaho me te urutomo mai te reo Ingarihi; kua tau nga tikanga ohaoha o te ao, inā ko te whakawhiwhia o te utu mahi ki te kiritahi (me te noho pararau ki te umanga mahi o waho), ko te penihana rānei; ko te noho roa mai o te mamae, o te whakamā, o te pararau, inā te patunga o te tamariki mō te kōrero i te reo Nawahou i te kura i ngā wā tata o mua; nā ēnei mea katoa kua tino ū te hanga kōrero Ingarihi. Kua pāngia nuitia ngā kāinga me te reo whakatipu tamariki, kua heke te reo ūkaipō o te Nawahou.

E ai ki tā Fishman, e ora tonu ai te reo Nawahou, me matua tutuki ēnei āhuatanga:

... me aukati, me whakaheke ngā āhuatanga ahurea Amerikana e urutomo ana ki te whakararu i te reo Nawahou me te noho motuhake o te iwi. He ngāwari noa atu te whai wāhi o te iwi ki ēnei āhuatanga Amerikana, waihoki, koirā te hiahia o ētahi. Koirā hoki ngā taha e rua hei āta whakarite i roto i ngā mahi whakaora reo, arā, te whakatū i ngā paenga me ngā wāhi motuhake mō te iwi me tō rātou reo, me te huaki anō i ngā kuaha ki ngā kaupapa Amerikana e hiahiatia ana.⁹ (1996:196)

Nā te nui o te koremahi me te kore whai mana o te iwi i roto i ngā whakahaere ohanga i te whenua motuhake o te Nawahou (ahakoa ngā rawa ōpapa o te whenua, kei iwi kē te ringa whakahaere i ngā umanga), he uaua te āhua o te noho i reira. E whakapae ana a Fishman (1991:188), nā te uaua o te noho, ka āhua māmā ake te pupuri ki ngā tikanga tuku iho, engari ka rekareka anō te hunga taiohi ki ngā āhuatanga papai o te hapori whānui o Amerikana.

Kua tino arohia atu te pūnaha mātauranga, mā reira e ora anō ai te reo. Ko te kaupapa matua, ko te whakatū i ngā kura motuhake i raro i ngā whakahaere o ngā rūnanga-ā-iwi. Tērā te whakapae, kāore ēnei kura e tino whakapiki i te tūranga o te reo, nā te mea he 10% anake o te hunga tamariki Nawahou e haere ana ki ēnei kura. Ahakoa te whakapae, kua pāngia nuitia ngā hapori kei reira tētahi o ēnei kura, pērā i te tāone o Rough Rock. I whakatūria he kura i reira i te tau 1960. Mai i tōna tīmatanga ko te kaupapa matua, ko te whakahoki i te mana ki te iwi, kia uru mai rātou ki ngā whakahaere. Ka arohia ngā

kaupapa pērā i te pānui me te tuhituhi i roto i te hapori; te whakaputa tuhinga ki te hapori, ngā akoranga e hāngai ana ki te hunga pakeke, tamariki hoki; te whakaako i ngā mātauranga tuku iho a ngā mātua tīpuna; te whakangungu i ngā tangata o te hapori ake kia uru mai hei kaiako mō te kura; te tono atu ki te hunga kaumātua, ko rātou hei whakaako i ngā mātauranga ake o te iwi; me ērā atu momo kaupapa e tino whai wāhi mai ai te iwi ki ngā momo whakahaere o te kura.

Mā ēnei momo kaupapa, kua whakaaraara ake ngā pouako i te reo Nawahou hei reo kawē mātauranga, ā, kua whai mana, kua whai take anō te reo ... Kua aro anō te hapori ki tō rātou reo me ā rātou tikanga, koirā tētahi o ngā hua ka puta. E kite ana te hunga mātua, kaumātua hoki i te whai hua o tā rātou uru atu ki te kura, koirā hei tūāpapa mō ngā kaupapa ako reo, pānui, tuhituhi hoki. Kua hurihia te aronga korotaha o te iwi ki tēnei mea te pānui me te tuhituhi, i pupū ake i ngā kura noho o mua. Kua horahia te whakaaro, ehara te pānui me te tuhituhi i te mātauranga mō te hunga whai rawa anake, ehara hoki i te kupu noa iho i te whārangi (nā ngā kura noho o mua tēnei akoranga).¹⁰ (McCarty 1996:4)

E toru ngā kaupapa matua ka puta i ngā kōrero i runga nei mō te reo Nawahou e tino hāngai ana ki te whakaora i te reo Māori. Tuatahi, ko te noho pararau o te iwi Nawahou i roto i ngā āhuatanga ohaoha. Ahakoa he whenua motuhake tō te iwi, ahakoa he mana tō rātou ki te whakatau i ētahi kaupapa mā rātou, kāore i a rātou te ohanga tōnui, ehara i te iwi whai rawa. He mahi ā-ringa te nuinga o ngā tūranga mahi e wātea ana i tō rātou whenua, he tūranga mahi me kōrero Ingarihi, ko te rāwaho rānei e whakahaere ana i te

mahi. Nā tēnei tūāhua noho, e tino arotahi ana te iwi ki te oranga ā-tīnana, arā, te whāngai i ā rātou tamariki ki te kai. Waihoki, he rekareka rawa te āhua o te hapori Amerikana e kitea ana i ngā kaupapa pāpaho me ngā panui hokohoko. Ka whakawarea te iwi, tē aro ki tō rātou reo me ā rātou tikanga. He uua tonu te pūmau ki te wāhi motuhake kia kore ai te ahurea Amerikana e uru atu ki te whakararu i ngā tikanga Nawahou, ahakoa tō rātou whenua motuhake. Kāore he taiapa o te ahurea o te iwi nuinga, nō reira pea kāore he take o te whai kia noho motuhake te iwi, koia hei tūāpapa mō te whakaora i te reo itinga. Koia hoki tētahi o ngā kaupapa i puta i Te Rangahautanga o Te Hoe Nuku Roa, ā, ka kōrerohia i te Wāhanga Tuarima me Te Tuaono.

Ko te kaupapa tuarua, ko te wāhi e taea e te kura hei whakapakari i te hapori, me te hiki anō i te tūranga o te reo. Ahakoa kāore anō kia kitea ngā hua whānui mō te oranga tonutanga o te reo Nawahou, kei reira ngā painga mō te hapori tata. Ko te kura hei whakakotahi i te iwi, ā, he kaupapa tōna kei tua atu i te whakaako tamariki ki ngā marau ā-motu. Mā te kura e whakatītina te pānui me te tuhituhi me ngā hua ka puta ki te hapori katoa, tamariki mai, pakeke mai. Māna anō e whakaatu te whai take o te reo Nawahou, me te whakahau i te hanga kōrero Nawahou i roto i ngā whakanekeneke o te hapori. Koia hei turaki i te hanga kōrero Ingarihi, me te aro korotaha ki te reo me ngā tikanga Nawahou. E taea ana tēnei momo kaupapa e ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori i Aotearoa, engari, kua uru mai ngā marautanga a te kāwanatanga hei whaingā nui mā ngā kura, ā, i ētahi kura kua whakawarea te aro ki te hapori whānui.

Akene pea, ko Te Wānanga o Raukawa e tino whakaatu ana i ngā āhuatanga whakaora reo e taea ana e tētahi whakahaere mātauranga, mēnā ka aro nuitia te hapori. Ko tētahi o ngā whaingā, kia huri a Otaki (te tāone kei reira Te Wānanga e tū ana) hei hapori kōrero Māori. Ngāwari noa ana te rangona o te tutukitanga o tēnei o ngā whaingā, inā hikoia te huarahi, kei reira te reo Māori e kōrerohia ana. Koia hoki tētahi o ngā take i kōrerohia e ētahi o ngā kaiuru o Te Rangahautanga Reo Whāiti o Te Hoe Nuku Roa (tirohia Te Wāhanga Tuarima).

Ko te kaupapa tuatoru, he mea puta mai i ngā huihuinga mō ngā reo taketake o Amerika ki te Raki, i whakatūria e tēnā iwi, e tēnā iwi, i te ngahuru tau iwa tekau. Ka whakaemia ngā iwi tāngata whenua, arā, ō rātou kaikōrero morehu, ō rātou toa reo, ō rātou pūkenga reo, kia āta matapaki i ngā kaupapa whakaora reo. Ko tētahi o ngā take i puta, kia mataara tonu ki ngā momo whakaparahako, ngā momo pēhitanga nō roto anō i te iwi. Ka kōrerohia tēnei take i te tau 1995 (tirohia tā Cantoni 1996), ā, ka whakaaraara anō i te tau 1997. Nā Burnaby i whakaatu ngā tauira o ēnei tūāhuatanga whakaparahako, arā, te kore mahi tahi o te hunga kaiako, o ngā whakahaere reo rānei, ahakoa kotahi tonu te whaingā, me te whakahāwea kino o ētahi ki ngā kaupapa reo hou. E whakapae ana a Burnaby, ko te whakaparahako kino rawa atu, ko ērā e hāngai ana ki te tangata e ako ana i te reo, me tana whai kia whakamahia te reo e ako ana ia.

E hia kē ngā wā kua rongu au i te tangata e whakahua ana i tana hiahia ki te ako, ki te whakapiki rānei i tōna reo ūkaipō, engari ka whakarōrātia rātou, inā ka whakaputaina he kupu. He āinga nui tēnei e pēhi kino ana i ngā reo

tāngata whenua. Me matua whakakore tēnei āhuetanga e ora anō ai ngā reo taketake.¹¹ (Burnaby 1997:299)

He take nui anō tēnei kei te pā ki te oranga o te reo Māori, ā, i kōrerohia e ngā kaiuru o Te Rangahautanga Reo Whāiti o Te Hoe Nuku Roa (tirohia Te Wāhanga Tuarima).

3.5 Ngā reo o Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa i Aotearoa

E toru ngā take e arohia ana i konei te noho mai o ngā reo taketake o Te Moana-nui-ā-Kiwa ki Aotearoa. Tuatahi, e hāngai ana ki te noho mai o te reo Māori te reo tāngata whenua o Aotearoa. Inā tirohia Whakaahua 3.1, tērā e kitea, ahakoa koirā ngā reo tāngata whenua i ō rātou ake motu, he reo manene i Aotearoa. Ka āhua hohoro te taetae mai o ngā iwi o Te Moana-nui-ā-Kiwa ki Aotearoa i ngā tau o te ono tekau, whitu tekau hoki, inā he nui ngā tūranga mahi e wātea ana i taua wā. Tae noa mai ki te mutunga o te rautau, e uru tonu mai ana, ahakoa kua heke te tokomaha e uru whenua mai ana. Ko te take tuarua, ko te noho whanaunga mai o ēnei reo ki te reo Māori, nō reira hoki te reo Māori. Āpiti atu ki tēnei, he reo itinga anō ēnei reo e heke ana i Aotearoa. Ko te reo Hāmoa me te reo Tonga ngā reo o Te Moana-nui-ā-Kiwa e kaha ana te rangona i Aotearoa, koia hoki ngā reo e matua kōrerohia ana i konei, ōtirā, ko ētahi anō hoki.

Nā Fishman (1980) i whakaatu te nuku o ngā iwi uru whenua kia mau i te reo whai mana o te whenua hou hei reo matua mō rātou. Kāore e rerekē ake ngā iwi uru whenua mai ki Aotearoa. E whakaatuhia ana te ‘nuku reo’ e kōrerohia nei i te Whakaahua 3.2, ā, e kitea ana, i roto i ngā whakatipuranga e toru, kua tino heke rawa atu te reo ūkaipō o te iwi. He

pērā te reo Yugoslav (tirohia Jakich 1987, Stoffel 1982), te reo Horana (tirohia Kroef 1977), te reo Polish (tirohia Surus 1985), me te reo Haina (tirohia Wee 1974, Ng mā 1998) i Aotearoa.

Te Whakaahua 3.2: Te ngaro haere o ngā reo uru whenua

	te reo uru whenua	te reo Ingarihi
whakatipuranga 1	pakeke - pakeke pakeke - tamaiti	tamaiti - tamaiti
whakatipuranga 2	pakeke - pakeke pakeke - tamaiti	tamaiti - tamaiti
whakatipuranga 3		pakeke - pakeke pakeke - tamaiti tamaiti - tamaiti

He mea rangahau e ‘Aipolo (tirohia ‘Aipolo rāua ko Holmes 1990), te nuku o te reo Tonga i roto i te iwi Tonga i Te Whanganui-a-Tara e noho ana. Ko tāna i kite ai, he 98% e matatau ana ki tō rātou reo whakawhiti kōrero o ia rā, ahakoa kua tīmata te heke o te matatau ki te reo ōkawa o Tonga. Ko te nuinga o ngā kaiuru i whānau mai i Aotearoa, i uru whenua mai ō rātou mātua. Ko tō rātou reo kōrero i ngā wāhi ahurea Tonga (pērā i te kāinga me te whare karakia), ko te reo Tonga tonu, engari i ngā wāhi mana Palagi, (pērā i ngā toa me ngā wāhi mahi), kāore i te pērā rawa te whakamahia o te reo Tonga. Ko tētahi o ngā take matua mō te heke o te reo Māori i te kāinga, ko te moenga tahi o te Māori kōrero Māori ki te Pākehā, ki te Māori tē kōrero Māori rānei (tirohia Te Wāhanga Tuarima). He pērā anō hoki te kitenga o ‘Aipolo mō te reo Tonga. I te nuinga o ngā kāinga i whai wāhi atu ki tana rangahau, ko te reo Tonga tonu te reo whakawhitiwhiti o te

pakeke ki te pakeke (hāunga ngā kāinga he palagi tētahi o ngā mātua – he 20% o ana kaiuru e moe hoa rangatira ana). Āpiti atu ki tēnei, ka kitea te ‘nuku reo’ i roto i ngā whakawhitinga kōrero o te hunga pakeke ki te hunga tamariki, tamariki ki te tamariki hoki. Arā, kua uru mai te reo Ingarihi.

I kōrerohia e ‘Aipolo ētahi o ngā take e hāpai ana i te reo Tonga i Aotearoa kia mau tonu, arā: e matatau tonu ana te iwi; e whakamahia ana te reo i ngā wāhi pērā i te kāinga, ngā huihuinga Tonga, me ētahi wāhi tūmatanui; he mea nui tonu ki te iwi te tuakiri Tonga – ko te reo anō hoki tērā; e kaha tonu ana ngā taura whakapapa ki Tonga – ngā toronga atu, toronga mai; e uru whenua tonu ana he tangata Tonga hou; e noho kotahi ana te hapori Tonga, me te mau anō i tō rātou motuhaketanga i ngā kaupapa ahurea, pērā i te hāhi.

Kāore e tino rerekē ake ngā whakakitenga a Fairbairne-Dunlop (1984) i tana rangahau i te hapori Hāmoa i Te Whanganui-a-Tara. Ko te nuinga o ana kaiuru he mea whānau mai i Aotearoa engari i uru whenua mai ō rātou mātua, ā, he matatau ki tō rātou reo. Ko ngā take matua e hāpai ana i te ora o te reo: ko te pakari o te tū kotahi o te iwi; ko te whai kia kā tonu te ahi ki Hāmoa; ko te uru whenua tonu o ngā kanohi hou, ko te wāhi nui ki te reo me ngā tikanga Hāmoa i roto i ngā āhuatanga ahurea; ko te koingo o te ngākau o te hunga mātua, kia kōrero Hāmoa tonu ā rātou tamariki ki te hunga pūputu.

Ko ngā take e whakararu ana i te ora o te reo Hāmoa, ko ngā āhuatanga o te hapori whānui e rekareka ana ki te hunga taiohi me te pā kino anō o tēnei ki te ahurea Hāmoa

me te mana o ngā whakahaere Hāmoa; ko te moe i te tangata manene, ko te heke pea o te matatau o tēnā whakatipuranga o tēnā, inā ka piki te matatau ki te reo Ingarihi.

He pērā anō hoki te ia o te reo Tokelau i Aotearoa. E ai ki a Hooper mā:

He āhua whīwhiwhi ake ngā āhuatanga e pā ana ki te hunga i kuraina ai i Aotearoa, tamariki mai, taiohi mai. He matatau ake ō rātou reo Ingarihi ki te Ingarihi o ō rātou pakeke, engari he hohore ake ō rātou reo Tokelau ... E whakapae ana mātou, e tino taurangi ana ngā taumata reo o te iwi Tokelau kua rua ngā whakatipuranga i Aotearoa e noho ana. (1992:356)

Ki te tirohia ngā raraunga o te Tatauranga ā-motu 1996, tērā e kitea te nuku o ngā iwi ki te reo Ingarihi. Mēnā ka whakatairitea ki te hunga mātāpuputu, kei raro rawa te ōrau o te hunga mātātahi e āhei ana ki te whakawhitiwhiti kōrero mō ngā āhuatanga maha o ia rā i roto i tō rātou reo ūkaipō (tirohia te Whakaahua 3.3).

Te Whakaahua 3.3: Ko ngā kaikōrero o ngā reo o Te Moana-nui-ā-Kiwa kei Aotearoa e noho ana (Tatauranga ā-Motu 1996)

Ngā wewehenga pakeke									
0-4	5-14	15-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-64	64+	total
Te Reo Tonga									
39	53	52	66	78	79	84	76	80	61
Te Reo Hāmoa									
39	56	66	74	84	96	100	100	99	70
Te Reo Tokelau									
18	39	46	53	78	91	86	100	96	53
Te Reo Rarotonga									
4	6	10	16	28	41	50	54	55	18

(he ōrau ngā tau katoa)

Kua āhua āwangawanga ngā iwi ki te heke o ō rātou reo, ā, kua tīmata te whakatūtū i ngā kōhanga reo, me te aro anō ki te pūnaha mātauranga, mā reira e kaupare atu te nuku ki te reo Ingarihi, e pūmau ai ngā reo ūkaipō. He ruarua nei ngā pukapuka kura kua tāngia ki ngā reo o Te Moana-nui-ā-Kiwa, nō te tau 1999, i whakatūria te reo Hāmoa hei kaupapa whakamātautau mō te Kura Tiwhikete, ā, e whai ana Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga kia maha ake ngā uri Pacifica nei, e uru atu ana ki te mahi pouako kura.

Ehara i te mea e whāia ana tētahi mahere reo nahanaha mō Aotearoa, engari ia, nā te totohe o ngā iwi me te āwangawanga kei ngaro ngā reo, i whakatūria ai ngā kaupapa e kōrerohia ana i runga nei. E whakapaetia ana, ko tētahi o ngā take e pāngia ana ki te heke o ngā reo uru whenua i Aotearoa, ko te kore i āta whakatakoto i tētahi mahere reo. Akene pea, he mea whakararu anō i te reo Māori, inā ka whakataetaetia ngā pūtea me ngā rauemi. Ki te āta whiriwhirihia tētahi mahere reo nahanaha, tērā e kitea te tūranga tangata whenua o te reo Māori, e maru ana i raro i Te Tiriti o Waitangi, me ngā hua anō hoki ka puta, inā ka pakari te ora o ngā reo uru whenua. Ko ngā painga ka puta ki ngā iwi nō rātou ngā reo, otirā, ka puta ki te whenua katoa (tirohia Te Wāhanga Tuawhitu me te tuhinga a Skutnabb-Kangas 1981, kei reira ngā kōrero mō ngā hua ka puta, inā ka pakari te ora o ngā reo ūkaipō).

Arā anō tētahi take e kitea ana i roto i ngā āhuetanga o ngā reo Pacifica e kōrerohia nei, e rite ana ki ō te reo Māori. Ko te noho hāngai o te whai i ngā tikanga tūturu o nehe, me te auahatanga, te whakahāngai i ngā tikanga ki ngā āhuetanga o ēnei rā. Kua kōrerohia te wāhi nui ki te hāhi me ōna whakahaere, kia pūmau ai te reo Tonga, te reo Hāmoa hoki.

Engari ko tētahi anō o ngā whakakitenga e mea ana, kāore i te pērā rawa te whakapiri atu o te hunga taiohi i whānau mai i Aotearoa ki ngā tikanga o te hāhi. Ka heke tā te iwi pūmau ki ngā tikanga o nehe i roto i ngā whakatipuranga. Ka tino kumea te hunga taiohi Pacifica, Māori hoki, e ngā āhuatanga ahurea o te ao whānui, pērā i ngā waiata reggae, rāpi hoki, me te āhua o te kawē i aua momo waiata. Ko te mātātaki nui kei mua i te aroaro o te hunga kaumātua, me ngā whakahaere tuku iho, kia pūmau tonu ki ngā tikanga ake o te iwi, engari kia whakahāngai anō hoki ki te hunga rangatahi me nga āhuatanga noho o ēnei rā. He take nui tēnei kei te pā ki te ora o te reo. Nō kō ake nei i puta te whakahē o tētahi kaumātua Māori ki ngā whakahaere o tētahi rōpū hāpai i te reo. Ko te nuinga o ngā tāngata o te rōpū nei, i waenga i te 20 me te 40 tau te pakeke, ā, ko tā rātou he whai i te kaupapa ‘kōrero Māori’. Ka whakahēngia rātou e te kaumātua nei, mō te whakatū i ētahi pō whakangahau i te pāparakāuta. Ko tāna, he tapu te reo, nō reira kua e kawea atu ki roto i ngā wāhi pērā i te pāparakāuta. He pērā anō hoki ngā whakahē i ngā waiata rāpi i roto i te reo Māori. He mea nui te whakatau i ēnei āhuatanga taupatupatu, e haere whakamua ai te reo me ōna tikanga ake.

I roto i te takanga o te wā, e āhei ana ngā iwi Pacifica kei Aotearoa e noho ana, ki te toro atu ki ō rātou whenua, kia pūrea e te hau kāinga, kia whakapakari anō i ngā taura whakapapa. He mea nui hoki tēnei kia hiki anō i te āhua o ō rātou reo. Akene pea he kaupapa hei whaitanga mō te whakaora i te reo Māori. E taea ana te whakatū he kaupapa ‘noho kāinga reo Māori’ i ngā wāhi e mātotoru tonu ana te kōrerotia o te reo, pērā i Te Urewera, koirā hei wāhi noho mō te tangata e ako ana i te reo mō tētahi wā (mai i te

kotahi wiki ki te kotahi tau pea te roa). Mā konei e tino whakapiki ai te reo o te tangata ako, pakeke mai, taiohi mai.

3.6 Te whakarāpopoto

Kei te Whakaahua 3.4 e whakarāpopotohia ana ngā take matua i puta i ngā kōrero o tēnei wāhanga o te tuhinga mō ētahi reo o tāwāhi, me te pānga mai ki te reo Māori i Aotearoa nei. Tērā e kitea, ko ētahi o nga take kei te pā ki te ahurea Māori, ko ētahi kei te pā ki te noho mai o te iwi Māori i Aotearoa whānui. He mea whai wāhi atu ēnei take matua ki te anga whakaora reo e kōrerohia ana i Te Wāhanga Tuaono o tēnei tuhinga.

Te Whakaahua 3.4 Ko ngā take matua o ētahi reo o tāwahi, me te pānga mai ki te reo Māori i Aotearoa

Ngā take kei te pā ki te ahurea Māori	Ngā take kei te pā ki te āhua o te noho mai o te iwi Māori ki Aotearoa
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • He mea nui kia tū tangata tonu ai, kia pakari tonu ai te tuakiri ahurea (Katarana, Nawahou, ngā reo Pacifica i Aotearoa). • Me kaupare atu ngā whakahē i te reo me te tangata e ako ana i te reo (Nawahou). • Kia rite te pūmau ki ngā tikanga tuku iho, me te whakahāngai anō i ngā tikanga ki ngā āhuatanga o ēnei rā (Nawahou, ngā reo Pacifica i Aotearoa). • Kia mataara, kei riro ko te reo Ingarihi te reo kōrero i ngā wāhi mana Māori me ngā wāhi haerere ai te tangata ia rā (Airihi). • Akene pea, kāore e tutuki te noho motuhake o te iwi Māori, koia hei tūāpapa mō te whakaora i te reo. Kāore hoki e hiahia ana e te iwi (Nawahou, ngā reo Pacifica i Aotearoa). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ahakoa te whakatutuki i te mana tōrangapū motuhake o te iwi, kāore tonu pea e arotia te reo me tōna oranga tonutanga (Airihi). • Kua e whakawhirinaki ki te pūnaha mātauranga, e whakapono rānei, mā reira e ora anō ai te reo (Airihi). • Kia whai mana anō te reo ki ngā āhuatanga ohaoha (Katarana). • Ko te whakatakoto i tētahi rautaki hokohoko tētahi huarahi e māori anō ai te whakamahi i te reo Māori i ngā wāhi tūmataiti, tūmatanui hoki (Katarana). • Mā te poipoi i ngā waiaro pai ki te reo i roto i te hapori whānui, e hāpaitia ai te whakaora i te reo (Katarana). • Kia aro nui atu ngā kura ki ō rātou hapori me te wāhi anō ki te reo i te hāpori (Nawahou). • Me whiriwhiri, me whakatakoto, tētahi mahere reo mō Aotearoa, kia kitea ai te tūranga motuhake o te reo Māori, kia ora tahi ai ngā reo katoa (ngā reo Pacifica i Aotearoa).

¹ ... the number of Gaeltacht residents actually using Irish as their habitual language of *daily* life (as distinct from rarer use) has been estimated as being only 29,000, i.e. only about half of those claiming ability to speak it and the majority of Irish-speaking parents there have lately begun to rear their newly born children in English ('so that they can be like all other Irish children'), doing so to such an extent that a family still rearing its children in Irish is now often an object of comment and curiosity in many Gaeltacht areas.

² ... the indigenous Gaeltacht residents have had things done to them and for them, but they have not usually been seriously consulted or involved *vis-à-vis* policy making or implementation.

³ The central problem, however, is that popular use of the language (Irish) has remained at a low level and current indications are that this is contracting further in some important respects.

⁴ The second possibility may arise from the fact that Wales will now be an unquestionable constitutional reality, and that citizenship of Wales will be unequivocal for all those who live in Wales. We may see the emergence of a sense of national enterprise based on economic success etc. In these circumstances it may be considered that the language is no longer necessary as a defining element in Welsh nationality, except perhaps in a merely symbolic way. In this way the language could be marginalised. It is interesting to note that the language is no longer a political issue, no longer a subject of debate, and there has been great emphasis on inclusivity and multi-culturalism as a features of Wales.

⁵ This change was also accompanied by a deliberate, though secret policy of introducing Spanish with the intention of gradually displacing Catalan.

⁶ Immediately following upon its Civil War victory, the Franco-government instituted policies that deprived Catalonia its culture and its language of any public semblance of their prior independence and recognition. Catalonia's autonomy was annulled and the region itself was administered from Madrid as four separate provinces. All public use of Catalan was prohibited; Catalan names and toponyms were banned and replaced by Spanish counterparts; Catalan publications, street signs and advertisements or notices were not only discontinued but any disobedience with respect to these prohibitions was punishable (and punished!) by fine, dismissal, arrest, and the closing of the offending publications, institutions or agencies. The anti-Catalan campaign was so extreme that even ordinary conversational use of the language among ordinary folk could prove to be dangerous if overheard.

⁷ the state of Catalan was pitiful

⁸ Clearinghouses and barracks had to be set up to handle the flow; at times, trains loaded with immigrants were turned back. Between 1950 and 1975, nearly 1.4 million immigrants entered Catalonia.

⁹ substantially regulate or moderate the ethnolinguistic influences stemming from the Anglo-American culture that surrounds them and to which they not only *have* but also commonly *seek* easy access. RLS efforts, therefore face the difficult balancing act of re-establishing and maintaining boundaries, at least in part of the total-space of the minorities involved while not closing off access to those general American opportunities and experiences that are desired.

¹⁰ Such activities have enabled the Navajo staff to reclaim Navajo for academic purposes, thereby elevating the moral authority and practical utility of the language... The overall impact has been to heighten community consciousness about the value of Navajo language and culture... Parents and Grandparents now have tangible demonstrations of the ways in which their own lives can become the basis for school based language and literacy learning. This has begun to transform the negative attitudes toward literacy forged in the boarding schools, and to promote the understanding that literacy is not something held by a privileged few, or, as the boarding schools taught, simply words on a page.

¹¹ Most often I have heard people say that they would like to learn or improve their their skills in their indigenous language, but they could not take the ridicule they got when they tried to speak. This kind of attitude and behaviour is a very powerful force in creating the risk of extinction of indigenous laguages, and acting to stop it is essential to the work of stabilizing indigenous languages.

Te Wāhanga Tuawhā

Ko Ngā Tikanga Rangahau

- 4.1 Te kupu whakataki
- 4.2 Tā te Māori kaupapa rangahau
 - 4.2.1 Tā te Māori titiro
 - 4.2.2 Ngā whakahaere rangahau e hāngai ana ki ngā tikanga Māori
 - 4.2.3 Te tohe i te mana whakahaere
 - 4.2.4 Te ū ki te iwi
 - 4.2.5 Ko te whakapiki i te iwi Māori te kaupapa matua
- 4.3 Tā te hunga whai mātauranga reo whakahaere kaupapa rangahau
- 4.4 Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti o Te Hoe Nuku Roa
 - 4.4.1 Te matatau ki te reo Māori
 - 4.4.2 Te whakamahi i te reo Māori
 - 4.4.3 Te whai wāhitanga atu ki te reo Māori
 - 4.4.4 Te waiaro ki te reo Māori
- 4.5 Te whiriwhiri i ngā kaiuru
- 4.6 Te whakapā atu ki ngā kaiuru
- 4.7 Te kohi, te whakarite, me te tātari i ngā kōrero a ngā kaiuru
- 4.8 Te whakarāpopoto

4.1 Te kupu whakataki

Ko te kaupapa rangahau e kōrerohia ana i tēnei tuhinga, tētahi wāhanga o te Rangahau Matua o Te Hoe Nuku Roa e whakahaerehia ana i Te Pūtahi-ā-Toi, Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa (Te Whare Wānanga o Massey). Koia ko te rangahau i te āhua o ngā

kāinga Māori, ā, i tīmatahia i te tau 1994. E toru ōna wāhanga: ko te Rangahau Matua – koia ko te tūāpapa, ko te Rangahau Tiro Whāroa, ā, ko ngā Rangahau Whāiti. Kātoa ēnei rangahau e tiro tiro ana i ngā āhuatanga matatini kei te pā ki ngā kāinga Māori o ēnei rā.

Ko tā te Rangahau Matua, he whakaputa i ngā kōrero e pā ana ki ngā āhuatanga matatini o ngā kāinga Māori. Ka tirohia ko ngā āhuatanga hauora, ko ngā take mātauranga, ko ngā āhuatanga ohaoha, ko te whai wāhitanga atu ki te ao Māori, ōna tikanga, me āna rawa, ā, ko ngā take hoki e pā ana ki te reo Māori. E taea ana ēnei āhuatanga katoa te whiri i roto i te mahi tātari i ngā whakakitenga, ā, mā konei e kitea ai ngā tātari hono i waenganui i te tuakiri Māori, ngā āhuatanga ohaoha, me ngā āhuatanga noho o te kāinga.

Ko tā te Rangahau Tiro Whāroa, he waitohu i te rerekē haere o ngā āhuatanga noho o te kāinga Māori i roto i te takanga o te wā, me te whakaputa kōrero anō mō te pā mai o ngā kaupapa whakapiki i te iwi.

Ko tā ngā Rangahau Whāiti, he tiro tiro i ētahi kaupapa motuhake, me te noho mai o aua kaupapa ki te kāinga Māori. He tirohanga hōhonu i ētahi o ngā take ka puta i te Rangahau Matua, ā, mā konei e puta ai he māramatanga ake anō e pā ana ki ēnei take. Mā ngā whakakitenga o te Rangahau Matua, me ngā hiahia motuhake o tēnā o tēnā o ngā kairangahau, e puta ai ngā Rangahau Whāiti. Mā ngā whakakitenga o ngā Rangahau Whāiti e mārama ake ai ngā take whānui ka puta i te Rangahau Matua. E hāngai ana tēnei ki tā Nelde me tana kōrero ‘... mā ngā tatauranga whānui e kitea ai ngā kaupapa matua, ā, e whaitake ake ana mēnā he rangahau tiro hōhonu e haere ana i

te taha. Mā konei e whai wāhi mai ai ngā take neherā, me ngā take hinengaro¹, (1989:76).

E whā tekau ngā tāngata i uru mai ki te rangahau whāiti e kōrerohia ana i konei, ā, ko ēnei whā tekau, he mea waitohu e rātou i Te Rangahau Matua o Te Hoe Nuku Roa, he matatau, he āhua matatau rānei ki te reo. Mā te Rangahau Reo Whāiti nei e hōhonu ake ai te titiro ki ngā take e pā ana ki te matatau o te tangata, tōna whakamahi i te reo, tōna whai wāhitanga atu ki te reo, ōna waiaro, me tōna mōhio ki ngā take reo – ēnei āhuatanga katoa e puta mai ana i te āhua o tana noho ki tōna kāinga.

I te tuatahi, ka matapakina tā te Māori kaupapa rangahau, arā, ngā tika, ngā tikanga me ngā rautaki e puta ai he hua ki te iwi. Kātahi ka honoa atu ki ngā tikanga rangahau o te hunga whai mātauranga reo, me te whakaatu anō i te pānga mai o ēnei ki Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti o Te Hoe Nuku Roa. Ka whakaaturia te huarahi i kōwhiria ai ngā kaiuru o Te Rangahau Matua me te Rangahau Reo Whāiti, kātahi ka whakarāpopototia ngā tikanga rangahau me ngā take i āta whāia anō ēnei tikanga i roto i Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti.

4.2 Tā te Māori kaupapa rangahau

Nā te tokomaha haere o ngā pūkenga Māori e uru atu ana ki te mahi rangahau, kua tīmata te wānanga i ngā tika, ngā tikanga, me ngā rautaki e hāngai ana ki te rangahau i ngā kaupapa Māori. Kua roa nei te iwi Māori e hōhā ana ki te āhua o ngā rangahau e whakahaerehia ana, me te kore e puta he hua ki a rātou anō. I roto i ngā tau tata kua hori nei, kua puta he whakaaro kia tino hāngai te mahi whakahaere rangahau ki ngā tikanga Māori, ngā wawata me te titiro whakamua o te iwi.

Hāunga te āhua whakaahu o ngā pūkenga Māori, e tika ana ngā whakaaro hou mō te mahi rangahau nā te tiro korotaha o te iwi whānui ki tēnei mea te rangahau me tō rātou kore whakapono ki ngā hua ka puta. E pēnei ana te ia o ngā whakaaro hou, arā, kia noho whakawhanaunga te kairangahau me te hunga e rangahautia ana, kia whai wāhi mai ngā kaiuru ki ngā whakahaere o te rangahau, kia puta hoki he hua ki ngā kaiuru, o rātou hapori, iwi hoki. Ko ēnei āhuatanga e tohu ana i te āhua hou o te noho mai o te kairangahau me ngā kaiuru, arā, kia kua te kairangahau e noho rangatira, engari kia ōrite te noho, kia pai ai te mahi tahi. Nā Murphy rāua ko Hollings i whakaputa kōrero mō tēnei āhuatanga i puta i tā rāua kaupapa rangahau i te āhua o te reo o ngā tamariki o tētahi kura reo Māori.

I te tuatahi, kāore te iwi i whakapono mai he hua ka puta i te rangahau hei painga mō rātou, ā, he uua te whakahuri i o rātou whakaaro. He take nui te āta tiroiro i tētahi hapori, te tātari i ngā whakakitenga me te whakaputa i ngā hua, ā, he uua kē atu, mēnā kua takahia kinotia taua hapori i ngā tau ki muri e ngā mahi rangahau. Kāore i rerekē ake tā rātou titiro ki tēnei kaupapa rangahau, ahakoa he Māori tonu ngā kairangahau, ā, ko te whakapiki i te kaupapa Māori te hua e tino whāia ana². (Murphy rāua ko Hollings 1993:12)

Ahakoa e puta tonu ana te aronga hou mō te rangahau i ngā kaupapa Māori, ā, kāore anō kia tau ngā whakaaro, tērā e kitea, ko te take matua ko te whakahoki mai i te mana whakahaere i te rangahau, me te aro anō ki ngā hua ka puta mō te iwi.

Kua roa nei te Māori e rangahautia ana e iwi kē, anō nei he ngārara i raro i te karu whakarahi e tirohia ana e te tangata pūtaiao. Ka puritia e rātou te

mana whakatau, whakaatu hoki i ngā kaupapa Māori³. (Mita, kei roto i tā Smith 1991:46)

Nā te whakahokinga mai o te mana whakahaere i ngā rangahau Māori, kua riro mā te Māori tonu e whakatau, e whakaatu ngā kaupapa e pā ana ki a ia anō. Āpiti atu ki tēnei, kua kaha kē atu te aro ki ngā āhuatanga tōrangapū, ngā āhuatanga ohaoha, me ngā āhuatanga i pā i roto i ngā tau kua hori, e pēhi ana i te oranga o te reo. E rite ana tēnei ki tā Smith (1990) i tohe ai, ko tētahi whāinga nui o te rangahau kaupapa Māori, kia makere ai ngā here e pēhi nei i te iwi, engari kia hāngai tonu ki ngā āhuatanga tōrangapū, ngā āhuatanga ohaoha, me ngā āhuatanga o mua, kei te pā ki te iwi ināianei tonu. He mea kōkiri tēnei take e Smith i roto i tana kauhau ki te huihuinga ‘Te Oru Rangahau’ i tū ki Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa (Te Whare Wānanga o Massey) i te tau 1998. Nāna i waitohu ētahi rautaki rangahau rua tekau mā rima, e whāia ana e ngā hapori o ngā iwi taketake puta noa i te ao. E ai ki tāna, nā ngā iwi tonu i tapa ngā rautaki nei, ā, ka whai wāhi atu ko te whakatau, ko te hokinga mahara, ko te wawao, ko te whakaora, ko te whakamaru, ko te titiro whakamua, ko te waihanga. E hāngai ana ēnei rautaki katoa ki te rangahau e kōrerohia nei i tēnei tuhinga.

Ko te wāhanga e whai ake nei, e whakamārama ana i ngā āhuatanga matua e rima o te rangahau kaupapa Māori, me te whakaatu anō i te hāngai o ēnei āhuatanga ki te rangahau e kōrerohia ana i tēnei tuhinga.

4.2.1 Tā te Māori titiro

Arā ngā tohunga o te ao Māori (Nepe 1991, Rangihau 1981, Karetū 1990) me ā rātou kōrero mō te tirohanga motuhake a te Māori ki tōna ao, ā, he mea pūtaka mai i ōna whakapono, ōna waiaro, me ōna tātai hono ki ngā āhuatanga katoa o te ao. Ko ēnei

tirohanga motuhake, i puta i ngā takahi a tauwi i ngā tau kua hori, ngā āhuratanga tōrangapū, ohaoha hoki o ēnei rā, ā, ko ēnei mea katoa ‘... kei te pā ki tā te Māori titiro ki tōna ao o ināianei, āna whakahaere, tae atu hoki ki te āhua o āna pātai me te rapu anō i ngā whakamārama⁴’ (Mead 1996:204).

E pūtake mai ana Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti o Te Hoe Nuku Roa i te whakataukī kōrero ‘he taonga te reo’. Āpiti atu ki tēnei, i roto i ngā mahi rangahau, ka noho whakahirahira tonu, ko te mana, ko te wairua, ko te rangatiratanga o ngā kaiuru, arā anō te whakataukī kōrero, ‘he aha te mea nui o te ao, he tangata, he tangata, he tangata’.

Ko te āhua o tā tauwi rangahau, he whakawehe i te kaupapa e rangahautia ana ki ōna wāhanga moroiti, ko tā te Māori, he kimi i ngā tātai hono o tēnā wāhanga o tēnā, hei whakaahua i te katoa o te kaupapa. Koia hoki tētahi anō o ngā mātāpono o te rangahau o Te Hoe Nuku Roa. Kei Te Wāhanga Tuaono e whakaatuhia ana tētahi mahere mō te whakaora i te reo, he mea takea mai i tēnei kaupapa rangahau. Ko tētahi o ōna mātāpono, i tapaina ko te ‘tūhonotanga’, ā, e tohu ana tēnei i te noho whanaunga mai o ngā momo kaupapa whakaora reo, me te hono anō o tētahi ki tētahi. Mā konei e kōkiri ngātahitia ai te reo me tōna oranga tonutanga.

Koirā hoki tētahi o ngā whakaaro matua i te wā i tīmatatia ai a Te Hoe Nuku Roa, arā, kia āta rapu i ngā āhuratanga e tūhono ana i te iwi Māori, me te āhei anō ki te whakaatu i ōna matatini, ōna rerekētanga. E taea ana te tūhono ngā āhuratanga noho katoa o te iwi Māori (āhuratanga ahurea, āhuratanga haporī, āhuratanga ohaoha), me te whakaatu anō i ngā āhuratanga motuhake o tēnā iwi o tēnā hapū, o tēnā whānau, o tēnā tangata i roto i ngā hīkoi whakamua ki te rautau rua tekau mā tahi. (Tirohia tā Durie mā 1994)

4.2.2 Ngā whakahaere rangahau e hāngai ana ki ngā tikanga Māori.

Ki te kore e hāngai ngā whakahaere rangahau ki ngā tikanga Māori, ka hē anō te kaupapa (tirohia Mead 1996:215). Ki te pēnei, ka pā kino atu pea ki ngā kaiuru, ki ngā kairangahau, ki tā te Māori aro ki tēnei mea te rangahau, ki te whaihua rānei o te rangahau – arā, te pono o te rangahau, me tōna whitake ki te haere whakamua a te iwi Māori. E ai ki a Irwin (1994), ki te noho mai he kaumātua hei whakamaru i te kaupapa, mēnā he Māori hoki te kairangahau, kātahi ka āhua hāngai ake ngā whakahaere ki ngā tikanga Māori. Ko tā Te Awekotuku (1991) me hāngai anō ngā whakahaere a ngā kairangahau Māori ki ngā tikanga pērā i te ‘aroha ki te tangata’, te ‘kanohi kitea’, me te ‘titiro, whakarongo, kōrero’. Koia hoki ētahi o ngā tikanga i āta whāia i roto i ngā mahi katoa o Te Hoe Nuku Roa, tae atu hoki ki te rangahau whāiti e kōrerohia ana i konei. Arā:

- Ko te tikanga ‘utu’. Kāore ngā kairangahau i haere poka noa ki ngā kāinga o ngā kaiuru, i tukuna he koha (he pihikete, he tākoha hoko pukapuka) i runga i te āhua o te manaaki a ngā kaiuru me tā rātou ngākaunui ki te kaupapa. Ka haere tonu te whakawhanaunga i ngā kaiuru, kāore i aukati noa i te mutunga o te patapatai – ka tukuna he pūrongo mō ngā whakakitenga i puta i te rangahau, ka tukuna hoki he kāri kirihimete.
- Ko te tikanga ‘mana whenua’. Ka āta kōrerohia te kaupapa rangahau ki ngā Rūnanga-ā-Iwi me ngā rōpū Māori o ngā rohe e whā i haere ai te kaupapa. Ka haere tonu ēnei huihuinga, te mahi tahi me rātou, me te whakahoki anō i ngā pūrongo ki a rātou.
- Ko te tikanga ‘aroha ki te tangata’. He mamae tonu te whakaputa kōrero mō ētahi o ngā pātai, nā te mea he taonga te reo kua ngaro i ētahi o ngā kaiuru. He wā anō

ka puta he kōrero mō ngā momo takahi i a rātou, tae atu ki ngā pēhitanga kua pā ki
ō rātou whānau. Ka heke ngā roimata, ā, ka riro mā te aroha e kawe te kaupapa.

4.2.3 Te mana whakahaere

Kua kōkiritia tā te Māori kaupapa rangahau, i runga i te whakaahu ki te āhua o te rangahau i ngā kaupapa Māori o mua, me te kore e kite i ngā hua hei āwhina i te haere whakamua a te iwi Māori. E haere whakamua ai te iwi Māori, me āta whakatau i tōna tūranga tika i Aotearoa, ā, ka whai wāhi atu ko ngā āhuatanga tōrangapū, ngā āhuatanga hapori, āhuatanga ahurea, ohaoha hoki. Nō reira, ko tētahi wāhanga nui o te rangahau kaupapa Māori, ko te aromātai, ko te totohe, ko te whawhai, ko te whai kia wewete ai i ngā here (tirohia tā Mead 1996:201). E whakaaturia ai ēnei āhuatanga i ngā tūmomo kaupapa ka kōwhiria e ngā kairangahau Māori hei whaitanga mā rātou. E ai ki a Mead, ahakoa ko te nuinga o ngā kaupapa rangahau o ēnei wā, kei te pā ki te whakahokinga mai o ngā whenua, o ngā kōrero nehe, me ērā atu taonga tuku iho a ngā mātua tīpuna, kāore e aukati ana i ngā kairangahau e whai ana i ētahi kaupapa kē e hāngai ana ki te iwi (1996:207).

Ko Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti o Te Hoe Nuku Roa e tiro ana i te whawhai a te iwi kia ora tonu te reo, me te āhua o taua whawhai i te kāinga. Ko tētahi wāhanga nui, ko te whakaatu i ngā take e kōwhiria ai te reo Māori hei reo kōrero mō te tangata i roto i ana hīkoi haere o ia rā, ā, mēnā e whai ana ia kia turakina te hanga kōrero Ingarihi o te hapori. Āpiti atu ki tēnei, ko ngā āhuatanga kei te whakauaua i tana whawhai. Mā konei e puta ai he kōrero e takea mai ana i ngā mahi a te iwi, koia hoki hei āwhina i te whawhai kia ora anō ai te reo.

4.2.4 Te ū ki te iwi

Nā Irwin (1994) rāua ko Bishop (1994) i tapa te ingoa ‘whānau’ hei whakaatu i te rōpū tātaki i tētahi kaupapa rangahau. Koia hoki tētahi o ngā āhuatanga o te rangahau kaupapa Māori e kōrerohia nei, arā, te whakahoki i te mana whakahaere i te rangahau ki te Māori. Ko te kaupapa o ēnei rōpū, he tautoko i ngā whakahaere, he whakamaru i te kairangahau me āna mahi, he tiaki i ngā tika o ngā kaiuru, he whakaū hoki i ngā tikanga Māori. He tirohanga whānui hoki tā te rōpū nei, ki ngā hua ka puta i te rangahau hei painga mō te iwi.

Ko tā te Māori aro ki tēnei mea te rangahau, he moumou taima noa iho, ki te kore e puta he hua ki te iwi. Me āta whakatakoto ngā whāinga whānui, me ngā whāinga paetae o te rangahau kaupapa Māori, ā, kia hāngai tonu ngā whāinga ki te hāpai i te iwi i roto i ā rātou whakanekeneke o ia rā⁵.
(Stokes 1985:3)

He rerekē tēnei tū āhuatanga ki ngā tikanga whakahaere rangahau o tauīwi. Ko tā rātou, he āhua takitahi, arā, he tono ki tētahi rūnanga tiro tiro i ngā tika o te whakahaere, kātahi ka wātea te kairangahau ki te whai i tana kaupapa. Ko tā te Māori tikanga rangahau, ka noho tonu te ‘whānau’ e kōrerohia nei, arā te rōpū tātaki hei whakamaru i te kaupapa, hei whakahau i te kairangahau, tae noa ki te mutunga o ngā mahi. Mā konei e whai mana ai te kairangahau me te kaupapa rangahau, ka ū anō ki ngā tikanga Māori me te whakamaru hoki i ngā whakahaere (tirohia ngā wāhanga 4.3.1 me 4.3.2 i runga nei).

Ahakoia e tohe ana ētahi i te whai wāhitanga mai o te kairangahau Pākehā ki ngā rangahau kaupapa Māori, kāore e tino raru ana a Bishop (1994), a Irwin (1994) me Mead (1996). E mea ana rātou, mā te ‘whānau’, mā te rōpū tātaki rānei e whakamaru,

e āwhina, e whakahau, e whakatika te kairangahau Pākehā, mā rātou anō e pupuri te mana whakahaere o te rangahau. Koirā hoki tētahi āhuatanga kei te noho mai ki ngā whakahaere o Te Hoe Nuku Roa, inā he Pākehā te kaituhi o tēnei kaupapa. Ko ia anake te kairangahau Pākehā e mahi ana i waenganui i te rōpū rangahau o Te Hoe Nuku Roa, he rōpū tātaki anō hei tiroiro i ngā whakahaere me te ū ki ngā tikanga Māori. He kaumātua, he tāngata nō te hāpori Māori, he pukenga Whare Wānanga, he kanohi hoki nō ngā tari tūmatanui pērā i Te Puni Kōkiri, Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori me Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga, e noho mai ana i te rōpū tātaki. Mā ēnei āhuatanga katoa e ū ai ngā tikanga rangahau kaupapa Māori e kōrerohia nei.

4.2.5 Ko te whakapiki i te iwi Māori te kaupapa matua

Ko te nuinga o ngā tuhinga kōrero mō te rangahau kaupapa Māori e mea ana, he take nui te tuakiri o te kairangahau, me tōna aro ki te kaupapa e rangahautia ana (tirohia tā Smith 1990, tā Mead 1996, tā Bishop 1994, tā Irwin 1994, tā Pihema 1993, tā Soutar 2000). E hāngai ana tēnei ki tā te wahine rangahau me tā rātou whakahē i te ariā e mea ana mā te kite, mā te ine rānei e taea te kī he pono tētahi āhuatanga. Koia hoki e whakaatu ana i te hono o te rangahau kaupapa Māori ki te haere whakamua o te iwi, ehara i te mahi whai mātauranga noa iho. Mā te whakaatu i te aro o te kairangahau ki te kaupapa e rangahautia ana, tērā e kitea i takea mai te kaupapa i tā te Māori titiro (tirohia 4.2.1 i runga nei). Ka kore hoki e ‘aukati i te nahanaha, i te tika, i te taha arorau rānei i roto i ā tātou mahi i ngā rangahau kaupapa Māori’⁶ (Mead 1996:203).

I takea mai te kaupapa rangahau e kōrerohia ana i tēnei tuhinga i te mahi whakaora i te reo Māori, koia hoki te whakamārama i tukuna ki ngā kaiuru.

E mōhio nei tātou ki ngā kōrero kua puta i ngā tau nei e mea ana, kāore i te tino pakari te tū o tō tātou reo. Ko tā mātou e whai nei kia puta he hua hei

whakapakari ake i tōna tū. Arā, kia mōhio ai tātou ki ngā āhuatanga kei te whakararu i te reo Māori i ō tātou kāinga, ngā huarahi e whāia ana e tēnā e tēnā hei whakapai i ēnei whakararu, he aha hoki te wāhi ki ngā rōpū Māori me te iwi whānui hei hāpai i te reo i roto i ō tātou kāinga. (tirohia Āpitianga 1)

I te wā ka toro atu ngā kairangahau ki ngā kāinga ki te whakawhitiwhiti kōrero ki ngā kaiuru, ka rangona, ka kitea, te ngākaunui o te iwi ki te kaupapa, nā te mea he kaupapa hei hiki i te āhua o te reo. He āhua auau te puta o ngā kōrero pēnei i tēnei; 'koa ana te ngākau i a kōrua kua haere mai nei, kei te mihi atu ...' (Kaiuru 18)

Ko ngā mātāpono hou mō te rangahau kaupapa Māori e puta mai ana i ngā tau tata kua hori nei, e whakarāpopotohia ana i te Whakaahua 4.1.

Te Whakaahua 4.1: Ngā mātāpono mō te rangahau kaupapa Māori, me te kitenga o aua mātāpono i roto i ngā mahi

Ngā mātāpono	Te kitenga o ngā mātāpono i roto i ngā mahi
Tā te Māori titiro	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • he taonga te reo me te tuakiri Māori • he tangata te mea nui o te ao, me whakanui ngā uara tangata • te tūhonotanga o ngā kaupapa • ka arohia ngā āhuatanga i puta i ngā tau o mua, ngā āhuatanga tōrangapū, me ngā āhuatanga ohaoha o te iwi

Ngā whakahaere rangahau e hāngai ana ki ngā tikanga Māori	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ka whāia ngā tikanga o tēnei mea te utu • me whakaatu i te ngākaunui ki te tangata me tōna wairua • kia tūroa te whanaungatanga i waenganui i te kairangahau me ngā kaiuru
Te tohe i te mana whakahaere	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • me aro ki ngā kaupapa rangahau e pā ana ki te tōkeketanga o te hapori • kia whai wāhi atu te rangahau ki te haere whakamua o te iwi Māori • ka whakahokia ngā whakakitenga o te rangahau ki te iwi
Te ū ki te iwi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • he mea haere tonu te tiroiro me te whakamana i te rangahau • ka whakatūria he rōpū tātaki hei whakamaru i te rangahau • kia ū ki tā te Māori titiro me ngā whakahaere rangahau haumaruru • kia whakapono ai ngā kaiuru ki te kairangahau
Ko te whakapiki i te iwi Māori te kaupapa matua	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • e takea mai ana te kaupapa rangahau i tā te Māori titiro • e hāngai ana te rangahau ki te haere whakamua o te iwi Māori

4.3 Tā te hunga whai mātauranga reo whakahaere kaupapa rangahau

I ngā tau o mua, e rua ngā momo rangahau hei tiroiro i te āhua o te whakamahi i tētahi reo, ngā taumata matatau, me ngā waiaro o te iwi e pā ana ki tō rātou reo ūkaipō.

Ko tētahi, ko te rangahau whānui, arā, he tatau i tētahi wāhanga o te taupori. I te nuinga o te wā, ko ngā whakakitenga ka puta mō te hapori reorua, e mea ana, he wāhi kē e whakamahia ana tētahi reo, he wāhi kē mō tētahi. Ko te reo ūkaipō o te iwi itinga e whakamahia ana i ngā wāhi tūmataiti, me ngā wāhi ōpaki pērā i te kāinga, ko te reo o te nuinga e whakamahia ana i ngā wāhi tūmatanui, mō ngā kaupapa ōkawa hoki.

Ko tētahi anō momo rangahau, ko te rangahau whāiti, he mea takea mai i te ‘tirohanga hōhonu ki te whakawhitinga kōrero’⁷ (Martin-Jones 1989:115). Ko te kaupapa o tēnei rangahau, he tiro tiro hōhonu ki te āhua o tā te tangata whakamahi i ōna reo, te taurangi o tāna whakamahi me tōna matatau i roto i āna whakawhitinga kōrero.

E ai ki a Martin-Jones (1989) rāua ko Holmes (1997), ka kore e tika te whakaahua i tētahi reo me ōna āhuatanga katoa mēnā ka whāia ko tētahi anake o ngā momo rangahau e kōrerohia nei. Ka whakahētia te rangahau whānui, anō nei e whirinaki ana tā te tangata kōwhiri i te reo ka whakamahia e ia, ki ngā hanga whakamahi reo o roto i te hapori. Kāore e whakaahuangia te taurangi o tāna whakamahi reo, me tana whawhai kia turakina ngā hanga whakamahi reo o te hapori. Āpiti atu ki tērā, ka wehea ngā reo – ko tētahi hei reo whai mana, ko tētahi hei reo ngau pihikete noa iho. Ko te reo whai mana ka whakamahia ki ngā wāhi tūmatanui, ki ngā wāhi ōkawa, mō ngā kaupapa e whai mana ana. Ko te reo ‘iti’, koia ka whakamahia ki ngā wāhi tūmataiti, me ngā wāhi ōpaki. E ai ki a Nelde (1989:73), ko tētahi o ngā hua ka puta i tēnei momo rangahau, ka meatia ko te hunga e matua kōrero ana i te reo iti, he ware, he tūtūā, he pōhara, ka kore rātou e eke ki ngā tūranga pai o te hapori.

Nā ēnei momo rangahau, ka āhua tūturu, ka āhua mana tēnei āhuatanga wehe reo, anō nei e tika ana (tirohia Martin-Jones 1989:109). Nā Chrisp (1997) i whakatakoto te whakaaro, me whai tēnei ahuatanga hei oranga mō te reo Māori.

Ko te mate, kāore e tino arohia ana tā te Māori titiro, ō te Māori wawata mō tōna reo, me te whai kia noho anō ai te reo Māori hei reo rangatira mō Aotearoa, kia hoki anō ai te tino rangatiratanga ki te iwi Māori. Ka noho kē te reo Māori i raro i te mana o te reo Ingarihi, te iwi Māori i raro i te mana o te Pākehā. He āhua pāpaku hoki tēnei whakahaere rangahau, inā kāore e kitea ngā āhuatanga katoa kei te pā ki tētahi whakawhitinga kōrero. He pērā hoki ngā whakaaro o Gal, ko tāna he rangahau i te reo o tētahi iwi itinga i Oberwart, whenua o Tiamana.

E rua wiki au e rangahau ana i Oberwart, kātahi au ka mārāma, e kore tētahi ture reo kotahi e whakaahua i tā te iwi kōwhiri ko tēhea reo hei whakamahinga mā rātou. He āhua pāpaku noa te kī, ka whakamahia tētahi reo i te wāhi mahi, tētahi i te kāinga⁸. (Gal 1979:99)

E whakapae ana a Holmes, tērā pea ko ngā tatauranga reo kei te whakahohoro i te heke o ngā reo iti.

Nā te whakaputa kōrero mō te heke haere o tētahi reo, me te whakatūturu i te hora o te reo whai mana ki roto i te hāpori, ka hohoro anō te heke. Kua tae ki te wā, me whakawhānui ngā momo rangahau reo i Aotearoa, e whakaaturia ai tā te iwi whawhai kia mana ai tō rātou reo, kia turaki anō ai te hora o te reo Ingarihi. (1997:33)

Hāunga tēnei, e whaitake tonu ana ngā tatauranga whānui, hei whakaatu i te ahu pēhea o tā te iwi matatau, me te whakamahi i te reo i roto i te hapori. Kāore e tutuki tēnei āhuatanga mā te rangahau whāiti e kōrerohia nei. Ko te whakatau a Martin-Jones e mea ana, mā te whakamahi i ngā momo rangahau e rua e tino puta ai he māramatanga whānui, hōhonu hoki, ki te āhua o tētahi reo.

Me matatini te huarahi rangahau, e tino mārama ai te taurangi me te rerekē haere o te whakamahi i tētahi reo, me ngā take e tūroa ai te reo o ētahi iwi itinga, ka ngaro te reo o ētahi i te kaha pā mai o tētahi reo whai mana⁹.
(Martin-Jones 1989:123)

Tāpiri atu ki tēnei, e whakahau ana ia kia whakaurua te ‘kaupapa totohe’ ki ngā rangahau reo. Tērā hoki a Holmes (1997) e tautoko ana i tēnei whakaaro. Ko tāna e mea ana, ki te kore e arohia atu te pānga mai o ngā pēhitanga o mua, ngā āhuatanga hapori, tōrangapū, ohaoha hoki, ki te āhua o tā te iwi itinga whakamahi i tōna reo, e kore e whakaahua ponohia taua reo me ōna take katoa.

E hāngai ana ngā wāhanga e toru o te kaupapa rangahau o Te Hoe Nuku Roa ki ēnei whakaaro o Martin-Jones rāua ko Holmes. Tuatahi, ko te rangahau matua tērā e whai ana i te huarahi rangahau o te tatauranga whānui, koia hei whakaatu i te ia o ngā āhuatanga whānui o te whakamahi i te reo, te matatau, me te waiaro ki te reo i roto i te hapori. Nā te whai wāhitanga atu o ngā kaupapa maha (atu i te reo anake), e kitea ai ngā tātai tūhonotanga o te reo ki ngā take ohaoha, ki ngā take ahurea, ki ngā take mātauranga, take hauora hoki kei te pā ki te iwi. Nā tēnei, ka āhua hōhonu ake, ka āhua whānui ake te whakaahua i ngā āhuatanga reo.

Tuarua, ko te wāhanga tiro whāroa o te rangahau. Mā tēnei e kitea ai te rerekē haere o ngā āhuetanga reo i te takanga o te wā, arā, te kaha huri o te iwi ki te reo Ingarihi, te kaha rānei o te ū ki te reo Māori, me te whaihua anō o ngā kaupapa whakaora reo, pērā i Te Kōhanga Reo, te reo irirangi, me te whakaata irirangi Māori.

Tuatoru, ko tā te Rangahau Reo Whāiti, he tiro tiro hōhonu ki ngā take reo i puta i Te Rangahau Whānui, e āta kitea ai ngā āhuetanga maha e noho ana ki te ngākau o te tangata me te pānga anō ki tōna whakamahi i te reo, tōna matatau, ōna waiaro hoki. E kore ēnei āhuetanga hōhonu e puta i tētahi tatauranga whānui. Mā konei e kitea ai te tangata me tōna rangatiratanga, arā, tōna āhei ki te whiriwhiri i te huarahi reo hei whāinga māna. Ehara ia i te hipi e whai noa ana i ā te hāpori hanga mō te whakamahi i te reo e puta ana i ngā tatauranga nui.

Mēnā kua roa te tangata, te hāpori rānei e whai ana i ngā hanga whakamahi reo, he mahi uaua te turaki i aua hanga. Ahakoa te uaua, mā Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti e kitea ai tō te tangata kaha ki te turaki i ngā hanga e wehe ana i ngā reo, tētahi ki tēnā wāhi tētahi ki tēnā, tētahi reo ki tēnā kaupapa tētahi ki tēnā, tētahi reo ki tēnā horopaki tētahi ki tēnā. Ka puta hoki ngā kōrero mō ngā pēhitanga, ngā āhuetanga aukati, tae atu hoki ki ngā āhuetanga e hāpai ana i a rātou.

Ko tētahi o ngā āhuetanga reo Māori, kāore e tino puta ana i ngā kaupapa rangahau i ētahi atu reo itinga, ko te pānga o te matatau ki te whakamahi. Akene pea ko te tokomaha o te hunga e ako ana i te reo hei reo tuarua, me te tokoiti o te hunga i pakeke mai i te reo te take. I roto i ngā rangahau i ētahi atu reo itinga, kāore e puta ana te matatau o te tangata hei take matua, anō nei he mōhio ia ki ngā reo e rua (e toru rānei), ā, ko tā te rangahau he tiro tiro i tāna whakamahi i aua reo. He rerekē ngā

āhuatanga o te reo Māori, ā, e whakapaetia ana ko te matatau o te tangata me tōna hoa kōrero, tētahi o ngā take matua e whakamahia ai te reo Māori hei reo whakawhiti kōrero, kāore rānei.

4.4 Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti o Te Hoe Nuku Roa

Kei te Whakaahua 4.2 e whakaaturia ana te anga e kitea ai te hono o ngā wāhanga e toru o Te Hoe Nuku Roa e pā ana ki te reo. Ka pūmautia ngā kaupapa reo matua ki ngā wāhanga e toru, arā, ko te tirotiro i te matatau, i te whakamahi, i te whai wāhitanga atu ki te reo, i ngā waiaro me ngā wawata, i te orotau hoki ki ngā take reo. Koia hoki ngā kaupapa i takea mai ai te anga tātari i ngā whakakitenga i puta.

Ko te huarahi matua i kohia ai ngā kōrero a ngā kaiuru, ko te rārangi patapatai (Āpitianga 4), koia hei ārahi i ngā whakawhitinga kōrero i waenganui i ngā kairangahau tokorua ka toro atu ki ngā kāinga o ngā kaiuru. Ka tuhia ngā whakautu poto ki te rārangi patapatai, engari ko te mōmona me te whānui o ngā kōrero he mea hopu ki te rīpene, hei tuhinga ki te pepa ā tōna wā. Tokotoru anake ngā kaiuru kāore i whakaaetia kia hopungia ā rātou kōrero ki te rīpene. I āta ārahia ngā kaiuru ki te whakaputa i te roanga o ā rātou kōrero, kia kua e waiho ki te whakautu poto noa iho. I te mutunga o ia whakawhitinga kōrero, ka noho ngā kairangahau ki te tuhi i ō rāua ake whakaaro mō te āhua o ngā kōrero a te kaiuru (Āpitianga 6). E rua hāora, nui atu rānei te roa o te noho tahi a ngā kairangahau me te kaiuru, ā, ka noho mai ngā rīpene hei taonga kōrero, hei āwhina anō i ngā kaupapa whakaora reo.

Whakaahua 4.2 He anga whiri i ngā kaupapa reo o ngā wāhanga e toru o Te Hoe Nuku Roa

Ngā kaupapa e tirohia ana	Te Rangahau Matua	Te Rangahau Tiro Whāroa	Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti
te matatau ki te reo Māori	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> te aromatawai whaiaro i te matatau (reo whakaputa, reo torohu) 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> te matatau ki ngā momo reo e tika ana mō ngā wāhi me ngā horopaki maha pērā i te reo o te marae, te reo o te kāuta, te reo whakawhiti kōrero, whakaputa whakaaro, te reo tohutohu, te reo tuku aroha, tae atu ki ngā momo tuhituhi, pānui hoki i te reo te pānga mai o te reo Ingarihi ki te matatau o te tangata ki te reo Māori
te whakamahi i te reo Māori	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> te kaha whakamahia o te reo ki ngā wāhi maha, ki ngā horopaki maha, ki ngā tāngata tokomaha 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> te āhua o te whakamahi i te reo i roto i te kāinga (hei tauira: tētahi whakatipuranga ki tētahi) te āhua o te noho tahi mai o te reo Māori me te reo Ingarihi, tētahi atu reo rānei ngā āhutanga e aukati ana i te whakamahinga o te reo Māori te noho pūmau o te reo, te whitinga rānei ki reo kē
te whai wāhitanga atu ki te reo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i te wā e tamariki ana i roto i te kāinga i ngā wā e haere ana te kaupapa Māori i ngā wāhi e tukuna ana ngā ratonga o te hāpori (reo irirangi, pūnaha mātauranga ...) 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> te whitinga o te reo e whakamahia ana e te whānau i roto i ngā whakatipuranga te takenga mai o tā te tangata matatau ki te reo te kaha o te aronga ki te reo te whakatutuki i te hiahia ngā āhuatanga e aukati ana e whakauaua ana rānei i tā te tangata ako i te reo
te waiaro ki te reo, me te titiro whakamua	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> tō te tangata matatau ki te reo, tāna whakamahi te āhua o te reo i roto i te kāinga te āhua o te reo i roto i te hāpori 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ngā take e whakatūria ai te taiao reo Māori i te kāinga ngā rautaki e whakatūria ai, e pūmau ai te taiao reo Māori i te kāinga ngā āhuatanga e aukati ana e whakauaua ana rānei i te reo Māori i te kāinga
te orotau ki ngā take reo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> te oranga o te reo 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> te mātau ki ngā take kei te pā ki te reo te whai wāhitanga atu ki ngā mātauranga e pā ana ki ngā take reo (pērā i tā te tamaiti hopu i te reo i te kāinga) te whakatairanga i te reo i te hāpori ngā hua ka puta mēnā he kaha rawa atu te whakahau i te reo
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> te rerekē haere o ngā āhuatanga reo katoa i te takanga o te wā te kaha o te whitinga o te ū rānei ki te reo ngā hua ka puta i ngā kaupapa whakaora reo 	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> te tātari i te matatini o ngā take kei te pā ki te reo, pērā i ngā take ohaoha, take mātauranga, take ahurea, take hauora hoki 		

4.4.1 Te matatau ki te reo Māori

Ko tētahi wāhanga o Te Rangahau Whāiti, he tiro tiro anō i te āhua o tā te tangata matatau ki te reo. E toru ngā pātai i Te Rangahau Matua me te Rangahau Tiro Whāroa e tiro ana i te matatau o te tangata ki te reo. He aromatawai whaiaro te āhua – nā te kaiuru anō i kōwhiri tētahi o ngā taumata e hāngai ana ki tōna reo (e whitu ngā tauine). Ko tā te aromatawai whaiaro, he whakaatu i ō te tangata whakaaro ki te taumata o tōna reo, ā, ‘he huarahi tino whai hua mō te kohikohi i ngā tatauranga o te tokomaha¹⁰ (Holmes mā, 1993:5). Ko te raruraru, kāore e mōhiotia mēnā he tōtika ngā aromatawai, i te mea he rerekē pea te orotau o tēnā o tēnā ki ngā taumata matatau. Ko te āhua o tā te tangata aromatawai i tōna reo, he whakatairite ki te reo o ngā tāngata e mōhio ana ia. Engari, nā te tokoiti o te hunga matatau, kāore e tino rangona ana ō rātou reo tiketike hei whakatairitenga mā te tangata i tōna ake reo. Nō reira pea ka āhua whakapikia ngā aromatawai whaiaro.

Ko te whakaaro anganui e whai ana i te whakataukī ‘kāore te kūmara e kōrero mō tōna reka’, arā, mā te hūmarie o te tangata (he pērā hoki tētahi wāhanga nui o te hunga kaumātua), ka kore ia e kī ‘āe, he matatau au ki te kōrero i te reo’ – ka whakaitia kētia tōna taumata matatau.

Nō reira te whakaaro, mā te āhua o ngā whakahoki kōrero mai a ngā kaiuru o te Rangahau Reo Whāiti, e kitea ai te tōtika o ngā aromatawai whaiaro o Te Rangahau Matua. Āpiti atu ki tēnei, he kohikohi i ngā kōrero hōhonu e pā ana ki ngā take nei e ora anō ai, e haere whakamua ai te reo Māori.

1. He aha te pānga o te matatau o te tangata e ako ana i te reo hei reo tuarua, me tāna whakamahi i te reo? Mēnā he taumata reo hei ekenga atu māna i mua i tana whai kaha ki te whakamahi i te reo i ngā wāhi maha?
2. He aha ngā momo reo me ngā momo kaupapa e āhua matatau ana te tangata, he aha hoki ngā āhuetanga kei te pā ki tēnei āhuetanga?
3. He aha te pānga mai o te reo Ingarihi ki te reo Māori o te tangata e ako ana hei reo tuarua, ngā taumata e taea ana e ia, me tana āhei ki ngā kīwaha me ērā atu āhuetanga motuhake o te reo Māori?
4. He aha ngā momo huarahi e eke ai te tangata i ngā taumata o te matatau, he aha hoki te pānga o te huarahi ako ki te taumata e taea ana?
5. Mēnā e kaha arohia ana te mita ake o te iwi o ngā kaiuru, ko te reo Māori whānui rānei e whāia ana?

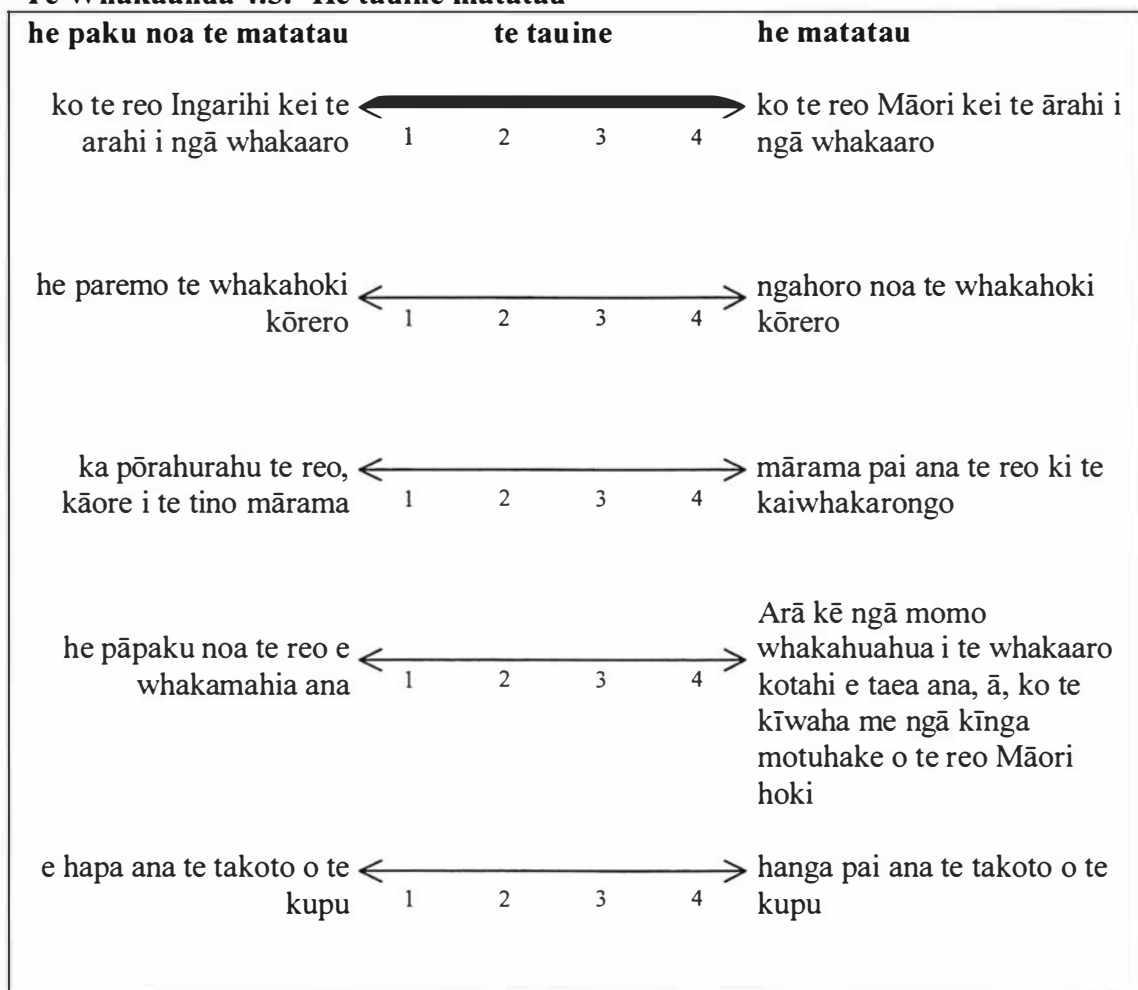
E whā pea ngā huarahi hei aromatawai i te matatau o te reo o tētahi. Ko te aromatawai whāiaro tērā – mā te tangata tonu e whakatairite tōna reo ki ētahi paearu, ki tētahi tauine rānei. Ko te aromatawai tērā a tētahi kaitiro tiro – he ōkawa, he ōpaki rānei te āhua o te aromatawai, he uiui, he hopu rānei i te reo ki te rīpene hei tātaritanga i muri ake. Ko te whakamātautau hoki tērā – e arotahi ana ki tētahi āhuetanga o te reo pērā i te orotau, te whānui o te puna kupu, te āhei ki te whakawhiti kōrero, te āhua o te whakatakoto i te kupu, te whakahua rānei i te reo.

Kāore i arohia te whakamātautau hei huarahi aromatawai mō Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti. E hāngai ana te whakamātautau ki te wāhi e akohia ana te reo, kāore e tika ana mō ngā rangahau reo – ka kore ngā kaiuru e ngākaunui mai, e tautoko mai i te kaupapa. Nō te tau 1993, ka whakahaerehia e Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori te rangahau tōmua i te reo, ā, ko tētahi wāhanga he hoki atu ki te whakamātautau i te reo

o ētahi o ngā kaiuru, hei whakatairite ki ā rātou aromatawai whaiaro. Kāore i tutuki pai tēnei āhuatanga o te rangahau, ā, he waimarie pea kāore i pupū ake tētahi raruraru. (Tirohia Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori 1993:31)

Nō reira, ka whakawhānuihia te āhua o te aromatawai whaiaro, ka whai wāhi anō hoki te tiro tiro a ngā kairangahau, e kitea ai te matatau o te kaiuru. I roto i te aromatawai whaiaro, ka whakaaturia ētahi horopaki mō te whakamahi i te reo, ko tā rātou he waitohu i tō rātou matatau ki tētahi tauine e mau ana ngā paearu. E pēnei ana te roanga atu o te tauine:

Te Whakaahua 4.3: He tauine matatau



He mea whakamārama ngā pūwāhi (1 – 4) o ngā tauine nei ki te kāri (Āpitianga 5), ā, ko tā te kaiuru, he kōwhiri i te whakamārama e tino hāngai ana ki a ia mō te horopaki e kōrerohia ana.

Ko te whakaaro matua e ārahi ana i te tuhinga o te rārangi patapatai, kia tau te wairua o ngā kaiuru ki te āhua o ngā pātai. Nā te kaiuru anō i kōwhiri kia haere ngā whakawhitinga kōrero ki te reo Ingarihi, ki te reo Māori rānei. He āhua tokomaha ngā kaiuru i whakamahi i ngā reo e rua. He wā tērā, ka puta te mamae o ngā kaiuru, ka heke te roimata i runga i te āhua o nga kōrero mō te ngaro o te reo i roto i ō rātou whānau, me te uaua o te whawhai kia mau anō i a rātou te reo tuku iho o ō rātou mātua tīpuna. Anei te kōrero a tētahi:

He taonga nui te arero reo Māori. I whati te reo i tō mātou whakatipuranga, kāore mātou i akohia. Ko mātou ngā mea i waenganui, koirā te take kāore au i te mōhio ki tōku reo ... ka tae ki te wā, ki te kore koe e mōhio ki tō reo, ka kore e pakari tō tuakiri Māori, ā, ka noho manene koe ...¹¹

He āhua tokomaha i pēnei ai te whakaputa i te mamae, ā, ahakoa tēnei, ka haere tonu ngā kōrero i runga i te hiahia o ngā kaiuru ki te whakaputa i ngā whakaaro e pupū ake ana i te whatumanawa. I ētahi wā, ka waihotia te kaupapa mō te wā poto, ka kapu tī, kātahi ka haere anō ngā kōrero.

Tērā a Holmes (1997) e kī ana, ko te nuinga o ngā rangahutanga reo o Aotearoa, he mea whakahaere e ngā kairangahau o roto i te iwi ake.

He nui ngā painga ka puta. Ka āhua kaha ake te whakapono o te iwi ki te kaupapa o te rangahau, me ngā take e whāia ana e ngā kairangahau¹².
(Holmes 1997:28)

Koirā hoki tētahi o ngā taha whaihua o Te Hoe Nuku Roa, arā, ko te Māori tonu kei te whakahaere, ko te kanohi Māori nō roto i te hāpori te kairangahau ka toro atu ki ngā kāinga, ko te whakahoki kōrero anō ki ngā kaiuru, kia mōhio ai rātou ki ngā hua e puta mai ana.

4.4.2 Te whakamahi i te reo Māori

E ai ki a Quakenbush (1989), e whā ngā āhuatanga o te horopaki whakawhitinga kōrero kei te pā ki tā te tangata whakamahi i te reo. Ko tana hoa kōrero, ka tahi. Ko te kaupapa e kōrerohia ana, ka rua. Ko te āheinga reo, ka toru. Ko te wāhi e haere ana te kōrero, ka whā. Ko ngā ahuatanga e pā ana ki te hoa kōrero, ko tana pakeke, ko tana tūranga, ko tō rāua whanaungatanga, ko te āhua o te takāpui, ko tōna matatau, me te kaha o tōna aro ki te reo. Kāore e kore, mēnā e taunga ana te tangata ki tana hoa kōrero, e whakawhanaunga ana rāua ki a rāua, ā, e mōhio ana ia ka aro pai mai tana hoa mēnā ka kōrero Māori ia, kātahi pea ka whakamahia te reo. Ki te kore ia e tino mōhio ki te tangata kōrero, kāore hoki i te tino mōhio mēnā ka ngākaunui mai ki te kōrero Māori, e mātau ana rānei te tangata ki te reo, ko te reo Ingarihi tērā ka whakamahia.

E ai ki ngā tāngata matatau i pakeke mai i roto i te reo Māori, he ngāwari ake, he māhorahora ake te whakaputa kōrero mō ētahi kaupapa i roto i te reo Māori. Ahakoa he tokomaha tonu ngā tāngata matatau e whakamahi kē ana i te reo Ingarihi hei reo

kōrero i waenganui i a rātou, kāore e kore ka tere huri rātou ki te reo Māori mō ngā kaupapa pērā i te whakaputa aroha, te tāwai tangata, te aitanga rānei o tētahi tokorua. E whakahē ana a Kāretu i te whakahau kei te ngutu o te hunga e whai ana i te reo, arā kia ‘kōrero Māori i ngā wā katoa’. Ko tāna, he pai kē atu te whakaputa kōrero mō ētahi kaupapa i te reo Ingarihi, ētahi kaupapa i te reo Māori. E mānukanuka ana ia kei riro te wairua o te reo:

Arā kē ngā kaupapa ka taea noa ihotia ki te reo Māori, engari inā hurihia ki te reo Pākehā, e kare, mōmōu kē ēnā whakaaro; kua memeha noa iho i te rawekehanga. Ko te reo o te whaikōrero, o te karanga tēnā, ko te reo o ngā mōteatea tēnā, ko te reo o te kōrero paki tēnā, ko te reo o te kāuta tēnā. Ā he whērā anō hoki te noho mai o ētahi kaupapa kōrero ki te reo Pākehā. Tērā ētahi kaupapa kua noho tangata whenua kē ki tērā o ngā reo, ā, mēnā ka tahuri te tangata ki te whakawhitiwhiti i aua kōrero ki te reo Māori, he hinengaro whiri tāna kai, ka mutu, inā oti ana tana whakamāori, ka noho manene tonu taua whakaaro, ahakoa kua kākahuria ki ōna kupu Māori. (1995:6)

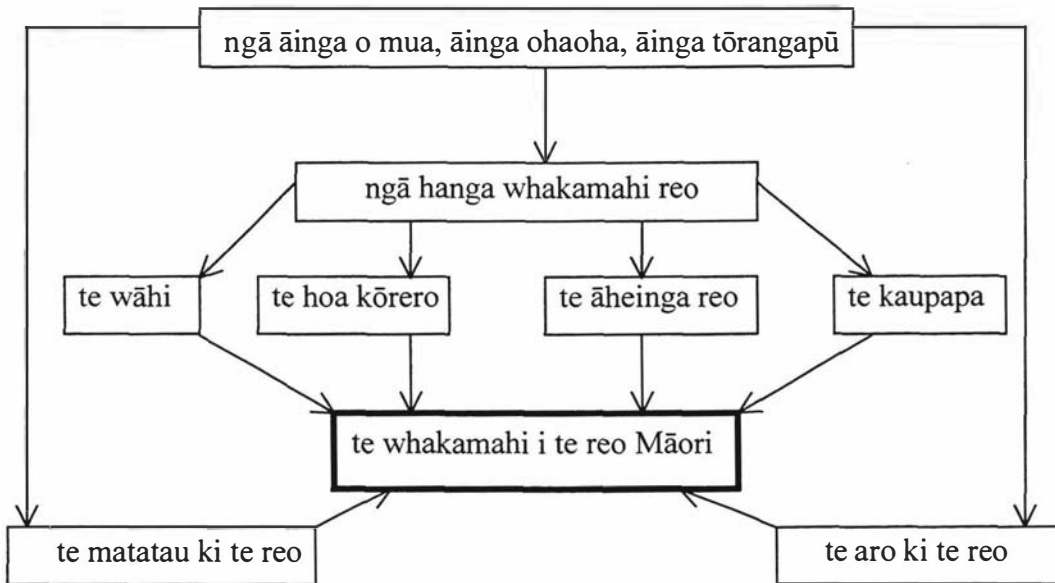
Ko te āheinga o te reo, e hono ana ki te kaupapa o te whakawhitinga kōrero, me te take e puta ai he kōrero, pērā i te whakaputa amuamu, te tuku aroha, te tohutohu, te kimi māramatanga rānei. Ka tirohia e Quakenbush tā te iwi whakamahi i ō rātou reo i te whenua o Philippines. Ko tāna i kite ai, chara te ‘āheinga o te reo’ i te tino take e kōwhiria ai tētahi reo, tētahi atu reo rānei hei whakamahinga mā te tangata. Engari anō mō te reo Māori, ka whai take pea. Ki te tirohia te reo e whakamahia ana i roto i ētahi o ō tātou Kōhanga Reo, kura reo rua, tērā e kitea te whakamahia o te reo e ngā kaiako mō ngā āheinga pāpaku noa, pērā i te tohutohu me te kohete. Kāore e kore he ngāwari noa te whakatutuki i ēnei momo āheinga mō te hunga ako reo rua, ā, ka riro

koirā te āhua o ō rātou reo. Nā, he kaupapa nui tēnei hei tiroiro i roto i ngā mahi rangahau, arā, he aha ngā āheinga reo e taea ana e ngā kaiuru o tēnā taumata o tēnā taumata o te matatau, ā, mēnā e whakaiti ana tēnei i tā rātou whakamahi i te reo.

Ko te take tuawhā i kōrerohia e Quakenbush, ko te wāhi e tū nei te whakawhitinga kōrero. Ko te whakakitenga matua i puta i tana rangahau i te whenua o te Philippines, e mea ana ko te reo ūkaipō tērā e tino whakamahia ana i te kāinga me te hāpori tata e noho nei te kāinga, ā, ko ngā reo whai mana e rua (Ingarihi me Tagalog) e whakamahia ana i ngā wāhi tūmatanui. E āhua pērā ana ngā whakakitenga i puta i Te Rangahau Matua o Te Hoe Nuku Roa, me tērā hoki a Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (1995), arā, ahakoa he iti te whakamahia o te reo Māori, ko ngā wāhi tūmataiti (pērā i te marae) ngā wāhi e rangona ai te reo. Hāunga tēnei whakakitenga, e tika ana kia huraina ngā whakaaro o te iwi ki tēnei tūāhua whakamahi reo (arā, reo ūkaipō i te wāhi tūmataiti, reo whai mana i te wāhi tūmatanui), me te whakaatu anō i tō rātou hiahia kia uru atu te reo Māori ki ngā wāhi tūmatanui.

Arā hoki te taha ngoikore o tēnei ariā o Quakenbush. Kāore e arohia atu ngā take o mua, ngā take ohaoha, ahurea, tōrangapū rānei, me te pā mai o ēnei ki te whakamahinga o te reo. He take whakahirahira ēnei mō ngā reo tāngata whenua, e awe ana i tā te tangata kōwhiri i te reo ka whakamahia e ia. Kāore hoki ia e aro ki te matatau o te tangata ki te reo. Ahakoa te kaha hiahia o te tangata ki te whakamahi i tōna reo, ki te kore i a ia te taumata reo e taea te whakaputa ōna whakaaro e tika ana mō te horopaki o te whakawhitinga kōrero, ka whakamahi i reo kē. Kua whakawhānuhia te ariā o Quakenbush kia whai wāhi atu ēnei āhuatanga, kei te Whakaahua 5.4 e whakaaturia ana.

Whakaahua 4.4 Ngā take kei te pā ki te whakamahinga o te reo Māori



Kei te mau tonu ngā hua i puta i ngā kaupapa takahi reo o ngā rautau o mua (tirohia Te Wāhanga Tuarua). Tokomaha ngā kaiuru mātāpuputu o Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti i pakeke mai i te wā i patua ai te tamaiti mō te kōrero i tōna reo Māori i te kura. Ka mau i a rātou te whakaaro ko te reo Ingarihi te huarahi whakamua, ā, mā te aukāti i te reo Māori e hopukina ai te reo Ingarihi.

Nōnātata nei i tīmata ai te totohe i ēnei aronga whakaaro mō te reo Māori. Mai i ngā tau whitu tekau, ko te reo Māori tētahi wāhanga nui o te whawhai kia tū tangata ai te tuakiri Māori, kia hoki mai anō te tino rangatiratanga o te iwi. Ko te hunga mātātahi i tipu mai i ngā tāone, ko rātou kei mua e kōkiri ana i ngā kaupapa, inā kua rongu rātou i te mamae o te kore mōhio ki te reo. Kāore i pērā rawa te pā o te ahurea tauwiwi me ā rātou ture ki ngā hapori tuawhenua, pērā i ērā i Te Tairāwhiti, i Te Taitokerau, me Te Urewera, ā, koia rā ngā rohe kei te āhua autāia tonu te matatau o te iwi ki te reo. E

hāngai ana tēnei ki tā Fishman i kī rā, ‘ka takea mai te whawhai kia ora anō ai te reo i te tāone me te āhua noho o te iwi i reira, koirā hoki te wāhi e tino puta ai he hua’¹³ (1985:64).

Kei te Whakaahua 4.4 e kitea ana te pānga o ngā take o mua, ngā take ohaoha, me ngā take tōrangapū ki te āhua o ngā hanga whakamahi reo o ēnei rā, me te hono anō ki te wāhi e tū ana te whakawhitinga kōrero, te hoa kōrero, te āheinga o te reo me te kaupapa e kōrerohia ana. Āpiti atu ki tēnei, koia anō ngā take kua tino pā ki te āhua o te matatau, te aro anō o te tangata ki te reo, me tōna kaha ki te whai i ngā kaupapa whakaora reo.

Ko te hunga e noho tonu ana i tuawhenua, arā, i ngā wāhi e haere tonu ana te kōrerotia o te reo, kāore pea i te pērā rawa te aro ki te reo, me te whai i ngā kaupapa whakaora reo, pērā i te hunga noho tāone. Kāore anō rātou kia tino rongopu pea i te mamae ka puta i te ngaronga o te reo, inā, kei te rangona tonutia te reo i te hapori. Kāore hoki pea rātou e tino mōhio ki ngā take kei te pā ki te heke o te reo. I te tāone, e kitea ana te noho rawakore, te noho reo kore, te noho tikanga kore o ētahi, ā, i konei ka pupū ake te mamae, me te hiahia kia turakina ngā āhuetanga kei te aukati, kei te tāmi i te reo me ōna tikanga.

Katoa ēnei take, ka pā ki tā te tangata whakamahi i ōna reo. Ki te whakamahia tōna reo Māori, ka piki anō tōna matatau. Ki te kore e whakamahia, ka heke i roto i te takanga o te wā.

4.4.3 Te whai wāhitanga atu ki te reo Māori

Ko ngā whakakitenga i puta i Te Rangahau Matua o Te Hoe Nuku Roa e whakaatu ana, kāore e tino whai wāhi atu ana te iwi ki te reo Māori i roto i ngā whakanekeneke o ia rā. He tokomaha i kī mai, he uuaa kē te rangona o te reo, te whai wāhi rānei ki te tangata kōrero Māori, te kitea o te reo Māori, me te whai wāhi anō ki ngā momo horopaki hei tuhituhi i te reo.

Nā tēnei, ka hua ko tētahi o ngā whāinga o Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti, he āta ruku i te hōhonu o ngā take e aukati ana, e whakauaua ana i te whai wāhitanga atu ki te reo, me ngā momo rautaki, ngā momo kaupapa hei hāpai i tēnei āhuetanga.

4.4.4 Te waiaro ki te reo Māori

I roto i Te Rangahau Matua o Te Hoe Nuku Roa, ka tirohia te waiaro o ngā kaiuru ki te reo Māori, engari i Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti, ka whakawhiti kōrero mō te kaha o ngā kaiuru ki te whakatīnana i ō rātou waiaro. Koia hoki tētahi o ngā āhuetanga e ora anō ai te reo Māori ā tōna wā. Ko tā Te Rangahau Matua, he pātai mēnā he take nui ki ngā kaiuru te āhei ki te kōrero i te reo Māori, he aha hoki ki ō rātou whakaaro ngā horopaki me noho te reo Māori hei reo matua. Ko tā Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti, he whakawhiti kōrero mō te reo Māori i ō rātou kāinga – te whakamahi i te reo Māori, ō rātou hiahia mō te whakamahi i te reo Māori, me ngā āhuetanga kei te pā ki tā rātou whakatīnana i ngā hiahia.

E kitea ana te kaha o ngā kaiuru ki te whakatīnana i ō rātou waiaro ki te reo Māori i roto i ā rātou mahi – tā rātou whakamahi i te reo, tā rātou tautoko i ngā wāhi reo Māori (pērā i te tuku i ā rātou tamariki ki Te Kōhanga Reo), me tā rātou ako i te reo. Ki te kore e rite ā rātou mahi me ō rātou waiaro, ka āta tirohia ngā take kei te

whakauaua i te whakatīnanatanga o ngā waiaro. I puta te pātai 15 me te 16 mō tēnei take, i ngā whakakitenga o Te Rangahau Matua, e mea ana, nā te whatinga o ngā āhuatanga hapori o te Māori, me te noho pōhara o te iwi, koia ētahi take e whakararu ana i te whai wāhitanga atu ki te reo.

4.5 Te whiriwhiri i ngā kaiuru

Mai i te tīmatanga o Te Hoe Nuku Roa, ko tētahi o ngā kaupapa nui i whāia, kia tika tonu te rautaki tīpako i ngā kaiuru, kia hāngai tonu ki te āhua o te taupori Māori me te whānuitanga o ngā āhuatanga noho o ēnei rā. Kāore e tino tika ētahi o ngā inenga tauanga o mua ki te whakaahua i te taupori Māori, ā, ‘... he āhua koretake ki te whakaatu i te whānuitanga o ngā āhuatanga ahurea o te iwi Māori. Nā tēnei, ka whāiti tonu te titiro ki te iwi Māori’¹⁴ (Fitzgerald mā 1996:35).

Koia rā te take ka hangaia tētahi rautaki tīpako hou, ka tapaina te ingoa ‘Whaihua Tatau’. Tua atu i te whakapapa Māori, kāore he tiro tiro ki te āhua o te tuakiri ahurea, ngā whiringa āhuatanga noho, te wāhi noho, ki ngā hononga hapori rānei. Kei te tuhinga a Fitzgerald mā (1996) te roanga atu o ngā kōrero mō ‘Whaihua Tatau’, me ōna āhuatanga nei, arā:

- e hāngai ana te rautaki tīpako ki te āhua o te taupori Māori
- e āta tiro ana ki te kāinga Māori
- e tūāpapa mai ana i te āhua o ngā rohe o Te Ika-a-Māui
- ka whakamahia he rautaki tīpako e whai wāhi mai ai ngā āhuatanga katoa o te taupori Māori, me te hoatu anō i te wāhi e tika ana mō tēnā āhuatanga, mō tēnā.

Ka whakatauria ko te ‘kāinga Māori’ tētahi kāinga kei reira tētahi tangata Māori e noho ana (hāunga ngā whare noho, me ngā āhuatanga tūao). Ka whakamahia te rautaki ‘Whaihua Tatau’, ka tīpakohia ētahi kāinga 700 i ngā rohe e whā o Te Ika-ā-Māui. E tūāpapa mai ana ngā rohe i ngā takiwā o ngā Kaunihera-a-Rohe, ā, ka whai wāhi mai ko Manawatū/Wanganui, ko Tūranganui-a-Kiwa/Te Tairāwhiti, ko Te Upoko o Te Ika, me Tāmaki-makau-rau. Mai i ngā kāinga 700, ko ōna tāngata 1664 i whai wāhi mai ki te rangahau – ko ētahi he kanohi pakeke, ko ētahi anō i raro iho i te 15 tau. Ka whakamāmāngia te rārangi patapatai mō te hunga tamariki nei.

Ko te hunga i whai wāhi mai ki Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti, he mea tīpako i ngā tāngata 1664 o Te Rangahau Matua. Nā tēnei, i taea ai te tūhono atu ngā kōrero ā tēnā tangata, ā tēnā tangata o Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti, ki ōna anō raraunga i puta i Te Rangahau Matua. Ahakoa kāore i whāia kia kapi katoa te āhua o te taupori Māori i te tīpakotanga mō Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti, ka whakaurua ngā rohe e whā katoa i runga i te whakaaro, akene pea ka kitea ētahi rerekētanga ā-rohe. Tua atu i te 16 tau te pakeke, i whāia kia uru mai ngā kanohi o tēnā reanga o tēnā, ā, nā te huhua me te hōhonu o ngā kōrero ka puta, ka whakaritea ngā tāngata whā tekau anake kia uru mai.

E tiro ana Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti i te āhua o te whakamahi i te reo Māori i te kāinga, me ngā āhuatanga e whakauaua ana i te whakamahinga o te reo. Nō reira i whiriwhirihia ko te hunga matatau, āhua matatau rānei te hunga ka whai wāhi mai. Ka whakatōpūtia ngā whakautu ki ngā pātai e pā ana ki te matatau i puta i Te Rangahau Matua, ā, ka hoatu he ‘inenga matatau’ ki tēnā, ki tēnā o ngā kaiuru. Mai i te ‘inenga matatau’, ka puta te kōrero mō te matatau o te tangata (tirohia te Whakaahua 4.5).

Te Whakaahua 4.5: Te ‘inenga matatau’ me ōna whakamārama

Te inenga matatau	Te āhua o te matatau
3 - 6	he paku, he kore mōhio rānei
7 - 11	he autaia te reo
12 - 15	he āhua matatau
16 - 19	he matatau

Ahakoā kāore e taea te kī, ko te katoa o ngā tāngata ka puta i tēnei rautaki tīpako, he kaha ki te whakamahi i te reo Māori i ō rātou kāinga, tērā tonu te whakaaro kia uru tonu mai rātou ki te rangahau. Mā konei e kitea ai he aha ngā take kāore te tangata matatau (āhua matatau rānei) i te tino whakamahi i te reo. Kotahi rau, e waru tekau mā whitu ngā kaiuru o Te Rangahau Matua i puta ki te wehenga ‘matatau’, āhua matatau’ rānei (te Whakaahua 4.5). Mai i tēnei 187 tāngata, i tīpako matapōkerehia ngā kaiuru whā tekau mō Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti, me te whai anō kia āhua rite te whai wāhi mai o ngā rohe e whā. Kei te Whakaahua 4.6 te whakarāpopoto o ngā kōrero.

Te Whakaahua 4.6: Te hunga i tīpakohia mō Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti

Te Rohe	Te tokomaha o ngā tāngata	Te ōrau o ngā kaiuru o Te Rangahau Matua	Te tokomaha i tīpakohia mō Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti
Manawatū/ Wanganui	āhua matatau 17 matatau 4	16%	9
Tūranganui/ Tairāwhiti	āhua matatau 18 matatau 27	28%	13
Te Upoko o te Ika	āhua matatau 28 matatau 15	18%	9
Tāmaki- makau-rau	āhua matatau 40 matatau 38	17%	9
NGĀ TAPEKE	āhua matatau 103 matatau 84	19%	40

4.6 Te whakapā atu ki ngā kaiuru

Mai i Whiringa-ā-rangi i te tau 1998 ki Hui tanguru 1999, ka whakapāngia atu ngā kaiuru, ā, ka haere ngā whakawhitinga kōrero. I te tuatahi, ka tukuna he pānui ki ngā tāngata matatau, āhua matatau katoa o Te Rangahau Matua (Āpitihanga 1). Ko tā te pānui, he whakatakoto i te kaupapa, me te whakamōhio atu akene pea ka whakapāngia rātou e ngā kairangahau i roto i ngā marama e heke mai ana.

Ko te whakapānga tuarua, mā te waea, mā te toro rānei ki te kāinga ki te kore i a rātou he waea. Ka whakamāramahia te kaupapa o te rangahau, ā, ka tonoa ngā tāngata kia uru mai (tirohia Āpitihanga 2, 3 hoki – te puka whakamārama, me te puka whakaae). I te nuinga o te wā ka ngākaunui mai ngā kaiuru ki te kaupapa, ā, he māmā noa iho te whakarite i tētahi wā whakawhiti kōrero. Mai i te kotahi ki te toru hāora te roa o ngā whakawhitinga kōrero, ko te nuinga i roto i ngā kāinga o ngā kaiuru. I te nuinga o ngā kāinga, ka tino manaakitia ngā kairangahau, arā, he kapu tī, he kai rānei te tikanga. Ka whāia e ngā kairangahau te tikanga ‘utu’ (tirohia 4.2.2), ā, ka waiho he pāketete pihikete, he manahoko pukapuka hoki hei koha.

Nā ngā kaiuru tonu i whiriwhiri kia reo Māori, kia reo Ingarihi rānei ngā whakawhitinga kōrero. Tokoiwa (o te whā tekau) i kōwhiri ko te reo Māori, ā, ahakoa i kōwhiria te reo Ingarihi e ērā atu o ngā kaiuru, ko te tikanga ka whakamahia ngā reo e rua i roto i ā rātou whakawhitinga kōrero

4.7 Te koha, te whakarite, me te tātari i ngā kōrero a ngā kaiuru

E toru ngā huarahi i kohia ai ngā raraunga kōrero, ā, e ai ki a Lather (1986), mā konei e whai mana ai, e tōtika ai te rangahau. Ko te rārangi patapatai tērā (Āpitihanga 4), ko

tāna he kohi i ētahi raraunga tatau, he ārahi hoki i ngā whakawhitinga kōrero. Ko te mahi nui a ngā kairangahau, he poipoi, he whakahau, he ārahi i ngā kaiuru ki te puaki mai i ō rātou whakaaro katoa mō te reo. E toru tekau mā whitu (o te whā tekau) ngā kaiuru i whakaae kia hopukina ā rātou kōrero ki runga rīpene. Ka noho ngā rīpene nei hei puna kōrero, ā, nō muri mai ka āta tātarihia kia kite ai i ngā āhuatanga whānui, hōhonu, moroiti hoki, e pā ana ki tā te tangata whakamahi i te reo, tōna matatau ki te reo, tōna aronga anō hoki. I konei, ka whai wāhi atu ngā kare ā-roto o ngā kaiuru ki te rangahau, tae atu hoki ki te pānga mai o ngā take o mua, ngā take tōrangapū, me ngā take ohaoha. E kore e puta ēnei āhuatanga mēnā he whakautu patapatai noa iho te āhua o te rangahau.

I te mutunga o ia whakawhitinga kōrero, ka tuhia e ngā kairangahau ō rātou whakaaro mō te āhua o ngā kōrero i puta (te Āpitianga 6). Koia anō he whakatūturu, he hāpai i ngā kōrero a ngā kaiuru.

Ko tētahi anō painga, ko te whiringa o te tātari i ngā kōrero o Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti, me ngā raraunga i puta i Te Rangahau Matua. Arā, ko te whiringa o ngā kōrero e pā ana ki te taumata o te moni e whiwhi ana te kaiuru, tā rātou urunga atu ki ngā take Māori (pērā i te whiwhi utu mai i te whenua Māori, me te haere ki ngā hui). me ngā āhuatanga mātauranga.

I muri i te āta tiro tiro me te whakatūturu i ngā raraunga ka kohia mai mō Te Hoe Nuku Roa, ka whakaurua ki te pātengi raraunga 'Microsoft Access'. E rua ngā whakaurunga, ā, ka tiro matapōkerehia anōtia ētahi, kia kore ai e hapa, e hē rānei tēnei wāhanga o te rangahau. Mā te āhua o te hoahoa i te pātengi raraunga rorohiko e taea ai te tātari tatau i te whakaeminga raraunga rahi, whīwhiwhi hoki.

I whakamahia te pūnaha rorohiko NUD*IST hei tātari i ngā kōrero a ngā kaiuru o Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti i hopukina ki te rīpene. He āhua pōrohe ēnei momo raruanga, he uaua hoki te tātari, nā te rahi o ngā kupu. Ehara i te raraunga tataui. E rua ngā pātengi raraunga o NUD*IST e haere tahi ana hei āwhina i te mahi tātari i ngā kōrero.

Ko te pātengi raraunga tuatahi, he rite ki te kete – ka whakaurua ngā momo tuhinga ā-kupu pērā i te reta, ngā meneti hui, ngā tuhinga mai i ngā kōrero ā-waha, ngā tuhinga whakaaro mō tētahi pukapuka, whiti ātaata rānei, me ngā tuhinga nūpepa. Ko te pātengi raraunga tuarua, he pūnaha whakaraupapa i ngā kōrero, e taea ai e te kairangahau te waitohu ngā wāhanga kōrero e hāngai ana ki ana kaupapa, māna anō e tiki aua kōrero a tōna wā¹⁵. (Hansen 1998:2)

He mea tuhi ki te pepa ngā kōrero ā-waha a ngā kaiuru i hopukina ki te rīpene, ā, ka tāpirihia he whakaaro ki te taha, mēnā he kōrero e pā ana ki tētahi wāhanga o te ‘anga tātari’ (te Whakaahua 4.2). Kātahi ka whakaurua ki te pūnaha rorohiko o NUD*IST, e taea ai ngā raraunga te rapu, ngā tātaritanga whakaaro te tāpiri. Nā te pēnei ka whanake haere te tātari i ngā kōrero, he mea tipu, he mea ārahi hoki te tātaritanga e ngā kōrero a ngā kaiuru. Ka kitea hoki ngā wāhi e haere kotahi ana ngā whakaaro o ngā kaiuru, me ngā wāhi e marara ana.

4.8 Te whakarāpopoto

Ko te take matua i puta ai he whakakitenga motuhake, tōtika hoki, e pā ana ki ngā āhuatanga matatini o te reo Māori o ngā kaiuru, ko te ū ki ngā tikanga rangahau e hāngai ana ki tā te Māori whakahaere i kōrerohia i Te Wāhanga 4.2. Nā tēnei i

ngākaunui mai ngā kaiuru ki te kaupapa, kāore hoki i manawarau ki te whakaputa i ō rātou whakaaro. Koia nei te kōrero a tētahi:

Me mihi au ki a kōrua me te te āhua āhuru o tā tātou whakawhiti kōrero. I tā kōrua waeatanga mai ki ahau, kāore au i tino mahana ki te kaupapa, engari e ū tonu ana au ki te rangahau. Nō reira kia ora kōrua. Ka tūtaki au i a kōrua, kua mahea ake aku āwangawanga. Tuarua, me mihi ki ngā kaiwhakahaere o Te Hoe Nuku Roa. Kātahi au ka kite i ngā hua ka puta i tēnei kaupapa rangahau. I te āhua pai au ki te kaupapa, engari kāore au i āta whakaaro ki ngā painga ka puta ā tōna wā. I te mutunga o ā tātou whakawhiti kōrero, kātahi au ka rongō i te whakahirahira o te kaupapa. Nō reira kia ora rawa atu, i whai wāhi anō au ki te uru mai ki tēnei rangahau. Nā te āhua o te pātai tuatahi ka aro katoa au ki te kaupapa, arā, te pātai mai mō tōku whaea me te reo i pakeke mai ai ia - koirā au i ngākaunui ai. Akene pea ko te ira wahine o roto i te whānau e tino kaha ana ki te hiki i te reo - he pai ki a au tēnā. Kātahi ko ngā pātai mō tōku matua. Kia ora rā. Ko tētahi anō painga o tēnei whakawhitinga kōrero, ka pā ki te ngākau, ka pupū ake ngā whakaaro o roto i te whatumanawa, kāore i noho ki ngā take mātauranga noa iho. E whakapono ana ahau ka puta ngā whakakitenga whaihua. Nō reira kia ora anō. Kāore au mō te waiata!¹⁶

I te mutunga o ia whakawhitinga kōrero, ka noho ngā kairangahau ki te tuhi i ō rātou ake whakaaro mō ētahi o ngā āhuetanga i puta. Ko tētahi, ko te ngākaunui mai o te

kaiuru ki te whakaputa i ōna whakaaro. I roto i ngā mahi tātari i ngā whakakitenga, koia hoki tētahi o ngā upoko kōrero i tuhia ki te whārangi mō ia kaiuru. Hāunga tētahi, he ngākaunui te katoa o ngā kaiuru ki te kaupapa. He nui hoki ngā kāinga i āta manaaki i ngā kairangahau, ā, i ētahi wā, neke atu ki te whā hāora ngā kairangahau e noho ana ki te kāinga o ngā kaiuru. Ka kōrero hoki ngā kairangahau i te whaihua o ngā mahi ki a rātou anō.

Ki ahau anō, he tino waimarie ahau ki te nohotahi me tēnei koroua, ko tō māua reo whakawhitiwhiti whakaaro ko te reo Māori. Kei te aroha tonu tēnei koroua ki te reo Māori nō te mea kei te ngaro haere te reo, ā, torutoru noa iho ngā tāngata e kōrero tonu ana i te reo Māori hei reo kawe whakaaro. Ka nui taku aroha ki tēnei koroua mō ngā āhuatanga o te ao kikokiko nei e pēhi ana i tō tātou reo Māori. Kua tino piki ake te hiahia i roto i ahau kia kōrero i te reo i ngā wā katoa me te hiahia anō kia tae atu ai ki tōna matatau mō te kōrero i te reo Māori.

(Kairangahau, Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti o Te Hoe Nuku Roa)

I muri tata mai i te mutunga o ngā whakawhitinga kōrero, ka tuhia he pūrongo poto, ka tukuna ki ngā kaiuru, me te tono ki a rātou kia whakahoki kōrero mai mēnā e hē ana, e hapa ana tētahi wāhanga (Āpitihanga 7). Ko te roanga atu o te tātaritanga i ngā whakakitenga kei Te Wāhanga Tuarima e takoto ana.

¹ ... census type investigations can only determine trends and are often useful if complimentary studies are available. In this way, the historical as well as the psychological dimension increases in importance.

² The initial difficulty was one of convincing and reassuring the school community of the need for such research, their anonymity, and that the results would be used ultimately to benefit the subjects. The issue of putting a community under a microscope, for any reason, and analysing the results, is always a large one for people whose past experiences with research of any kind has lead to their exploitation. This research was viewed no differently despite the fact that Māori were doing the research primarily to meet Māori needs.

³ We have a history of people putting Māori under a microscope in the same way a scientist looks at an insect. The ones doing the looking are giving themselves the power to define and describe.

⁴ ... frames the way we see the world, the way we organise ourselves in it, the questions we ask and the solutions we seek.

⁵ The Māori attitude is that research simply for the sake of knowing is pointless. There should be more specific aims and objectives in Māori research which are directed at helping people in their daily lives.

⁶ does not preclude us from being systematic, being ethical, being scientific in the way we approach a research problem.

⁷ micro interactionist perspective

⁸ A few weeks observation in Oberwart made it clear that no single rule would account for all the choices between languages. Statements to the effect that one language is used at home and another in school - work - street would be too simplistic.

⁹ A multi dimensional approach is clearly needed if we are seeking to provide adequate explanations of the variation and change in minority language use and to account for the fact that the voices of some dominated groups endure, and others give way to the voice of the dominant majority.

¹⁰ ... an economic way of collecting large amounts of comparable data.

¹¹ Its precious to be able to talk Maori. I think its my age when we never learnt anymore. I was stuck in the middle and thats the reason why I missed out ... somewhere along the line in life if you haven't got that identity that Maori in you, you can feel sort of left out.

¹² This has a number of advantages, not least that of providing a legitimate 'role' for the researcher and an obvious and acceptable rationale for the research.

¹³ conscious revival efforts however tend to develop in urban contexts, and probably have most chance of success there'

¹⁴ be of limited value in distinguishing the range of Māori cultural realities, and, inevitably contribute to the development of a homogenous Māori stereotype.

¹⁵ The first is a document data-base, into which are introduced word processed documents such as letters, minutes of meetings, interview transcripts, or even notes about the contents of books, aaudio-tapes, videos, scanned newspaper clippings, etc. The second data-base comprises a flexible iindexing system which evolves as users create categories (which are called "nodes") for identifying chunks of qualitative data for later retrieval.

¹⁶ I just want to mihi to yourselves firstly for you both made me feel comfortable, and yet when we were speaking over the phone I didn't really want to do it, but I knew I'd made a commitment to the research

so you know kia ora korua - it made such a difference once I'd met you. Secondly to say kia ora to the people who are responsible for the whole Te Hoe Nuku Roa for the initiative. It really hasn't been until this interview that its come home to me what the potential good of the research actually is. I took it, you know I had a general kind of thing about it, but I hadn't actually thought about it in depth, and after this interview its really just brought it right home to me about the importance of it. And I just want to say kia ora for the opportunity to actually participate in it. I think that I found the research really interesting cause I think that right from the word go which was the first question, I was hooked, and the question was you know what language was your mother brought up speaking you know I'm interested, I'm guessing that thats about the fact that it tends to be the females in the whanau that will continue maintaining and te hiki i te reo i roto i te whanau. And I liked that - thats a good approach. And then followed by the father. yeah so you know kia ora. I have enjoyed the opportunity and whats been really good about this research is that it comes in to unlike previous interviews which have stayed in the realm of the thinking the academic, this one has come in to the realm of whats in your heart. And that takes in to a whole different place, and once you get to whats in your heart you start to talk how you really feel about things eh. And I reckon that you'll get us some really excellent data from this approach, so kia ora, thank you very much. And I won't sing a song!

Te Wāhanga Tuarima

Ngā Whakakitenga me ngā Matapaki

- 5.1 Te kupu whakataki
- 5.2 Te matatau ki te reo
 - 5.2.1 Tō te tangata whakaaro ki tēnei mea te matatau
 - 5.2.2 Te kounga o te reo me ōna take
 - 5.2.3 Te eke i ngā taumata o te matatau
- 5.3 Te whakamahinga o te reo
 - 5.3.1 Ngā taumata whakamahi i te reo
 - 5.3.2 Ngā āhuatanga kei te pā ki te whakamahinga o te reo
- 5.4 Te whai wāhi atu ki te reo Māori
 - 5.4.1 Te hopu i te reo
 - 5.4.2 Te ako i te reo
 - 5.4.3 Te pāpaho i te reo
 - 5.4.4 Te tuhituhi me te pānui i te reo
- 5.5 Te waiaro ki te reo Māori, me te titiro whakamua
- 5.6 Te hora o ngā whakakitenga
- 5.7 Te whakarāpopoto

5.1 Te kupu whakataki

Kei tēnei wāhanga, te whakapuakitanga o ngā kōrero i hua mai i Te Rangahau Matua o Te Hoe Nuku Roa, me ngā whakawhitiwhiti kōrero ki ngā tāngata i whai wāhi mai ki Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti. Ka āta tirohia ngā kaupapa reo i whakaurua ki Te Rangahau Matua (tirohia Te Wāhanga Tuawhā, te Whakaahua 4.2), me te tātari i te

matū o ngā kōrero i puta. Ka whakarāpopotohia ēnei kaupapa, ka whakanohia atu ki te ‘anga tātari kōrero’ (te Whakaahua 5.1), e kitea ai ngā take i hua mai i ngā tau o mua, ngā take horopaki, ngā take reo, ngā take tōrangapū, me ngā take whaiaro, kei te pā ki te oranga o te reo. Ahakoa e whiri ana ēnei take katoa, arā, he ritenga anō tō tēnā tō tēnā, mā te whakaahua pēnei e māmā ai te kite i ngā momo take e taea e ngā mana whakatakoto kaupapa te kawē, ko wai hoki te hunga e tika ana hei kawē.

Te Whakaahua 5.1: He anga whakarāpopoto i ngā kaupapa matua i puta i ngā whakawhitwhiti kōrero

Ngā kaupapa	te matatau ki te reo	te whakamahi i te reo	te whai wāhi atu ki te reo	te waiaro ki te reo me te titiro whakamua	te whai mātauranga e pā ana ki te tū o te reo
Ngā take					
Ngā take i hua mai i ngā tau o mua					
Ngā take horopaki (hei tauira: pakeke, wāhi, āhuatanga noho)					
Ngā take tōrangapū (hei tauira: kaupapa here mō te reo)					
Ngā take reo (hei tauira: te tokomaha o ngā kaikōrero)					
Ngā take whaiaro (hei tauira: te taha hinengaro, te āhua o te whakatipu tamariki)					

5.2 Te matatau ki te reo

5.2.1 Tō te tangata whakaaro ki tēnei mea te matatau

I āta kōrerohia tēnei mea te aromatawai whaiaro hei tikanga rangahau i te āhua o te matatau o te iwi ki tō rātou reo i Te Wāhanga Tuawhā. Ahakoa te rerekē o te whakaaro o tēnā tangata o tēnā, ki tēnei mea te matatau, te whakaiti, te whakanui rānei o ētahi i ō rātou ake matatau, i whakatauria koirā anake te huarahi e taea ana te

matatau o te hunga tokomaha te rangahau. Nō reira, i whāia ko te aromatawai whaiaro i roto i Te Rangahau Matua o Te Hoe Nuku Roa, ā, he āhua ōrite ngā whakakitenga ki ērā o Te Rangahau Reo Māori a Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori i whakahaerehia i te tau 1995 (tirohia Te Wāhanga Tuarua). Ko te hunga pakeke anake i whai wāhi atu ki te rangahau a Te Taura Whiri, engari, e 618 ngā tamariki i raro i te 16 tau te pakeke i rangahautia i tā Te Hoe Nuku Roa rangahau. I whakahāngaitia te rārangi patapatai ki te hunga tamariki, ā, nā tētahi matua i whakautu ngā pātai mēnā he tamariki rawa te tamaiti.

I roto i ngā tau tata nei, kua utaina ngā tūmanako mō te oranga tonutanga o te reo ki te whakatipuranga o Te Kōhanga Reo, engari kāore i rite tēnei tūmanako ki ngā tatauranga i puta. Ko tētahi 12.5 ōrau o te hunga tamariki i rangahautia, i eke atu ki te taumata o te matatau e taea ana te whakawhitiwhiti kōrero mō ngā āhuatanga maha o ia rā, engari e 3.7 ōrau anake te tokomaha i kī, he tino matatau rātou ki te reo, me te hāngai anō ki ō rātou pakeke. He rite anō ēnei tatauranga ki ērā mō te tokomaha o ngā tamariki e haere ana ki tētahi Kōhanga Reo, kura rūmaki rānei. E 21 ōrau o te hunga tamariki Māori i raro i te rima tau te pakeke e haere ana ki tētahi Kōhanga Reo, e 3 ōrau anake o ngā tamariki Māori e haere ana ki te kura, kei te haere ki tētahi Kura Kaupapa Māori, e 5 ōrau anō ki tētahi atu kura rūmaki i te reo (Keegan 1996, Te Tari Tatau 1995). E ai ki a Keegan (1996:19), ko ngā tamariki e kura ana ki tētahi atu tūmomo kaupapa reo Māori (pērā i te reo rua), ka kore e eke ki te matatautanga o te reo. Koia hoki tētahi o ngā whakakitenga o Te Hoe Nuku Roa – ahakoa neke atu i te 50 ōrau o ngā tamariki i kī mai e ako ana rātou i te reo, he 12.5 ōrau anake e taea ana te whakawhitiwhiti kōrero i roto i te reo.

Ahakoia te whakapae kāore e whai pūkenga ana ngā mātua, ngā tamariki rānei, ki tēnei mea te aromatawai i te matatau, tērā tonu te āwangawanga ki te āhua o te reo i tēnei whakatipuranga, ā, me matua rangahau tēnei kaupapa. Mēnā e mārama ana tātou ki te āhua o te reo i roto i te whakatipuranga tamariki, ka mārama anō te titiro whakamua, me te matapae i te oranga o te reo i ngā whakatipuranga kei te heke mai.

I roto i Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti, ka whai wāhi anō ngā kaiuru ki te whakawhitiwhiti kōrero mō te āhua o tō rātou matatau ki te reo. Nō reira, i taea te whakatairite ngā kōrero i puta i konei me ngā whakautu ki ngā pātai o Te Rangahau Matua. Ka kitea te āhua whakanui a ngā kaiuru i tō rātou matatau, ā, ko tētahi whakaaro ka puta i konei, kua heke haere tā te tangata orotau ki ngā āhuetanga o tēnei mea te matatau ki te reo Māori. E ai ki ētahi atu (tirohia Oscarson 1997), mēnā e tihoi ana ngā whakakitenga ka puta i ngā aromatawai whaiaro e rua, he tohu tērā, tē tika ngā whakautu a ngā kaiuru. Engari, e mea ana i konei, kāore he mana tō te kairangahau ki te tohe, ki te whakaraupēka i ngā whakautu a ngā kaiuru, me whakaae tonu, he tika ā rātou kōrero i runga i te titiro motuhake o tēnā, o tēnā.

E whakapaetia ana i konei, ko ngā whakautu tihoi a ētahi o ngā kaiuru, e whakaatu ana i te heke haere o te orotau o te iwi ki ngā taumata o tēnei mea te matatau ki te reo Māori. Arā anō ngā kōrero a ētahi e mea ana ‘āe, he matatau a Mea ki te reo Māori’, engari ki te āta tirohia te āhua o taua matatau, i ētahi wā, e hika, kāore e eke ki tua atu i te āhei ki te whakaputa noa i ngā mihi ki te tangata (tirohia te tuhinga a Wano 2000). Akene pea, mēnā e heke ana tētahi reo, ka heke anō hoki tā te iwi orotau ki ngā taumata o te matatau. Ina heke te tokomaha o ngā tāngata i pakeke mai i te mātotorutanga o te reo, ā, ka piki anō te tokomaha o te hunga i ako i te reo hei reo tuarua, kāore e māhorahora te whai wāhitanga atu o te hunga reorua ki te hunga e mau

tonu ana i te arero Māori tūturu. Ka whakawhitiwhiti kōrero te reorua ki te reorua, ā, i konā, ka heke te orotau ki tēnei mea te matatau, ki te taumata e taea ana e te reorua.

Ko te pātai 20 tērā o roto i Te Rangahau Matua e tono ana kia whakaaturia mai e ngā kaiuru tō rātou matatau ki te reo. E whitu ngā tauine i te matatau, ā, ko ngā mea i waitohu mai i te 5, te 6, te 7 rānei, te hunga i wātea mai ki te uru ki Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti. Koia nei ngā whakamārama mō ēnei tauine:

• **Taumata 5:**

Kua roa nei koe e ako ana i te reo, ā, he āhua hōhonu tō mōhio ki te reo.

• **Taumata 6:**

Kua ako koe i te reo hei reo tuarua, ā, kua eke koe ki te taumata e taea te kī, he matatau koe.

• **Taumata 7:**

I pakeke mai koe i te reo, koia hoki tō reo tuatahi.

I tonoa ngā kaiuru o Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti ki te whakawhitiwhiti kōrero mō tō rātou matatau ki te reo. Koia nei ngā taumata me ō rātou paearu (pātai 17):

Taumata 1:

- E taea ana ētahi kupu ruarua noa iho.
- He uaua te whakaputa i ōku whakaaro.
- Ka pōraharahu tōku reo, kāore e tika ana te whakatakoto i te kupu.
- Ka haere ōku whakaaro mā roto i te reo Ingarihi.
- He arero paremo tōku, kāore e tika pea te whakahua i te kupu.

Taumata 2:

- I te nuinga o te wā, e taea ana te whakawhitiwhiti i ōku whakaaro, engari ka raru i ētahi wā, i te kore mōhio ki te kupu e tika ana.
- Hāunga ngā rerenga kōrero poto noa iho, i ētahi wā, ka āhua pōrahurahu tōku reo, kāore e tika te whakatakoto i te kupu.
- I te nuinga o te wā, ka haere ōku whakaaro mā roto i te reo Ingarihi.
- I ētahi wā, he arero paremo tōku, engari e pai ana te whakahua i te kupu.

Taumata 3:

- E taea ana te whakawhiti i ōku whakaaro engari kāore e tino whānui taku puna kupu.
- I te nuinga o te wā, e pai ana te āhua o taku whakatakoto i te kupu, kāore e hapa ana.
- Rere pai noa āku whakawhitiwhiti whakaaro i te nuinga o te wā.
- I te nuinga o te wā, ka haere ōku whakaaro mā roto i te reo Māori.

Taumata 4:

- Rere pai noa āku whakawhitiwhiti whakaaro i ngā wā katoa.
- Arā kē ngā momo whakahuahua i te whakaaro kotahi e taea ana e au.
- Ka taea e au ngā momo kīwaha me ngā kīanga motuhake o te reo Māori.
- Hanga pai ana taku whakatakoto i te kupu, kāore e hapa ana.

Tekau ngā kaiuru (25% o te hunga i uru mai ki Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti) i āhua whakanui i tō rātou matatau ki te reo, ina whakatairitea ki ā rātou whakautu ki ngā pātai o Te Rangahau Matua (tirohia te Whakaahua 5.2). I roto i Te Rangahau Matua, ko tā rātou aromatawai whaiaro e mea ana he ‘āhua hōhonu te mōhio ki te reo’, he

‘matatau’ rānei, engari i roto i Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti ka meatia he paku noa te mōhio ki te reo – ‘he ruarau noa iho ā rātou kupu’, ‘he uaua te whakawhitiwhiti whakaaro ki tangata kē’, ‘ka āhua pōhēhē tō rātou reo, kāore e tika te whakaputa’ rānei.

Whakaahua 5.2 Te whakatairite i ngā aromatawai whaiaro mō te matatau ki te reo

Tangatatanga	Pakeke	Rohe	Pātai 20 Te Rangahau Matua	Pātai 17 Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti
tāne	44	T	6	1
tāne	47	TT	7	2
wahine	66	TT	6	2
wahine	45	TT	5	2
wahine	67	M	5	2
wahine	39	M	5	2
tāne	58	M	6	2
tāne	39	M	6	2
wahine	21	P	5	2
tāne	37	P	5	1

(T= Tāmaki-makau-rau, TT= Turanganui-ā-Kiwa/Tairāwhiti, P= Poneke, M=Manawatū/Wanganui)

Ko ngā kōrero i tuhia e ngā kaipatapatāi i muri tata iho i ngā whakawhitinga kōrero ki ngā kaiuru tekau nei, e hāngai tika ana ki tā ngā kaiuru aromatawai whaiaro (pātai 17) o Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti (tirohia te Āpitihanga 6).

Tāpiri atu ki tēnei, ko ngā whakahoki kōrero ki te pātai 38 o Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti, e tautoko ana i te whakaaro tērā pea e heke ana tā te iwi orotau ki ngā taumata o tēnei mea te matatau ki te reo. I tonoa ngā kaiuru ki te whakaputa whakaaro ki ngā

āhuatanga kei te pā ki tō rātou kaha, ngoikore rānei ki te kōrero i te reo Māori. E toru tekau (o ngā kaiuru whā tekau) i kī mai ‘e hiahia ana ahau kia kaha ake taku kōrero i te reo Māori, engari i ētahi wā kāore i a au ngā kupu kia puta pai ai ōku whakaaro’.

Koia nei ētahi kōrero e rua i puta i ngā kaiuru:

Ki tāku nei titiro, he tokomaha ake te hunga e mārāma ana ki te reo Māori e kōrerohia ana i ēnei rā - kua āhua kore nei e rangona te reo Māori tūturu o te hunga kaumātua, ko te hunga kōrero i te reo Māori i ēnei rā, e mārāma ana ki te iwi whānui¹. (Kaiuru 05)

... i tētahi wā kauhau i tētahi rōpū kaumātua a muri taku kōrero nā tētahi i kī, e hoa kāore i te mōhio he aha tō kōrero engari ka mōhio mātou te whakaaro ... (Kaiuru 03).

E tohu ana ēnei whakahoki kōrero, he rerekē te orotau o tēna o tēnā o ngā kaiuru, ki tēnei mea te matatau i kīia mai i Te Rangahau Matua. Ko te hua o tēnei mea te ‘heke o te orotau o te iwi ki ngā āhuatanga o te matatau’, ka heke anō ngā momo kaupapa e taea e te hunga kōrero te whakatutuki mā roto i te reo, me ngā taumata kōrero e manawanuitia ana kia eke. Ki te puta whānui tēnei āhuatanga ki ō tātou kura reo Māori, kāore e kore, ka pā atu ki te tipu o te hinengaro o ngā tamariki (tirohia 2.4.1). Koia hoki tētahi o ngā whakakitenga a Wano (2000) i roto i tana rangahau i ētahi tamariki o tētahi Kura Kaupapa Māori.

Nō reira, e tika ana kia whakatūria tētahi rōpū, māna e aroturuki, māna e whakahau te kounga o te reo e kōrero whānuitia ana. Koia hoki tētahi o ngā mahi nui e kawea ana

e Timoti Kāretu, te tumuaki tawhito o Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori. He pērā anō te ia o tana kōrero ki te hui ‘Ngā Kauhau o te Ngahuru’ i whakatūria e Te Pūtahi-ā-Toi, Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa (Te Tari Māori o Te Whare Wānanga o Massey) i te tau 1995, arā, ‘kia matua eke ngā taumata o te reo’.

Ko te kounga o te reo tētahi o ngā kaupapa i aronuitia i roto i ngā kura reo ka whakatūria e Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori. Nā Kāretu i whakaemi ētahi o ō tātou tohunga ki te reo Māori ko rātou hei kaiako, ā, ka whakahautia te hunga pouako o roto i ngā kura reo Māori kia haere hei ākongā, kia whakapiki anō ai i te taumata o ō rātou reo.

I konei, ka puta te māharahara ki ngā kōrero i puta i te pūrongo a ngā kaiarotake i Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori i te tau 1998. I muri mai, ka heke a Kāretu i tana tūranga (me ētahi anō o ngā kaiwhiri), ā, ka rerekē anō ngā kaupapa ka whāia e Te Taura Whiri. I roto i te pūrongo, ka whakatakotoria te taunaki kia āhua ngāwari tā Te Taura Whiri whakahau i te kounga o te reo me ōna taumata (Te Puni Kōkiri 1998:23). E puritia ai te kounga o te reo, me matua huri tēnei mea te ‘heke o te orotau o te iwi ki ngā āhuatanga o te matatau’ kua kōrerohia i runga nei. Me haere tahi ko te whakahau i te kounga o te reo, me te āwhina anō i ngā ākongā o te reo ki te whakamahi i te reo hei reo kōrero mō rātou, ahakoa ngā hapa. Ka kōrerohia anōtia tēnei āhuatanga i Te Wāhanga Tuaono.

5.2.2 Te kounga o te reo me ōna take

I puta anō te māharahara o ngā kaiuru ki tēnei mea te kounga o te reo, koia e tūhono ana ki ngā whakaaro mō te matatau i kōrerohia i runga nei. I tonoa ngā kaiuru ki te

whakaputa i ō rātou māharahara ki ētahi āhuatanga o ō rātou reo, mēnā he māharahara ō rātou (pātai 26). Kei te Whakaahua 5.3 e rārangi ana ēnei āhuatanga.

Te Whakaahua 5.3: Te kaha māharahara o ngā kaiuru ki ētahi āhuatanga o ō rātou reo

Te āhuatanga o te reo	Te kaha o te māharahara			
	tino māharahara	āhua māharahara	paku māharahara	kāore i te māharahara
te whakahua i te reo	3	7	10	20
te whakatakoto i te kupu	6	14	8	12
te whakamahi i ngā kīwaha	9	7	10	14
te whakawhitiwhiti kōrero ki tangata kē	11	11	5	13
te pā mai o te reo Ingarihi	9	11	5	15
te pūmau ki te mita-ā-iwi	4	9	8	19
te whānui o te puna kupu	8	12	11	9

E hāngai ana te kaha o te māharahara ki te matatau o te kaiuru. Ko ngā mea kāore i te tino matatau ki te reo i kaha ake te māharahara ki te āhua o ō rātou reo. Tekau mā tahi ngā kaiuru he tino matatau rawa ki te reo (koia hoki tō rātou reo tuatahi), ā, ahakoa kāore rātou i te māharahara ki te āhua o ō rātou ake reo, i whakaputaina ngā māharahara ki te āhua o te reo e kōrero whānuitia ana i ēnei rā.

Ko ngā āhuatanga o te reo e tino māharaharatia ana e te hunga ako i te reo, ko te whakatakoto tika i te kupu, ko te pā mai o te whakaaro i te reo Ingarihi, me te whānui o ō rātou puna kupu e taea e rātou te whakaputa kōrero i ngā horopaki maha. He tokomaha ngā mea i kōrero mai mō te ātaahuatanga o te reo Māori, me te

whakapikinga anō o te wairua, ina ka rangona, ka whai wāhi atu rānei ki te kounga tiketike o te reo e kōrerohia ana. Ko te tino māharahara, ka kore e eke te āhua o ō rātou ake reo ki tērā taumata, me te hekenga anō o tēnei āhuatanga i roto i ngā whakatipuranga.

... kei te āhua māharahara ahau ki tērā, nā te mea kāore e ōrite te hanga o ngā reo. Ka whakaputaina he kōrero i te reo Māori, engari e whakaaro ana i te reo Ingarihi - kāore e pērā rawa te ātaahuatanga o te whakaputa ki tā te kaumātua whakaputa, nā te mea ko te reo Māori tonu te tāhuhu o tōna hinengaro. Ka whakamāoritia te whakaaro Ingarihi i roto i ō mātou hinengaro, ā, he rerekē te whakaputa². (Kaiuru 21)

Kāore he māharahara, engari ki taku whakaaro kāore au i te piki i te taumata pērā i taku pāpā. Pīrangi au ki te tae ki te āhua o tōna reo. (Kaiuru 04)

Kāore he mutunga o te ako kupu hou. Ka pā mai te māharahara mō te reo o aku tamariki, nā te whāiti anō o taku puna kupu. Koirā hoki tētahi take nui e whakahau ana i ahau - mēnā he whānui taku puna kupu, ka pā anō tēnā ki te reo o aku tamariki, ina ko tōku reo te reo e tino rangona ana e rātou. Koirā hoki te take ka whakaputa rātou i te kupu Ingarihi i ētahi wā. Kua rongu rātou i taua kaupapa e kōrerohia ana i te reo Ingarihi, ā, kāore i a rātou ngā kupu Māori hei whakaputa pai i ō rātou whakaaro³. (Kaiuru 24)

Kāore au i te tino mōhio - i ētahi wā ka whakaputaina he kōrero, engari kāore au i te tino mōhio mēnā e tika ana te whakatakoto, kāore rānei. He wā anō ka tau aku whakaaro, engari he nui ngā wā ka puta te māharahara ki te tika, te hē rānei o te whakatakoto i te kupu. Ko te whakatakoto i te kupu te mea e tino raru ana i a au, ehara ko te whānui o taku puna kupu. E hiahia ana ahau kia tika aku kōrero. I te nuinga o te wā, kei a au ngā kupu, engari ko te whakaputa tika i te kōrero. E mōhio ana ahau kāore e rite ki te reo Ingarihi, engari kāore au i te tino mōhio ki te waihanga kōrero kia tino tika ai te rere o te kupu⁴. (Kaiuru 26)

He nui ngā kōrero pēnei i ngā mea i runga nei i whakaputaina e ngā kaiuru, ā, he tohu tērā e māharaharatia ana te kounga o te reo, me te whakaaro kia eke anō te kounga o ō rātou reo. Engari ko te mate, ka pā ki tō rātou māia ki te whakamahi i te reo i ngā wāhi maha, ā, i konei ka kore pea e tino kaha te kōrerotia o te reo. He auau te whakaputa i te whakaaro ‘E matakū ana ahau kei hē taku reo – mēnā ka kōrero au i te reo, me tika te whakaputa’ (Kaiuru 21).

Ka whakaputaina anō hoki e ngā tāngata e matatau ana ki te reo (ngā mea i pakeke mai i te reo hei reo tuatahi mō rātou), tō rātou ake mānukanuka ki te heke o te kounga o te reo. Ko te whakaaro o tētahi o ngā pakeke, e mea ana ko te reo Māori o ēnei rā, he mea whakaputa i te roro, kua kore e whai wāhi atu te katoa o te hinengaro, kia Māori ai te wairua o te reo.

Ko te reo Ingarihi te reo tuatahi nō te mea te nuinga hoki o ngā nekeneke, ngā pouaka whakaata he reo Pākehā, engari kāore au i te māharahara i tōku reo Māori e pai noa iho. Engari kua wareware hoki ngā tāngata. Ka haere mai ngā tamariki o tērā kōhanga reo he tatangi anō tō rātou na reo. Tuarua kāore i haere mai i te manawa i haere mai kē i te hinengaro i te mahunga. Koirā hoki te rerekētanga o te tipu mai koe i roto i te reo Māori, tipu mai koe i te kāinga i roto ake i a koe, ka kōrero koe ka haere mai i tō manawa e kīia nei he whatumanawa, he aroha. (Kaiuru 11).

E hāngai ana tēnei whakaaro ki te whakamārama a Saville-Troike i te ariā o Halliday (1975) mō te hopu i tētahi reo.

‘... arā, ka whai wāhi atu te āhua o te reo e whāngaihia ana ki te tamaiti, te tikanga o te kōrero, te horopaki o te whakawhitinga kōrero (te wāhi ki tēnā kaikōrero ki tēnā, me ō rāua tūranga), te momo reo e whakamahia ana, te pūnaha reo (ōna tikanga ake, me tā te tamaiti e waihanga tikanga i tōna hinengaro), me te āhua o te hapori e haere ana te kōrero’ (Saville-Troike 1989:226)⁵.

E kore e rite ngā whakawhitiwhiti tāpui a te whānau ki te āhua o ngā whakawhitinga kōrero o te kura. Nō reira he uaua kē mā te kura e whakakapi tā te whānau whakatipu i āna tamariki, me te whakatō anō i te reo ki ō rātou taringa, ki ō rātou hinengaro, ki ō rātou whatumanawa hoki. Ko te kōrero a te pakeke i runga nei (Kaiuru 11) mō te reo o ēnei rā, arā, te rerekē o te reo e ahu mai ana i te mahunga, me te reo ka ahu mai i te

whatumanawa, koia pea he tohu o tā tātou tino whakawhirinaki atu ki te kura hei puna reo mō ā tātou tamariki, kua ko te kāinga.

Ka puta hoki ngā kōrero whakaahu a te hunga matatau, ki te maha o ngā kupu hou e putaputa mai ana i ngā tau kua hori ake nei. He auau te whakaatu mai a te hunga nei, tē aro i a rātou ngā kōrero o ā rātou mokopuna i roto i ngā Kōhanga Reo, me te whakaaro anō nō te iwi kotahi te nuinga o ngā ‘kupu hou’.

He nui ngā kupu hou e puta mai ana. Ahakoa kāore noa au e tino aro ake ki aua kupu. Ki aua nei he awangawanga nui.. (Kaiuru16).

Mēnā e whakaputa whakaaro ana ki ngā rongo kōrero o te wā, he ngāwari ake te reo Ingarihi. Kāore i a au ngā kupu Māori mō ētahi o ngā kupu Pākehā - he kupu hou, nē. Ka raparapa noa au i ētahi o ngā kupu hou o Te Karere, nā te mea he rerekē anō te mita. Ka āta rongo i te tikanga o ā rātou kōrero⁶. (Kaiuru 13)

Tē aro i a au ngā kōrero a taku tamāhine - kāore au e whakaputa kōrero. Engari ko aku hoa, tūtakitaki ai mātou i te wā whiwhi ai i ō mātou penihana, ā, ka rere ngā kōrero. He koanga ngākau ki te kōrero i te reo Māori, tō mātou reo Māori i pakeke ai mātou. Engari ko ngā kupu hou e putaputa mai ana. Kāore e taea e au te whakawhitiwhiti kōrero ki te hunga tamariki - e kore e aro i a rātou⁷. (Kaiuru 12)

Kotahi te kaiuru matatau, he āhua rerekē ōna whakaaro ki ēnei e kōrerohia i runga nei. Kāore i te pērā rawa tōna pakeke, ā, he kaiako ia i roto i tētahi akoranga rūmaki, nō reira e whakamahi ana ia i te reo ia rā o te wiki, mō ngā kaupapa maha e whakaakohia ana i te kura.

Āe, ki a au, he tino kaupapa tērā, nō te mea, kāore tō tātou reo i te reo me waiho kia pōteretere noa iho ne. Kia kaha tonu tātou ki te whakapakari i ō tātou reo. Kua mātou e pōhēhē kei te mōhio katoa mātou i ngā tikanga o te reo. Kia kaha tonu mātou hoki ki te whakapakari i wō mātou taringa, wō mātou reo, ka kiia he reo mō ināianei. Nā te mea i te mutunga atu, kua kōrero te hunga o nāianei, kāore mātou i te mārāma. I te mutunga atu, kua pōhēhē mātou he reo kē, he reo noa atu. Ki a au he kaupapa tērā, me haere. Koirā au e haere ana ki ngā hui a Te Taura Whiri. Ki te whakarongo. Akene pea kei reira tētahi mea korekore au e mohio. (Kaiuru 29).

Ko te ia o ngā kōrero i runga nei, e whakaatu ana i tētahi take nui kei te pēhi i te whakamahinga o te reo i waenganui i ngā whakatipuranga, arā, ko te kounga o te reo tērā. Nā tēnei, ka itiiti anō te whai wāhitanga atu o te hunga ako i te reo ki te hunga matatau. Ko ngā take kua kōrerohia nei e pā ana ki te kounga o te reo, kei te pēhi i tā te hunga matatau whakamahi i te reo, tā te hunga ako anō hoki. Kāore e tino rite ana te wāhi ki te hunga matatau i roto i ngā mahi whakaora i te reo.

5.2.3 Te ekenga i ngā taumata o te matatau

Ko tētahi wāhanga o ngā whakawhitinga kōrero ki ngā kaiuru, ko te aro atu ki ngā momo huarahi i tae atu ai rātou ki ō rātou taumata mō te kōrero i te reo, me te whakaaro, ka āta kitea pea ngā momo huarahi e tino whai hua ana. I tonoa ngā kaiuru ki te whakaatu mai i ngā take whai hua me ngā take kāore i tino whai hua. Kei te Whakaahua 5.4 ngā whakakitenga i puta.

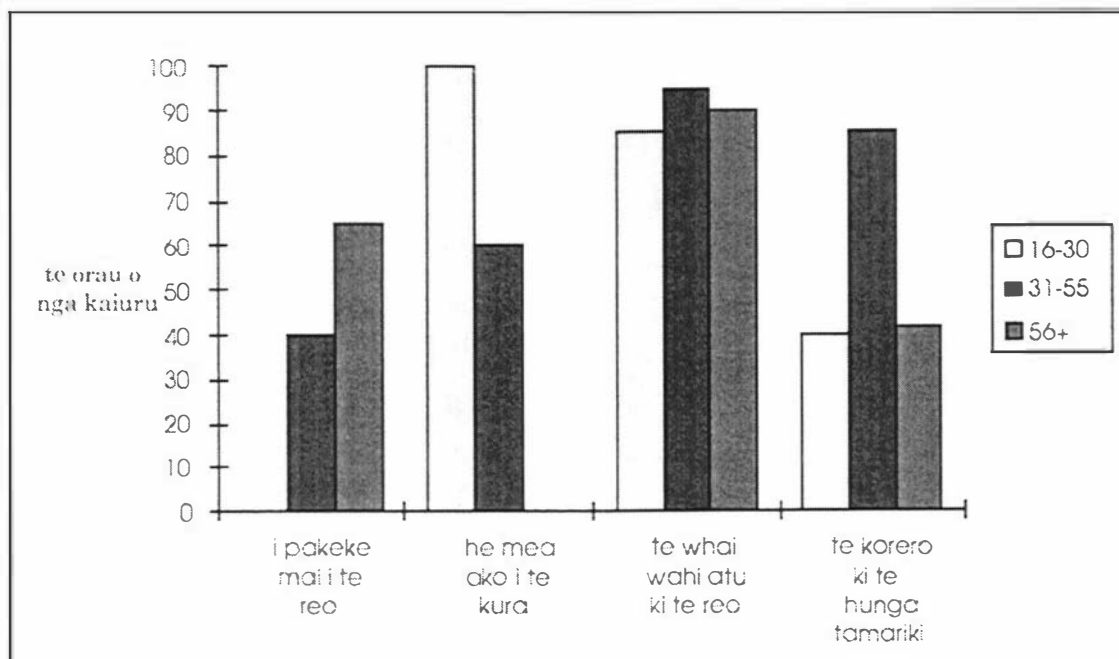
Te Whakaahua 5.4: Ngā huarahi i tae atu ai ngā kaiuru ki ngā taumata reo, me te whai hua o tēnā o tēnā.

Te huarahi	Te whai hua			
	tino whai hua	āhua whai hua	he paku nei te whai hua	kāore he take ki ahau
i pakeke mai i roto i te reo Māori	16	1	6	17
i akohia te reo i te kura, i te kuratini, i te whare wānanga rānei	15	5	1	19
i akohia i te Kōhanga Reo	1	1	1	37
nā tētahi o roto i te whānau i whakaako	10	7	1	22
i akohia i ngā wānanga reo i te marae	6	1	0	33
i akohia i ngā akoranga o Te Ātaarangi	6	0	2	32
nā te whai wāhitanga atu ki te reo, i hopukina mā te taringa	34	2	2	2
nā taku whakamahinga i te reo ki aku tamariki	23	1	3	13

Ko ngā huarahi matua e whakaaturia ana i runga nei, ko ēnei: ‘i pakeke mai i roto i te reo Māori’, ‘i akohia te reo i tētahi kura ōkawa’, ‘nā te whai wāhitanga atu ki te reo, i hopukina mā te taringa’, ‘nā te whakamahinga i te reo ki te hunga tamariki’. Ina tirohia ēnei huarahi matua me te pakeke o ngā kaiuru (te Whakaahua 5.5), tērā e kitea atu, ko te huarahi ‘nā te whai wāhitanga atu ki te reo, i hopukina mā te taringa’ tētahi huarahi tino whai hua ki ngā reanga pakeke katoa. Mō te hunga mātāpuputu, he mea nui anō, ko te whakapakeke i roto i te reo, engari kāore tētahi o rātou i kī mai nā te kura rātou i ako ki te kōrero i te reo. He kōaro ngā reanga pakeke i muri mai i a rātou, arā, kāore tētahi o rātou i whakapakeke i te reo i te wā e tamariki ana, engari, i kiia mai e te katoa he huarahi whai hua ki a rātou ngā akoranga reo i ngā kura. He mea whai hua anō ki te 66% o ngā kaiuru katoa, te whai wāhi ki te kōrero i te reo ki te hunga tamariki. I kōrero mai tētahi o ngā kaiuru, ahakoa i ako ia i te reo i te kura, nā te whānautanga mai o ana tamariki, kātahi ia ka tino huri ki te whai i te reo.

Ā te wā ka pakeke mātou ka huri mātou ki te reo. Ahakoa i ako mātou ki a mātou kura, te kura tuarua, i te wā i whānau ngā pēpi ka huri tōtika mātou ki te reo. (Kaiuru 03).

Te Whakaahua 5.5: Ngā huarahi tino whai hua mō te ako i te reo, me te pakeke o ngā kaiuru

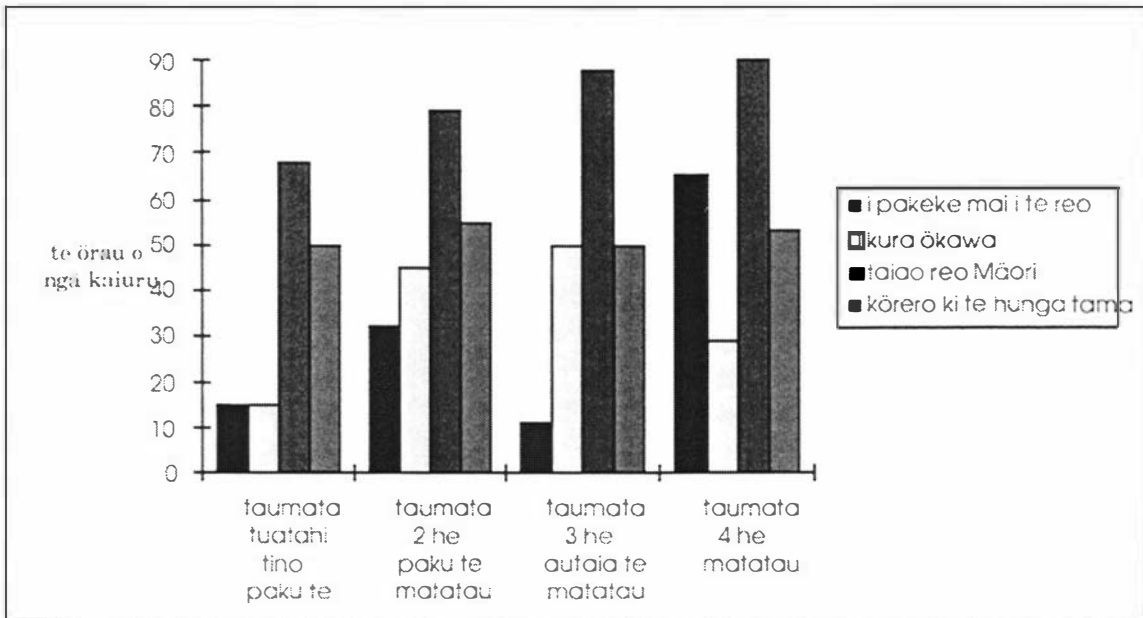


Ka puta anō he māramatanga mēnā ka tirohia ngā huarahi tino whai hua nei me te taumata matatau o ngā kaiuru (aromatawai whaiaro). Ahakoa te taumata matatau, i kiiia mai he huarahi tino whai hua ‘nā te whai wāhitanga atu ki te reo, i hopukina mā te taringa’ (tirohia te Whakaahua 5.6). Engari, e 23 ōrau anake o te hunga matatau, i kiiia, ko te ‘ako i te reo i te kura’ tētahi o ngā huarahi i tino eke ai rātou i ō rātou taumata matatau. I konei ka puta te pakirehua ki ngā akoranga reo, arā, ki te nui o ngā akoranga i ngā taumata teitei o te reo, me te whai hua o aua akoranga hei āwhina i ngā ākonga ki te kake i ngā taumata o te matatau. E hāngai ana tēnei whakaaro ki te rangahau a Keegan, he mea tiro tiro i ngā momo akoranga reo puta noa i te motu. Nāna hoki i whakaputa te āwangawanga ki te taumata reo e taea ana e ngā ākonga o ngā kura tuatoru, me te whai wāhitanga atu ki ngā akoranga e tino ekea ai ngā taumata teitei o te matatau.

I tēnei wā, kāore anō kia whakaritea he paerewa mō te aromatawai i ngā taumata reo i ngā kura tuatoru puta noa i te motu. He itiiti anō ngā kura e

tuku ana i ngā akoranga e hāngai ana ki ngā taumata teitei o te reo⁸. (Keegan 1997:1)

Te Whakaahua 5.6: Ko ngā huarahi tino whai hua mō te ako i te reo, me te taumata reo o ngā kaiuru



Ko te whakaatu mai o te rangahau e mea ana, ko te hunga i muri mai i te reanga mātāpuputu, kāore i whakapakeke mai i roto i te reo i te wā e tamariki ana, heoi anō ka whakawhirinaki atu rātou ki ngā akoranga okawa, kia eke ai rātou i ngā taumata o te reo. Ko te raruraru pea, he uua te whai wāhi atu ki ngā akoranga i ngā taumata teitei, he uua anō te eke i ngā taumata teitei o te reo mā te whakawhirinaki anake ki ngā akoranga okawa. Otirā, ko te whakakitenga matua, ahakoa te pakeke o te kaiuru, ahakoa te taumata matatau o te kaiuru, he mea nui ki a rātou katoa te whai wāhitanga atu ki te reo e kōrerohia ana, hei ekenga mā rātou i ngā taumata o te matatau. Waihoki, ki te kore e rangona te reo e kōrerohia ana i ngā wāhi hīkoi ai te tangata ia rā, ka heke tōna taumata matatau.

E rima tau ki muri nei, he matatau kē atu ahau ki te reo. Ka haere au ki te wānanga, kāore he paku āwangawanga. Engari kua ngaro ināiane.

Kāore au e tūtakitaki i aku hoa kōrero - kua rerekē ināianeī te huarahi o tēnā, o tēnā⁹. (Kaiuru 08)

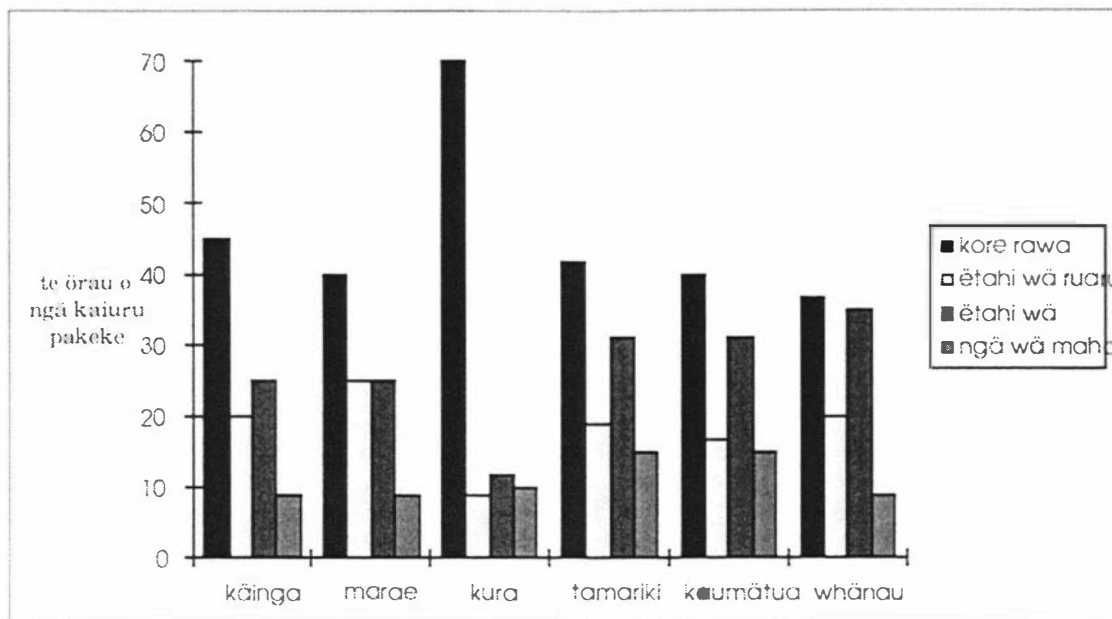
Ka kōrerohia anōtia ēnei take i Te Wāhanga 5.4, ki reira tirohia ai te whai wāhitanga atu o ngā kaiuru ki te reo Māori.

5.3 Te whakamahinga o te reo Māori

5.3.1 Ngā taumata whakamahi i te reo

Hāunga te tokomaha o ngā kaikōrero o tētahi reo me ō rātou taumata matatau, e kitea ai te ora o taua reo, me aro anō hoki ki te whakamahinga o taua reo. Mā te whakakore i ngā āhuatanga e aukati ana i te whakamahinga o te reo, e piki anō ai tōna ora. He rite ngā whakakitenga o Te Rangahau Matua o Te Hoe Nuku Roa ki ērā i puta i tā Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, e pā ana ki te kaha o te iwi ki te whakamahi i te reo. Arā, kāore e tino whakamahia ana te reo i ngā wāhi maha o te hapori, i roto hoki i ngā whakawhitinga kōrero ki tēnā tangata, ki tēnā, ahakoa te taumata matatau o te kaikōrero. Kei te Whakaahua 5.7, e whakaaturia ana te taumata whakamahi i te reo o ngā kaiuru o Te Rangahau Matua o Te Hoe Nuku Roa, i ngā wāhi e toru o te hapori, ki ngā hunga tāngata tokotoru anō hoki.

Te Whakaahua 5.7: Te whakamahinga o te reo hei reo matua i roto i ngā whakawhitinga kōrero (Te Rangahau Matua o Te Hoe Nuku Roa)



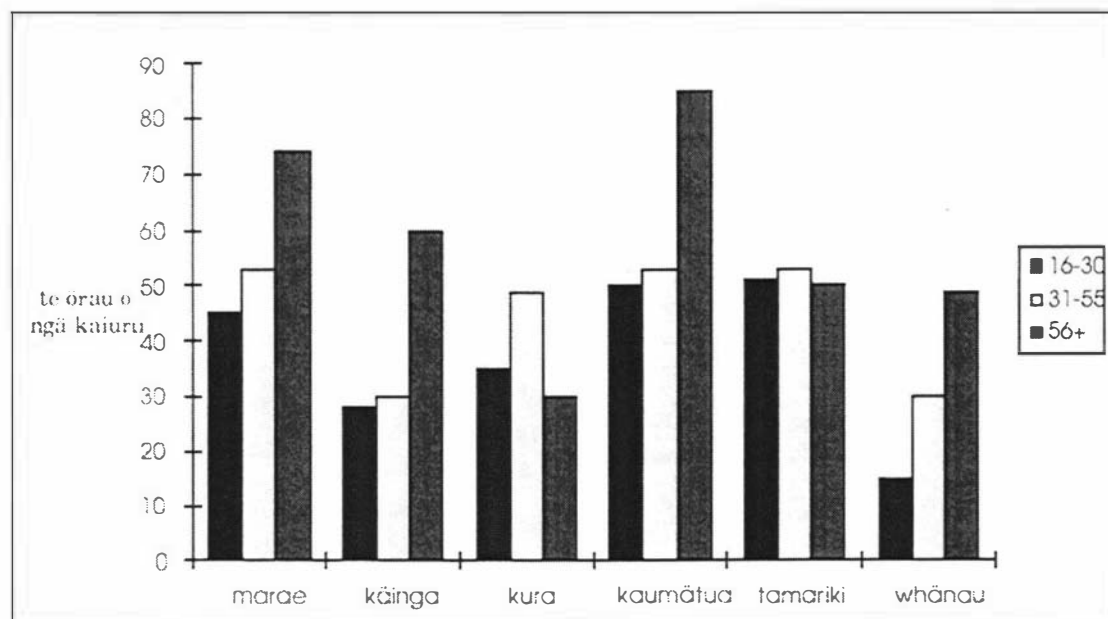
Mēnā ka arohia atu ngā tāngata matatau, āhua matatau rānei ki te reo anake, tērā e kitea, he kaha ake rātou ki te whakamahi i te reo (te Whakaahua 5.8).

Te Whakaahua 5.8 Te whakamahinga o te reo a te hunga matatau, āhua matatau rānei, hei reo matua i roto i ngā whakawhitinga kōrero (Te Rangahau Matua o Te Hoe Nuku Roa) (he ōrau ngā tau katoa).

	Kāore e rite ana	Kore rawa	He iti nei ngā wā	I ētahi wā	I ngā wā maha
Te whakamahi i:					
te marae	4	8	8	26	53
te kāinga	4	11	16	39	30
te kura	47	5	5	9	33
Te whakawhitiwhiti kōrero ki:					
te hunga kaumātua	3	2	2	31	62
te hunga tamariki	4	8	8	29	50
te whānau	0	4	13	50	33

Ka mārama ake te āhua o te whakamahinga o te reo, inā tirohia te pakeke o te hunga matatau nei (te Whakaahua 5.9). He kaha ake te hunga mātāpuputu ki te whakamahi i te reo, i ngā reanga i muri mai i a rātou. He kaha ake tā rātou whakamahinga i te reo hei reo whakawhiti kōrero ki ō rātou hoa kaumātua, hei reo kōrero hoki i te marae, i tā rātou kōrero i te reo ki te hunga tamariki, ki ō rātou whānau, i te kāinga rānei. Kāore i te pērā rawa te kaha o ngā reanga i muri mai i te hunga mātāpuputu ki te whakamahi i te reo. Akene pea, he tohu tēnei kia eke rā anō te tangata ako reo rua ki tētahi taumata matatau, kia māia anō hoki ia, kātahi ia ka tino whakamahi i te reo hei reo kōrero mōna. E ai ki ngā whakahokinga kōrero, he kaha ake te hunga mātua, rangatahi hoki ki te whakamahi i te reo hei reo kōrero i te marae, hei reo kōrero ki te hunga kaumātua hoki, engari, kāore i te pērā rawa tā rātou whakamahi i te reo i te kāinga, hei reo whakawhiti kōrero hoki ki te hunga tamariki. Engari he rerekē anō ngā whakahokinga kōrero a ngā kaiuru o Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti o Te Hoe Nuku Roa. Ko tā rātou, he uaua te kōrero i te reo Māori i te marae, ki te hunga kaumātau hoki (tirohia 5.3.2). I pēnei ai pea te rerekē o ngā whakahokinga kōrero, nā te mea he wāhi kōrero Māori te marae, he tāngata kōrero Māori te hunga kaumātua, nō reira ka āia rātou ki te whakamahi i te reo. Kāore rātou e āia ana ki te whakamahi i te reo i te kāinga, nō reira kāore e tino puta te reo i reira.

Te Whakaahua 5.9: Ko te hunga matatau, āhua matatau rānei, e whakamahi ana i te reo i te nuinga o te wā, me ō rātou pakeke (Te Rangahau Matua o Te Hoe Nuku Roa)



He nui ngā kōrero i puta i te hunga mātāpuputu o Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti e mea ana, he uaua ki a rātou te whakawhiti kōrero i roto i te reo Māori ki ngā reanga i muri mai i a rātou.

Kāore e aro i a au ngā kōrero a ētahi o te hunga tamariki, inā ka kōrero mai rātou i tō rātou reo Māori hou - he nui ngā kupu hou, me ako e au ka tika¹⁰. (Kaiuru 07)

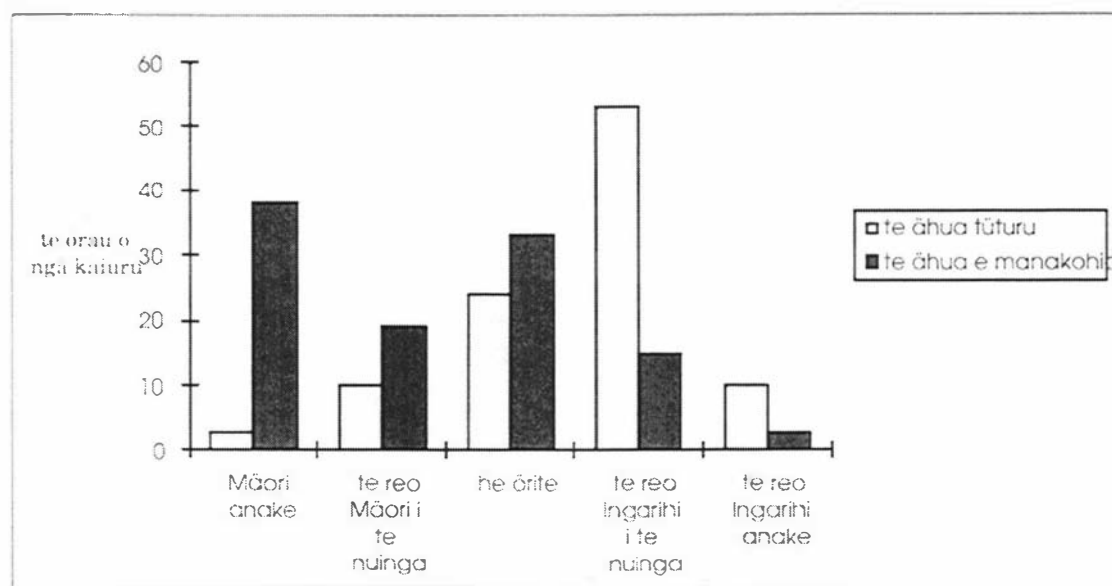
He pērā hoki ngā kōrero a Harlow i roto i tētahi tuhinga āna mō te kaupapa nei, te whakawhitiwhiti kōrero a tētahi whakatipuranga ki tētahi:

Ko wai o tātou katoa kāore anō kia rongo i ngā kōrero pēnei: 'I pōhēhē au kei te matatau ki te reo, engari kāore au i te mārāma ki te reo o taku mokopuna!' (Kei te Kōhanga te mokopuna). (1996:102)

I roto i Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti, ka tūhurangia tā te hunga matatau whakamahi i te reo, me te whakawhitiwhiti kōrero ki a rātou mō ngā take e kōrero ai rātou i te reo Māori, ka huri rānei ki te reo Ingarihi i ō rātou kāinga me ētahi atu wāhi o te hapori.

Ko te whakakitenga matua i puta, ko te iti o tā rātou whakamahinga i te reo i roto i ngā tūmomo horopaki o ia rā. Ka tonoa rātou ki te waitohu i te taumata whakamahi i te reo i ō rātou kāinga, me te taumata whakamahi e wawatahia ana. Ka kitea ngā rerekētanga i te Whakaahua 5.10.

Te Whakaahua 5.10: Te taumata whakamahi i te reo me te taumata e wawatahia ana (ngā kaiuru o Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti o Te Hoe Nuku Roa)



Āpiti atu ki tēnei, ka whakaaturia e ngā kaiuru te whakamahinga o te reo Māori hei reo kōrero ki ngā tāngata ka toro mai ki ō rātou kāinga. Ka kitea, he 10% noa iho o ēnei momo whakawhitinga kōrero i roto anake i te reo Māori, e 44% i roto anake i te reo Ingarihi (te Whakaahua 5.11).

Te Whakaahua 5.11: Te reo whakawhiti kōrero ki te hunga ka toro mai ki ngā kāinga o ngā kaiuru (Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti o Te Hoe Nuku Roa) (he ōrau ngā tau katoa)

	te reo Māori anake	te reo Māori i te nuinga o te wā, i ētahi wā te reo Ingarihi	he āhua ōrite te whakamahi i te reo Māori me te reo Ingarihi	te reo Ingarihi i te nuinga o te wā, i ētahi wā te reo Māori	te reo Ingarihi anake
te ōrau o ngā whakawhitinga kōrero	10	11	10	25	44

5.3.2 Ngā āhuatanga kei te pā ki te whakamahinga o te reo

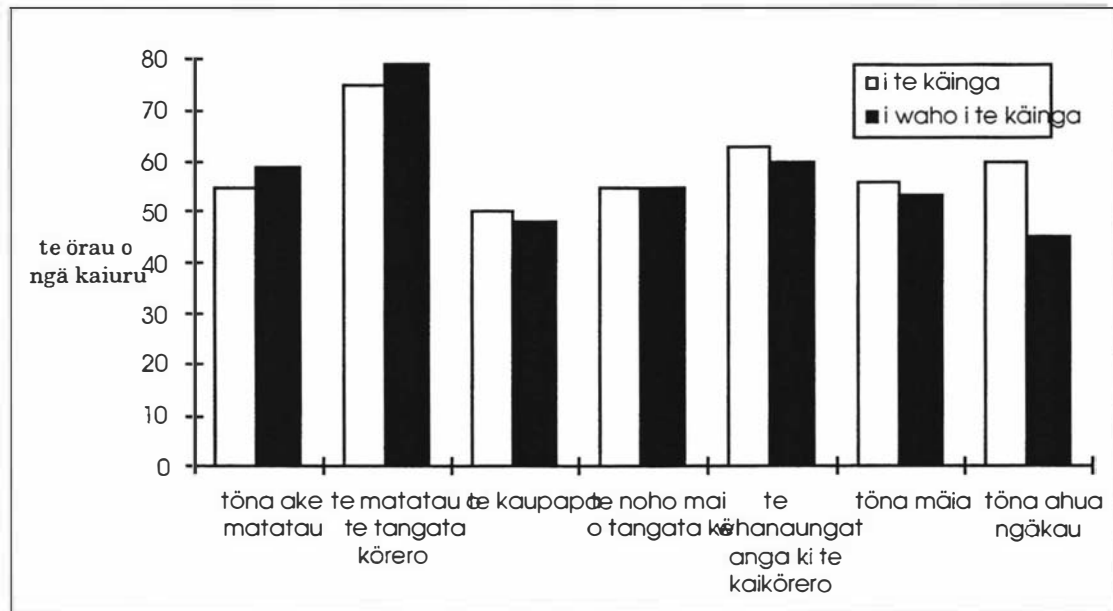
Ko ngā whakakitenga i te wāhanga i mua nei e mea ana:

- he itiiti tonu tā te hunga matatau, tā te hunga āhua matatau whakamahi i te reo;
- e tino manakohia ana e ngā hunga nei kia pakari ake te whakamahinga o te reo;
- e rerekē ana te wāhi me ngā tāngata whakawhitiwhiti kōrero i te reo Māori a tēnā reanga, a tēnā.

I tēnei wāhanga, ka āta tātarīhia ngā whakahoki kōrero a ngā kaiuru, kia kitea ai ngā āhuatanga e aukati ana, e pēhi ana i te whakamahinga o te reo Māori.

I tonoa ngā kaiuru ki te whakaatu mai i ngā āhuatanga kei te pā ki ā ratou whiriwhiri i te reo ka kōrerohia i ō rātou kāinga. Ka pērā anō hoki mō ngā horopaki i waho atu i te kāinga, ā, ko te ia o ngā whakakitenga e mea ana he mea whai take ēnei āhuatanga katoa (tirohia te Whakaahua 5.12).

Te Whakaahua 5.12: Ngā āhuatanga kei te pā ki te whakamahinga o te reo (Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti o Te Hoe Nuku Roa)



I whakaaturia mai e ngā tāngata reo rua katoa o roto i Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti, he uaua te kake ake i te taumata matatau, kia māia anō hoki ki te whakamahi i te reo kua akohia e rātou. I tonoa rātou ki te kōrero mō ngā horopaki ka āhua manawarau rātou ki te kōrero i te reo. Ko te kōrero nui i puta, ko te manawarau o tēnei hunga ki te kōrero i te reo Māori mēnā he tangata matatau e whakarongo ana. Ko ngā take ‘he mataka kei whakawāngia tōku reo’ (kaiuru 21), ‘he mataka kei hē taku kōrero’ (kaiuru 18), ‘kāore e whāia e au te ia o te whakawhitinga kōrero’ (kaiuru 27).

He āhua manawarau ahau ki te kōrero ki te hunga matatau. He matawaenga nā te āhua o tōku reo. Mēnā ka hāpaitia au e rātou, ka tau taku wairua¹¹. (Kaiuru 14)

Āpiti atu ki tēnei, ka kōrero mai ētahi mō te whakaparahako i a rātou, mō te whakaiti i a rātou, ko te āhua o te reo Māori ka kōrerohia e rātou te take. I reira anō hoki ngā kōrero a ētahi o ngā kaiuru mō te kaha tautoko mai a ētahi o te hunga matatau me te

whai hua o tēnei āhuatanga ki tā rātou whakamahi i te reo Māori. E ai ki ētahi, mā te whakaatu i te wairua whakaiti, i te ngākau whakaute me te whai anō i te tikanga Māori ‘moea te pō’ (arā kia kaua e tino whāwhai), kātahi ka tino tautoko mai te hunga matatau.

Ko te hunga kaumātua, nē. Kāore rātou e kōrero, nā te mea he hōhā ki a rātou - kāore e arohia e te tangata whakarongo - ka āta kōrero, ka āta whakamārama i te kaupapa, hoki atu, hoki atu. Engari, mōku anō, e pai ana. Kia noho atu au i tō rātou taha mō te hāora, kātahi ka rere ngā kōrero. Koirā tō rātou āhua, nē. Me waiho ki a rātou te tikanga o te wā, kau rawa e whāwhai. Ētahi, kāore tonu e whakaputa i ngā kōrero - he upoko māro ētahi. Ko ngā mea āhua ono tekau, whitu tekau rānei te pakeke, he mahi nui anō hoki mō rātou. Kei a au pea te whakaaro he aha i pērā ai. He tokoiti tonu o rātou he kaha ki te whakahau i te reo. I te kōrero mai tētahi kuia ki a au - he pai ki a ia te kōrero i te reo - nāna te kī, kei te hoki mai anō te reo. Kāore au i te mōhio he aha rātou e kore ai e whakamahi i te reo - kei te mōhio tonu rātou ki te kōrero. Nā taku hiakai ki te reo, ka kōrero Māori mai rātou ki ahau - e mōhio ana rātou ki a au, engari māku tonu e tīmata, kātahi ka rere te kupu. Engari ki te haere mai tētahi, he tauhou, kāore rānei i te pai te āhua o tana reo, ka tere huri rātou. Ka noho wahangū anō. He hātekehi ēnei tāngata - he wahine, he tāne hoki. Ki a au ko te mea nui, kia whakapono rātou ki a koe, kātahi ka tūwhera i ō rātou ngākau. Koirā ō rātou āhua, i pakeke ai rātou. He tapu ō rātou whakaaro, me matua whakapono rātou ki a koe i

te tuatahi. He pērā hoki ki ō rātou ake whanaunga! E hika e!¹² (Kaiuru 20)

Ko tētahi anō take e aukati ana i te whakamahinga o te reo, ko te whakaaro o te hunga matatau kia noho hoahoa tonu ki te hunga kore mōhio, kia whai wāhi anō ai rātou ki te kaupapa o te wā, kia kaua hoki e kiia he whakahīhī te tangata kōrero Māori. Ko te kī mai a tētahi ‘kāore koe i te hiahia kia takahia te wairua, kia whakaitia te tangata kore mōhio ki te reo’ (Kaiuru 24). Arā anō te kōrero a tētahi koroua:

Kāore au e noho whakahīhī mehemea kāore rātou e mōhio ki te reo. Koinā tētahi o ngā mea i noho aku mātua ki te ako i ahau, kia ngākau mahaki. Nō reira mehemea ka tae mai he tangata ki roto i tō whare kāore e mōhio ana ki te reo, kaua e kōrero Māori, he whakahīhī, he takahi. (Kaiuru 40).

Mēnā e noho mai ana he tangata Pākehā ki te wāhi e rere ana te kupu, ehara i te whanonga tika kia kōrerohia te reo Māori – koirā te kī a te nuinga o ngā kaiuru. Mō ētahi e tika ana tēnei ahakoa e whai wāhi mai ana te Pākehā ki te kaupapa, kāore rānei. Mō ētahi anō, e pai ana te whakamahi i te reo Māori mēnā kāore te Pākehā e whai wāhi mai ana ki te kōrero, engari kei taua wāhi tonu e noho ana.

Mēnā i reira tētahi Pākehā, ā, e kōrero Māori ana tētahi o aku hoa ki a au, ka āhua manawarau ahau - he āhuaatua. Kei rongō rātou i a māua e kōrero Māori ana, ā, he āhuaatua.¹³ (Kaiuru 30)

Ki reira pea ētahi atu tāngata, kāore e whai wāhi mai ana ki te whakawhitinga kōrero, engari e tae atu ana ki ō rātou taringa. Mēnā he tangata matatau ki te reo, ka heke pea taku kaha ki te whakamahi i te reo. Engari, he Pākehā, kei te pai tēnā, kāore he aha ki ahau, ka kōrero Māori tonu. Mēnā e mōhio ana au ki a rātou, akene pea ka huri au ki te reo Pākehā, kia kore ai rātou e whakamā.¹⁴ (Kaiuru 24)

Ko tētahi take matua e tino pēhi ana i te whakamahinga o te reo Māori, ko te kaha ū o te reo Ingarihi - he hanga whānui i roto i te whānau, puta atu ki te hapori. E toru ngā āhuatanga o tēnei hanga kōrero Ingarihi. Tuatahi, ko ngā take hapori, take tōrangapū e hāpai ana i te hanga kōrero Ingarihi. Tuarua ko ngā take e pā ana ki te āhua noho o te tangata e whakauaua ana i te whakahuringa o te hanga kōrero Ingarihi. Tuatoru, ko te āhua tonu o te tangata. Kei te Whakaahua 5.21 ēnei wehenga e whakaaturia ana, he whakarāpopoto hoki i ngā whakakitenga o te rangahau.

Ko tētahi whakaaro i whakaputaina e ngā kaiuru, kāore e whakaae ana te hapori whānui kia kōrerohia te reo Māori i ngā wāhi tūmatanui, ā, he āinga nui tēnei e pēhi ana i te whakamahinga o te reo.

Ka tūtaki au i taku hoa i Te Wānanga, ka kōrero Māori tonu, engari i te toa, ka kore pea au e kōrero Māori - ko te wāhi tonu. He hanga nōku, kua ū ki taku hinengaro ... Kāore au i te āwangawanga ki te tiro korotaha mai a ētahi me ō rātou whakaaro, engari ki te kore koe e kōrero i te reo Māori i te toa, ka noho tonu tēnā hanga ki a koe.¹⁵ (Kaiuru 26)

Ko te taiao e noho nei tātou, he reo Ingarihi. I pāngia taku hoa rangatira ki te mate manawa i te Oketopa kua pahure nei. Kei te pai, kei te hoki anō te ora ki a ia. Engari, ko te haere ki te tākuta, ki te kēmihi, ki te hohipera, he reo Ingarihi ngā whakahaere katoa, me kōrero au i te reo Ingarihi ka tika! Te wāhi e mahi nei ahau, he āhua tokomaha ngā tāngata Māori ka uru mai, engari ki te whakautu koe i te waea, e kore koe e rongoi i te 'kia ora' a te tangata waea mai. Me 'kia ora' ko koe i te tuatahi, kātahi pea ka pōhēhē rātou kua hē te nama!¹⁶ (Kaiuru 19)

I kōrero mai ētahi o ngā kaiuru o Tūranga-nui-a-Kiwa, o Otaki hoki, mēnā he hapori tautoko i te kōrerotia o te reo Māori, he āwhina nui tēnā i te tangata kia huri ia ki te kōrero i te reo Māori.

I te rā utu penihana i tērā atu wiki. He tokomaha ngā wāhine me ngā tāne Māori e tatari ana. Kātahi ka timata te rere o te kupu. Ko te āhua o te rangi, ko te Kāwana, ērā tū kaupapa katoa. He hiki i te wairua te kōrero i te reo Māori.¹⁷ (Kaiuru 12)

Kua ū te reo Māori ki tēnei hapori, kei te pāngia nuitia au e tērā āhua. Koirā hoki te take he rerekē au ki aku whanaunga. I tipu mai rātou i wāhi kē, ahakoa he hapori Māori tonu, kāore i te pērā rawa te ū o te reo ki reira pēnei i Otaki nei.¹⁸ (Kaiuru 26)

Ko tētahi anō āhuatanga e hāpai ana i te hanga kōrero Ingarihi, ko te āhua noho o te tangata. Mō te nuinga o ngā kaiuru, he tokoiti tonu ō rātou hoa kōrero Māori ka tūtakina atu i roto i ngā whakanekeneke o ia rā. Kāore e tino whai wāhi ana ki ngā horopaki reo Māori, e taea ai e rātou te whakamahi te reo.

Kāore e tino kaha te kōrerotia o te reo i tēnei wāhi - ka whai tonu mātou i te hanga o te hapori, arā, ka kōrero i te reo Ingarihi. He ngāwari ake, kia rere ai te kōrero nē. Ki te kōrero koe i te reo Māori ki tētahi Māori, ā, kāore ia e tino whai ana i te reo, ka mutu wawe te whakawhitinga kōrero. Kāore ia e whakahoki kōrero mai, ka tere huri ai ki te reo Ingarihi. Nō reira kāore ō tātou pakeke e kaha ki te kōrero i te reo, nā te tokoiti o te hunga kōrero.¹⁹ (Kaiuru 31)

Ki te tirohia te Whakaahua 5.12, ka kitea atu, ko te āhua o te reo o te tangata whakawhitiwhiti kōrero, tētahi take nui e kōwhiria ai te reo Māori, te reo Ingarihi rānei hei reo kōrero ki a ia. Nui atu i te haurua o ngā kaiuru i waitohu mai i te kōrero 'E hiahia ana kia kaha ake taku kōrero i te reo Māori, engari he ruarua noa iho ngā tāngata e mātau ana ki te kōrero i te reo kei te kāinga e noho ana'. He nui hoki ngā kaiuru i mea mai, ko ō rātou hoa rangatira te tangata matua, māna rātou e whakahuri ki te whai i te reo Māori, i te reo Ingarihi rānei i te kāinga.

Ka mea au, mō tēnei kāinga ōku, kāore au e kaha ki te kōkiri i te reo Māori, nā te āhua o taku noho tahi me taku hoa. Engari, i a au e noho tahi ana me taku hoa tāne o mua, me ā māua tamariki, ka karakia mātou ia pō. Ka karakia anō i te ata, he pai hoki ki a ia. Kāore i te pērā te

āhua o taku noho i konei i tēnei wā, nō reira, me aro kē au ki ngā
āhuatanga o konei.²⁰ (Kaiuru 04)

... kātahi au ka noho tahi me taku hoa rangatira, he matatau ki te reo.
Nāna au i āwhina, i akiaki ... he ōrite hoki ō māua whakaaro, kāore tētahi
i te pakanga ki tētahi. E tautoko ana māua i a māua, me ō māua wawata
mō ā māua tamariki ...²¹ (Kaiuru 24)

Katoa ngā kaiuru o Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti o Te Hoe Nuku Roa i kōrero mai mō te
ngaro haere o te reo i roto i ō rātou whānau i ngā whakatipuranga e toru, me te whakaū
anō i te reo Ingarihi hei reo kōrero mō roto i te whānau. I ētahi o ngā whānau, kua riro
ko te reo Ingarihi anake te reo whakawhitiwhiti kōrero. Ko tētahi o ngā take nui i
pēnei ai, ko te moe a te reanga tīpuna, reanga mātua rānei i te Pākehā, ko te moe rānei
i te Māori kore mōhio ki tōna reo.

He mea patu ētahi o ngā kaiuru i a rātou anō mō te itiiti o te kōrero i te reo. I meatia
mai, ko tō rātou anō māngere tētahi take nui e pēhi ana i te whakamahinga o te reo, e
noho nei te reo Ingarihi hei reo kōrero i roto i ngā whakanekeneke o ia rā. E 72 ōrau o
ngā kaiuru i mea mai 'E hiahia ana ahau kia kaha ake taku kōrero i te reo Māori,
engari i ētahi wā, ka wareware i a au, ā, ka hoki ki te reo Ingarihi'.

Kāore hoki he take e kore ai au e kōrero i te reo Māori i taku kāinga nei
- he māngere noa iho nōku. He ngāwari ake te ūmere i roto i te reo
Ingarihi. He pōrohe nōku!²² (Kaiuru 08)

Ahakoia ka hou mai he tangata matatau ki te reo, ka kōrero Ingarihi tonu! Ko te nuinga o ngā tāngata ka toro mai, he mōhio ki te kōrero Māori, engari ka matua kōrero mātou i te reo Ingarihi. He māngere nō mātou.²³ (Kaiuru 24)

Akene pea, ko ngā waiaro nei e aukati ana i te whakamahinga o te reo Māori, he āhuatanga hinengaro i hua mai i te patunga a te hunga kaumātua i a rātou e tamariki ana i te kura, me te whakaaro nui o taua wā, ko te reo Ingarihi te huarahi whakamua. I rangona te mamae o te hunga pakeke o roto i ngā kaiuru, me te kite anō hoki, kei te pā tonu tēnei āhuatanga ki tā te iwi aro mai ki te reo i ēnei rā tonu. Koirā te whakatīnanatanga o te kupu 'he tao rākau e taea te karo, engari te tao kī e kore e taea, titi rawa ki te manawa', i whakahuatia e Reedy:

Kei te kirikā tonu ngā whero, ngā waewae, me ngā ringa i te hauhautanga a te rākau, a te tarapu rānei, mō te kōrero Māori i roto i te kura. Hoi anō rā, ko te mamae i pā ki te kiri ka māwhe. Engari anō te mamae e haehae ana i te ngākau, e kore. (1992:167).

Arā ētahi o ngā kaiuru ka āhua pupū ake te mamae me te aue i tā rātou kōrerohanga mō te wā i a rātou i te kura.

Kāore i whakaaetia te kōrero Ingarihi i tō mātou kāinga, kāore i aro i taku kuia. He uaua tērā nā te mea kāore i whakaaetia te reo Māori i te kura - me ako au i te reo Ingarihi, engari karekau he paku āwhina i a au i waho atu i ngā kēti o te kura. Āe, he uaua. Inā ka patua mātou ki te tarapu mō te kōrero i te reo Māori i te kura. Ka kuhu atu au ki te kura,

kua rāhuitia te reo Māori, hoki atu ai ki te kāinga, ka rāhuitia ko te reo Ingarihi. Kāore au i te mōhio i pēhea rā taku mahi kia puta ai te ihu. Ka kuhu au i a au anō. Nāku anō i mahi aku mahi kura i te kāinga. I āhua pai mai taku koroua ki taku mahi ako i te reo Ingarihi, engari taku kuia, he Māori tūturu ia. He wā ka taka au ki te kōrero Ingarihi, ā, ko tāna 'He whakahīhī koe. E kī, e kī tō whakaaro ki te kōrero Pākehā mai ki ahau.' Kāore i whakamāramatia mai ki a mātou he aha te take mō te ako i te reo Ingarihi i te kura, ko te tohutohu mai kia kaua e kōrero i te reo Māori. I te wā ka whānau mai aku tamariki, nāku anō i tohutohu kia whai rātou i te huarahi o te reo Ingarihi, koirā hoki te oranga mō rātou, he reo Ingarihi katoa tēnei ao, mā reira rātou e whiwhi mahi ai ahakoa he kāmura, he aha rānei. Nāku rātou i whakahau kia pai ai tā rātou ako i te reo Ingarihi. Koirā hoki te take i moe au i taku hoa Pākehā - hei āwhina i a rātou. Ko te take i pērā ai ahau, nā te patunga i a au i te kura²⁴.

(Kaiuru 15)

E rua anō ngā take i kōrerohia e ngā kaiuru e pā ana ki tā rātou whakamahi i te reo Māori. Arā ētahi i kī mai, ko te whai wāhi atu ki te reo i te wāhi mahi, te kore whai wāhi rānei, tētahi āhuatanga ka pā ki te whakamahinga o te reo i te kāinga me te hapori.

Mōku anō, koia nei ngā āhuatanga o taku mahi. He kaihoko wūru matua ahau, mō tētahi kamupene, tē aro i a rātou aku tikanga Māori. He hākerekere tā rātou titiro korotaha ki te ao Māori me ōna take. He

whakapono nō te ao Pākehā ki ngā kōrero ka puta i ngā nūpepa, me te whakaaro koirā anake ngā korikori o te ao Māori - ko ngā kōrero kino anake ka puta, anō nei he pērā te katoa o te ao Māori. Patua ai ahau ia rā, ia rā, ki ngā kōrero kino a ngā Pākehā e mahi ana i tōku taha. Ko au anake te Māori kei reira e mahi ana. Ka puta ā rātou kōrero, he kūare, ka kauparetia e au ki rāhaki. Nā te mea e kaha ana ahau ki te whai i taku mahi, kua waiho pea taku reo, taku taha Māori ki te taha. Hei utu i aku nama. I mea mai taku hoa ki ahau, i mua rā he kaha taku kuhu ki te ao Māori me ōna āhuatanga, engari, kāore e utua ngā nama nē²⁵. (Kaiuru 30)

Kei te āhua kaha te noho mai o te reo Māori ki taku wāhi mahi - he mahi toi nē. He tokomaha ā mātou tauira e ahu mai ana i ngā akoranga reo, nā reira, ka whakaurua te reo hei wāhanga matua i roto i ō mātou akoranga. Ka āwhinatia hoki ngā tauira kāore anō kia tīmata ki te ako i te reo. Ko ētahi o ā mātou tīma whutupōro ringapā, he reo Māori katoa - ētahi o ngā whakataetae, he reo Māori katoa, tae atu hoki ki ngā kaiwawao. He kaha te whakawhirinaki atu ki ngā tohu a te ringa! Engari, he pai, he whakahau i te reo Māori i te hapori. E kaha ana te iwi o konei ki te hāpai i ngā kaupapa Māori. E kōrero Māori ana te nuinga o ngā tāngata o konei, kei te takiwā pea o te rima tekau ōrau o te wā e noho tahi ana mātou. Koia ko mātou kei te whai i te kaupapa. Mēnā e mahi ana koe i

ngā kaupapa Māori, ka pērā anō hoki ngā tāngata e mahi tahi ana i tō taha. I konā, ka puta te reo nē²⁶. (Kaiuru 07)

Tokorua ngā kaiuru, he tamariki ā rāua e haere ana ki tētahi Kura Kaupapa Māori. Ko te ture matua o tēnei kura, me kōrero Māori tētahi o ngā mātua ki te tamaiti i ngā wā katoa. Ka tautokohia tēnei ture e ngā kaiuru tokorua nei, me te kī mai, he āki nui tēnā i a rātou, kia noho mai ko te reo Māori hei reo kōrero i te kāinga.

Nō reira ko te ture o tēnā, ka kōrero Māori i ngā wā katoa. He pai tēnā ki a au, ka kore au e mangere, ka mau tonu te reo Māori. (Kaiuru 04)

5.4 Te whai wāhi atu ki te reo Māori

E rua ngā take i tātarīhia te whai wāhitanga atu o ngā kaiuru ki te reo Māori. Tuatahi, nā nga kaiuru tonu i waitohu, he take nui tēnei i eke ai rātou ki ō rātou taumata matatau (tirohia 5.2.3). Tuarua, koia tonu tētahi āhuatanga e taea te whakamahere, ā, ka pāngia e ngā kaupapa ka āta whakatakotohia mō te oranga o te reo.

Kei te tiro whānuitia tēnei mea te whai wāhitanga atu ki te reo, arā, ko te rangona o te reo e kōrerohia ana i ngā horopaki maha o ia rā, ko te whakawhitiwhiti kōrero ki tangata kē, ko te pānui me te tuhituhi i te reo, ko te whai wāhi atu ki ngā momo ratonga me ngā kaupapa runaruna (pērā i te hākinakina) mā roto i te reo, tae atu hoki ki te whānui o ngā kaupapa ako i te reo.

5.4.1 Te hopu i te reo

Ko te tikanga puta noa i te ao, ka hopukina te reo o te kāinga i te wā e pēpē ana, e tamariki ana te tangata – koirā hoki te reo e taetae ana ki ōna taringa, me tāna kite anō i te whaihua o te reo.

... e whakairohia ai te whatumanawa o te tangata ki te reo, ki ngā tikanga, ki ngā waiaro, ki ngā whanonga o tōna iwi, me matua noho tahi ia me ngā whakatipuranga o tōna whānau whānui i te wā e tamariki ana, ka kumea ia ki roto i ngā whakahaere o tōna ao²⁷. (Fishman 1991:398)

E ai ki ngā kōrero i puta i Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti, kua rerekē haere te whai wāhitanga atu ki te reo o te hunga tamariki i roto i te takanga o te wā. Kua heke haere te tokomaha o ngā tamariki e pakeke mai ana i te taiao reo Māori i ō rātou kāinga, e hopu noa ana i te reo mā ō rātou taringa (tirohia te Whakaahua 5.13). Ka tonoa ngā kaiuru ki te whakaatu mai i te reo i pakeke mai ai ō rātou mātua, tae atu ki a rātou anō, me te reo whakatipu i ā rātou ake tamariki.

Te Whakaahua 5.13: Te whai wāhi atu ki te reo Māori i te kāinga – te rerekē haere i te takanga o te wā

	te reo Māori anake	te reo Māori i te nuinga o te wā, i ētahi wā te reo Ingarihi	he āhua ōrite te whakamahi i te reo Māori me te reo Ingarihi	te reo Ingarihi i te nuinga o te wā, i ētahi wā te reo Māori	te reo Ingarihi anake
ngā mātua o ngā kaiuru	16	9	6	4	5
ngā kaiuru	11	5	5	7	12
ngā tamariki a ngā kaiuru*	1	2	8	14	7

* Tokowaru ngā kaiuru karekau ā rātou tamariki.

E kitea ana te heke haere i roto i ngā whakatipuranga e toru, o te maha o ngā kāinga ko te reo Māori te reo e matua kōrero ana ki te hunga tamariki. Engari ko te tohu pai pea, ko te heke haere o ngā kāinga ‘reo Ingarihi anake’ i tēnei whakatipuranga. Koia e tohu ana i te hiahia o te hunga mātua o tēnei whakatipuranga kia reo Māori ā rātou tamariki, me te whakaatu anō i te uaua kia kaha ake te neke whakatemauī (i te Whakaahua 5.13), arā, kia āhua whakatata atu ki te ‘reo Māori anake’.

Arā ētahi o ngā kaiuru, he tamariki ā rātou e haere ana ki tētahi Kura Kaupapa Māori, i kōrero mai mō te uaua o te hāpai i te ture ‘kōrero Māori anake i te kāinga’. Inā, ka pakeke haere ā rātou tamariki, ka hōhonu, ka whānui haere anō ngā momo kaupapa e hiahia ana rātou ki te whakawhitiwhiti kōrero. He hōhonu noa atu te whakaaro e hiahia ana rātou ki te whakaputa ki ā rātou tamariki, i te āhua o tō rātou reo, inā, he ako reo rua ngā mātua.

Ki ahau nei, mōhio ahau he iti rawa taku mahere kupu, i ētahi wā ka hoki mai rāua, me kī rātou ngā kupu hou ki a māua engari he pai tonu, mā rāua e whakaako ki a māua. (Kaiuru 03)

Ka kaha ake te muhumuhu a ngā mātua, nā te ruarua o ngā pukapuka reo Māori, ngā pāhotanga pouaka whakaata, reo irirangi hoki, me ērā atu momo rauemi e pārekareka ana ki te hunga tamariki o ēnei rā, hei āwhina i ngā mātua ki te whāngai i te reo ki ā rātou tamariki.

Ka ngana mātou ki te hoko i ngā rauemi me ngā pukapuka reo Māori. Engari karekau e hokona ana nē. Pērā i ngā whiti ātaata me ngā kēmu rorohiko. He rawe ngā kēmu rorohiko. He uaua ki taku tamāhine, nā te mea he reo Ingarihi katoa - koirā pea te huarahi ka hopukina e ia taua

reo. Karekau ngā rauemi reo Māori. Ki a au nei, me whakakore a Te Karere, ka tuku ai i te pūtea ki ngā whakaaturanga tamariki, ahakoa he hāwhe hāore noa iho ia rā, mai i te 3.30 ki te 4.00 i te ahiahi, i muri i te kura. Ngā whakaaturanga mō Māui, me ngā kaupapa o ēnei rā, ngā pakiwaituhi - ngā momo whakaaturanga e taunga ana ā tātou tamariki²⁸.

(Kaiuru 24)

I waho atu i te kāinga, ko te hāpori tērā, ko ngā wāhi e hāerere nei te hunga tamariki, he puna reo anō hei whāngai i ā rātou. Ko ngā wāhi e rongō ai rātou i te reo, ko ngā tāngata e kite ai rātou e whakamahi ana i te reo, ko ngā kaupapa e rongō ai rātou e kōrerohia ana i te reo, koirā katoa hei puna reo mō rātou, hei whakaatu anō ki a rātou te tūnga o te reo i te hāpori. Mā tēnei ka tere mōhio ai ngā tamariki, me kōrero Māori rātou ki a wai, he aha hoki ngā wā, ngā wāhi me ngā horopaki me kōrero Māori rātou. Koinei hoki te taunga tuatahi mai o ā rātou tikanga mō tā rātou whakamahi i te reo. I aue katoa mai te hunga mātua o roto i ngā kaiuru, ki te itiiti o ngā wāhi reo Māori o te hāpori. I kōrero mai ētahi, he mea aukati tēnei, i te hiahia o ā rātou tamariki ki te whakamahi i te reo, ā, e kaha pēneitia inā pakeke haere rātou ki ngā tau o te taiohitanga.

I ngana au ki te kōrero Māori ki aku tamariki, engari, he Pākehā katoa te hāpori e noho nei mātou. Ko au anake te tangata kōrero Māori ki a rātou, i te ata, i te pō noa iho. Kāore rātou i tino hāpaitia i tēnei tū āhua - nōku anō pea te hē²⁹. (Kaiuru 13)

I puta anō ēnei whakararu i te kaupapa rangahau a Wano (2000). Nāna i rangahau te whai wāhitanga atu ki te reo o ētahi tamariki o tētahi Kura Kaupapa Māori. Ko tāna i kite ai, ahakoa te kaha aro atu o te hapori ki ngā kaupapa Māori, he itiiti tonu te reo e rangona ana e ngā tamariki i waho atu i te kura.

Ko tētahi o ngā whakaaturanga o te whai wāhitanga atu ki te reo o te hunga tamariki i waho atu i ō rātou kāinga, ko te kaha whakamahi i te reo o te hunga kōrero i ngā wāhi maha o te hapori. Kei te Whakaahua 5.7 e whakaaturia ana te iti o te whakamahinga o te reo i ētahi wāhi o te hapori. E kitea ana te hahore o te hapori hei puna whāngai i te reo ki te hunga tamariki

Arā ētahi kaiuru tokorua i whakawhiti kōrero mai mō te āhua o te Kura Kaupapa Māori e haere nei ā rāua tamariki. Ko tā te Kura nei, he ngana ki te whakatū i te hapori reo Māori i waho atu i te kura, arā, ki te whakatū i ngā momo kaupapa hei whai wāhitanga atu mā ngā ākongā me ō rātou whānau, pērā i ngā hākinakina, te haere ngātahi ki ngā tangihanga me ērā atu tū hui o te ao Māori. He whai tēnei i tā Fishman i kōrero ai, arā, te ‘whakatū taiapa kia noho motuhake te reo me ōna tikanga’³⁰, (1991:105), kia kua e tāmia e te reo Ingarihi me ngā tikanga Pākehā. He kaha te whai wāhi atu o te nuinga o ngā kaiuru ki ngā whakahaere me ngā tikanga Māori.

Tokotoru ā maua tamariki e haere ana ki te kura i tēnei wā. Ko tā māua he haere ki te tautoko i ngā huihuinga o te kura, he mahi moni, kei runga hoki māua i te Runanga Whakahaere o te kura. Ko au tētahi o ngā kaiārahi o Te Ātaarangi, kua āhua tekau tau au e whai ana i tērā o ngā kaupapa, tae atu anō hoki ki te taurahere o konei, tō māua kapahaka ... me ngā marae³¹. (Kaiuru 30)

Ko tā te rangahau e whakaatu ana, he mahi nui mā te hunga mātua ki te whakaū i te taiao reo Māori, e pai ai te hopukina o te reo e ā rātou tamariki.

5.4.2 Te ako i te reo Māori

Nā te mea kāore e tino hopukina ana te reo Māori e te hunga tamariki mā roto i ā rātou whakanekeneke o ia rā, kua riro mā ngā momo akoranga o te kura e whakakapi tēnei āhuatanga. He māmā ake (ahakoa ehara i te māmā!) kia pakanga te hunga whawhai mō te reo, ki te pūnaha mātauranga, i tā rātou whakaawe i ngā whakawhitinga kōrero o ia rā e haere noa ana i ngā kāinga. E hāngai ana tēnei ki tā Fishman i kī ai

Kua aro tōtika atu te nuinga o ngā rōpū whakaora reo o ēnei rā ki te kura me
ōna whakahaere, koirā hei aronga matua, e ora anō ai te reo³². (1991:368)

Mā te pūnaha mātauranga anō e whai wāhi ai te hunga mātua ki te ako i tō rātou reo, e kaha anō ai te tuku ihotanga o te reo i roto i ō rātou whānau ā tōna wā.

E ai te tirohanga pāpaku, kāore ngā kaiuru o Te Rangahau Matua o Te Hoe Nuku Roa i whakararua ki te whai wāhi atu ki tētahi akoranga reo Māori. E waru tekau mā tahi ōrau o rātou i waitohu mai 'he nui rawa ngā wāhi ako i te reo Māori mēnā e hiahia ana te tangata ki te ako' (Te Hoe Nuku Roa 1999). Engari he rerekē anō te tiro hōhonu a Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti. I konei, ka kōrerohia ngā āhuatanga uaua, arā, te whai wāhi atu ki ngā momo akoranga, e ngata ai ngā hiahia o ngā kaiuru. Ko te kounga o te akoranga tērā, he mea whakararu anō i ētahi.

Kotahi anake te Kura Kaupapa Māori i konei, engari e tīmata ana tētahi
kaupapa rūmaki i te kura tuarua, i tīmata rānei i tēra tau, he akoranga

reo rua hoki. Engari kāore e rawaka mā ngā tamariki e putaputa ana i ngā Kōhanga Reo maha o tēnei takiwā. Ka raru, ko te kawea i ngā tamariki ki te kura. He pahi kei te tiki i ngā tamariki mai i te tonga o tēnei rohe, ka kawea atu ki te kura i te raki. He rā tino roa tērā mā ngā tamariki - e tīmata ana i te whitu i te ata, hei te haurua i te whā karaka rā anō, hoki atu anō ai ki te kāinga. Kāore e pai ana ki ngā mātua. Me whakatū anō he kura i te tonga³³. (Kaiuru 30)

He nui ngā Kōhanga Reo i konei - ehara tērā i te raruraru, engari, ko te kounga kē o te reo i roto i aua Kōhanga Reo. Kāore e tika ana. Kore rawa tētahi o aku mokopuna e tukuna ki taua Kōhanga Reo. Me mōhio ngā kaiako he aha ā rātou kōrero. He raruraru anō i te kura. He poto nō te wā ka hoatu ki te reo Māori. E whā tekau meneti te roa o te wā ako. I te ako au i te Kura Waenga i konei, he wā roa tērā te whā tekau meneti. Whā tekau meneti i te wiki ki te ako i te reo? He tohu tērā, kāore e tino arohia ana te reo³⁴. (Kaiuru 32)

Ko taku akoranga tuarua i te reo, he āhua moumou taima - kāore i āta whakaritea ngā mahi ako, he pōteretere noa te haere. Engari, e pai ana te akoranga tuatahi, he kaiako whakangungu ki āna mahi, he āta raupapa ngā mahi ako. Ehara i te kaiako whakangungu te mea tuarua. He mātauranga ōna, engari nakunaku te āhua o te whakaako - he uua mōku³⁵. (Kaiuru 05)

Kāore anō au kia tino matatau ki te reo, ahakoa e mahi ana mō te tekau tau. Koirā hoki te āhua, kāore rātou i te tino eke i ngā taumata o te reo, nā te mea e taea ana e mātou ngā reo rua (ō rātou kaiako) ngā taumata pāpaku anake³⁶. (Kaiuru 30)

He koretake [ētahi o ngā kaiako] engari kei reira tētahi he kaha ake, he tino pai ia. Taku mōhio, kei reira wētahi mō te moni noa iho - he mahi noa iho, he pōuri tēnā. Kāore rātou i te kōrero Māori i ngā wā katoa. (Kaiuru 04)

Ko ngā kōrero i runga nei e tohu ana pea i te hinengaro hihiri o te hunga matatau nei, āhua matatau rānei, me tā ratou tiro mahuki ki ngā momo akoranga reo. Ko tā rātou kē pea, he tiro i ngā hua ka puta i ngā akoranga, e eke ai te tangata ki ngā taumata o te matatau. Kei te wāhanga 5.2.3 hoki ngā kōrero a ngā kaiuru ako reo rua, mō te hiringa o te whai wāhitanga atu ki ngā wāhi kōrero Māori i roto i ā rātou whakanekeneke o ia rā, koia hei hāpai ake i ngā akoranga ōkawa o te kura.

Arā anō ētahi kaiuru i whakaatu mai i tā rātou whakatau, kāore rātou i whai kia reo Māori ā rātou tamariki, arā, i waiho mā rātou kē e huri ki te reo i ō rātou wā.

... ko te mea nui ko te hiakai ki te reo - ki te tino hiahia koe ki te ako i te reo, kāore he raruraru, nō reira e pai ana te ako i te reo Ingarihi i te tuatahi, ka waiho te reo Māori kia akohia ā tōna wā. Koirā tāku mō āku

tamariki. Ahakoa tā rātou paku amuamu, nāku te kī ki te tino hiakai rātou ki te reo, ka taea noatia. Engari kua rātou e amuamu mai ki ahau kāore au i pērā, i pērā rānei. Mēnā kei a koe te hiahia, tere ana tō ako i te reo. He mōhio katoa rātou ki te reo Ingarihi, e taea ana te hikoi i te ao whānui. Ahakoa kāore e taea te ao Māori, kei reira tonu te huarahi e mau i a rātou te reo Māori. E whakapono ana ahau ka taea noatia e rātou, nō reira kāore he take³⁷. (Kaiuru 35)

Ko te hunga kaumātua o konei, he kōrero Māori i ngā wā katoa, engari, ka tae atu ki taku Pāpā, ka motu i konā, kāore i tukuna mai ki a mātou, engari kua tīmata mātou ki te ako. Nōku anō pea te hē, kāore au i te hoatu ki aku tamariki, kāore au i te whakahau kia ako rātou i te reo³⁸. (Kaiuru 07)

Ko tētahi o ngā kaiuru matatau, he mea whakapakeke i āna tamariki i te reo Māori. engari ka āhua huri rātou ki te reo Ingarihi, inā pakeke haere rātou. Ko tāna i whakatau ai, ka kore ia e tino ā i ana tamariki ki te kōrero Māori, ka waiho mā rātou kē e whakatau. Ko te take i pēnei ai tēnei wahine, nā tana kore pirangi kia mōhiohia he arero reo Māori tōna, i te wā e tamariki ana ia. Ko tāna kē, kia ōrite ki te nuinga. arā ka kōrero i te reo Ingarihi.

Mēnā au e kōrero Māori ana ki aku tamariki, ka kī au kua e kōrero Pākehā, nā kua taki kōrero Māori. Engari kāore au i te pirangi kia pērāhia e au aku tamariki, ne. Ki ahau ā tō rātou ake wā. Kei a rātou

tērā. Mōhio ahau anei tonu ahau, pakeke mai au i roto i te reo, e hia ngā tau au korekore rawa e hiahia ana kia mōhio te tangata e mōhio au ki te kōrero Māori. Roa te wā. (Kaiuru 29).

Ko tētahi anō o ngā take e whakauaua ana i tā te hunga mātua ako i te reo Māori, ko te nui o te wā me hoatu ki ngā akoranga, me te whakarite i tērā ki ngā whakapaunga werawera ki te mahi, me ērā atu o ngā kaupapa whānau. Kei te wāhanga 2.4.1 he kōrero mō te kaha ū o ngā mātua o ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori ki te kaupapa, i te ao i te pō, ā, kāore tērā e taea ana e te nuinga o ngā kaiuru. He take anō ki ngā ākonga pakeke e haere ukiuki ana ki tētahi kura tuatoru, ko tā rātou whai i te maha atu o ngā kaupapa ako, kua ko te reo Māori anake.

Kua hoki whakamuri taku reo. He wā tērā, i ako au i Te Kākano Tuatahi, he autai hoki. Engari ka piki atu ki ngā rerenga kōrero āhua roa nei, ka uaua haere mōku. Ko tētahi mea i whakararu i ahau, ko ērā atu o aku kaupapa ako e whāia ana i taua wā. Mēnā i roto au i tētahi wāhi kōrero Māori, he māmā ake te aro atu ki te ako i te reo³⁹. (Kaiuru 14)

He pērā te āhua o ngā akoranga i konei - me taetae atu ki ngā wānanga reo. He uaua mōku, nā te mea he roa ngā hāora mahi a tōku hoa. Kore rawa e taea te whakawātea tētahi wiki hei haerenga māku ki ngā wānanga. E hiahia ana au ki te mahi i ētahi o ngā akoranga, kei a au hoki ngā pūkenga, engari, he whānau tōku. Kāore au e waiho i a rātou mō tētahi wiki. Ka pēhea hoki ērā atu o ngā ākonga?⁴⁰ (Kaiuru 08)

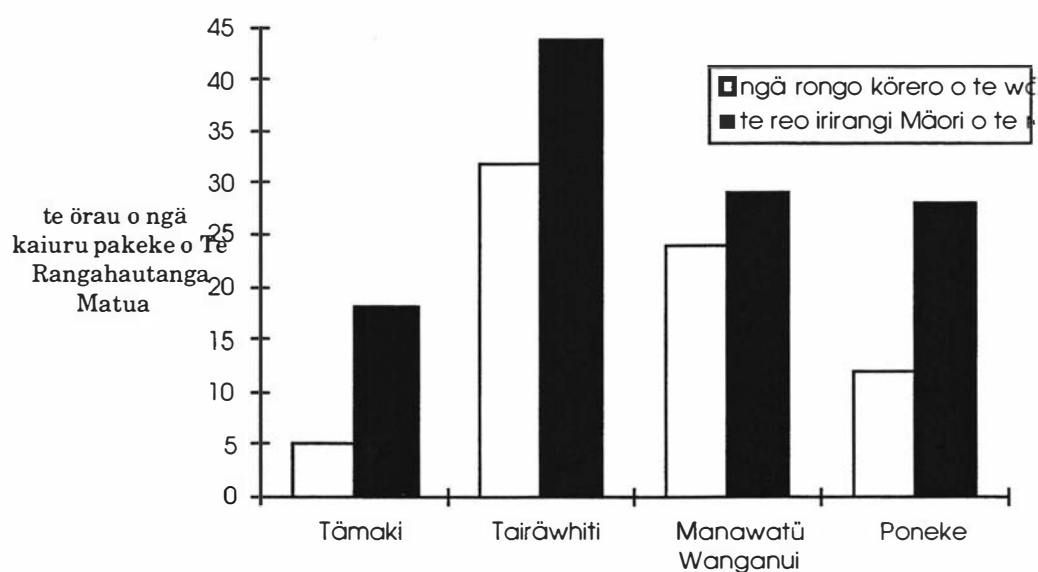
Ka hoki mai koe i ngā wānanga, i ngā akoranga, kāore koe e whai wā ki te whakapiki anō i tō kaha. Nō reira au i whakatau kia kaua au e haere⁴¹.

(Kaiuru 05)

5.4.3 Te pāpaho i te reo

I pātaia ngā kaiuru o Te Rangahau Matua kia whakaatu mai i te auau o tā rātou whakarongo ki te reo irirangi Māori, ā, koia hoki tētahi o ngā pātai i puta ngā rerekētanga o tēnā takiwā, o tēnā. He tokomaha ake ngā tāngata e whakarongo ana ki te reo irirangi Māori i te takiwā o Tūranganui-a-Kiwa me Te Tairāwhiti, inā, whakatairitea ki ērā atu o ngā takiwā i rangahautia. I Tāmaki-makau-rau te tokoiti o ngā kaiwhakarongo. Tua atu i tērā, he āhua ōrite te ōrau kaiwhakarongo o tēnā reanga tangata o tēnā, i ngā rohe e whā.

Te Whakaahua 5.14: Te ōrau o ngā tāngata e kaha ana ki te whakarongo ki te reo irirangi Māori, me ngā rongo kōrero ka pāhotia ki te reo Māori i tēnā rohe, i tēnā



Akene pea, i takea mai tēnei o ngā whakakitenga i te ruarua o ngā reo irirangi Pākehā i te rohe o Tūranganui me te Tairāwhiti, me te maha anō o ngā reo irirangi Pākehā i Tāmaki-makau-rau. Āpiti atu ki tēnei ko te kōrero i puta i Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti, e mea ana he take nui anō ko te whai wāhi atu ki ngā pāpaho me te kounga o ngā pāhotanga. E tino tautoko ana ngā kaiuru o Tūranganui/Te Tairāwhiti i ngā reo irirangi e rua o taua takiwā.

E rua ngā teihana, Ngāti Porou me tētahi atu, Tūranga FM taku mōhio.

He rawe te mea o Ngāti Porou. Kāore au i te rongō i te mea o Tūranga i ngā wā katoa. Ka kōrero Māori ka huri ki te reo tauwiwi engari he rawe.

He rerekē ērā teihana ki te teihana o konei (wāhi kē). Kāore au i te whakahīhi engari ko Ngāti Porou he kaha ake, tērā pea he roa tō rātou haerenga, i timata rātou i ngā wā o mua i ngā tau i mua. He mōhio rātou ki te kōrero Māori. He hātekehi. He rawe. Pai rawa atu te āhua o ngā pāhotanga. (Kaiuru 04).

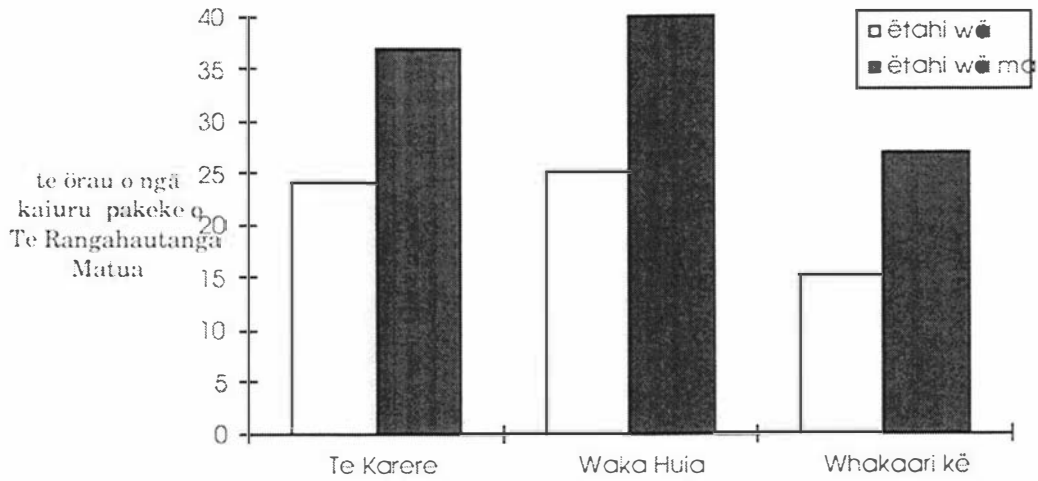
He rerekē a Tāmaki-makau-rau. Arā ētahi o ngā kaiuru o Te Rāngahautanga Whāiti i mea mai kāore rātou i te mōhio mēnā he reo irirangi Māori i te rohe o Tāmaki, kāore rānei. Ko te kōrero a ētahi anō e āhua kawa ana ki te kounga o ngā pāpaho reo Māori i reira.

Kia maha ake ngā teihana e pāho ana i te reo Māori, kia kaha ake rānei te kōrerotia o te reo i ngā teihana pērā i a Mai FM. Kei te āhua pakari haere rātou, inā he ruarua ā rātou puakitanga kōrero i te reo Māori ināianei⁴². (Kaiuru 38)

Ki a au nei, kia maha ake ngā pāhotanga Māori nē. Kia whakahokia mai rānei he teihana Māori. E pono ana au ki tēnei. E mōhio ana ahau ki tētahi teihana, ko Ngāti Hine te ingoa, i Te Taitokerau. Ko te kaiwhakapāho i tapaina te ingoa 'Pāpā Rūrū', koia e pāho ana mai i te weheruatanga o te pō ki te ata. E kōrero ana ia ki ngā kaumātua e waea atu ana ki a ia, he rawe ngā kōrero, i te reo Pākehā, reo Māori hoki. Ko te reo Māori te reo matua, he rawe ki aku taringa. I te tau iwa tekau mā whitu, i rongu au i te teihana o konei, kāore e pātata atu te pai ki tērā o Ngāti Hine⁴³. (Kaiuru 37)

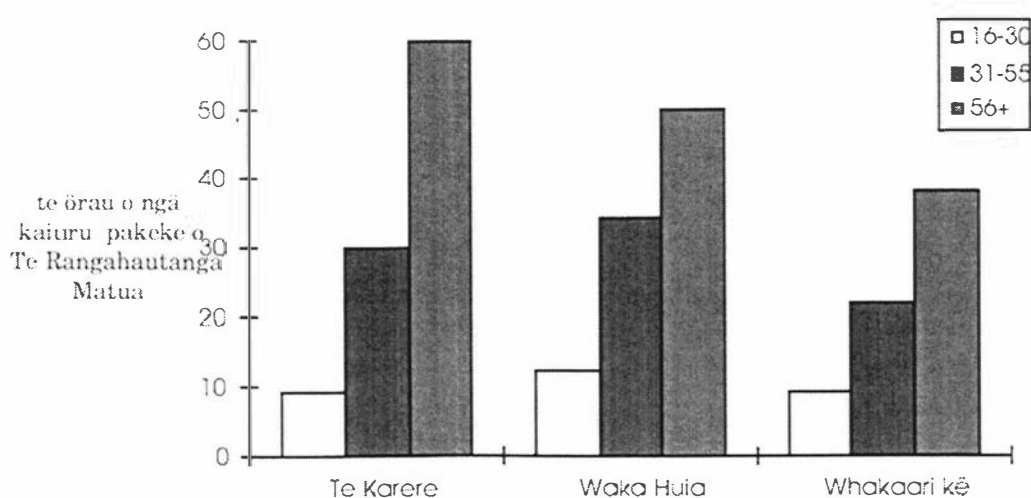
Kua āhua piki atu tā te iwi whakarongo ki te reo irirangi Māori i roto i ngā tau kua taha ake nei (tirohia tā Allan 1998:27), engari kāore i te pērā mō te pouaka whakaata. He tino whāiti te puta o te reo Māori ki te pouaka whakaata, arā, te nui o ngā pāpaho, ngā tūāhua kaupapa, me te whai wāhi atu ki ngā wā he tokomaha ngā tāngata e mātakitaki mai ana. Ahakoa tērā, he kaha te mātakitaki mai a te iwi i ngā pāhotanga ruarua nei, i te reo Māori. Ko te whakakitenga o Te Rangahau Matua o Te Hoe Nuku Roa e mea ana, he āhua ono tekau ōrau o te iwi e mātakitaki ana i Te Karere me Waka Huia 'i te nuinga o te wā', 'i ētahi wā maha' rānei (te Whakaahua 5.15). He moroiti ētahi atu whakaari reo Māori i te wā o te rangahau, engari he whā tekau ōrau o te iwi i te mātakitaki tonu i ērā whakaari moroiti 'i te nuinga o te wā', 'i ētahi wā maha' rānei.

Te Whakaahua 5.15: Ko te hunga pakeke o Te Rangahau Matua e mātakitaki ana i ngā pāhotanga reo Māori i te pouaka whakaata ‘i te nuinga o te wā’, i ētahi wā maha’ rānei



Inā tirohia te reanga pakeke o ngā kaimātakitaki nei, tērā e kitea atu ko te hunga mātāpuputu e tino kaha ana te mātakitaki atu. Ko ngā whakaari matua i te wā o te rangahau, ko te whakaatu i ngā rongo kōrero o te wā, me ngā whakaari motuhenga (tirohia te Whakaahua 5.16).

Te Whakaahua 5.16: Te hunga tua atu i te tekau mā ono tau, e kaha ana te mātakitaki i ngā whakaari reo Māori, me ō rātou reanga pakeke



He āhua tokomaha ngā kaiuru o Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti i kōrero mai mō te ruarua o ngā whakaari reo Māori i te pouaka whakaata, ā, he mea whakauaua tēnei i tā rātou mahi whakatū i te taiao reo Māori i te kāinga

Ko te pouaka whakaata kei te whakauaua i tā mātou hāpai i te reo i te kāinga. (Kaiuru 04)

... he mea, he taihana Māori mō tātou nē. He pai. Koinā pea hei mau mai i te reo ki roto i ō tātou kāinga, kia mōhio ai ā tātou tamariki nē. (Kaiuru 16)

Āe, kia rahi ake ngā pāhotanga reo Māori. Kia puta ngā whakaari i te reo Māori, e hāngai pū ana ki te hunga tamariki. E mātakitaki ana mātou i Te Marae i ngā Rātapu, engari ki te kore koe e tino matatau ki te reo, he āhua uaua te whai i te ia o ngā kōrero - tā rātou, he whakawhitiwhiti kōrero ki ngā tino pū kōrero o te ao Māori, koia anake. Kei runga noa atu te whakaari tamariki hou o Tikitiki - kia rahi ake ngā mea pērā, ka rawe⁴⁴. (Kaiuru 08)

Arā anō ētahi kaiuru i kōrero mai mō tā rātou whakapono he wāhi nui tō ngā kaupapa pāpaho hei āwhina i ngā tāngata e ako ana i te reo, hei hāpai anō hoki i te hopunga o te reo. E hāngai ana tēnei whakaaro ki ngā kupu hou, tae atu anō ki ngā kīwaha, ngā kīanga o te reo kōrero o ia rā.

Ko te wāhanga pai ki ahau ko ngā wā ka puta mai ngā kōrero, ki te whakarongo atu ki ngā kupu tauhou nei i runga i Te Karere, āe. (Kaiuru 22)

He pai hei āwhina i ngā mea e ako ana. E whakarongo ana ahau ki Te Karere i ngā wā e taea ana. Kāore hoki e pai te wā e pāhotia ana. Kāore e rawaka ngā whakaari reo Māori i te pouaka whakaata. Ko te take matua, kāore e whai wāhi ana te hunga o ēnei rā, ki te reo whakawhitiwhiti kōrero o te kāinga, ā, ka kitea, ka rangona ērā tū horopaki, inā pāhotia ki te pouaka whakaata. Ngā horopaki pērā i te mahi kapu tī, mahi moenga – te reo e hāngai ana i te āhua o tā te Māori noho ki tōna kāinga. Ka rangona, ka hopukina, ka ū ā tōna wā, hei painga mō ō rātou reo⁴⁵. (Kaiuru 20)

5.4.4 Te tuhituhi me te pānui i te reo

Ko tētahi whakakitenga i puta i Te Rangahau Matua o Te Hoe Nuku Roa, e whakaatu ana he iti noa tā te iwi pānui i ngā tuhituhi reo Māori. Tekau ōrau anake o ngā kaiuru i mea mai e pānui ana rātou i te reo ‘i ētahi wā maha’. Ko te take, ko te itiiti noa o ngā tuhituhi i te reo.

E ngana ana mātou ki te hoko i ngā rauemi me ngā pukapuka reo Māori, engari he ruarua noa iho e taea ana⁴⁶. (Kaiuru 24)

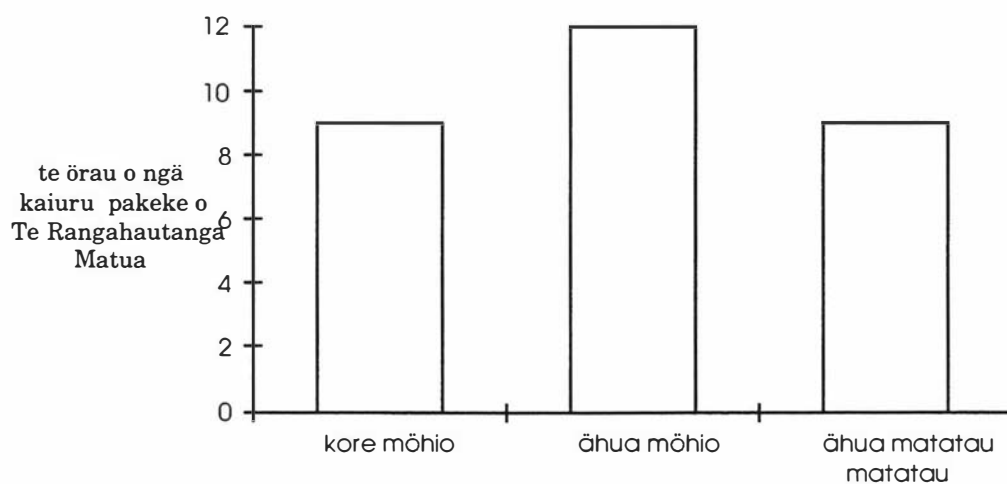
He kaha ake te pānui i ngā tuhituhi Māori a te hunga matatau, āhua matatau rānei, engari, tērā e kitea ake i te Whakaahua 5.17, kei te eke tonu te pānui a te hunga he iti

noa te matatau i tētahi taumata, e taea te kī, tērā pea, ki te nui ake ngā tuhituhi reo Māori e wātea ana, he huarahi pai tēnei e eke ai tēnei hunga ki ngā taumata o te matatau.

Ko ngā pukapuka e tukuna ana ki ngā Kōhanga Reo, me hoatu ki te hunga pakeke e ngana ana ki te ako i te reo. Ka whakangāwari i tā rātou mahi ako. Ka taea tonutia - mā ngā pukapuka tamariki nei e āwhina te hunga pakeke ki te ako i te reo⁴⁷. (Kaiuru 19)

Kainga rawatia e te iwi Māori o tērā rautau te mahi pānui pukapuka (tirohia Te Wāhanga Tuarua), ā, e whakapaetia ana ka puta he hua ki te oranga o te reo, mēnā ka whakahautia anōtia tēnei mea te pānui pukapuka reo Māori.

Te Whakaahua 5.17: Te hunga pakeke o Te Rangahau Matua o Te Hoe Nuku Roa, e pānui ana i ngā tuhituhi reo Māori ‘i ētahi wā maha’, ‘i ētahi wā’ rānei, me ō rātou taumata matatau.



5.5 Te waiaro ki te reo Māori me te titiro whakamua

Ko tētahi o ngā whakaaro i kaha te whakaputa i roto i Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti, ko te arohanui o te iwi ki tō rātou reo. He tokomaha ngā kaiuru i whakaatu mai i te harikoa me te whakanā o ō rātou ngākau, ina ka uru atu rātou ki tētahi whakawhitinga kōrero reo Māori, ka rangona rānei te reo kounga e kōrerohia ana.

He taonga nui tēnei mea te kōrero i te reo Māori. Ko tōku nā pakeke nē.

Kāore mātou i whāngaihia ki te reo, ka aukati i tō mātou whakatipuranga, koirā te take kāore au i te mōhio ki tō tāua reo⁴⁸.

(Kaiuru 09)

E whakahīhī ana ahau ki te reo Māori o aku mokopuna - he matatau rātou, he mōhio anō hoki ki te haka. Ka pupū ake te aroha⁴⁹. (Kaiuru 12)

Ka mau kē te wehi ina rongohia ai au i te reo e kōrerohia ana i te tāone.

Kāore e tua atu i tā te hunga tamariki whakamahi i te reo. He rawe⁵⁰.

(Kaiuru 26)

Nō te mea he reo ātaahua. E ware ana au mai i te mutunga mai o taku kura koinā tonu te reo e rongohia ana au e kōrerohia ana. Kāti i ngā wā e karakia ana ka puta te reo. Nā te mea he ātaahua ki ahau te reo.

(Kaiuru 22)

Ko ētahi o ngā wāhi e haere ana au ... ka puta mai ētahi tāngata e matatau ana mō te reo Māori, ā, kua kōrero Māori. Kua noho mātou i reira kōrero Māori, ka kata, ā, kua whakautu mai. Ka rawe, kua ngata tō mātou hiahia, ka matekai mō te reo Māori. Kāore he take mō te kōrero Māori i te kāinga, kāore he tangata whakautu. (Kaiuru 11)

Kua wareware i a au te ingoa o taua tama rā - kei runga i te reo irirangi o tēnei takiwā. He ātaahua tōna reo, he rawe ki aku taringa. Kāore e ārikarika te tono waiata a te hunga kaumātua⁵¹. (Kaiuru 13)

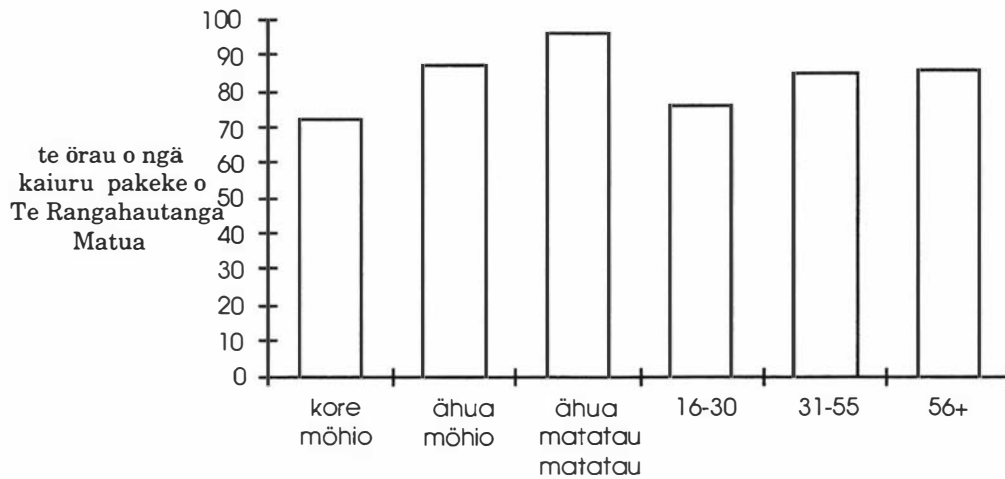
I puta te mamae me te aue o ētahi ki te āhua o te reo e heke ana, ki tō rātou ake kore mōhio rānei ki te kōrero i te reo. Āpiti anō ki tērā, ko te kore mōhio ki te reo e aukati ana i tō rātou whai wāhitanga atu ki te ao Māori me ōna āhuatanga.

I te wā i hoki ai au i te kura ki taku kāinga, ka āhua pōteretere noa au, nā te mea he kore mōhio ki te reo. E whā tau au e noho wehe ana i tōku whānau, kātahi ka hoki atu. Aku tuākana katoa, he kōrero Māori. Ko te tino tūmanako o te ngākau, kia kua aku mokopuna e pāngia ki tēnei āhua. Ki te kore i a koe te reo me te tuakiri Māori, kāore e tau te wairua, ā, ka noho wehe koe i ngā āhuatanga Māori⁵². (Kaiuru 09)

Kāore i tino whakaaturia mai mēnā he ōrite ngā whakaaro o te katoa o ngā kaiuru mō tēnei āhuatanga, ahakoa te āhua o te matatau, engari tērā anō te paku whakakitenga i puta i Te Rangahau Matua e mea ana, koia pea te whakaaro o te nuinga. E waru tekau ōrau o ngā kaiuru i waitohu mai, āe, he mea nui (tino nui rānei) kia mōhio ai rātou ki

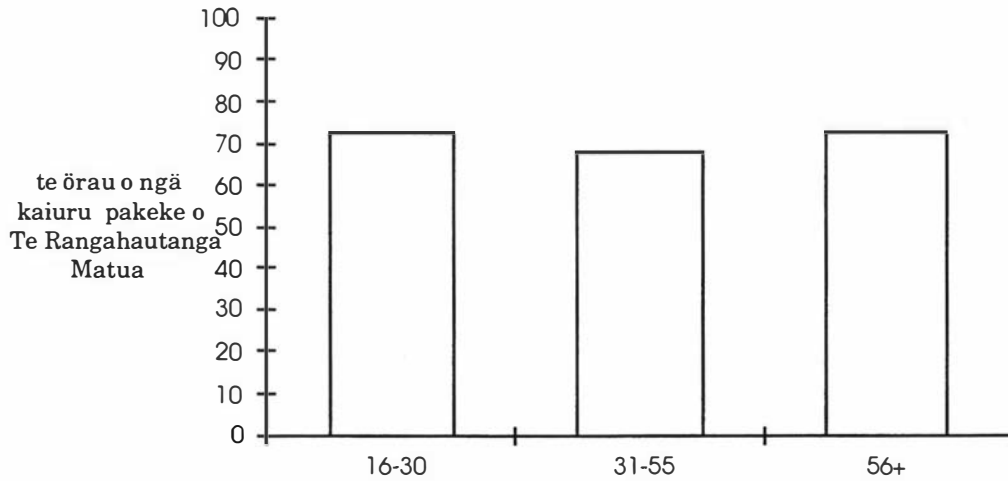
te kōrero i te reo Māori. E pēnei ana te whakaaro, ahakoa te pakeke o te kaiuru, ahakoa te āhua o te matatau ki te reo (tirohia te Whakaahua 5.18).

Te Whakaahua 5.18: Ngā kaiuru pakeke o Te Rangahau Matua o Te Hoe Nuku Roa i waitohua mai, āe, he mea nui (tino nui rānei) ki a rātou kia mōhio ai rātou ki te kōrero i te reo Māori



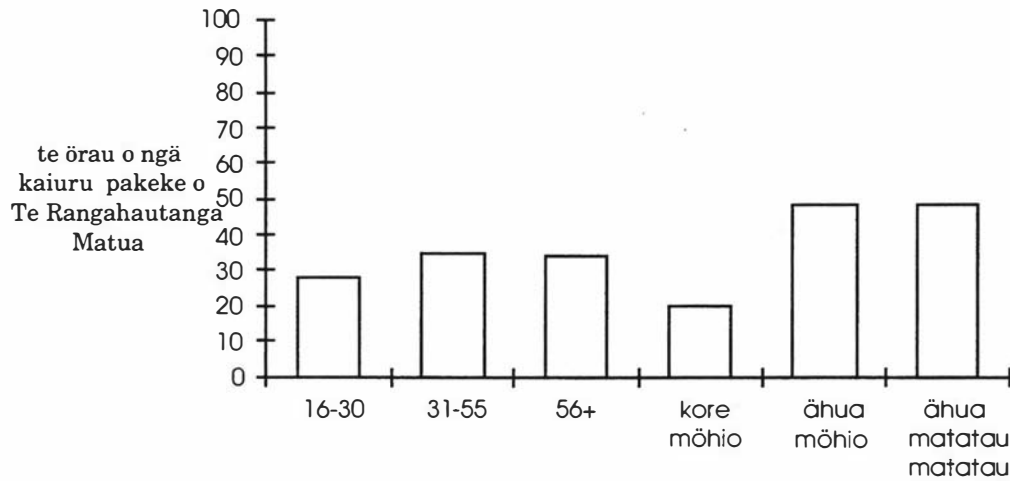
Otirā, he nui anō ngā kaiuru e āhua whakaahu ana ki tō rātou ake taumata matatau ki te reo Māori, ā, he pērā ahakoa te pakeke o te kaiuru. Kei te Whakaahua 5.19 e whakaatu ana, e 72 ōrau o te hunga pakeke kore mōhio ki te reo, i mea mai e whakaahu ana ki te āhua o ō rātou reo, ā, he rite anō mō te hunga matatau, āhua matatau hoki. Koia e whakaatu mai anō ana i te māharahara o ngā kaiuru ki te kounga o te reo (tirohia 5.2.2).

**Te Whakaahua 5.19: Ngā kaiuru pakeke o Te Rangahau Matua o Te Hoe Nuku
Roa i waitohua mai, e whakaahu ana (e tino whakaahu ana
rānei) ki te āhua o ō rātou reo**



Ahakoia te ngākau aroha o ngā kaiuru ki tō rātou reo e kōrerohia nei, i ētahi wā, kāore i whai kiko tō te ngākau waiaro i roto i ngā mahi a te tangata. E toru tekau ōrau anake o ngā kaiuru o Te Rangahau Matua i mea mai, i te ako rātou i te reo Māori i roto i te tekau mā rua marama kua hori. Ka heke ki te rua tekau ōrau mō te hunga kore mōhio ki te reo (tirohia te Whakaahua 5.20). Ahakoia tēnei he mea tautoko e te katoa, te whakaora i te reo. Koia pea e whakaatu mai ana, he nui anō ngā kaupapa hei mahinga mā ngā kaiuru, ā, ka waiho te reo ki rāhaki (tirohia 6.2.2).

Te Whakaahua 5.20: Ngā kaiuru pakeke o Te Rangahau Matua o Te Hoe Nuku Roa i waitohua mai, i te ako rātou i te reo Māori i roto i te tekau mā rua marama kua hori



Nā te whaea o tētahi o ngā kaiuru rangatahi i whakapuaki te whakaaro, kāore pea i te pērā rawa tā te reanga taiohi aro mai ki te reo Māori, i tā te reanga pakeke. I pēnei ai ōna whakaaro nā te mea kua whai wāhi atu te hunga taiohi ki ngā kaupapa pērā i Te Kōhanga Reo me ngā kura reo Māori, ā, kāore pea rātou e rongō i te mamae ka puta ina kāore te tangata e mōhio ki tōna reo ūkaipō. Kāore hoki rātou e mārama ki te āhua o te whawhai o te reanga mātua kia ora anō ai te reo Māori. Ahakoa kotahi anake ngā kaiuru i whakapuaki mai i te whakaaro nei, he whakatūpato i a tātou, ā, he take nui pea hei āta tiro tiro i roto i ngā tau kei te tū mai. Ka ara mai pea tēnei mea te ngoikore ki te reo, ā, koia anō hei patu i te reo ā tōna wā.

Kāore ia i te tino mārama i te takenga mai o ngā kaupapa reo rua, anō nei koia te tikanga mai rā anō. Engari, he kaupapa i āta whāia e mātou, he kaha nō mātou ki te whawhai, ki te mahi, kia whakatūria ngā karaehe reo rua i konei⁵³. (Te whaea o te kaiuru 25)

He kōrero Māori mātou ko taku tuakana, ko taku tuahine hoki. Nā te mea koia hoki te hiahia o ō mātou mātua. (WHAEA: Ki a rātou koirā hoki te tikanga. Kāore hoki rātou i te mōhio, i te wā i whānau mai ai rātou, karekau tētahi Kōhanga Reo, engari ināianei, kei ngā wāhi katoa. He nui hoki ā mātou whawhai kia pērā te hora o te kaupapa.)⁵⁴ (Kaiuru 25 me tōna whaea)

5.6 Te hora o ngā whakakitenga

I roto i Te Wāhanga Tuarima nei o tēnei tuhinga, kua kōrerohia ngā whakakitenga i puta i Te Rangahau Matua, me Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti o Te Hoe Nuku Roa. Ko ngā raraunga tataui i puta i Te Rangahau Matua e rite ana ki te taupori Māori e noho ana ki ngā rohe e whā i whakahaeretia ai te rangahau. Āpiti atu ki tēnei, he mea kōwhiri ēnei rohe e whā, nā te mea kei aua rohe te whānuitanga o ngā āhuetanga noho o te iwi Māori o ēnei rā e kitea ana. Nā konei, kua puta ngā tatauranga whānui e pā ana ki te tū o te reo Māori, arā, te tokomaha o ngā kaikōrero, ō rātou taumata matatau, me tā rātou whakamahi i te reo Māori. E whai mana ana ngā tatauranga i puta, nā te mea he āhua ōrite ki ērā i puta i Te Rangahau Reo i whakahaerehia e Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori i te tau 1995. Mā Te Rangahau Matua e kitea ai ngā āhuetanga whānui e pā ana ki te tū o te reo i te wā tonu i whakahaerehia te rangahau. Engari rā, he nui anō ngā piki, ngā heke, ngā mahi, ngā whawhai, ngā whakanekeneke e pā ana ki te reo i te wā o te rangahau. Kāore e tino whakaaturia ana ēnei whakanekeneke o te wā i roto i ngā tatauranga ka puta, ā, koia ka whaitake ai te rangahau tiro whāroa ā tōna wā.

Mā ngā tatauranga whānui, e taea ai te whakatakoto he whāinga matua mō te reo, pērā i ā te kāwanatanga i roto i tā rātou rautaki mō te reo:

1. te whakanui ake i te maha o ngā tāngata e mōhio ana ki te reo Māori, mā te whakamaha ake i ngā huarahi mō rātou ki te ako i te reo;
2. te whakapai ake i ngā taumata tohu o ngā tāngata e kōrero Māori ana, e whakarongo ana ki te reo Māori, e pānui ana, e tuhi ana i te reo Maori;
3. te whakawhānui ake i ngā huarahi ki te whakamahi i te reo Māori, mā te whakawhānui i ngā wāhi ka taea te kōrero Māori;
4. te whakanui ake i ngā tātai kei te tautoko i te whakapakaritanga i te reo Māori, kia taea ai te whakamahi i te reo ki roto i ngā mahi hou katoa;
5. te whakatairanga ki roto ki a ngāi Māori me rātou mā ehara i te Māori, ngā wāriu inetahi, atu ki, me ngā whakapono tika, ngā wāriu inetahi mō te reo Māori, kia tau te reo rua, reo Māori, reo Ingarihi, hei taonga mā tātou. (Te Puni Kōkiri 1999:13)

Ko te taha ngoikore o ngā tauranga whānui, kāore e taea te whakamahere ngā momo kaupapa e tutuki ai ngā whāinga matua ā tōna wā. I konei ka tino whaitake ai ngā momo rangahau tiro hōhonu, pērā i Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti o Te Hoe Nuku Roa, ā, ka haere tahi ngā momo rangahau e rua. Ko te hōhonutanga o ngā kōrero ka puta, hei whakaatu i ngā āhuatanga kei te pā ki te tangata me āna hikoitanga ia rā. Mā konei e kitea ai te āhua o tana whakamahi i te reo, tana ako i te reo, ngā uauatanga, ngā āhuatanga whakararu, whakapiki rānei i a ia, me tana māia ki te whakahuri i te hanga kōrero Ingarihi. E hāngai ana tēnei ki a Gumperz me tana kōrero:

Me whakaara tētahi ariā hapori, e taea ai te whakaatu te taurangi o tā te tangata whakamahi i ōna reo, me āna whāinga i roto i ana whakawhitiwhiti kōrero. Kia kua ia e whakaaturia, anō nei he rite ki ngā hanga o te hapori e whakaaro whānuitia ana, ā, ko tāna, he whai noa i ērā hanga mō te whakamahi reo⁵⁵. (1982:29)

Nā te tokoiti o ngā kaiuru i whai wāhi mai ki Te Rangahau Whāiti, kāore e taea te kī, koirā te āhua o te katoa o te iwi Māori. Engari e whaitake ana tōna āhei ki te whakaatu i tā Gumperz i kōrero ai, arā, ‘te taurangi o tā te tangata whakamahi i ōna reo, me āna whāinga i roto i ana whakawhitiwhiti kōrero’ (1982:29), i roto i te hunga matatau, āhua matatau rānei ki te reo, i uru mai ki Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti. E whakapaetia ana, ahakoa te āhua o te rangahau, kāore e taea te kī, koirā te āhuetanga pono o te reo Māori. He rerekē ngā āhuetanga o te reo o tēnā tangata o tēnā, o tēnā whānau o tēnā, o tēnā hapori o tēnā. Ko te mea nui, kia whaitake ai ngā whakakitenga rangahau i roto i ngā mahi whakatakoto kaupapa whakaora reo a te whānau, a te hapori, tae atu hoki ki ngā whakahaere Māori (pērā i te marae), me ngā whakahaere tūmatanui. Kei Te Wāhanga Tuaono e takoto ana te whakaaro kia haere ngātahi ngā mahi whakaora reo o ia wāhanga o te hapori, ā, ka whakaaturia tētahi mahere e tutuki ai tēnei whakaaro. Nā ngā kōrero i puta i Te Rangahau Whāiti, i hua mai ētahi whāinga e tika ana mō tēnā wāhanga o te hapori mō tēnā, ā, e whakaaturia ana i te mahere. Mā tērā wāhanga anō o te hapori e aromātai i te hāngai o ngā whāinga ki a rātou me ō rātou ake āhuetanga noho.

5.7 Te whakarāpopoto

He mea tautoko e te katoa o ngā kaiuru o ngā rangahau e rua o Te Hoe Nuku Roa, kia ora tonu te reo Māori, ā, e kitea ana ō rātou ngākau tautoko i roto i ā rātou kōrero me ngā tauranga i whakaaturia i tēnei wāhanga o te tuhinga. Ko tā rātou e tūmanako ana:

- kia pakari ake ō rātou ake reo;
- kia whakatairanga i te kounga o te reo e kōrerohia ana;

- kia whakapakari ake i tā rātou whakamahi i te reo i roto i ō rātou kāinga, i roto hoki i te hapori;
- kia whānui ake tā rātou whai wāhitanga atu ki te reo Māori i roto i ā rātou mahi o ia rā;
- kia mōhio ai ā rātou tamariki me ā rātou mokopuna ki te kōrero i te reo Māori.

I te taha o ngā tūmanako, ka puta hoki ngā āhuatanga kei te whakararu, kei te whakauaua i te whakatutukitanga o ngā tūmanako. Kei te Whakaahua 5.21 i raro nei e whakarāpopoto ana, ā, ka whakawhānui anō i ngā kōrero mō ēnei āhuatanga i Te Wāhanga Tuaono.

Te Whakaahua 5.21: He whakarāpopoto: Ngā whakakitenga matua

Ngā kaupapa	Te matatau ki te reo Māori	Te Whakamahi i te reo Māori	Te whai wāhi atu ki te reo Māori	Te waiaro me ngā tūmanako
Ngā take i hua mai i ngā tau o mua	<p>Kua heke te kounga o te reo o tēnā whakatipuranga o tēnā</p> <p>Kua rerekē tā tēnā whakatipuranga hopu i te reo, tā tēnā – i mua, ko te whānau me te hāpori te puna reo hei whāngai i te tamaiti, ināianei, kua riro mā te kura te tamaiti e ako ki te kōrero i te reo</p>	<p>E kaha ū ana te hanga whakamahi i te reo Ingarihi</p> <p>Ko te moe tahi o te tangata kōrero me te tangata kore mōhio ki te kōrero Māori</p> <p>Ko te patu i te tamaiti mō te kōrero i te reo Māori i te kura</p>	Kua heke te whai wāhitanga atu o te hunga tamariki ki te reo i roto i ō rātou kāinga	Ko te whakatairanga i te tuakiri Māori kei te hiki i te reo
Ngā take horopaki (hei tauira: pakeke, wāhi, āhuatanga noho)	<p>Ko te whai wāhitanga atu ki te reo te take matua e eke ai te tangata i ngā taumata o te reo</p> <p>Ko te whakamahi i te reo hei reo kōrero ki te hunga tamariki - he take nui hei āwhina i te tangata ki te ako i te reo</p>	<p>He ruarua noa iho ngā wā ka noho atu te tangata ki te taha o tētahi atu tangata kōrero Māori</p> <p>Ko te noho mai o te tangata kore mōhio ki te reo ki roto i ngā whakawhitinga kōrero</p> <p>Ko te kore tautoko a te hoa rangatira, a ētahi atu tāngata rānei o roto i te kāinga</p> <p>Mā te whānautanga mai o tētahi tamaiti e kaha huri ai ngā mātua ki te ako i te reo, ki te whakamahi i te reo</p>	<p>He mahi nui mā te hunga mātua ki te whakatū i te taiao reo Māori mō ā rātou tamariki</p> <p>Kāore e tino rangona, e kōrerotia rānei te reo i roto i ngā kāinga me ngā wāhi o te hāpori</p>	Ka heke pea te kaha aro mai o ngā whakatipuranga hou ki te reo Māori
Ngā take reo (hei tauira: te tokomaha o ngā kaikōrero)	<p>Kua heke haere pea tā te iwi orotau ki ngā taumata o tēnei mea te matatau ki te reo Māori</p> <p>E māharaharatia ana te kounga o te reo kei te kōrerohia</p>	<p>Nā te āhua pāpaku o te mōhio ki te reo, kāore e uru atu ki ngā whakawhitinga kōrero reo Māori</p> <p>He uaua te whakawhiti kōrero i te reo Māori mō ētahi kaupapa</p>	Ka pakeke haere te tamaiti, ka eke noa atu te taumata o tōna reo ki tua atu i tērā o ōna mātua	Ko te tūmanako kia eke anō ai te reo ki te kounga e tika ana

<p>Ngā take whaiaro (hei tauira: te taha hinengaro, te āhua o te whakatipu tamariki)</p>	<p>Ko te hiahia o te hunga ako i te reo kia tino tika ā rātou whakapuakitanga kōrero</p>	<p>Kāore e tino māia ana ki te whakamahi i te reo Māori</p> <p>Ehara i te whanonga tika kia kōrerohia te reo Māori, mēnā e noho mai ana he tangata Pākehā ki te wāhi e rere ana te kupu</p> <p>Ko te whakaaro he whakahīhī te tangata kōrero Māori</p> <p>Kāore e tino whakapono ana te tangata matatau ki te āhua o te tangata ako reo rua</p> <p>Kāore e tika tā te reo rua whakaatu i tana reo Māori</p> <p>Ko te māngere, i ētahi wā, ko te heke o te manawa ki te hāpai tonu i te reo</p>	<p>Kia waiho mā te tamaiti e whiriwhiri kia whai ia i te reo Māori ā tona wā, kāore rānei.</p>	<p>Ko te harikoa me te whakanā o te ngākau, ina ka uru atu ki tētahi whakawhitinga kōrero reo Māori, ka rangona rānei te reo kounga e kōrerohia ana.</p> <p>Ko te mamae tonu o te ngākau nā te kore i whāngihia ki te reo i te wā e tamariki ana</p> <p>He taonga te reo</p> <p>E matakū ana ētahi ki te uru atu ki te ako, ki te whakamahi rānei i te reo</p>
<p>Ngā take tōrangapū (hei tauira: kaupapa here mō te reo)</p>		<p>Ko te kore tautoko mai i te reo i roto me te kōrerohia o te reo i roto i te hapori me ngā wāhi mahi</p> <p>Ko te ture me kōrero Māori tētahi matua i te kāinga, kātahi ka uru ai te tamaiti ki te kura reo Māori</p>	<p>He uaua te whai wāhi atu ki ngā akoranga reo i ngā taumata hōhonu</p> <p>Ko te kore e whai wāhi atu ki te reo i ngā wāhi o te hapori me ngā wāhi tūmatanui</p> <p>Ko te iti o ngā pāpaho reo Māori, ko te whāiti o ngā momo pāpaho, ko te kore uru atu o te reo ki ngā wā he tokomaha ngā tāngata e mātakitaki mai ana, e whakarongo ana.</p> <p>Ko te ruarua o ngā tuhituhinga me ērā atu rauemi reo Māori</p>	

¹ I think that the Māori language that is being spoken today is understandable to a lot more people there's not a lot of you know the native speakers are all older much much older whereas the new speakers have the ability to speak right across - I mean that's just my understanding.

² ... that's of some concern because the languages aren't constructed the same, so you go and say something in Māori but you're thinking it in English and so it doesn't come out as beautiful as a kaumātua would say it because for him its just right here its there, but we have to sort of translate it and then our translation is somewhat different.

³ Learning new words, its constant. It worries me too sometimes with the kids and that because my vocabs limited, I'm limiting their vocab. And so that really gives me the impetus to do something about it because if I have a great range of words to use, it'll rub off on my kids because I'm mainly the one that they're mainly with. That's why sometimes they come out in English, because they've heard what they want to say, they've heard it expressed one way, and it happens to be in English because they haven't heard it in Māori.

⁴ I'm not quite sure when sometimes I'll say something and I'm not sure whether its correct order. Sometimes I know, but a lot of times I think is that correct, is that in the right order. That's probably more a problem for me, the order of the sentence than is vocab. I want to get it right. Usually I'll have the vocab there to say something but I won't know how to put it. I find it difficult because I know its not the same as English but yeah I'm not sure how it is meant to flow.

⁵ considers such factors as the language which the child is reacting to and its meaning potential, the situational environment of interaction (including the role and statuses of participants), the variety or register of language used in any specific communicative event, the linguistic system itself (both its potential and how it is constructed by the child), and the social structure within which the interaction is taking place

⁶ Yes, but when its the news, I prefer it in English because sometimes its easier to explain. Some of the Pākehā words I don't know in Māori, because they're new words. I can usually just guess what the new words on Te Karere mean because its a different dialect - I can usually sense what they are talking about.

⁷ I can't when my daughter here speaks I can't understand, can't speak it. But some of my friends - when we go to pick up our benefit and see someone oh tēnā koe and that's it we're away, and we find out where a person come from and where I come from and its good. We're happy to speak in the language Good feeling to know that there are still some around with our language. I believe some new words coming out. I can't talk to the children cause they wouldn't understand what I am talking about.

⁸ Currently there are no nationally accepted standards on assessment of fluency in Māori at TEIs (Tertiary Education Institutions). Very few TEIs offered very advanced Māori language courses

⁹ My reo was streets ahead five years ago. I could go to wānanga and not be worried, I've just lost it - I've lost contact with the people I used to speak with, and the people I used to communicate with - they've all gone away and done different things.

¹⁰ I can't understand some young people when they kōrero to me with new Māori - there's a lot of new words now and I need to probably learn the kupus because there's many new words now. I need to learn how to structure sentences well not the structure but the kupus better I think for newer words.

¹¹ Most probably with other people if they are fluent and stuff like that a bit hesitant speaking that would be about it. Hesitant because of my own ability. If they encourage me and things like that I would be more comfortable.

¹² Particularly those old fellas they won't talk Māori because they get hoha - they really don't talk Māori - they won't talk because the other person doesn't understand it, and they got to go round to explain it. But on the other hand, personally for myself with the real older ones you got to sit with them for an hour

before they start getting to the point. You now that's how they like to talk eh. The older ones its got to be on their time, on their place whether you interested or not. Even if your interested they still don't open up. I find there's a few hard nuts. The younger like the 60s age group, 60 and 70, its a big effort for them, too. I got some ideas about why, but its a bigger effort for them to actually sit down and talk to you. There's a very few of them that like to keep promoting the Māori language eh. One lady was speaking to me the other day and she said she enjoys talking the reo, speaking, she's an older lady and she said its all coming back. Why they don't speak it, like there's a whole group of them that I can see now that are very fluent in the reo, but I find, like I take an interest and they know, and they always speak to me in Māori, although most times I got to initiate, and then they are happy enough to talk. But if somebody comes along, and there's something a little bit wrong with their reo even though they genuinely interested they won't talk sometimes. They'll just block off. Man they are hard case people. I mean these are women and men. I think its got a lot to do with trust. They are just very wary, its the trusting. I think part of them is giving of themselves you know. I don't think we understand it or realise it themselves that they feel that its a part of themselves, and this is just my thoughts just now, but in watching and observing them I feel a sense that its a part of themselves that they giving to that person. And I'm not too sure whether they brought it up that it was tapu or it was revered. The people that I know wouldn't have thought in those terms. But certainly its that trusting eh. They basically don't trust you. Even when its their own relations oh man!

¹³ Like if there were Pakeha there and say there was another mate of mine who was speaking te reo then I would be a bit iffy about speaking it to the degree of being rude. Mostly because I would be a bit worried that they may hear us speaking Māori and its just rude.

¹⁴ There might be other people around not necessarily part of the conversation - if there was a real flash native speaker within earshot ... it has some influence. If Pakeha people were around that wouldn't bother me. It might in some cases if they are people that I know, and I don't want to embarrass them, I'll speak English eh.

¹⁵ If I usually have a conversation at Te Wānanga with someone in te reo, but I saw them at the grocery store I think I'd be less likely to speak in Māori - just the environment. I know it might be habitual but ... Its not so much that I'm worried about what other people might think but if you never speak to anyone in te reo at the grocery store, so its you kind of don't think of speaking to anyone in te reo at the grocery store.

¹⁶ The environment that we are in now its English, it has to be. Like my husband he had a heart attack in October. He's fine, he's recovering slowly. Now going to a doctor and going to a chemist and going to a hospital, everything was in English, so I would have to speak English. Where I work its not very often. I work at the (place of work). We do have quite a few Māori people coming in but when you pick up the telephone you're not going to hear someone at the other end saying 'kia ora', not unless you said it at this end. And then they'll wonder whether they've got the right phone number.

¹⁷ Only the last fortnight that's pay day. See a lot of Māori women and men in the queue, ah 'Kia ora kia ora', ah well we start off and carry on. Carry on about the weather, about the Kāwana and all that. And its good conversing with the Māori women and men and all that you know.

¹⁸ It is strong in this community and it definitely had an influence on me. I think that's why I'm so different from my cousins who grew up in (place) - the Māori community is still quite strong but no where near the same level as Otaki in their development kind of thing.

¹⁹ It made me think you now that maybe there's not enough of it going on around us, and if we kind of like just fit in to suit other people cause its easier to speak English to other people, for the conversation to flow along, and if you start to kōrero Māori to another Māori person that's not really in to the Māori language then the conversation will stop cause the other person doesn't know how to respond or something and so after a few of those experiences I guess some of our older people stop speaking the reo. Because there's not enough of it going around them. Not enough people speaking it.

²⁰ I have to say that I probably don't promote it here in this particular household because I'm in a de facto relationship. With my own children and my ex husband we used to karakia every night. We would

karakia in the morning but then he was quite comfortable with that. The situation now is not quite the same, and so I have to be sensitive.

²¹ ...but then I hooked up with ...(partner) who was already pretty fluent in the language, and yeah, he encouraged me... we have the same kind of views, we're not battling each other we're supportive of each other and what we want for our kids...

²² No there's no excuse why I can't speak it within this house - its just I suppose I'm lazy basically. Its easier to yell English and get action taken! No, I'm slack really.

²³ Even when fluent speakers of the language come in to our home and we still speak English to each other you know. The majority of our visitors can speak Māori but we still speak mainly English. I think we're just lazy.

²⁴ I wasn't allowed to speak English in the house because my grandmother couldn't understand. Which was pretty hard especially when you went to school and you weren't allowed to speak Māori, so there was no extension because I had to learn English when I started school you see, and when I walked out of those school gates there was no extension of my English learning so I imagine it would have been hard but not being able to learn the Pākehā way. It was hard. Especially because we got strapped when we spoke Māori at school in the school grounds. So when I stepped into the school grounds there was no Māori spoken and when I went home, there was no English spoken so when I think about it, I don't know how I coped. I just did my homework by myself. My grandfather understood about learning English at school and that but my grandmother didn't - she was Māori tūturu. Sometimes I would slip and speak English. 'He whakahīhi koe. E kī e kī tō whakaaro ki te kōrero Pākehā mai ki ahau.' We weren't told why we had to learn English, we were just told we weren't allowed to speak Māori at school. But you know, when I had my children I always told them to make sure that they learnt English, because without the knowledge of English and if you didn't know what you were reading about you'll never get on because everything out there is English based eh. No matter what - cooking, sewing, if you couldn't understand what you were reading you couldn't master whatever it was - whether it was carpentry or whatever. So I always made sure that they did well in English. I married a Pākehā so my children would learn English. Only because I had it smacked out of me when I was at primary school.

²⁵ For me, well take this as an example with me in my job. I'm a senior wool buyer for a company and they have very little understanding of things Māori, and what they understand of things Māori are pretty negative. The reason being what I think is a lot of Pākehā their impressions of Māori is what they get through either media newspapers, anything like that, and I myself believe a lot of those things that are coming through media and that are quite negative. So Pākehās pick up on that, and you know I get it day in and day out from them because I'm the only Māori there. And yeah you know they'll make comments, and I just brush it aside you know, and their understanding of Māori issues is very limited in what they know of Māori issues is incorrect. And because I'm quite involved in my job it has meant the Māori side well te reo probably has been sort of put aside a little bit. It pays the bills you know. Whereas I remember (name) saying to me one time before, you know I was quite involved in a lot of things but what it comes down to it won't pay the bills.

²⁶ We already at our mahi have quite a large content of te reo Māori mainly because we deal with the arts but a lot of our taura the students that we have come from te reo courses so we structure a lot of our courses around the reo and we still need to have other parts of reo at a lower level for our taura that come in that haven't been in that situation. So what we've done with some of our touch teams is te reo Māori katoa. Everything is done in the reo we've had competitions where all the refs korero Māori - I think a lot get by with hand signals! But its good - it promotes it out in the public. Here, there's a big kind of resurgence of things Māori. Most Māori here either kōrero at least fifty percent of the time when we are together. But that's those that are in that kaupapa. When you work in the kaupapa you tend to move with people who are also there and so there's a lot of us who kōrero.

²⁷ ... the bulk of language socialisation, identity socialisation and commitment socialisation generally takes place 'huddled together', through intergenerationally proximate, face to face interaction and generally takes place relatively early in life at that.

²⁸ We try and get resources and books in Māori. But you just can't get stuff eh. Like videos or CD games. CD's are fantastic. I stick her (daughter) on and she has trouble because its all in English, all the stories are in English. - that's how she'll probably pick it up. Its just so hard to get stuff in Māori. I reckon they should ditch Te Karere and put that money into kids TV programmes even if its on from 3.30 to 4.00 half an hour a day after school. Māui and contemporary stuff, cartoons and programmes they are going to relate to.

²⁹ I did speak in Māori to my children, but the community we were in was all white. They had no one to speak Māori with except me, and that's only at night or in the mornings, and it wasn't very encouraging for them - its my own fault I suppose.

³⁰ ethno-cultural separation

³¹ We've got three going to Kura Kaupapa at the moment. We support the Kura by going to whānau hui as many as we can, fundraising, myself and (partner) are on the Board of Trustees for the Kura. I'm one of the kaiarahi reo for Te Ataarangi, I've been in there for probably 10 years, and we're also involved in the taurahere here in (place name). We are also involved in kapahaka for ... as well as marae and that.

³² Most modern RLS movements have quickly and naturally, almost as a matter of course, moved to emphasise schools and schooling as the central thrust and process of the entire RLS endeavour.

³³ We've only got the one Kura Kaupapa, but one of the colleges is starting a total immersion I think this year or last year and there's a bilingual. I don't think its enough to keep up with all of the Kōhanga around here. And another one is transport. Like the Kura has a bus that goes right through to (place), and it comes through every day, and its a long day for the children, and some parents don't like their children being exposed to a school day like that, 7.00 till about 4.30 - that's a really long day for a kid. It may be a good idea that there is another Kura Kaupapa in the south.

³⁴ No not lack of availability of Kōhanga -that hasn't been a problem here, but its the quality of reo in that Kōhanga. Its not up to standard as far as I'm concerned, no mokopuna of mine will go to that Kōhanga. I want the kaiako to know what they are speaking about. With school, of course there is a problem. They don't get enough time. Forty minutes is the length of every lesson. I was teaching at the Intermediate down here and that is a long lesson forty minutes. Okay, forty minutes a week to learn the reo? What does that tell you. Its a token gesture as far as I'm concerned.

³⁵ I found that the second class that I did there was a lot of mucking around - nothing really planned or organised, just sort of float into it whereas the first one that I did was excellent because the guy was taking it was a trained teacher and he was very organised. The second one was person who hadn't come from a teaching background. Lots of knowledge but just ah well do this today, and everything was disjointed, it was really hard.

³⁶ I'm still not competent in the reo and I've been doing it for ten years. And you know that's what's happening - a lot of them aren't even moving on because in the kaupapa with us being second language learners, we can only take them to a certain point and that's as far as we can take them.

³⁷ ... the main thing is to have the desire - if you want to learn it you can learn it alright so you can speak English first and learn Māori no problems and really that was my attitude with my children. I told them - they complained a few times and I said look if you really want to learn Māori you can do it, even now. But don't come to me and complain that I didn't do this didn't do that. If you got the desire you learn it alright but all of them are proficient in English, and they can hold there own in the bigger world. But when it comes to Māori they can't, but they still got the opportunity, and I'm sure they can handle it. So it doesn't really matter.

³⁸ These old buggers up here, they spoke all the time, and when it came to Dad, it stopped there and then it stopped at us, and now we're picking it up again. I might be guilty of not giving it to my kids cause I don't force them to kōrero either.

³⁹ Now I think I've gone backwards like I learnt Te Kākano 1 and I was pretty confident like I just learnt the basics and that. But once we started getting on to longer sentences and that I found it quite difficult, and I suppose cause of like studying and that I was busy doing other subjects so that got in the way of learning. Like I suppose if I was in a better environment to learn it would have been easier cause I would have been able to focus more on learning Māori kind of thing.

⁴⁰ I would like to but I think they apparently do it down here where you have to attend the wānanga and that's very difficult - my husband works very long hours - I just can't shift out for a week basically - its just impossible - I actually said I would really like to do some papers and I'm capable of doing it but I can't shift out of my house for a week - I've got a family so I don't know how the others get on.

⁴¹ When you go and do courses you haven't got enough time to recharge your batteries. So I decided that I wouldn't do any more.

⁴² We need more stations who are broadcasting in te reo, or more te reo input on stations like Mai FM. I mean they're slowly getting there, they say a few phrases in Māori.

⁴³ I think they do need to - to me we need more Māori programmes put out or even a Māori station brought back in again. I really honestly feel like this radio station I know of they call themselves Ngāti Hine, what is it Taitokerau, and this guy he calls himself Pāpā Rūrū he talks from midnight through and he's talking to all sorts of kaumātua and kuia and he has some real neat talkbacks. He talks both in Pākehā and te reo Māori or mainly in te reo Māori, and you hear some of the things they say, and I enjoy listening to Ngāti Hine, I enjoy listening to the radio up north. In 97 I heard the station from here in (place name) and they're nowhere as pleasant and the information that you hear, and Ngāti Hine does it.

⁴⁴ Yes I'd like more of Māori language television. More content of te reo Māori in particular at the children's level. We watch Marae on a Sunday but specially the first bit of it, unless your actually quite a fluent speaker with your ears tuned in its very hard to pick up cause they generally only talk to native speakers. The new kids programme Tikitiki is brilliant its amazing - more of that would be brilliant.

⁴⁵ Its a good medium for helping learners. Just the news, Te Karere as often as I can about - its only on about 5 times a week eh. Not really on at a good time for me. There's not enough Māori language television on. One of the main reasons is that where people can see - for the simple reason that people or students are not getting that interaction inside family houses where they would see those people having a cup of tea or making their beds and the language used there and how to fit it in to context with the Māori living style, and they become much more au fait with the feel of it I guess, and improve their diction or their whole reo.

⁴⁶ We try and get resources and books in Māori. But you just can't get stuff eh.

⁴⁷ A book, what's a book that's easy to read from or learn from. If they made - the books that they give to those kiddies at Kōhanga to the adults who are trying and struggling to learn it it would have made it much easier. Its still can be done, but. Why don't they learn from the books that the kiddies have at Kōhanga.

⁴⁸ Its precious to be able to talk Māori. I think its my age when we never learnt anymore. I was stuck in the middle and that's the reason why I missed out

⁴⁹ But anyway I'm proud when I hear one of my mokopuna can speak the fluent Māori, can understand and the haka - I feel good.

⁵⁰ Its awesome like when you're up town and you hear Māori being spoken. I love it when the little ones speak te reo, its choice.

⁵¹ I can't think of that boy's name, he's on at night on the local station and he's so beautiful to listen to, his reo. And he gets all the oldies requests for our requests.

⁵² When I came back from school to home I was just sort of left out because I missed out on the reo. I spent about 4 years away from the family and then went back again. My brothers and that they all kōrero. I am hoping for my mokos that they don't have that same problem. My daughter was up here on Sunday and I told her to make sure. Somewhere along the line in life if you haven't got that identity that Māori in you, you can feel sort of left out.

⁵³ Its interesting that his perception is that we just accidentally got into bilingual classes. Because it wasn't, it was absolutely deliberate policy. Its interesting that because your generation thinks that was the norm but we worked really hard to get bilingual classes going here.

⁵⁴ Me and my sister and brother all speak Māori. It would be because our parents wanted it I suppose. (MOTHER: Its interesting cause they think its natural now they don't realise that when they were born there was like no Kōhanga Reo here, now they're all over the place. And the struggles that we've been through to get them.)

⁵⁵ There is a need for a social theory which accounts for the communicative functions of linguistic variability and for its relation to speakers' goals without reference to untestable functionalist assumptions about conformity or nonconformance to closed systems of norms.

Te Wāhanga Tuaono

He anga whakarite kaupapa e haere whakamua ai te reo Māori

- 6.1 Te kupu whakataki
- 6.2 Ko ngā horopaki me ngā āhuatanga kei te pā ki te whakaora me te whakapūmau i te reo Māori
 - 6.2.1 Ngā āhuatanga whānui
 - 6.2.2 Ngā āhuatanga reopori
- 6.3 Te āhua o te matatau me te whakamahi i te reo Māori
- 6.4 Ngā āhuatanga kei te aukati i te matatau me te whakamahi i te reo
 - 6.4.1 Te whakahāwea
 - 6.4.2 Te whakaaro aroha ki te kaiwhakarongo
 - 6.4.3 Te hahani o te rāwaho
 - 6.4.4 Te kaha rawa o te whakatenatena
 - 6.4.5 Te kaha rawa o te ū ki te kaupapa
- 6.5 Ngā wāhi mō te whakamahi i te reo Māori
 - 6.5.1 Te hononga o te matatau, te whakamahi me te tū o te reo
 - 6.5.2 Ngā wāhi whakawhitiwhiti kōrero
 - 6.5.3 Te tū o te reo me te waiaro ki te reo
 - 6.5.4 Te whakatenatena i te reo
- 6.6 Ngā whakatūpato ina ka kaha te whai wāhi mai o ngā whakahaere tūmatanui ki ngā kaupapa whakaora i te reo
- 6.7 He anga whakarite kaupapa mō te whakaora me te whakapūmau i te reo Māori
- 6.8 Te whakarāpopoto

6.1 Te kupu whakataki

I te Wāhanga Tuatoru, i kōrerohia ngā horopaki me ngā āhuatanga kei te pā ki te whakaora, me te whakapūmau i tētahi reo taketake, reo itinga rānei. E whā ngā reo i āta tirohia, me te whakatairite anō ki te reo Māori. I konei ka haere tonu te matapaki i ngā āhuatanga motuhake o te reo Māori, arā, ka āta whiria ngā kōrero e pā ana ki ngā reo o whenua kē me ngā kōrero i puta i te rangahau o Te Hoe Nuku Roa. Ka hua, ko te whakatau i tētahi anga whakarite kaupapa mō te whakaora me te whakapūmau i te reo Māori. E toru ngā mātāpono i takea mai i ngā āhuatanga motuhake o te reo Māori, koia hei tūāpapa mō te anga e kōrerohia nei. Ko te Mana Māori, ko te Mana Tangata, ko te Tūhonotanga. E tohea ana, mā te āta whakamahere me te whiri i ngā kaupapa o tēnā rōpū, o tēnā whakahaere, o tēnā wāhi, e puta ai ngā tino hua mō te reo. Arā, mā ia rōpū e kawe ngā tūmomo mahi e tika ana mō rātou.

6.2 Ngā horopaki me ngā āhuatanga kei te pā ki te whakaora me te whakapūmau i te reo Māori

6.2.1 Ngā āhuatanga whānui

E tika ana kia āta whakaarohia te ora whānui o te reo (tirohia te Wāhanga Tuarua), i runga i te mārama ki ngā āhuatanga tōrangapū, āhuatanga taupori, āhuatanga ohaoha, āhuatanga reo hoki, kei te pā ki te iwi Māori. Kei reira ngā ōritenga me ngā rerekētanga ki ngā āhuatanga o reo kē, o iwi kē, engari, ko te mea nui kia noho mai ēnei āhuatanga hei tūāpapa mō te whakawhiri, mō te whakamahere i ngā kaupapa whakaora reo. Kei te Whakaahua 6.1 ēnei āhuatanga motuhake o te iwi Māori e whakarāpopotohia ana, ā, e hāngai ana ki tā Baker i waitohu ai i ngā momo take e toru e tino pā ana ki te heke, ki te piki rānei o tētahi reo. Arā, ko ngā take tōrangapū, take taupori, take hapori; ko ngā take ahurea; ko ngā take reo. Ko tāna, he āhua kōtuitui

ēnei take e toru, he wā anō ki tēnā take, he wā anō ki tēnā (tirohia tā Baker 1996:45). Hei tauria ake, he wāhi nui pea ki te kura rūmaki i ngā tāone (nā te mea he reo Ingarihi te hapori), engari i tuawhenua, pērā i te Urewera, ko te wāhi nui pea ki te hapori me ōna kaupapa ahurea. Engari, ki te tiro whānuihia ngā take mō te reo Māori e kōrerohia nei, tērā e kitea, kei te tino pāngia ki te heke o te reo, kaua ki te piki o te reo. Nō reira, me whānui te kōkiri i ngā kaupapa whakaora reo, ā, me aro anō ki ngā take e tika ana mō tēnā takiwā, mō tēnā whārua, mō tēnā hapori.

Ko tā te whakamahere, he whakahihiko i te reo, arā, ka arohia ngā āhuatanga ohaoha, āhuatanga hapori, te tū o te reo, te hora o te reo i te whenua, me te āhua o tā ngā whakahaere tūmatanui hāpai i te reo. Ki te kore e whakamaheretia, ka mate pea te reo¹. (Baker 1996:49)

Te Whakaahua 6.1: Ngā āhuatanga whānui kei te pā ki te whakaora me te whakapūmau i te reo Māori

Ngā āhuatanga	Te pānga ki te ao Māori
Ngā āhuatanga tōrangapū	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kāore te iwi Māori i te tino whai mana tōrangapū – nā te mea he iwi itinga i raro i ngā tikanga o te manapori. • Ko te iwi Māori te tangata whenua. E tiakina ana te mana o ngā iwi taketake o te ao me ō rātou reo i raro i Te Tauākī Tikanga Tangata o te Rūnanga Whakakotahi Whenua o te Ao. • E tiakina ana te reo i raro i ngā tikanga o te Tiriti o Waitangi. arā, he taonga te reo.
Ngā āhuatanga o te reo i te hapori	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nō Aotearoa ake te reo Māori – kāore e ora i whenua kē. • E rua, nui ake rānei ngā whakatipuranga o te maha o ngā whānau Māori puta i Aotearoa, he kore mōhio ki te reo. • He tokomaha ngā tāngata ako reo rua, he tokoiti ngā mea i pakeke mai i te reo. • Kua whānui te moenga tahi o te Māori me te Pākehā, me te urutomo mai o te Māori ki te ao Pākehā.
Ngā āhuatanga ture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • He reo whai mana te reo Māori i raro i te ture (1987), engari, he whāiti noa iho te ture – ko te kōti anake te wāhi e whai tika ana te reo. • Nā te mahi takahi i te reo i ngā tau ki muri, e tika ana kia whai haepapa te iwi Māori i raro i Te Ture o Te Tiriti o Waitangi 1975 (tirohia Te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi 1986).

Ngā āhuatanga ohapori	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kei raro te iwi Māori i roto i ngā tatauranga katoa e pā ana ki te whiwhi mahi, te whiwhi moni, te whiwhi whare, te whiwhi tohu mātauranga, te hauora, me te taihara. • E 38% o ngā whānau whiwhi tamariki he whānau matua moke (Tatauranga Aotearoa 1997a). • Ko tētahi wāhanga nui o te hunga whai i te reo, he iwi whai rawa tonu (tirohia tā Chrisp 1996). • Arā ngā tūranga mahi e putaputa mai ana mō te hunga matatau ki te reo (pērā i te pūnaha mātauranga me te ao pāpaho). • Kua riro te nuinga o ngā whenua Māori – kua kore he tūāpapa e piki anō ai te ohanga o te iwi.
Ngā āhuatanga ahurea	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ka noho tonu te marae hei wāhi huihuinga mō te iwi, i raro anō i ngā whakahaere a te Māori me ōna tikanga. Kua whakatūria ētahi marae ā-hapori i ngā tāone. • Hāunga ngā whakahaere ōkawa, he uaua tonu te whakahoki i te reo Māori hei reo kōrero i roto i ngā mahi katoa o te marae.
Ngā āhuatanga mātauranga	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ina whakatairitea ki te Pākehā, kāore e tino eke ana ngā tamariki Māori i ngā taumata o te pūnaha mātauranga • I roto i ngā 20 tau kua pahure, kua whakatūria te Kōhanga Reo me te Kura Kaupapa Māori, ā, ko te tikanga kia rūmakina ki te reo, kia whai hoki i ngā āhuatanga Māori mō te whakaako. • Kāore i te rawaka te tokomaha o ngā kaiako e whai tohu ana, e matatau ana ki te reo. He ruarua tonu ngā rauemi reo Māori mō te whakaako (tirohia tā McKinley mā 1997).
Ngā āhuatanga taupori	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • He motu a Aotearoa, kāore e tino pāngia ana ki te tikanga o te matatini o ngā reo i te whenua kotahi. E noho pōhara ana tētahi 84% o te taupori, arā, ko te reo Ingarihi anake te reo e mōhiotia ana (Starks 1998). • Ko tētahi wāhanga nui o te taupori Māori e noho wehe ana i ō rātou whenua ūkaipō. Kua āhua motu te taura here tangata, te aho tātai whakapapa e tino kōtuitui ana i te ao Māori.
Ngā āhuatanga haere whakamua a te iwi Maori	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • E whawhai ana kia hoki mai te tino rangatiratanga o te iwi Māori. • E whāia ana te ohanga motuhake, te tūtanga ā-hapori me te whakatairanga anō i ngā āhuatanga ahurea. • E arohia ana ngā kaupapa whakapiki ā-iwi.

6.2.2 Ngā āhuatanga ohaoha

Ko tētahi o ngā ariā matua o te ao reopori e pā ana ki te whakaora me te whakapūmau reo, ko tā Fishman āwhata aruaru i te tuku ihotanga o te reo mai i tētahi whakatipuranga ki tētahi. Ka puta i tana āwhata te raupapatanga o ngā momo kaupapa whakaora reo. Ka waitohua e Fishman, ko te tuku ihotanga o te reo i roto i te kāinga te whāinga matua mō te whakaora reo, ā, e ai ki tāna, e tutuki ai tēnei whāinga matua,

‘me noho wehe te iwi itinga i roto anō i ā rātou tikanga ahurea, kia āraitia atu te urutomo mai o ngā tikanga ahurea a tauwiwi ki te kāinga me te hapori tata²’ (Fishman 1992:105).

Ka tohea e Fishman, ki te kore e pakari te reo i roto i te kāinga me te hapori tata, he moumou noa iho te whakatū kaupapa reo i ngā wāhi tūmatanui, akene pea ka huri tuara te iwi ki ngā kaupapa reo a te kāwanatanga. Otirā, i roto i tana āwhata raupapa i ngā kaupapa whakaora reo, kāore e arotia atu te tū o te reo, ngā hanga whakamahi reo, me ngā waiaro reo o te hapori whānui, me te pānga o ērā ki te kāinga. Kāore hoki tana ariā i te tino hāngai ki ngā āhuatanga noho o te iwi Māori (e whakarāpopotohia ana i te Whakaahua 6.1), arā, te wāhanga e kī ana, kia ora rā anō te reo i te kāinga, kātahi ka whai hua te whakatū kaupapa i te hapori tūmatanui. I tēnei wā, he mahi tino uaua mō te nuinga o ngā whānau Māori, te whakaora anō i te tuku ihotanga o te reo i roto i a rātou. I kōrerohia ngā uauatanga me ngā whakararu i te rangahau o Te Hoe Nuku Roa, ā, koia ko ēnei e whai ake nei; ko te nuinga o te reanga matua kāore i te tino matatau ki te reo; kāore e tino rangona ana te reo e kōrerohia ana i ngā wāhi haere ai te tangata ia rā; ko te utu mō te uru atu ki tētahi kaupapa ako reo; ko te kaha ū o ngā hanga whakamahi i te reo Ingarihi i te hapori (tirohia te Wāhanga Tuarima).

I te wā e whakaoti haere ana tēnei tuhinga, ka puta tētahi anō pukapuka a Fishman, e arotake ana i ngā mahi whakaora o ētahi reo itinga i te tekau tau i mua, me te āta tiro tiro anō ki tana ariā whakaora reo i whakatakotoria i te pukapuka ‘Reversing Language Shift’. I roto i te pukapuka hou, kua āhua ngāwari tana whakahē i ngā kaupapa whakaora reo i te hapori tūmatanui – kua kaha kē atu tana kōrero me hono anō aua momo kaupapa ki te whāinga matua, arā, kia ora anō te tuku ihotanga o te reo i te kāinga.

Kaua e papatahi noa iho te kōkiri i ngā kaupapa whakaora reo. Mēnā e honoa ana ngā momo kaupapa ki te whāinga matua, ā, ka kore hoki e arohia atu ngā kaupapa tipatipa noa iho, kāore he raruraru o te whakatū kaupapa matatini e hāngai ana ki ngā paparanga maha o te āwhata³ (Fishman 2000:467).

Ka pā katoa ngā āhuetanga e kōrerohia ana i Whakaahua 6.1 ki ngā kaupapa whakaora reo. Hei tauira ake, nā ngā whakararu ohaoha kei te pā ki te maha o ngā whānau Māori, e uua ai tā rātou aro ki ngā kaupapa reo. Arā te kōrero a te ahorangi tawhito o Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, a Timoti Kāretu:

Ko ētahi kei te kī mēnā he kai tō te puku, he moni tō te pūkoro, he oranga tō te tinana, he pai te noho, ka āhei te tangata ki te whai i te ara tikanga, te ara toi, te ara pūoro engari inā kore, ka warea ki te kimi oranga tinana, ka mahue a oranga wairua, a oranga ngākau, a oranga hinengaro. (Kāretu 1998:2)

He pērā anō hoki te pūrongo a Grin rāua ko Vaillancourt i tuhia mō Te Tari Kaitohu Ohapūtea – he mea whakaatu e rāua te hononga o ngā āhuetanga ohapori o te iwi Māori me te ora o te reo.

Kāore e kore ka pāngia kinotia te ora o te reo e ngā āhuetanga ohapori e noho nei te iwi; nō reira me whakatakoto he kaupapa here hei hāpai i tēnei tū āhuetanga⁴ (Grin & Vaillancourt 1998:5).

Nō reira e tika ana kia āta whiria ngā kaupapa reo me ngā momo kaupapa whakapiki i ngā āhuetanga ohapori o te iwi, ā, ko tētahi mea nui anō hoki, kia kaua tā te tangata whai i te reo e pā kino atu ki tōna āhuetanga ohaoha. E hāngai ana tēnei whakaaro ki

ngā kōrero a ētahi, kia tūhonotia ngā momo kaupapa whakapiki i te iwi Māori (hei tauira, tirohia tā Durie 1998).

Ko tētahi o ngā whakaaro pōhēhē mai i ngā tau o mua, e mea ana, e piki anō ai ngā āhuatanga ohaoha o te iwi, me waiho ki rāhaki tō te tangata tuakiri Māori tōna reo me ōna tikanga, ka arotahi noa atu ki te reo Ingarihi me ngā tikanga Pākehā. E ai ki tā Fishman, he whānui tonu te horapa o te whakaaro, ka haere tahi te pōhara o te tangata, me tāna pūmau ki tōna reo ūkaipō.

He pērā hoki ngā hapori tangata whenua kua marua e tauwiwi, ahakoa he noho tonu ki ō rātou whenua tūrangawaewae. Ko te āhua, he poto ake te wā e whai mātauranga ana, he iti ake te whiwhinga moni, kāore e tino eke i ngā taumata matatau o te reo (reo ūkaipō, reo tauwiwi rānei), he pōhara ake te āhua o te noho – ēnei āhuatanga katoa e tino whiwhi ana te nuinga o tauwiwi. Ki te pērā te āhua o te maha o ngā kaikōrero o te reo [Māori] e ora tonu ana, ka pōhēhētia e tauwiwi, e ētahi [Māori] hoki, e tino hono ana te reo ki te pōharatanga. I konei ka puta tētahi whakararu nui hei āraitanga mā te hunga whawhai mō te reo. Arā, ka whakahētia ngā kaupapa whakaora reo i runga i te pōhēhē, ki te pūmau te reo, ka ū tonu te pōharatanga, kāore e hikina te iwi⁵ (1991:59).

Waihoki, ka haere tonu tana kōrero, ehara i te mea me ‘pango’, me ‘mā’ rānei, arā, me pūmau tonu te reo me te pōharatanga, me waiho rānei ki rāhaki te reo kia whai rawa ai! Kāore! Ko tāna, e kore te tangata e whai rawa mā te whai noa i te reo Ingarihi me ngā tikanga Pākehā, ā, kāore hoki he take mō te waiho i te reo ūkaipō me ōna tikanga ki rāhaki kia whiwhi rawa ai. I roto i ngā tau kua pahure nei, arā kē te maha o ngā tūranga mahi kua whakatūria ki te pūnaha mātauranga, ki te ao pāpaho, ki ngā

whakahaere tāpoi, me ngā umanga tūmatanui, mō te hunga matatau ki te reo Māori. Ka tika, me kaha ake te whakaatu i ngā tūmomo mahi me ngā painga katoa ka tau ki te tangata matatau ki te reo. Arā hoki ngā rangahau e mea ana, ki te pakari te tangata i roto i tōna ake reo, tikanga hoki, ka pakari anō ai tōna kiritau, tōna ngākau māhaki me tōna whakapono ki a ia anō. Nō reira e whai pūmanawa ana taua tangata ki te urutomo atu ki te ao mahi, ka whai wāhi anō ki ngā whakahaere ohaoha (tirohia tā Goulton-Fitzgerald 1998).

Ko tētahi tohenga matua a Baker, ‘e tino hono ana te oranga tonutanga o tētahi reo itinga ki te whai wāhi atu o te tangata, o te kāinga, o te hāpori tata ki ngā whakahaere ohaoha⁶’ (1996:57). E mea ana ia, ahakoa e tino whakahau ana te reo me te tuakiri tangata whenua, kāore pea e tino ū i roto i te takanga o te wā, ki te kore e honoa atu te reo ki ngā kaupapa ohaoha.

He raruraru kei te haere mēnā ka whakahautia te reo i runga anake i ngā āhuatanga o te ngākau me te tuakiri tangata. He mea nui tonu kia noho te reo hei taonga whakahī, arā te whakataukī *tōku reo tōku ohooho, tōku reo tōku māpihi maurea, tōku reo tōku whakakai mārihi*, engari, ki te kore e honoa atu ki te ‘oranga tīnana’, arā, te taha ohaoha, kāore pea e tino ū mō te wā roa. Arā, ka warea ētahi ki te whai mahi, ki te kimi kai, ki te rapu whare, ki te hoko pouaka whakaata, kia kaua hoki e heke ki te pōharatanga. Mō ētahi atu, ko te whāinga nui, ko te whakapiki i te whiwhinga utu, te hoko i tētahi whare rawe te āhua ...⁷ (Baker anō 1996:57)

E kitea ana tēnei āhuatanga i roto i ngā hua e puta ana i te rangahau o Te Hoe Nuku Roa (tirohia te Wāhanga Tuarima). Arā, e 80 ōrau o te iwi e tino tautoko ana i te reo, e mea ana he taonga nui, kia mau tonu te reo. Engari, mō tētahi hunga tokomaha

tonu, kāore i te whai (ā-mahi nei) i te reo (pērā i te whakamahi i te reo, te ako rānei i te reo). I te ariā a Fishman, ka waiho ki rāhaki te hononga o te reo ki ngā whakahaere ohaoha, ā, i konei ka kore e arohia atu tā te iwi hiahia kia urutomo atu ki ngā ohanga hāpori, ohanga whenua, ohanga rānei o te ao whānui, i runga anō i ā rātou ake tikanga. Mō te iwi Māori, ka pūmautia ngā āhuatanga mana tōrangapū, mana ohaoha o ināiane i waenganui i te Māori me te Pākehā – arā, ka noho tonu te Māori i raro i nga whakahaere Pākehā, ko tā te Māori he kōwhiri i te reo Ingarihi me te huarahi whakapiki i ngā āhuatanga ohaoha, he kōwhiri rānei i te reo Māori me te mau anō o te tuakiri Māori. Ko Williams (1992) tētahi anō e whakahē ana i tā Fishman i runga i tēnei take, ka kīia, kāore te ariā a Fishman e tino whakaatu ana i te whawhai tōrangapū a te iwi kia whai mana ai tō rātou reo. Ko tā Baker:

Kāore e tino arohia e Fishman te whawhai a te iwi kia whai mana ai, ā, i konei, kāore e tino puta tā te iwi pukuriri, ngā aukatitanga me te ngākau muhumuhu kei te pā ki ngā iwi itinga⁸ (Baker 1996:73).

I roto i te tono a Huirangi Waikerepuru me Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo i whakatakotoria ki te aroaro o Te Rōpū Whakamana i Te Tiriti o Waitangi i te tau 1986, ka whai wāhi te iwi Māori ki te whakaputa i te pukuriri, i ngā aukatitanga me te ngākau muhumuhu e pā ana ki ngā mahi tāmi a te kāwanatanga i te reo Māori i ngā tau o mau, me ināiane hoki. I muri mai i te whakataunga a Te Rōpū Whakamana, he nui tonu te kōkiri i ngā take reo Māori me ngā hua kua puta (tirohia te Wāhanga Tuarua). Ko tētahi o nga hua, ko te whakapakari i te hononga o te reo ki ngā whakahaere ohaoha, arā, kua maha haere ngā tūranga mahi mō te hunga matatau, i roto i te pūnaha mātauranga, i te ao pāpaho, i te ao tāpoi, i ngā whakahaere pūoro, i ngā mahi ā-Rēhia, i ngā mahi whakamāori kōrero, tae atu hoki ki ngā tari

kāwanatanga me ngā umanga tūmatanui. Koia e whakaatu ana i ngā painga ka puta ina whawhaihia te oranga o te reo i roto i ngā whakahaere tōrangapū.

E kitea ana i te Whakaahua 6.1, he tino uaua mō te hunga mātua o ēnei rā, ki te whakaora anō i te tuku ihotanga o te reo i roto i ō rātou whānau. Ko te take matua e pēnei ana, ko te tokomaha he kore mōhio, he paku mōhio noa iho rānei ki te reo. Ko ngā tatauranga i puta i te rangahau reo Māori i whakahaerehia e Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori i te tau 1995, e mea ana he 0.9% anake o te hunga mai i te 16 tau te pakeke ki te 44, he matatau ki te reo. E tika ana kia arotahia tēnei hunga, arā, kia whakatūria ngā kaupapa whakapiki i te reo i roto i te reanga mātua nei. Ahakoa he kore mōhio ki te reo, he tokomaha tonu e hiahia ana kia matatau ā rātou tamariki, kia kaua rātou e pāngia ki te whakamā, te whakahāwea me te ngākau whakamomori, pērā i te hunga mātua. Me matua tuku ngā kōrero kia mārama ai te hunga nei ki ngā take e pā ana ki te hopu o ā rātou tamariki i ngā reo e rua, ngā momo āwhina e taea ana e rātou, tae anō hoki ki te whai wāhitanga atu ki ngā momo akoranga e whiwhi ai rātou i te reo kōrero a te pakeke ki te tamaiti, me te whiwhi anō i ngā reo ātaahua rawa atu ka pāhotia i te reo irirangi, pouaka whakaata hoki.

Āe marika, he wāhi anō tā ngā whakahaere i waho atu i te kāinga, kia ora anō ai te reo. Kaua e utaina atu te katoa o ngā mahi whakaora reo ki te kāinga, me te kī, ki te kore e ora te reo i te kāinga, he moumou moni, he moumou taima noa iho te whakatū kaupapa i ngā wāhi i tua atu i te kāinga (he pērā tā Fishman – tirohia 1991:95). Ki te māuiui te tangata, e kore e kiia atu, māu anō koe e whakaora, ā, kia ora rā anō koe, kātahi ka whakatikaina ngā āhuatanga o te taiao i māuiui ai koe i te tuatahi.

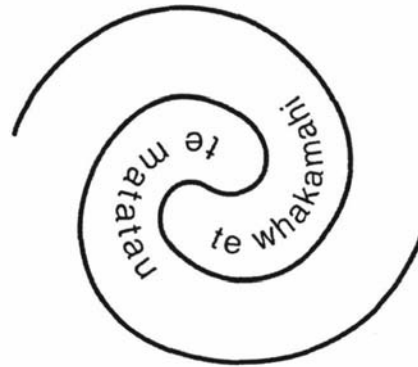
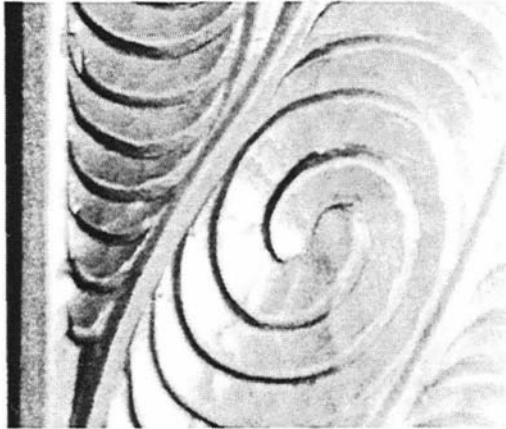
Koia ngā take e whakahautia ana te tūhonotanga o ngā kaupapa whakaora reo (tirohia Whakaahua 6.8). Mā konei e whai wāhi anō ai ngā rōpū Māori, rōpū tūmatanui, tari kāwanatanga hoki, ki ngā mahi whakaora reo e tika ana mā rātou e kawe, ka kore e tatari kia ora rā anō te tuku ihotanga o te reo i te kāinga. Otirā, e whai hua tonu ana te ariā o Fishman, ina ka āta tirohia te hononga o ngā momo kaupapa o waho atu i te kāinga ki te whāinga matua, arā, kia pakari anō ai te tuku ihotanga o te reo i te kāinga.

6.3 Te āhua o te matatau me te whakamahi i te reo Māori

E tika ana kia hāngai ngā whāinga mō te whakaora i te reo e whakaaturia ana i te anga (te Whakaahua 6.8) ki te whakapiki i te matatau, ki te whakawhānui hoki i te kōrerotia o te reo, ā, ko te wāhi matua mō te whakamahi i te reo, ko ngā whakawhitiwhiti a te matua, kaumātua rānei ki te tamaiti. I konei, e kitea ai te kōtuituitanga o te matatau me te whakamahi. He mea waitohu e ngā kaiuru o Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti o Te Hoe Nuku Roa, ko te āhua o tō rātou ake matatau ki te reo tētahi take nui kei te pā ki tā rātou whakamahi i te reo (tirohia 5.3.2). Tāpiri atu ki tēnā, ki te whai wāhi te tangata ki ngā horopaki e tino mauritau ana ia ki te whakamahi i te reo, koirā tētahi āwhina nui hei whakapakari i tōna reo (pērā i te whakamahi i te reo ki te hunga tamariki).

Ka piki haere te matatau o te tangata, ka māia anō ia ki te whakamahi i te reo – i te tuatahi, ki ngā wāhi e tino mauritau ana ia, i muri mai ki ngā wāhi kē atu. Ka māia anō ia ki te whakamahi i te reo, ka piki anō ai tōna matatau. E kitea ana te kōtuitui o ēnei āhuatanga e rua i roto i te tauira whakairo o te raperape.

Te Whakaahua 6.2: Te kōtuitui o te matatau me te whakamahi i te reo



E tohua ana te tipu tahi o te matatau me te whakamahi, ko tētahi e whakapakari ana i tētahi. Koirā te tika, engari e mōhiotia ana, kei reira ētahi āhuetanga e whakararu ana i te tipu, e aukati ana i tā te tangata whakamahi i te reo. E tika ana kia āraihia atu ēnei āhuetanga whakararu i roto i nga kaupapa whakaora reo.

6.4 Ngā āhuetanga kei te aukati i te matatau me te whakamahi i te reo

6.4.1 Te whakahāwea

Arā ētahi o te hunga matatau ki te reo, ko tā rātou he whakahē, he whakahāwea i te āhua o te reo o te hunga ako, ina hapa te whakatakoto, te whakahua rānei i te kupu, ka whakamahia he ‘kupu hou’, ka āhua rite rānei ki tō te reo Ingarihi wetereo. I roto i tana kauhau i Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa (Te Whare Wānanga o Massey) i te tau 1995, ka whakahuatia e Te Ahorangi o Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori i taua wā, e Timoti Kāretu, ngā kupu a tētahi koroua, e mea ana:

Tukuna taku reo ātaahua kia mate pai noa iho, kāti tā koutou kohuru mai i konā kohuru mai ai (Kāretu 1995)

Kei te takiwā o te ngahuru te whakareanga ake o te hunga ako i te reo i te hunga matatau, ā, ko tētahi whakakitenga o te rangahau o Te Hoe Nuku Roa, kāore e tino whai wāhi atu ana te hunga ako ki te whakarongo, ki te whakawhitiwhiti kōrero rānei ki te hunga matatau. Koirā tētahi take e whakauaua ana i tā te tangata whakapiki i ngā taumata o te matatau, me te whakairo anō i te hinengaro ki ngā kīwaha, me ngā kīnga motuhake o te reo Māori, tōna iho, tōna ihi, tōna ātaahua. Kua āhua whānui hoki te pānga o tā te reo Ingarihi whakatakoto i te kupu ki te reo Māori e kōrerohia ana e te hunga ako (Jacob 1998). Nā Harlow (1991) i whakaatu ētahi tauira, ā, e mea ana ia, kua kōhatutia ēnei tū āhuatanga, anō nei, koirā te reo Māori tika (tirohia te Wāhanga Tuarua). Ka kaha anō te ū o ēnei hapa reo nā te whakawhitiwhiti kōrero a te hunga ako ki a rātou anō. He pērā hoki te reo Wēra. E ai ki a Jones, kua kaha te urutomo atu o ngā āhuatanga wetereo o te reo Ingarihi me ngā kupu Ingarihi ki te reo Wēra, ā, nā tēnei, kua heke te waiaro o te iwi ki tō rātou reo, anō nei he reo tūpuhi, he reo pōhara, he reo taurekareka noa iho (1981:49)

E tika ana kia whakahautia te hunga ako ki te whakamahi i tō rātou reo, mā konei anō e piki haere te matatau, engari me āwhina hoki rātou kia tika anō te whakatakoto i te kupu, te whakanikoniko i te whakaaro, kia hōhonu anō te puna kupu, koirā hoki te āhua o te reo e wawatahia ana kia ora tonu ā ngā tau kei te tū mai. Mā te hunga ako me te hunga matatau e tutuki ai tēnei take. Me whai pūkenga te ākongā, māna anō tōna reo e aroturuki, me ū anō te hiahia kia eke tōna reo i ngā taumata, māna hoki e kimi ngā wāhi kōrero Māori, me tau anō hoki tōna ngākau kia whakatikaina tōna reo e tangata kē. E tika ana kia whāngaihia ngā pūkenga ako reo i roto i ngā akoranga reo Māori (pērā i te pūkenga whakarongo ki te katoa o tētahi kōrero, kaua e whai noa i ia kupu).

E hono atu ana ki tēnā, ko te wāhi ki te hunga matatau. Tuatahi me kōrero Māori rātou, kia rangona ai te rere o te kupu, te ātaahua o te whakatakoto e te hunga ako. Me āta whakaaro anō te āhua o tā rātou whakatika i ngā hapa o te hunga ako, kia kaua rātou e pāngia ki te whakamā, ki te ngākau mamae rānei. E ai ki ngā whakakitenga o Te Rāngahau Reo Whāiti o Te Hoe Nuku Roa, e tino ngoikore ana te whakawhitiwhiti kōrero a te hunga matatau ki te hunga ako, nō reira me āta whakaaro ngā momo kaupapa e pakari ai tēnei āhuatanga. Mā konei e tino kōkiri ai te whakaora i te reo Māori. Koia hoki e kitea ana, me eke anō te kounga o te reo o te hunga pāpaho, o te hunga whakaako, o te hunga whakaputa pukapuka, kia āta rangona ai te tiketiketanga me te tika o te reo.

6.4.2 Te whakaaro aroha ki te kaiwhakarongo

Kāore e tino mauritau ētahi tāngata ki te kōrero Māori i ētahi wāhi, i runga i te aroha ki ngā kaiwhakarongo tē mōhio ki te reo. Ki te kore te kaiwhakarongo e mōhio ki te reo ka pāngia pea ki te mamae, ina he Māori ia engari ka kore ia e whai wāhi atu ki te kaupapa o te wā. He take nui tēnei ki ngā wāhi mana Māori, pērā i te marae. Ki te whāia te kaupapa ‘kōrero Māori’ i ngā wā me ngā wāhi katoa, tērā pea ka noho manene ētahi ki tō rātou ake tūrangawaewae. Nā Selby (2000) i whakaatu te mamae ka pā ki te ngākau o ētahi kaumātua he kore mōhio ki te reo Māori, ina ka kōrero Māori tētahi rangatahi, tētahi Pākehā rānei ki a ia, ka noho rānei ia ki waenga i tētahi hunga e kōrero Māori ana. Ko te whakaaro aroha tērā o te kaikōrero ki te hunga tē mōhio ki te reo, e aukati ana i tāna whakamahi i te reo. Ka kore rānei e whakamahia te reo, kei kiia he whakahīhī, he whakaputa mōhio. Ko ēnei take katoa i puta i roto i te Rāngahau Reo Whāiti o Te Hoe Nuku Roa (tirohia 5.3.2)

6.4.3 Te hahani o te rāwaho

Nō roto i te iwi Māori ēnei āhuatanga aukati i te reo. Āpiti atu ki ērā, ko ngā mahi aukati o tauwiwi. Nā Timoti Kāretu i whakaatu ngā kōrero hahani ka pā ki te Māori, ina whakamahia te reo i ētahi wāhi tūmatanui. Arā, ko ngā kōrero pēnei nā: “He aha tēnā reo e kōrero nā koe?” E mōhio ana ō tamariki ki te kōrero Ingarihi? Ko te tikanga o ēnei momo hahani e mea ana he āhuaatua te kōrero i te reo Māori i te aroaro o te tangata tē mōhio. Ko tā Kāretu, koia ko te āhua whakatoatoa, ko te kūare hoki o te iwi reotahi, ko rātou hoki tētahi wāhanga nui o te hāpori (Kāretu 1995). Nōnātata nei, i hāmenetia te kaimahi o tētahi toa i Taitoko, mō tana whakahē i ētahi Māori tokorua e kōrero Māori ana i tana toa. Ko tāna, me kōrero Ingarihi anake i mua i tōna aroaro i tana toa (Berry, New Zealand Sunday Star Times 28/2/99).

Akene pea kei te huri tēnei waiaro kikino, ina te nui o ngā reo manene e taetae mai ana ki Aotearoa i roto i ngā tau tata kua pahure nei. Kua whānui haere te rangona o tētahi reo kē, nō reira, kei te āhua tau haere te hāpori reotahi ki tēnei tū āhuatanga. Ahakoa, koirā tonu tētahi take kei te aukati i te kōrerohia o te reo Māori (tirohia ngā kōrero a ngā kaiuru o Te Rangahau Whāiti o Te Hoe Nuku Roa – te Wāhanga Tuarima).

6.4.4 Te kaha rawa o te whakatenatena

E rua anō ngā āhuatanga e āhua aukati ana i te whakapiki i te matatau me te whakamahia o te reo, he mea takahiri tonu, ina ka puta i ngā mahi whakaora reo. E ai ki a Bentahila rāua ko Davies (1993), mēnā ka kaha rawa te whakatenatena i te iwi kia mau ki te reo, kia kōrero i te reo, ka āhua huri tuara pea ētahi. E whakahē ana rāua i te arotahi a Fishman ‘kia kaha rā te whakahau, te whakamihi, te arataki, te whakatenatena i te whānau, te hāpori tata, te kura kōhungahunga, me te hāhi, kia

whakatūria ngā kaupapa whakaora reo e tika ana'⁹ (Fishman 1987:10). E tohe ana rāua i te kore whai hua o ngā kaupapa whakaora reo ka whakatauria ki te hapori mai i waho atu o taua hapori.. Ko tā rāua, ko tētahi wāhanga nui o te hunga whakaora reo, '... nō roto i ngā whare wānanga o ngā whenua whai rawa o te ao, kāore e kitea ana i ngā hapori tuawhenua o ngā whenua pōhara'¹⁰ (Bentahila rāua ko Davies 1993:359).

He mea whakaatu hoki e rāua te kore whai hua o te kaha whakatenatena i te reo:

... i a au e tamariki ana, he mea tino whakahauhautia kia mau ki tōku reo
Wēra. I konā, ka puta aku whakaaro kino ki te reo, kāore hoki au e tino rata
ki te iwi whakaora reo'¹¹ (Bentahila rāua ko Davies 1993:363).

I puta hoki tēnei whakaaro mō te kaha whakatenatena a ētahi i te reo Māori, i Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti o Te Hoe Nuku Roa, arā, e pēnei ana ngā whakaaro o ētahi o ngā kaumātua matatau, me ētahi o ngā tamariki a ngā kaiuru (tirohia te Wāhanga Tuarima). Kāore e mōhiotia ana e pēhea ana te hora o tēnei whakaaro i te iwi Māori me te hapori whānui o Aotearoa, engari e tika ana kia āta aroturuki i tēnei kaupapa, kei pāngia kinotia ki te mahi whakaora i te reo. Arā hoki te whānui o ngā wāhi me aroturuki – i roto i te whānau ake, ngā wāhi Māori pērā i te marae, me te hapori whānui tonu.

6.4.5 Te kaha o te whakapiri ki te kaupapa

Ko tētahi anō take ka puta i ngā mahi whakaora reo ka āhua aukati pea i te whakapakaritanga o te reo, ko tā te tangata, ko tā te whānau rānei aronga nui ki te kaupapa, arā, te nui o te wā, te nui o te utu, me te kaha o te here, kia whakatūria he taiao reo Māori. Kāore pea e tino pā tēnei āhuatanga ki ngā hapori he pakari tonu te kōrerotia o te reo, pērā i ētahi o ngā hapori o te Urewera, o te Tairāwhiti, me te Taitokerau. Engari kē, ka pā ki ngā hapori he ngoikore te reo, ā, he mahi mutunga

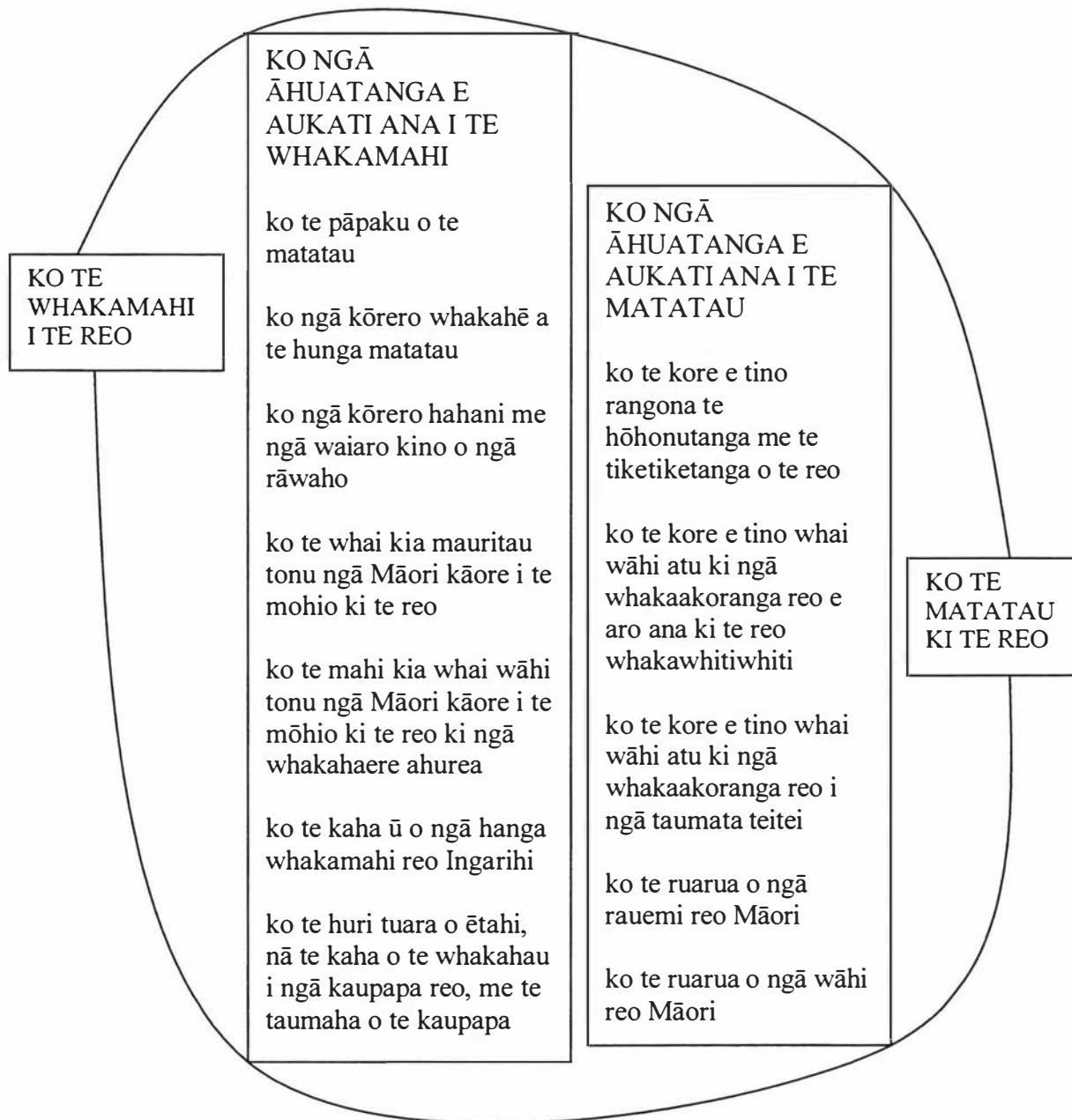
kore te whakatū i te taiao reo Māori, he mahi nui rānei, te hokihoki atu ki ngā tūrangawaewae i tuawhenua kia whai wāhi tonu ki ngā whakahaere o te kāinga me ngā taiao reo Māori (mēnā he taiao reo Māori i reira). E tutuki tonu ai ēnei mea te kanohi kitea, te whanaungatanga, me te ahi kā, me hoatu tahi he wā nui, he pūtea momona me te tino whakapiri o te tangata ki te kaupapa (tirohia tā Taiapa 1994). I ētahi wā, ko te utu, ko te pā kino atu ki tā te tangata mahi, ki ana kaupapa hākinakina, me tana whai i kaupapa kē atu. E ai ki a Joan Metge, he utu, he painga hoki, ina ka whai kia ū tonu ki ngā kaupapa ā-whānau (ahakoa whānau whakapapa nei, whānau kaupapa rānei – pērā i te whānau Kōhanga Reo). Ko tāna:

Ki te nui rawa atu te utu i ngā painga, mēnā he taumaha tonu te ū ki ngā kaupapa ā-whānau, mehemea he nui atu ngā hua ka puta i kaupapa kē, ka kore e tino whāia ngā āhuatanga ā-whānau¹² (1999:11).

Nā Wano (2000) ngā kōrero mō ētahi whānau e whakapiri ana ki tētahi Kura Kaupapa Māori i tētahi taone, me tā rātou kaha ū ki te kaupapa. Ko tētahi i puta i tana mahi tauroa ki te ako i te reo i ngā rā katoa o te wiki, kia taea e ia te āwhina ana tamariki i te kāinga. Nā ētahi anō o ngā kaiuru o Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti o Te Hoe Nuku Roa tēnei āhuatanga i kōrero (tirohia 5.4.1), engari kāore e tino mōhiotia ana te whānui o te hora, ā, koia pea tētahi kaupapa rangahau hei whaitanga ā tōna wā. Ko te mea nui pea, he āhuatanga me āta whakaaro e te hapori, e te whānau, e ngā whakahaere reo Māori, kia kaua e taumaha, e aukati rānei i tā te iwi whai wāhi mai ki te reo.

E whakarāpopotohia ana ngā āhuatanga e aukati ana i te whanake o te matatau me te whakamahi i te reo i te Whakaahua 6.3.

Te Whakaahua 6.3: Ko ngā āhuatanga e aukati ana i te whanake o te matatau me te whakamahi i te reo

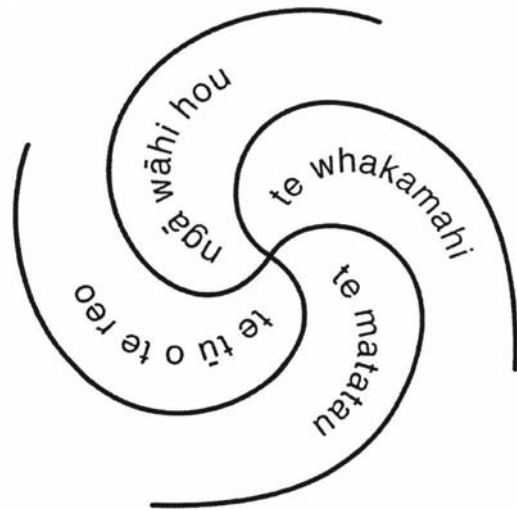
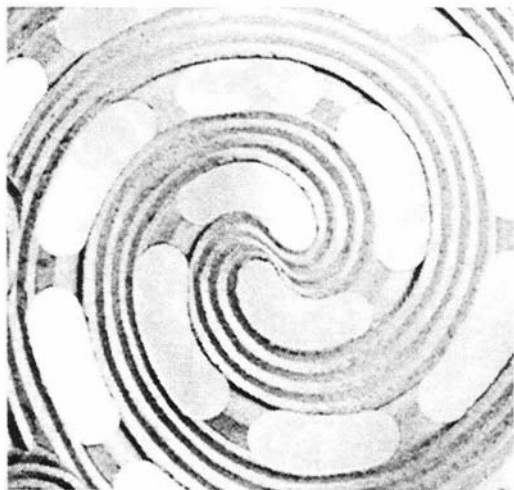


6.5 Ko ngā wāhi mō te whakamahi i te reo

6.5.1 Te hononga o te matatau, te whakamahi me te tū o te reo

Mēnā ka tokomaha haere te hunga e whakamahi ana i te reo hei reo kōrero mō rātou, ka pakari anō ai te reo, me ngā taumata matatau, nā te mea he nui anō ngā wāhi kōrero Māori. Ka pakari anō te tū o te reo, waihoki, ā tōna wā, ka whawhaitia ngā hanga kōrero i te reo Ingarihi, ka tau ko te hanga whakamahi i te reo Māori. E tutuki ai tēnei āhuatanga i roto i te whānau, i te hapori, i waenganui i tētahi hunga tāngata, i tētahi wāhi rānei (pērā i te marae, i tētahi wāhi mahi, karapu hākinakina rānei). E kitea ana te kōtuitui o ēnei āhuatanga e whā i te tauira whakairo o te takarangi.

Te Whakaahua 6.4: Te kōtuitui o te matatau me te whakamahi



E whiri ana ngā āhuatanga e whā o te takarangi, arā, e whirinaki ana tētahi i tētahi, he kōtuitui te whanake. Hei tauira ake, ina ka kaha ake te whakamahinga o te reo, ka whanake anō tōna tū i te hapori. Ki te pēnei, ka kaha anō te kōrerotia, ā, ka whakapiki anō te matatau o te tangata, ko te otinga ko te toro haere ki ētahi wāhi hou mō te whakamahi i te reo. Koia hoki tētahi o ngā mātāpono i puta ai te anga mō te whakaora i te reo e whakaaturia ana i te Whakaahua 6.8, arā, te tūhonotanga o ēnei āhuatanga e whā.

6.5.2 Ngā wāhi whakawhitiwhiti kōrero

Ko tētahi o ngā whakakitenga o Te Rangahau Matua o Te Hoe Nuku Roa e mea ana, kāore tētahi tuakiri Māori kotahi (Durie 1998a:59). He mea whai mana tonu ki te nuinga o ngā kaiuru te kī ‘he Māori ahau’ (ā, ko te hiranga o te reo tētahi āhuatanga matua o te tuakiri Māori). Ahakoa tēnei, he matatini anō ngā āhuatanga noho, ngā kaupapa e whāia ana, me ngā whakaputanga o te tuakiri Māori. Mō te nuinga o te iwi, kāore i te noho wehe i ngā whakahaere matua o te hāpori, ā, he maha tonu ngā kaupapa e whai wāhi atu ana te tangata Māori i roto i ngā nekeneke o ia rā. Ahakoa tēnei, e kitea tonutia ana te tuakiri Māori, arā, he āhua ōrite ngā tūmanako mō ngā tau kei te tū mai, ngā waiaro, ngā āhuatanga i pā i ngā tau ki muri, me te hiahia kia mau tonu te reo Māori (tirohia tā Durie, Dominion 11/10/00).

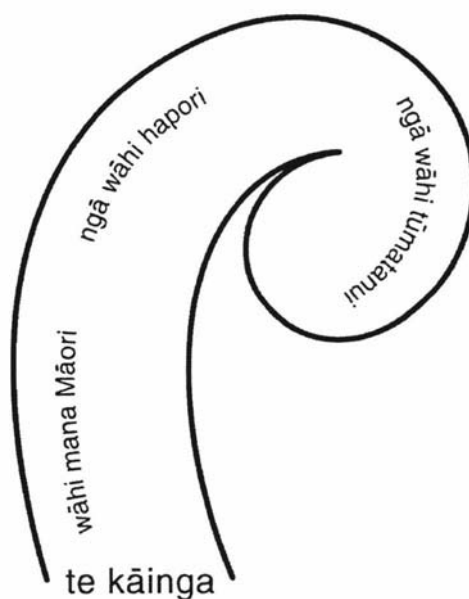
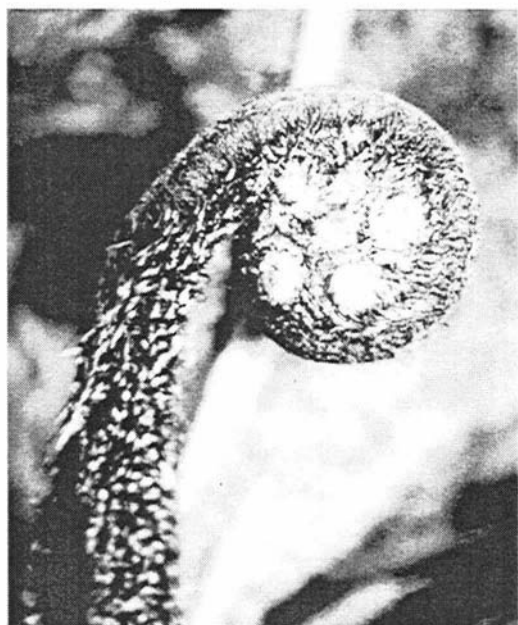
Ko tā te rangahau reo Māori a Te Taura Whiri me tērā hoki o Te Hoe Nuku Roa e mea ana, ko ngā wāhi e pakari tonu ana te reo, ko ngā wāhi tuawhenua, ngā wāhi e noho wehe ana i ngā whakahaere reo Ingarihi/ahurea Pākehā o te hāpori matua. Ko ēnei wāhi ko te Urewera, ko Te Tairāwhiti, me ētahi hāpori i Te Taitokerau. Engari, ko te 82 ōrau tērā o te taupori Māori e noho tāone ana, ā, i reira e tino whai wāhi atu ana ki ngā āhuatanga katoa o te hāpori reo Ingarihi/ahurea Pākehā. E taea ana te noho wehe i ēnei āhuatanga mō ngā wā poto anake, pērā pea i ngā parakatihi kapa haka, i ngā tangihanga rānei. Nā tēnei āhuatanga noho, kāore e rite tā Fishman ariā mō te whakaora reo, me whai ētahi kaupapa kē atu, e ora anō ai te tuku ihotanga o te reo i te kāinga.

Nā roto i ngā whakakitenga o Te Rangahau Matua o Te Hoe Nuku Roa, e taea ana te waitohu ngā momo wāhi whakawhitiwhiti kōrero e whā nei. Arā, ko te kāinga, ko ngā wāhi mana Māori (pērā i te marae me te Kōhanga Reo), ko ngā wāhi o te hāpori (pērā i ngā

whakahaere hākinakina), me ngā wāhi tūmatanui (pērā i ngā kura, ngā wāhi mahi, ngā whare pukapuka, me te nuinga o ngā wāhi hauora.

Ka tīkina atu te koru hei waitohu i ngā momo wāhi reo Māori e kōrerohia nei (te Whakaahua 6.5). Ko te pūtake o te koru, ko te kāinga, te ūkaipō, e tipu ai te tangata me tōna reo. Koirā te wāhi e tino manaakitia ana te tangata me tōna tūhura haere i ngā wāhi i waho atu i te kāinga. Ko tōna puna kaha tērā, e mauritau ai ia ki te whakamahi i te reo i wāhi kē.

Te Whakaahua 6.5: Ko ngā momo wāhi mō te whakamahi i te reo Māori



6.5.3 Te tū o te reo me te waiaro ki te reo

E kōtuitui ana ngā wāhi e kōrerohia nei mō te whakamahi i te reo Māori. Arā, ki te pakari te tū me te whakamahia o te reo i tētahi wāhi, tērā ka pā ki te reo i tētahi anō wāhi. Nā Murphy rāua ko Hollings (1993) i rangahau ngā tamariki i tētahi Kura Kaupapa Māori, ā, ko tētahi o ngā whakakitenga, ina pakeke haere ki ngā tau o te taiohitanga, kāore e rite te whanake o te reo ki te whanake o te hinengaro. Waihoki, ka

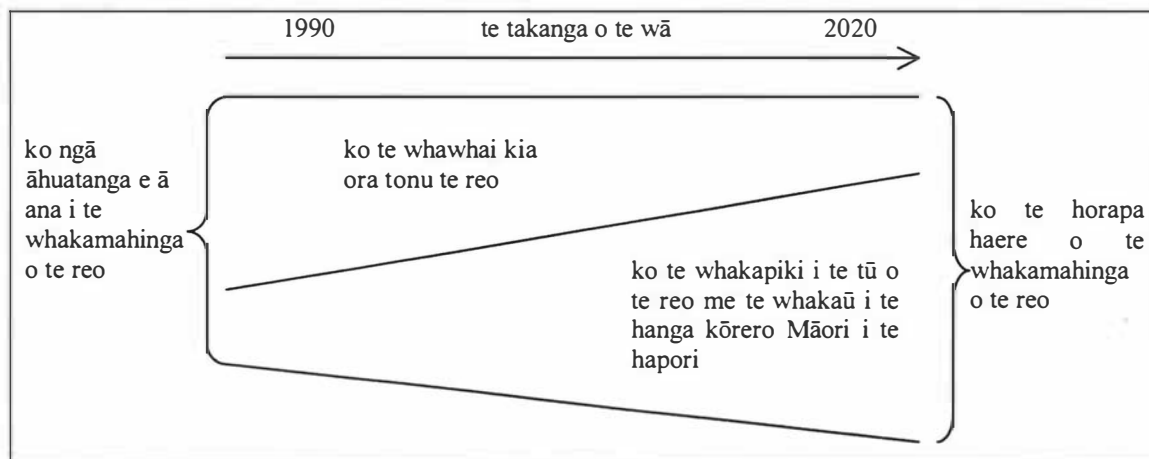
tino pāngia tā rātou whakamahi i te reo ki te tū o te reo i roto i te hapori. Nā te kore e tino kōrerotia te reo i waho atu i te kura, ka tīmata rātou ki te kōrero i te reo Ingarihi i te papatākaro, i waho hoki i te kura. Tērā e kitea, ko te tū o te reo i te hapori (i waho atu i te kāinga me te kura), tētahi āhuetanga ka pā ki te whakamahia o te reo e ngā tamariki nei, ina pakeke haere, ā, ka tūhura atu ki ngā whakahaere o te hapori whānui.

Nā Te Haumihiata Mason (1998) i whakaputa tana kōrero mō te hunga taiohi o ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori tino whai angitū, arā, ko te reo Ingarihi te reo kōrero i waenganui i a rātou i waho atu i ngā whakaakoranga. Ka pakeke haere rātou, ka rongu rātou i tēnei mea te wehenga o ngā reo, tētahi reo mō te kura (me te kāinga pea), tētahi reo mō ngā wāhi kē atu – te rerekē o te tū o te reo Māori me te tū o te reo Ingarihi. Ko ngā pukapuka, ko ngā hangarau, ko ngā āhuetanga katoa o te hapori reo Ingarihi, ko ngā wāhi me ngā kaupapa kōrero i te reo Ingarihi, ko ngā tāngata toa o tō rātou ao e kōrero Ingarihi ana – nā ēnei mea katoa, e whakatairangatia ai te reo Ingarihi, ā, koirā ngā take he reo whai mana tonu.

Akene pea, kāore i te pērā rawa te ū o te reanga tamariki ki ngā kaupapa whakaora reo, ki te whawhai a ō rātou mātua kia ora tonu te reo. Kāore pea rātou e tino rongu i te mataku kei ngaro te reo, i te mamae rānei o te ngākau i te kore mōhio ki te reo. I whai wāhi anō tēnei reanga ki te Kōhanga Reo me ērā atu kaupapa reo Māori, nō reira pea, ehara i te take nui ki a rātou. Nā tētahi o ngā kaiuru o Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti o Te Hoe Nuku Roa i whakaputa tēnei take (tirohia Te Wāhanga Tuarima), ā, e whakapaetia ana i konei, ka pā ki te oranga o te reo i roto i ngā tau kei te tū mai. E tika ana kia rangahautia tēnei take kia mōhio ai te whānui o te hora. Kei te Whakaahua 6.6 e whakaaturia ana te rerekē haere o ngā āhuetanga e ā ana i te whakamahinga o te reo i roto i te takanga o te wā. E kitea ana te take nui o te whakaū i ngā hanga kōrero Māori i

tēnei whakatipuranga, koirā pea hei whakakapi i te hekenga o te ū ki te whawhai i ngā āhuatanga mō te reo Māori.

Te Whakaahua 6.6: Ko te rerekē haere o ngā āhuatanga e ā ana i te whakamahinga o te reo



Nō te tau 1980, i whakahaerehia te pōti tuatahi i Catalonia i muri mai i te whakahauhau a Franco, me āna kaupapa tāmi i te reo Catalan mō te 50 tau i mua. Ko tētahi o ngā whakatau tuatahi o te paremata hou, ko te whakatū i tētahi rōpū mō te reo, ko tāna, he akiaki i te iwi kia hoki anō ki te whakamahi i te reo Catalan i ngā wāhi katoa o te hapori. Ka pāhotia te kaupapa ‘kōrero Catalan’, ā, ahakoa kāore i te tino mōhiohia mēnā i whai hua ki te whakarerekē i te hanga kōrero Pāniora i poua e Franco, e ai ki a Strubell, ‘nā te mea he kaupapa whai mana, he mea hiki i te wairua o ngā iwi e ū tonu ana ki te whakamahi i tō rātou reo¹³, (1996:265). Ko tētahi anō kaupapa i whāia e te Kōmihana hou mō te reo, ko te whakahau i ngā tāngata toa o te hapori ki te kōrero Catalan, ko rātou hei tauira mō te iwi. Nō muri mai, ka whakaurua tētahi tangata kōrero Catalan ki tētahi o ngā whakaari pouaka whakaata e tino mātakitia ana, ko tāna he kōrero i te reo Catalan anake. Kāore i te tino mōhiohia mēnā ka hikina te whakamahinga o te reo, nā te whakatū i ēnei kaupapa whai mana e

tautoko ana i te reo, engari pea, he āwhina tonu i te hunga e whai ana kia ora tonu te reo. Akene pea ka whai kaha te hunga e ako ana i te reo (pērā i te hunga ākongā i rangahautia e Murphy rāua ko Hollings – pānuihia i runga nei) ki te whakamahi i te reo i ngā wāhi maha o te hapori.

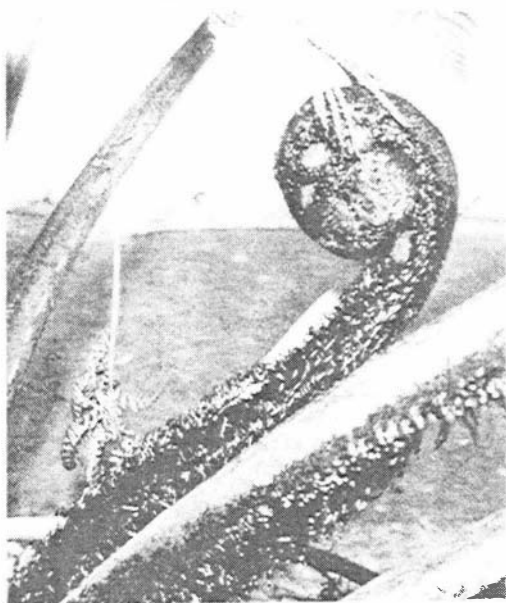
6.5.4 Te whakatenatena i te reo

I te Wāhanga Tuarua, i kōrerohia ngā āhuatanga nei i tino tāmi i te reo i ngā tau o mua, arā, ko ngā ture pērā i te Ture Mātauranga 1867, me ngā waiaro kino i roto i te hapori whānui. Nā ēnei āhuatanga i tino heke ai te reo i ngā wāhi tūmatanui, tūmataiti hoki. Kāore i te tino rerekē te whakaaro, mā te huri kōaro o ēnei āhuatanga e piki ai te reo. Arā, ki te whakatenatena i te reo mā roto i ngā ture me ngā kaupapa whakapiki i te waiaro o te hapori whānui, koirā hei hāpai i te whakamahinga o te reo. Arā ngā kaupapa whakahau i te hauora Māori i whai angitū ai i roto i ngā tau nei (hei tauira, tirohia tā Barnes mā 1996), kāore e kore, ka pērā anō mō te reo, me te whakaū i ngā hanga kōrero Māori ki te hapori whānui. Nā Nicholson rāua ko Garland i rangahau ngā waiaro o te hapori whānui o Aotearoa ki te reo Māori, ā, ko tā rāua ‘e pai noa iho ana ki te nuinga. te kōrerotia o te reo i te hapori, nō reira ka whai hua ai ngā kaupapa whakatentena i te reo¹⁴ (1991:406). E tohe ana rāua ki te whakatū i tētahi rautaki whakatenatena i te reo e aro ana ki te hapori Māori i te tuatahi. Heoi, kei reira hoki ngā whakatūpatotanga i kōrerohia i 6.4.4, mēnā he kaha rawa te whakatenatena, ka hōhā pea te iwi, ka huri tuara pea ki te kaupapa.

Mēnā ka whakatentena i te whakamahinga o te reo i ngā wāhi tūmatanui me te hapori whānui, tērā, ka pā atu ki te kōrerotia o te reo i ngā wāhi tūmataiti. Ka hoki ki te whakaahua o te koru (te Whakaahua 6.5), e whakaatu ana i ngā momo wāhi mō te whakamahi i te reo. Ka tipu ake te koru, ko tāna he whakamaru i ngā pihi hou. Tāpiri

atu ki tēnā, ko ngā āhuatanga i waho atu o te koru, arā, ko ngā painga o te oneone, ko te hekenga o te ua, ko te whitinga o te rā. Arā hoki te whakataukī ‘Mate atu he tētēkura, ara mai anō he tētēkura’. E waitohu ana te whakataukī i tēnei mea te tuku ihotanga mai i tētahi whakatipuranga ki tētahi. Mēnā ka whakahāngaitia ngā kaupapa whakaora reo o te ao tūmatanui ki te tuku ihotanga o te reo, ka noho ērā kaupapa hei whakamarumaruru i te kāinga, arā, he taiao hāpai i ngā kaupapa reo o te whānau.

Te Whakaahua 6.7: Mate atu he tētēkura, ara mai anō he tētēkura



6.6 Ngā whakatūpatō ina ka kaha te whai wāhi mai o ngā whakahaere tūmatanui ki ngā kaupapa whakaora i te reo

Arā ētahi kaupapa i whakapuakina e Fishman, e tika ana kia āta whakaarohia, ina ka whai wāhi mai ngā whakahaere tūmatanui ki ngā kaupapa whakaora i te reo. Ko tāna, kia āta haere te whakatūtū kaupapa, kei riro te mana o te reo. Kua hoki te whai wāhitanga mai o te kāwanatanga e tango anō ai i te reo i tōna iwi. Ka puta he uauatanga anō mēnā ka tukuna e te kāwanatanga ngā tūranga mahi ki te tangata nō roto i te iwi, engari ko ngā tohutohu i te taha kia whāia ngā kaupapa a te kāwanatanga. I konā, ka

puta te pātai mēnā he tautoko i te reo, he whakahaere rānei i te reo te kaupapa. Kāore pea i te tino rite ngā kaupapa ka whāia e te kāwanatanga ki ērā o te iwi, nō reira, he tāmi anō te mahi, kei raro anō te iwi e putu ana.

Ahakoia he Māori tonu ngā kaimahi, ā, e noho tonu ana i te rohe o te iwi, kāore e kore, e aro ana ki ngā hanga o tērā wāhi mahi, me ngā tohutohu a ngā kaiwhakahaere, me te mōhio anō, i takea mai ō rātou waiaro, ō rātou whakaaro i tikanga kē, i iwi kē. Me mataara ki tēnei tū āhuatanga, me whakatū hoki he kaupapa hei ārai atu i ngā tāmitanga tērā pea ka puta¹⁵ (Fishman 1991:107).

Ka rangirua ngā whakaaro o ngā kaimahi a te kāwanatanga, mēnā ka whai i ngā kaupapa me ngā tohutohu a te kāwanatanga, ka ū rānei ki ngā kaupapa ake me ngā tikanga ake o te iwi. Ko Wira Gardiner hei tauira. Ko ia te tumuaki o Te Puni Kōkiri i te wā i whakatau ai te kāwanatanga i te kaupapa ‘kōpaki pūtea’ mō te utu i ana hara i raro i te Tiriti o Waitangi. Ka riro mā Wira tēnei kaupapa e kawē ki ngā marae puta i te motu, ahakoia kāore ia i whakaae ki te kaupapa me tana whakapono kāore i te tika. Ahakoia tana tohe ki te kāwanatanga e kore rawa e tutuki te kaupapa, he tāmi tonu i te iwi, ka tohua ko ia hei māngai mō te kāwanatanga. Ka āhua paraparau ngā kaimahi Māori katoa a te kāwanatanga (tirohia tā Gardiner 1996).

Ko ngā tauira pēnei e whakaatu ana i te tautotohe i roto i te Upoko Tuarua o te Tiriti o Waitangi me te aro a te kāwanatanga ki ngā kōrero. Ko tā te Upoko Tuarua e whakatūturu ana ki te iwi i te tino rangatiratanga o ā rātou taonga katoa. Waihoki, ko te whakatau a te kōti e mea ana kia whai mārika te kāwanatanga i ngā kaupapa hei tiaki i te reo. Ko te mea nui kia noho tonu te rangatiratanga mō te reo ki ngā iwi, ehara i te mea kia riro mā te kāwanatanga e whakahaere te reo. Nō te tau 1998 ka arotakengia Te

Taura Whiri i te Reo (he kōmihana kāwanatanga), ā, i roto i te pūrongo ka āhua pōhēhē ngā kaiarotake i te tiakitanga me te rangatiratanga o te reo. Ko tētahi taunaki e mea ana:

Kia whakahoungia Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, ko rātou hei kaitiaki rangatira mō te reo. Ka riro mā rātou e kawe te taonga o te reo, e hautū ngā kaupapa whakaora¹⁶ (Te Puni Kōkiri 1998:38).

Ko te tikanga o ā rātou kōrero, mā tēnei rōpū kāwanatanga (Te Taura Whiri) e whakahaere te reo. Engari mō tēnā! Kei roto kē i te whatumanawa o tēnā, o tēnā, o te hunga reo Māori te kawenga o te reo kia ora tonu. E tika ana mā te hunga reo Māori kē e hautū ngā kaupapa hei tiaki i te reo. Koirā hoki tā te Minita (Tau Henare) i roto i tana kōrero whakapuaki i te tīmatanga o te pūrongo:

Kia mihi atu ahau ki a tātou katoa, ngā kaitiaki o te reo rangatira i roto i ngā āhuatanga o te wā (Te Puni Kōkiri 1998:5).

E tika ai te whakatutuki a te Karauna i ana kawenga mō te reo, me āta whakarite he huarahi e taea e rātou ngā kaupapa reo a te iwi te tautoko. Mā konei e pūmau tonu te mana Māori, ka kore e takahi i te tino rangatiratanga o te iwi. Koirā tētahi āhuatanga e noho tūāpapa ana i te anga whakaora reo e kōkiritia ana i tēnei wāhanga o te tuhinga (tirohia Whakaahua 6.8). Mō tētahi wā roa nei, e tino mārama ana te whakahau a te hunga pāpaho Māori, i ngā momo kaupapa e tika ana mā te Karauna e kawe (tirohia Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo 1997:12-14).

Nō te tau 1995, i tīmata ai Te Puni Kōkiri ki te waihanganga i tētahi rautaki reo Māori. Kāore i paku whai wāhi atu te hapori reo Māori ki te rautaki nei, ka mahi kē Te Puni Kōkiri i tōna kotahi. He mea whakapūmau e te kāwanatanga i te tau 1998, ā, ka pānuitia i te 1999. I te wā e waihangatia ana te rautaki, ka tonoa e te Tari Ohapūtea (a te

kāwanatanga tonu), ētahi pūkenga o tāwāhi, mā rāua e rangahau te whakamahere reo Māori, me te whai anō i ngā ariā o te ao ohaoha. Kāore i paku arohia te wairua o te reo, ko ngā ariā ohaoha kē ka noho hei tūāpapa mō tā rāua tātari i ngā kaupapa. I konei, ka taurekarekatia te reo i runga i ā rāua kōrero mō ngā take ohaoha pērā i te hoko, te tuku, te tono, te whai hua (ā-moni nei) me te haumi. Ka waiho ki rāhaki ngā take tāngata pērā i ngā take i kōrerohia e ngā kaiuru o Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti o Te Hoe Nuku Roa (hei tauira, tirohia Whakaahua 4.4 me 5.21). Anō nei kare kau he here e aukati ana i tā te iwi whakamahi i te reo, e māhorahora ana te kōwhiri i te reo, ahakoa te horopaki (tirohia Grin rāua koVaillencourt 1998:18).

Tāpiri atu ki tērā, ko tā rāua taunaki e mea ana, mā ngā rōpū whai mana me ngā pūkenga o ngā whakahaere tūmatanui e whakamahere ngā kaupapa whakaora reo.

Ko te wāhi nui tonu, me tuku ki ngā rōpū whai mana – mā rātou e tuitui ngā kaupapa whakaora reo, me te whakauru anō i aua kaupapa ki te tirohanga teitei a ngā whakahaere tūmatanui (Grin rāua koVaillencourt 1998:170).

He kōaro te huarahi e whāia ana e te Taura Whiri ki tērā e whakahautia ana e Te Puni Kōkiri me Grin rāua ko Vaillencourt. Me kī, he āhua whakapiri atu rātou ki te iwi, ahakoa he whakahaere kāwanatanga. E mau tonu ana rātou ki ngā mātāpono tangata, me te horopaki ahurea ake o te reo Māori. E rite ana ki ngā kaupapa i puta i tēnei rangahau, ā, e whakahautia ana i tēnei tuhinga. E whakatū ana Te Taura Whiri i ētahi ‘Puna Reo’, arā, ētahi rōpū reo Māori i ngā rohe, mā rātou e tuitui, e whakatakoto, e tautoko ngā kaupapa whakaora reo o ngā whānau, o ngā hapori, o ngā marae, o ngā hapū, o ngā iwi (Piripi 2001).

Ko ngā kōrero i runga nei e whakatauiria ana i ngā whakatūpatotanga a Fishman, ina whakawhitia atu te kawenga o ngā kaupapa whakaora reo, kia riro mā te ao tūmatanui e whakahaere, kua mā te whānau me te hapori ake o te iwi. E tohe ana a Fishman kia arotakengia ngā mahi whakaora reo a ngā whakahaere tūmatanui i ngā wā katoa, kia kitea ai mēnā kei te puta he hua ki te tuku ihotanga o te reo i te kāinga, mēnā he koretake noa iho rānei (Fishman 1991:107).

6.7 He anga whakarite kaupapa mō te whakaora me te whakapūmau i te reo Māori

E toru ngā mātāpono matua ka puta i ngā kōrero i runga nei, koia hei tūāpapa mō te anga whakaora i te reo Māori e whakatakotohia ana i konei.

1. Ko te Mana Māori te mātāpono tuatahi.

I roto i ngā mahi whakaora i te reo Māori, me pūmau tonu te mana whakahaere ki te iwi Māori, me whai wāhi anō ki te whakapiki i te iwi, e tōtika ai te haere whakamua. Koia nei te mātāpono me matua arataki i te whai wāhitanga mai o te kāwanatanga ki te mahi whakaora, me ngā momo kaupapa hei kawenga mā rātou. E hāngai anō hoki ki tā Fishman ‘mahī whakaora tūāpapa¹⁷’ (1991:83), ina, mau tonu te mana whakahaere ki te iwi Māori, ā, ka haere ngā mahi i ngā wāhi mana Māori. Tāpiri atu ki te whakaora reo, ko te whakapakari i ngā tikanga, i ngā uara, me ngā āhuatanga noho o te hapori te whāinga.

2. Ko te Mana Tangata te mātāpono tuarua.

E tika ana kia hikina ake te mana me te oranga o te tangata i roto i ngā mahi whakaora reo. Ko tētahi take matua i konei, kia manaakitia te tangata e ako ana i te reo, kia whai wāhi anō ia ki te whakamahi i tōna reo, kia mauritau anō ia i roto i āna mahi. Ko tētahi anō, kia riro he hua ohanga i te tangata kōrero Māori, kia kitea ai, āe marika, mā te reo e whiwhi oranga tīnana ai te tangata. Waihoki, kia kaua e tāmia te tangata kōrero Māori.

3. Ko te Tūhonotanga te mātāpono tuatoru.

Me tūhono ngā momo kaupapa whakaora reo, kia kotahi ai te hoe i te waka – koirā hoki tā te Māori titiro – e kōtuitui ana ngā mea katoa. Ko ngā mahi whakaora reo i tētahi wāhi, ka pā ki ngā mahi i wāhi kē. E tino hāngai ana tēnei mātāpono ki tēnei whakatipuranga, ina te mahi nui kia whakawhiti i te reo ako, kia noho anō ai hei reo tuku iho. He uaua tonu tēnei mō te maha o ngā whānau Māori, ina pāngia ana ki te pōhara – pōhara ā-pūkoro, pōhara ā-reo. E tika ana mā ngā whakahaere o waho atu i te kāinga e āwhina, pērā i te marae, me te pāpaho.

Te Whakaahua 6.8: He anga whakarite kaupapa mō te whakaora me te whakapūmau i te reo Māori.

Ngā momo mahi	Ngā wāhi me ngā kaimahi			
	Te kāinga me te whānau	Ngā wāhi mana Māori - marae, rūnanga, wānanga, kōhanga reo ...	Ngā whakahaere o te hāpori – karapu hākinakina ...	Ngā wāhi tūmatanui – ngā kura, tari kāwanatanga
te hopu i te reo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • kia pūmau te tuku ihotanga o te reo 6 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • kia whakatūria he taiao reo Māori e pātata ana ki te kāinga 6 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • kia whakatūria he taiao reo Māori e pātata ana ki te kāinga 6 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ki te tuku kōrero e pā ana ki te hopu reo/ako reo/reo rua, ki te āwhina hoki i ngā kāinga reo Māori 6
te ako me te whakaako i te reo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ki te tautoko i ngā mahi o te kura ki te whakawhānui i te reo, ki te whakaako i te pānui, tuhituhi, mātauranga tau hoki 6,4a 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ki te whakatū kaupapa ako reo mō te whānau (wānanga reo) 7,4a • ki te whakaū i ngā tikanga Māori, kia mau tonu 7,6 • ki te whakaū i ngā toi reo i roto i ngā tikanga kia mau tonu 7,6 • ki te tautoko i ērā o te whānau e ako ana i te reo 7,5,4a 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • kia māhorahora te urunga mai o te tangata ki ngā whakaakoranga reo kounga tonu 7,4b • kia whakaputaina he kaiako mātau e haere tonu ai ngā whakaakoranga reo Māori 4a,4b • ki te tuku kōrero e pā ana ki ngā take reo Māori 7,4a,4b • ki te tuku pūtea e tika ana mō ngā whakaakoranga kaupapa Māori 4a
te rauemi reo Māori	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • kia tohutohu he aha ngā rauemi e manakohia ana 6 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ki te whakaputa rauemi e haere tonu ai te mita, me ngā taonga reo a te iwi 6 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ki te whakaputa rauemi reo Māori e pā ana ki te kaupapa (pērā i ngā pānui ā-marama) 5 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ki te whakaputa rauemi reo Māori i te whānuitanga o ngā taumata me ngā kaupapa, kia kounga tonu 7,6,5,4 • ki te aroturuki i te kounga o ngā rauemi reo Māori 7,6,5,4
te hopu me te whakaruru kōrero		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ki te whakatū i tētahi 'pūtea reo' koia hei whakatauiria i te tiketiketanga o te reo ā-iwi 8,7 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ki te whakatū i tētahi 'pūtea reo' koia hei whakatauiria i te tiketiketanga o te reo 8,7,4
te pāpaho (irirangi, pānui)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ki te whakarongo, ki te mātakitaki, ki te pānui 6,5 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ki te tautoko i ngā kāinga reo Māori 6,5 • ki te whakaputa kōrero mō ngā take reo Māori 6,5 • ki te āwhina i te tuku ihotanga o ngā mita ā-iwi 6 • ki te whakakotahi i te hāpori 7,6,5 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • kia pūmau te whānuitanga o ngā momo pāpaho reo Māori kounga tonu, koirā hei whakangahau, hei tuku mātauranga ki te iwi 6,4,2 • ki te whakatauiria i te tiketiketanga o te reo 6,4
te whakawhanake i te tīnana o te reo		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ki te whakapūmau i te tukuihotanga o te mita ake o te iwi 7,6,5 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ki te whakawhanake i te reo kia kapi katoa ai ngā momo kaupapa o te ao o ināianei 6,4,3,2 • ki te whakatakoto tikanga tuhi mō te reo Māori 5,4,2,1 • ki te whakapūmau i tētahi reo whakakotahi, koia hei reo mō ngā kaupapa tūmatanui 4,2,1
te whakamahere i te tū o te reo		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ki te whakapūmau i te hanga kōrero Māori i roto i ngā whakahaere o ia rā 6 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ki te whakapūmau i te hanga kōrero Māori i roto i ngā whakahaere o te kaupapa 6 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ki te whakahau i te hanga kōrero Māori i ngā horopaki matatini 6,4,3,2,1 • ki te whakatutuki i te mana reo o te iwi 4,3,2,1 • ki te whakahau i ngā waiaro pai ki te reo 7,6,2,1 • ki te tuku kōrero e pā ana ki ngā take reo, i runga i ngā whakakitenga rangahau kounga tonu 8,7,6,5,4,3,2,1
ngā toi reo		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ki te whakapūmau i ngā mahi/tikanga whakaari reo e hāngai ana 7,5,4a 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • kia māhorahora ai ngā kaupapa toi reo auaha tonu (mō te tuhituhi, te pūoro, te kapa haka, te whakaari) 4.2.1

I takea mai te anga whakaora reo i runga nei i ngā rangahau kōrero o tēnei tūtohinga, ā, e kitea ana ngā momo mahi whakaora, te rōpū e tika ana hei kawē i tēnā mahi, i tēnā, me te hononga o tētahi ki tētahi. Kei te pou mauī e kitea ana nga momo mahi, kei te rārangi i runga, ko ngā rōpū whakaora reo. Ko ngā whāinga i te tīnana o te whakaaturanga hei tauira noa iho, ehara i te mea koirā te tīmatanga me te mutunga o ngā whāinga. Kua tāpirihia atu tētahi tau hei whakaatu i ngā taumata o te ariā whakaora reo a Fishman, kia kitea anō ai te hāngai o ngā mahi ki tēnā taumata ki tēnā. E taea ana ngā whāinga te aromatawai. Hei whakatauirā, kua tuhia anōtia ngā whāinga mō te whakaako reo e tika ana mō ngā wāhi mana Māori (pērā i te marae) ki te Whakaahua 6.9. I te taha, ko te aromatawai e tika ana.

Te Whakaahua 6.9: Te aromatawai i ngā putanga i ngā mahi whakaora reo (ngā rōpū mana Māori me te whakaako reo)

Ngā whāinga (he tauira)	Te aromatawai i ngā putanga (he tauira)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ki te whakatū kaupapa ako reo mō te whānau (wānanga reo) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • kua whakatūria he wānanga reo e hāngai ana ki ngā taumata reo e tika ana, e hāngai ana ki ngā momo whitiwhiti kōrero a te whānau
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ki te whakaū i ngā tikanga Māori, kia mau tonu 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • kua whakatūria he wānanga tikanga • e tutuki pai ana te kawē i ngā tikanga • kua kitea he tangata mā rātou e ako, e kawē ngā momo tikanga
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ki te whakaū i ngā toi reo i roto i ngā tikanga kia mau tonu 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • kua whakatūria he wānanga toi reo • e mātau ana ētahi tāngata i ngā tikanga me ngā momo toi reo, ā, e mahia tikangia ana
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ki te tautoko i ērā o te whānau e ako ana i te reo 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • kua whakatūria he kaupapa tautoko (pērā i te tuakana/teina, ngā toa reo, ngā kaupapa ‘kōrero Māori’)

He āhua māmā noa iho te kitea o ngā putanga o ngā mahi whakaora reo (pērā i ērā i te Whakaahua 6.9), engari, ko ngā hua tauroa, he uaua ake, he whaitake ake anō hoki. Ko ngā hua tauroa ka tino pā ki te oranga o te reo, haere ake nei, haere ake nei. I pēnei ai te tautuhi i te reo Māori ‘whai ora’ i te Wāhanga Tuatahi: ‘Ka ora te reo Māori, ina he tokomaha te iwi Māori e matatau ana, he rahi hoki ngā wāhi kōrero Māori, ka whakatauria hoki e te hunga matatau ki te kōrero i te reo i aua wāhi, ā, ko te wāhi whakahirahira tonu, ko te kāinga me te hapori tata.’ Arā kē ngā hua tauroa e whakaatangia ana i te tautuhinga nei, e taea ai te aromatawai. Ko te tuatahi, ko te whakapiki i te tokomaha o te hunga matatau kia pūmau tonu he hapori kōrero Māori. Ko te tuarua e pā ana ki te āhua o te matatau – kia eke te hunga kōrero Māori i ngā taumata o te matatau, kia kounga tonu te reo e kōrerohia ana i ngā wāhi katoa. Ko te tuatoru, kia rahi ake ngā wāhi kōrero Māori, ā, ko te tuawhā, kia tau te hanga kōrero Māori, kia kaua e tāmia tā te tangata whakamahi i te reo ki te hanga kōrero Ingarihi, ki ngā waiaro kino rānei ki te reo.

E tika ana kia matatini ngā rautaki aromatawai i ngā hua tauroa e kōrerohia nei, kia kitea ai te ahu pēhea o te reo i roto i te huri o ngā tau kei te heke mai. Me whakamahi ngā huarahi rangahau e rua e whakahautia ana i tēnei tuhinga, arā, te rangahau tatauranga, me te rangahau tiro hōhonu. Me aro anō hoki ki te motu whānui, me ngā hapori whāiti.

Ko tētahi āhuatanga o te anga i puta i ngā mātāpono Mana Māori, me Mana Tangata, ko te whakawehe i ngā rōpū Māori me ngā rōpū o te hapori whānui. He mahi nui tonu tā ngā rōpū o te hapori whānui, engari, he tautoko, he hāpai, he āwhina te āhua o te mahi. E tika ana kia pēnei i roto i tēnei whakatipuranga, kia pakari anō ai te tuku ihotanga o te reo i roto i te kāinga, kia kaua e riro te reo mā te hapori tūmatanui e whakahaere. Ko te āhua o ngā mahi whakaora reo i te pou tuhinga tuatahi, tuarua hoki, he mahi tūāpapa - e

tino aro ana ki te whakapiki i te tuku ihotanga o te reo i roto i ngā kāinga me ngā hapori. Ko ngā pou tuinga tuatoru, tuawhā e whakaatu ana i ngā momo mahi e taea ana e te hapori whānui te tautoko, te hāpai, te āwhina.

Ko te mātāpono o te tūhonotanga e tau ana ki ngā wāhi katoa o te anga. I ngā rārangi whakatepae, ka arohia tētahi o ngā momo mahi whakaora reo (pērā i te hopu i te reo), ā, ka whakaatuhia te tūhono o ngā kaupapa hei kawenga mā tēnā rōpū, hei kawenga mā tēnā. Hei tauira ake, mō 'te hopu i te reo', e kitea ana te wewehe o ngā mahi ki ia rōpū. I runga i ngā mātāpono o te Mana Māori me te Mana Tangata, ka mau tonu te mana whakahaere mō te hopu i te reo ki te iwi Māori, arā, ki te kāinga me ngā wāhi mana Māori. Kei waho kē ngā rōpū tūmatanui e tautoko ana, e āwhina ana, koirā e kitea ana i te āhua o ngā mahi kua wehea ki a rātou.

I ngā rārangi whakatepou, e kitea ana te tūhono o te whānui o ngā mahi hei kawenga mā ia rōpū. Hei tauira ake, ko tā te kāinga kawenga nui, ko te hopu i te reo (arā, he whakatū i te taiao reo Māori e tutuki ai te tuku ihotanga o te reo). Āpiti atu ki tēnā, ko te tautoko i ngā whakaakoranga ōkawa o te kura. Koirā ngā wāhi nui mō te kāinga, ā, i tua atu i tēnā, he whai noa, he tautoko i ngā kaupapa o rōpū kē, pērā i te whakarongo, te mātakitaki rānei i ngā pāpaho reo Māori.

Ahakoia kua tukuna tētahi kawenga ki ngā rōpū tūmatanui (hei tauira: 'ki te tuku kōrero e pā ana ki te hopu reo/ako reo/reo rua, ki te āwhina hoki i ngā kāinga reo Māori'), kāore e aukati ana te whai wāhi mai o ngā rōpū Māori o roto i te hapori. E tika ana kia tukuna mā ngā rōpū Māori o te hapori e whakatutuki, ko rātou hei kaiwhakarato, ina e mōhio pai ana rātou ki te wairua o te hapori me ngā whakahaere o ngā kaupapa pērā i ngā marae, ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori me ngā Kōhanga Reo i roto i te hapori. Mā te

pēnei e tutuki ai tā Fishman (1991:86) i kī ai, kia hāngai tonu ngā mahi whakaora reo ki te āhua o te hāpori ake, me te whakamahi anō i ngā tohungatanga me ngā whatunga o te hāpori. Kāore hoki i te aukati i ngā momo whai wāhitanga mai a te iwi Māori ki te kāwanatanga o Aotearoa, pērā i te nohonga ōrite o tētahi runanga Māori me tētahi rūnanga mō ngā iwi whānui.

6.8 Te whakarāpopoto

Ko te kaupapa nui i tēnei wāhanga o te tuhinga, ko te whakahau i tētahi rautaki tūhono, kia kotahi ai te kōkiri i te whakaora i te reo Māori, ā, kia tūāpapa mai te rautaki i ngā āhuatanga motuhake o te iwi Māori. E whakaaetia ana tā Fishman i kī ai, ko te wāhanga matua nui o te whakaora i tētahi reo, kia pakari te tuku ihotanga o te reo i te kāinga. Heoi anō, i runga i ngā āhuatanga reo, āhuatanga noho o te iwi Māori i tēnei wā, he uaua tonu te waiho noa atu mā te kāinga Māori anō te kāinga Māori e whakapakari. E tika ana kia arohia atu ngā kaupapa tūmatanui, me te āhei o aua kaupapa ki te āwhina i te kāinga.

I roto i tana kauhau matua ki te Huinga Tuawhā mō te Whakaakoranga Rūmaki ki Ūropi, ka whakatakotoria e Pūkenga Miquel Strubell (nō te Whare Wānanga Reo Catalan), tōna whakaaro e pēnei ana: E taea ana tētahi reo te whakamahere, e tika ana te whakamahere reo, ā, e ora ai tētahi reo iti me whakamahere. Ka whakahikoitia ēnei whakaaro i roto i te anga mō te whakaora i te reo Māori e kōrerohia ana i tēnei wāhanga o te tuhinga. Arā, i Aotearoa nei, e taea ana te reo Māori te whakamahere, e tika ana kia whakamaheretia te reo Māori, ā, e ora ai te reo Māori me whakamahere i ngā wāhi whānui o te hāpori – i te kiritahi, i te kāinga, i te hāpori me ngā whakahaere Māori, i te

ao tūmatanui hoki. Mēnā e hāngai ana te whakamahere reo o ēnei wāhanga katoa o te hāpori, kātahi ka tino whai hua te oranga o te reo.

¹ Language planning may seek to create language vitality by attending to the economic, social and symbolic status, geographical distribution and institutional support accorded to a minority language. Not to plan for language maintenance and spread may be to court language death.

² ... maintain sufficient ethnocultural separation from Yish [non-Māori] encroachment on their own family-home-neighbourhood community intragroup institutional bases.

³ Nor must RLS be worked on in a lock-step stage-by-stage progression. As long as the crux stage is targeted consensually and with a clear understanding of what false priorities will 'cost', and as long as the linkages from that stage to those below and above it are constantly reinforced and reassessed, there is no harm in skipping over a stage that does not correspond to a desired functional sphere for Xish.

⁴ These socio-economic facts can hardly be expected not to have a detrimental effect on the position of the language; the corollary is that a proactive policy is indispensable.

⁵ However it is also true of minoritized indigenous populations who have been peripheralized (some would say colonized) even while remaining in some of their traditional areas of residence. They too are commonly characterized by briefer school attendance and by lower income, by lower literacy in any language and by poverty, by lack of social graces as defined by the majority population, and by lack of the conveniences of everyday life that are so common among the majority population. If such is the picture of the bulk of the remaining speakers of Xish [Māori], then it becomes part of what Xish stands for or symbolizes, both in the eyes of most Ymen [Pākehā] and in the eyes of many Xmen [Māori] too. This is a problem for pro-RLSers, because many - including many who consider themselves Xmen [Māori] - will oppose RLS on the grounds that such efforts will lead to prolonging the disadvantage, rather than counteracting it.

⁶ the future of language minorities is centrally related to individual, home and community economies

⁷ There is sometimes a danger that writing and speeches about minority languages become romantic and cloistered. The love of a language and the need to preserve all that is valuable from the past is important. But life is often about finding a job, getting enough money to buy food, find shelter and own a TV, avoiding unemployment and poverty. For others, life is much about increasing salaries, affording a bigger house ...

⁸ Fishman tends to play down the conflict while ignoring power, thereby not expressing the anger, discrimination and frustration felt by language minority groups and their members.

⁹ ... the family, the neighbourhood, the elementary school and the church need to be urged, instructed, rewarded, and guided to play their respective roles.

¹⁰ ... among the academics of industrialised societies and are strikingly absent from third world agricultural communities.

¹¹ ... one of the authors who as a child, adolescent and young adult, was subjected to a barrage of such exhortations on behalf of Welsh, supposedly 'her' language, well remembers how the campaign had quite the opposite of the intended effect on her, producing negative attitudes towards the language and a lack of sympathy with the revivalists

¹² If costs outweigh benefits, if participation is too much of a burden, or if other kaupapa are seen to matter and offer more, individuals and nuclear families can and do opt out of active participation.

¹³ ... it provided an institutional boost to those Catalans who do constantly use their language, despite the norm.

¹⁴ ... passive tolerance of New Zealanders to the presence of the Māori language in contemporary society will allow active and explicit promotion of the Māori language.

¹⁵ Even those functionaries and specialists who remain physically within the Xish [Māori] region are likely to be substantially orientated toward colleagues, superiors and constituencies whose roots and loyalties are elsewhere. This danger needs to be acknowledged and guarded against by suitable ideological heightening and organized (and organizational) countersteps.

¹⁶ Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori should be reconstituted with the specific, overarching function of Kaitieki for Māori language. The aim of the designation is to capture the essence of stewardship of the taonga, and leadership in its revitalisation.

¹⁷ foundational reversing language shift activity

Te Wāhanga Tuawhitu

Te Whakakapinga

Ka ngaro te reo, ka ngaro tāua, pērā i te ngaro o te moa.

Nā Tā Hēmi Hēnare tēnei kōrero i whakapuaki ki te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi i te wā e whiriwhirihia ana te take i kawea mō te reo Māori. I roto i ngā kupu ruarua nei e rangona ai te whakahirahira o te whai, kia ora anō ai te reo. I te Wāhanga Tuarua i matapakihia te āhua o te reo i tēnei wā, arā, te tokomaha o ngā kaikōrero, te āhua o te matatau o aua kaikōrero, me te kaha whakamahia o te reo, ā, e mārama ana te kitenga, koinei te wā. Kei tēnei whakatipuranga te mahi nui e ora tonu ai te reo haere ake nei, haere ake nei. Arā tā Kāretu, ‘ki te kore ināianeī, ko te kore rawa atu’ (1995 Paenga-whāwhā). Pēhea nei te roa o te reo ki tēnei ao? Hei te tau 2050, te wā e kaumātua ana ā tātou mokopuna o ināianeī, ka kaha anō te rangona o te reo Māori? Mā te reo Ingarihi rānei e mārama ai te iwi Māori ki tōna ao?

E toru ngā take nui i āta tirohia i roto i te tuhinga nei, arā:

1. He aha ngā āhuatanga ka pā ki te heke, te whakaora, me te whakapūmau i te reo Māori?
2. Ko wai mā ngā rōpū ka whai wāhi atu ki te mahi whakaora i te reo, he aha hoki te hononga o tēnā me tēnā?
3. He aha ngā āhuatanga ka pā ki tā te tangata kōwhiri i tōna reo kōrero i ngā momo horopaki ka whai wāhi ai ia, me tōna matatau ki te reo?

Ko tētahi take matua kei muri i ngā kōrero me ngā mahi katoa o tēnei kaupapa rangahau, engari kāore i tino whakapuakitia, ko te tika o te whakaora i te reo Māori. Āpiti atu ki te tika, ko te whaitake o te reo ki te tangata tonu, otirā, ki te hapori whānui. I tēnei wāhanga, ka hoki anō ki te matapaki i ēnei take.

I te Wāhanga Tuatahi, i paku kōrerohia te hiranga o te reo Māori me tōna pānga ki te mana Māori, mana tangata hoki. Ka whakawhānuihia ēnei ariā, ā, ka whakaurua atu hei mātāpono matua mō te anga whakaora i te reo i whakatakotohia i te Wāhanga Tuaono.

He aha ngā āhuatanga ka tau, ina ka ngaro te reo, ka heke tonu rānei ki te tino ngoikoretanga? Ka ngoikore anō te tū o te iwi Māori hei tangata whenua o Aotearoa? Ka pā kino hoki ki te kiritau, te tuakiri me te wairua o te tangata Māori? E taea ana rānei e te reo Ingarihi te kawe te mana Māori me te mana tangata? Tua atu i te mana Māori me te mana tangata, pēhea nei te mana o Aotearoa i mua i te aroaro o te ao? He aha ngā āhuatanga ka pā ki te hapori whānui? He aha hoki te utu?

Ko ngā kōrero me ngā whakakitenga kei te puta e whakaatu ana i te nui o te utu me ngā raruraru tērā ka tau. E ai ki a Durie, e matua hono ana te tuakiri me te kiritau tangata ki ōna āhuatanga noho.

Tērā te kitenga, mēnā e pakari ana te tuakiri tangata, arā kē ngā painga ka puta ki a ia, i tua atu anō i ngā painga ahurea. Kāore e pērā rawa te tūpono ka pāngia ki te mate; ka haere ngātahi me te whai wāhi ki te ao mātauranga, te whiwhi mahi hoki. Nō reira, ki te aukatia te whai wāhitanga atu ki ngā rawa me ngā taonga o tōna ao Māori, ko te ngoikoretanga ahurea, ko ngā raruraru hapori, ko te pōhara hoki, tērā ka tau¹ (1998a:58).

He pērā te ia o ngā whakakitenga o Te Rangahau Matua o Te Hoe Nuku Roa. Arā, ki te pakari te tuakiri Māori o te tangata, he kaha ake te tūpono e whiwhi mahi ana taua tangata, e pai ana tōna hauora, e rewa ana tana titiro whakamua. Ko te āhei ki te kōrero i te reo tētahi wāhanga matua o te tuakiri Māori. Āpiti atu ki tēnei, ko te maurioho, ko te wairua mahaki tērā ka tau ki te tangata kōrero Māori mēnā ka whai wāhi anō ia ki te whakamahi i tōna reo (tirohia ngā kōrero i puta i ngā kaiuru o Te Rangahau Reo Whāiti o Te Hoe Nuku Roa – te wāhanga 5.5). Nā tētahi anō rangahau i puta te hononga o te kiritau ngoikore, te kore mōhio ki te whakapapa me ngā āhuatanga Māori, ki te tūpono taka ki te hē o te ture (tirohia tā Maxwell rāua ko Morris 1999). Arā anō, ko ngā painga hinengaro tērā ka tau ki te tangata reorua, waihoki, koirā tētahi take e tino hiahiatia ana te whakaakoranga reo rua puta noa i te ao. Ki te pakari te hinengaro, ka ekea ngā taumata o te mātauranga, ka pai ake anō hoki ngā āhuatanga noho.

He mārama anō te kitea o ngā painga ka tau ki te hapori whānui, inā ka horapa ngā painga kiritahi e kōrerohia ana i runga nei. Kāore e ārikarika ngā hua ka puta ki ngā whakatipuranga kei te heke mai, ina tutuki i tēnei whakatipuranga ngā mahi whakaora reo, whakapakari tangata, whakamana iwi e kōrerohia nei. Ka tino whakaitia te tūpono ka tau te parekura ki Aotearoa, arā, ngā momo whawhai mātāwaka, iwi ki te iwi, e tino kitea ana i ngā kokonga katoa o te ao i ngā tau kua pahure nei. Ko te kaupapa o te iwi whakamaru i ngā rautau ki muri, ko te tāmi i ngā tikanga me ngā āhuatanga Māori, ko te whakapākehā anō i te iwi i runga i te whakaaro pōhēhē nei ‘he iwi kotahi tātou’, ā, mēnā he iwi kotahi, ka puta ngā painga. E mārama ana te kitea o te hē o tēnei kaupapa me ngā hua kino kua puta. Kua kore e tutuki te whakakotahitanga; kua kore e noho ōrite te Māori me te Pākehā; kua tauroa hoki tā te Māori whawhai kia kaua ia e rite ki te

Pākehā, kia kua hoki e ngaro tōna reo me āna tikanga. Arā ētahi whenua tōkeke kua huri ki te whai i te kaupapa kākano matatini hei whakapakari i tō rātou hapori. Arā, ka mau tonu i ngā iwi maha o roto i te hapori o rātou ake reo, me ā rātou ake tikanga, koirā tētahi kaupapa e pakari ai aua whenua, e tau ai te maungārongo, e ekea ai ngā taumata o te whai rawa. Mō Amerika ki te Raki, ka puta i a Fishman tana ui makihoi e pēnei ana:

Ka ngaro ngā reo o te whenua, he aha anō hoki ka ngaro atu? Kua āhua ngoikore tā tatou titiro ki te heke o ō tātou reo – he māminga noa iho, anō nei ko te reo anake te mea ka ngaro. Engari kē, ko te whakaeminga o ngā auahatanga me ngā toi mātauranga, koirā te tuara o te hapori whānui o te whenua. He aha te mea ka ngaro, ina ka kore te tangata e mauritau ki a ia anō, ka kore e tōtika ngā tikanga ahurea, ka kore e whāia te aroha me te mātauranga, ka kore hoki e kitea e whaitake ana te tangata? He aha te mea ka ngaro i te whenua, ina whakahautia ōna iwi kia pōteretere noa te noho ki te ao?² (1996:80)

Āpiti atu ki te āhua o roto i te whenua, ko te āhua o te tū o taua whenua i te ātāmira o te ao. Kāore e kore, ko te whai i ngā painga ohaoha i te papa hokohoko o te ao tētahi kaupapa nui, ā, ko te reo Ingarihi tētahi reo matua o reira. Hāunga tērā, e whai hua tonu ana te reo Māori i aua horopaki. E ai ki tā Benton:

Nā te mea nō tēnei takiwā o te ao tō tātou reo Māori, he hononga nui ki ngā whenua o Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa me Āhia ki te rāwhiti mā tonga. Nō reira ka whai hua tonu te reo i tēnei pito o te ao, ina mau tonu ngā tikanga o te whakapapa me te whanaungatanga i roto i ngā whakataunga tōrangapū, whakataunga ohanga hoki. Mā te reo Māori e whai tūrangawaewae ai tātou i roto i Aotearoa, otirā a Aotearoa tonu i tēnei kokonga nui o te ao. Kua

houhou te tikanga ‘iwi kotahi’ i te ao o ināianei, inā he tikanga tāmi. Ka tau te kaupapa here ‘reotahi’ ka ngoikore anō te tipu o te tangata me te hapori. I roto i ngā whenua pakari, e rangona ana ngā reo maha, e kitea ana ngā tikanga matatini, ngā toi rerekē, me ngā aronga rerekē ki ngā mātātaki o te wā³ (199:37).

Mēnā ka waiho kia heke tonu te reo, ka pāngia nuitia te mana Māori – te tuakiri me te ihiihi o te iwi Māori, me tō rātou tūranga hei tangata whenua o Aotearoa. E ai ki a Fishman, he hononga hōhonu tonu te reo ki ōna tikanga. E kore e taea ngā tikanga ake o tētahi iwi, mā tētahi reo kē. E kore taua reo e whakaahua i ngā āhuatanga motuhake, ngā take hōhonu, ngā waiaro, ngā kōrero tuku iho, me ngā wheako o roto i te iwi. Arā tana paki:

He aha hoki te hononga o tētahi reo ki ngā tikanga o tōna iwi? He pērā anō te hononga o taku aikihi ki tōku tarau: e taea te tango atu, te whiu atu, ka whakauru ai i aikihi kē?⁴ (1996:81).

Ka haere tonu ana kōrero mō ngā āhuatanga ka ngaro, mēnā ka mate tētahi reo:

Ka whakawehea te reo i ōna tikanga, kua whakarerea ōna mihi, ōna whakataukī kōrero, ōna rongoa, ōna mātauranga, ōna karakia ... Ka toe mai te aha? ... Ka ngaro hoki ngā āhuatanga tangata, ngā tikanga noho, ngā tikanga whakaaro, te āhua ake o te manaaki, me ngā wheako tūturu e kōrerohia ana⁵ (Fishman 1996:81).

Kāore e rerekē ake ngā kōrero a Kāretu (1990) rāua ko Muru (1990). Nā rāua te pātai, me pēhea hoki te pōhiri manuhiri ki runga marae me te poroporoaki ki ngā mate, mā roto i te reo Ingarihi? Ka ngaro ko te tuakiri ake o te Māori.

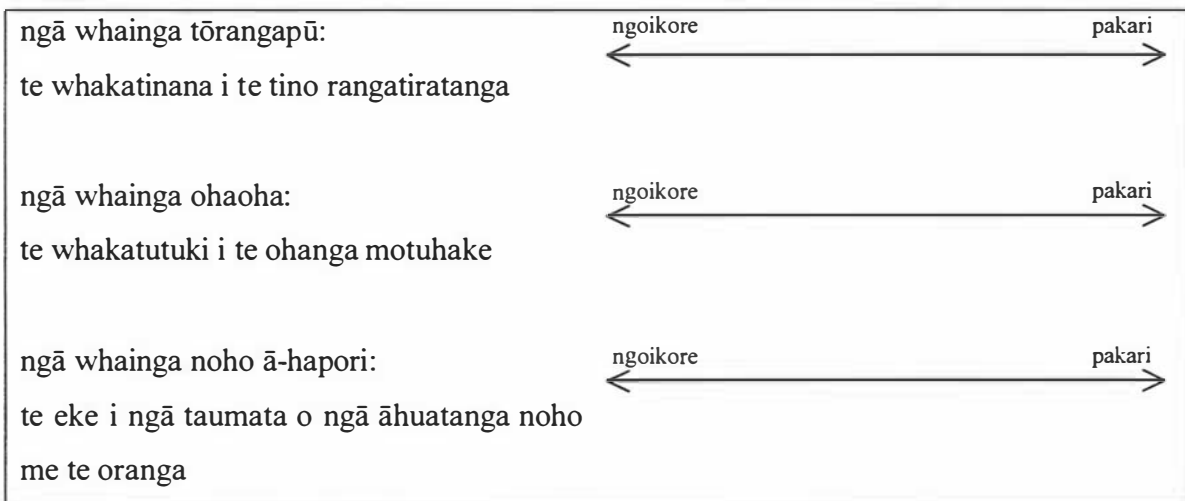
I roto i te tuinga nei, kua matapakihia ngā whāinga me ngā mahi matua mō te whakaora i te reo Māori, me ngā āhuatanga e aukati ana, e whakauaua ana i ngā mahi. He aha hoki te titiro whakamua mō te reo? Ka pehea nei tōna āhua, tōna pakari a te tau 2050, a te 2100 rānei? Kua kōrerohia nga āhuatanga reo matua hei waitohu i ēnei āhuatanga, ā, e whakarāpopotohia ana i te Whakaahua 7.1. E taea ana ēnei āhuatanga te ine i tētahi āwhata, mai i te ngoikore ki te pakari.

Te Whakaahua 7.1: Ngā āhuatanga reo kei te pā ki te ora o te reo Māori

Ngā āhuatanga reo matua	Te ine i tōna āhua	
te hopu i te reo i te kāinga	ngoikore	pakari
ngā hanga whakamahi i te reo Māori i te hāpori	ngoikore	pakari
ngā taumata matatau o ngā kaikōrero	ngoikore	pakari
te kounga o te reo	ngoikore	pakari
te whakamahi i te reo Māori i roto i ngā kaupapa mātauranga	ngoikore	pakari
te tautoko a te hāpori whānui	ngoikore	pakari
ngā waiaro o te hāpori whānui ki te reo	ngoikore	pakari

Kāore hoki te reo e noho wehe i ngā āhuatanga hapori, ā, koirā anō tētahi take i āta kōrerohia i te tuhinga nei, arā, ko ngā horopaki tōrangapū, ohanga, hapori hoki, kei te pā ki te oranga o te reo. Ko te whai i te tino rangatiratanga, te ohanga motuhake, me te oranga noho ā-hapori ētahi anō āhuatanga hei waitohu i te ora o te reo, ā, e taea ana ēnei āhuatanga te whakanoho atu ki te āwhata (te Whakaahua 7.2).

Te Whakaahua 7.2: Ngā āhuatanga hapori kei te pā ki te oranga o te reo



He rerekē pea te titiro whakamua o tēnā, o tēnā, me tana ine i ngā āhuatanga e kōrerohia ana i runga nei. Arā ngā kiri mariu me ō rātou wairua harikoa ki ngā mahi whakaora reo o roto i ngā rua tekau tau kua pahure, me te hunga mātakitaki noa, tē whai wāhi mai. Akene pea ka noho atu rātou ki te pito ‘pakari’ o te āwhata. Arā anō te hunga e tukituki ana i ngā aukati, i ngā tāmi, i ngā uauatanga i roto i ngā nekeneke o ia rā, ka noho atu pea ki te pito ‘ngoikore’ o te āwhata. Otirā, ko te tikanga tērā pea ka tau, ka rerekē te āhua o ngā kaupapa e whakaatuhia ana i 7.1 me 7.2 ki tēnā hapori, ki tēnā moka, ki tēnā whārua. Ka noho whirinaki atu ki te kaha o tēnā rōpū o tēnā rōpū o roto i te hapori ki te whakatutuki i ngā kaupapa whakaora reo e hāngai ana ki a rātou. Koia nei te take i whakaatuhia i roto i te anga mō te whakaora i te reo Māori i kōrerohia i te Wāhanga

Tuaono. I whakahautia te kaupapa mā te hapori anō āna take e whakamahere, e whakatutuki, otirā, ka haere tonu ngā tautoko a ngā whakahaere tūmatanui i te taha. He mea nui tēnei, kia mau tonu te mana me te kawenga matua mō te reo ki te iwi Māori, i roto anō i ngā horopaki whānau, horopaki hapori o ia rā.

E toru ngā āhuatanga o te whakaora i te reo Māori i āta arohia i te tuinga nei: ko te āhua o te rangahau i te reo Māori ka tahi; ko ngā ariā me te mātauranga e pā ana ki te whakaora i te reo ka rua, ā, ko te āhua o te whakatinana i ngā kaupapa whakaora reo ka toru.

Ko ngā tikanga rangahau i whāia mō tēnei kaupapa, he kōtuitui i ngā ariā e putaputa mai ana mō te rangahau kaupapa Māori, te rangahau reo tatauranga whānui, me te kohi i ngā raraunga tiro hōhonu e tino kitea ai ngā āhuatanga reo o te tangata i ōna nekeneke o ia rā. Ka noho tūāpapa ngā mātāpono mō te rangahau kaupapa Māori, koia hei whakamaru i tēnei kaupapa, kia tōtika anō ai te kohi me te tātari i ngā raraunga tatauranga, me ngā raraunga tiro hōhonu. E ai ki te kōrero, koia hoki te huarahi rangahau e whāia ana mō te rangahau reo Māori ā-motu e whakamaheretia ana mō te tau 2002. Ka whakahaerehia e Te Puni Kōkiri tana tatauranga whānui, he āhua pērā ki tērā i te tau 1995, 10,000 ōna tāngata ka uiuitia. Mai i konei, ka waihangatia ētahi rangahau reo ā-hapori, e tino kitea ai te āhua o te matatau, te whakamahi, te titiro whakamua, me te whai wāhitanga atu ki te reo Māori i roto i ngā nekeneke o te whānau me te hapori i ia rā. He mea nui anō hoki, e whakaarohia ana e te Puni Kōkiri, kia whai wāhi anō mai ngā whakahaere Māori o ia hapori ki ngā mahi whakamahere i ēnei rangahau reo whāiti. Ko te tūmanako, mā konei e tino kitea ai e te hapori te huarahi

whakamua mō te whakaora i te reo hei whaitanga mā rātou anō i ngā tau kei te heke mai.

Ko tētahi anō o ngā aka matua o tēnei tuhinga, kia hangaia he ariā hei tūāpapa tonu mō te whakamahere i ngā kaupapa reo Māori. Ko te anga whakaora reo i puta, he kōtuitui i ngā momo mahi e hāngai ana ki tēnā rōpū, ki tēnā rōpū o roto i te hāpori, he whakahau hoki i te tūhonotanga o ngā take whānui, kia kaua e arotahi noa atu te wāhanga kotahi, pērā i ngā kaupapa kāwanatanga, ngā kaupapa mātauranga rānei. E kitea ana ngā momo mahi whakaora reo o tēnā wāhanga, o tēnā wāhanga o te hāpori, e noho kotahi ana, me te tūhono o tētahi ki tētahi. E taea ana te arotake te hiranga o tēnā, o tēnā o ngā kaupapa. Ko tā te anga anō, he whakakite i ngā kaupapa reo e tika ana kia rangahautia, kia tōtika ai, kia tino whai hua ai ngā mahi whakaora reo.

Ko te aka tuatoru ko te whakatinana i te mahi whakaora i te reo, me te tūmanako i puta i tēnei mahi rangahau ētahi whakaaro hei āwhina i ngā rōpū whakaora, ahakoa whānau mai, rōpū Māori mai, rōpū hāpori mai, whakahaere tūmatanui mai rānei – kia pai ai te arotake i ngā momo mahi whakaora e tika ana mā rātou, te tūhono o tētahi ki tētahi, me te kite anō i te hiranga taketake o te tuku ihotanga o te reo i te kāinga.

Ko te kōrero a Durie e mea ana ‘... e piki tonu ana te hihiri me te ngākaunui o te iwi Māori ki tō rātou reo. O ngā āhuatanga katoa e pā ana ki te reo, koia te mea nui rawa hei tūāpapa mō te whakaora i te reo’⁶ (1998:75). Kua tohea i tēnei tuhinga, kia tūhonotia, kia whānui anō hoki te kōkiri i ngā kaupapa reo Māori i roto i ngā tau 20, neke atu kei te tū mai. He mea nui tēnei, kia tauroa, kia whakapakari, kia whakawhānui hoki i ngā hua kua puta i ngā mahi nui i ngā 20 tau kua hori. Me arotahi anō ngā

āhuatanga motuhake o te reo Māori, te reo taketake o Aotearoa, e noho tahi nei me te reo nui tonu o te ao, kia tino puta he hua i ngā mahi e whāia ana, kia kore ai e moumou noa. He motu a Aotearoa e noho ana i te paenga o Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa, ā, e taea ana e konei te whakaatu ki te ao, me pēhea tētahi reo taketake, reo itinga e ora tonu ai. Mehemea ko ōna reo ‘te āhuatanga rangatira o tētahi whenua’ (tirohia tā Muru 1990), ka pēhea hoki te āhuatanga rangatira o Aotearoa i ngā ngahurutau, i ngā rautau kei te heke mai. He mea whakahirahira tonu ngā mahi, ngā whanonga, me te titiro whakamua o tēnei whakatipuranga.

Ka ngaro te reo, ka ngaro tāua, pērā i te ngaro o te moa.

¹ What is suggestive, however, is that a secure identity may have advantages beyond cultural affirmation. It may for example afford some protection against poor health; it is more likely to be associated with active educational participation and with positive employment profiles. The corollary is that reduced access to Māori resources and the wider Māori world, may be associated with cultural, social, and economic disadvantage.

² What is lost by the country when the country loses its languages? We have had this very haphazard linguistic book-keeping where you pretend nothing is lost – except the language. It is just a little language. But after all, a country is just the sum of all of its creative potential. What does the country lose when it loses individuals who are comfortable with themselves, cultures that are authentic to themselves, the capacity to pursue sensitivity, wisdom, and some kind of recognition that one has a purpose in life? What is lost to a country that encourages people to lose their direction in life?

³ As a Malayo-Polynesian language, it links New Zealand with many other Pacific and South East Asian nations: an important competitive advantage in a part of the world where kinship and cultural ties remain key factors in political and economic decision making. The Māori language therefore gives us all a sense of place, not only in our own ethnic group, but potentially, if we are open and forward thinking, in our country and in our rather large corner of the world. This is a world in which ethnocentrism is not just undesirable, but a tragically destructive trait, and in which institutionalised monolingualism limits the potential for growth of both individuals and societies. Strong nations contain within themselves different world views, different languages, different ways of doing things, different talents, alternative solutions to problems.

⁴ What is the relationship between language and culture? Is it like the relationship of my handkerchief to my trousers: you can take it out and throw it away and put another handkerchief in?

⁵ Take it away from the culture, and you take away its greetings, its proverbs, its cures, its wisdom, its prayers ... What would be left? ... you are losing all those things that essentially are the way of life, the way of thought, the way of valuing and the human reality that you are talking about. (ibid.)

⁶ ... beyond doubt the enthusiasm of Māori to promote te reo Māori (Māori language) is high. More than any other single factor it is that enthusiasm which is probably the most essential prerequisite for language revitalisation.

Kuputaka

āhuaatua	rude, discourteous
angitū	success
aromātai	evaluate
aromatawai ā-kiri/aromatawai whaiaro	self assessment
arorau	logical, rational
arotahi	focus
auau	frequent
āwhata	scale
hahore	barren
hanga whakamahi reo	norms of language use
haponi	community
haukiri	autobiography
haumi	profit
hohore	deficient/weaker
houhou	undesirable
kaiuru	participant
kiri mariu	optimist
kiritahi	individual
kiritau	self-esteem
manapori	democracy
manawarau	uneasy

mātāpuputu	elders
mātātahi	younger generation
matawaenga	hesitant
muhumu	discontented
nahanaha	well ordered/systematic
nakunaku	disjointed
ohapori	socioeconomic
orotau	understand
paearu	criteria
paraparau	disconcerted
paremo	hesitant
rangahau tatauranga	quantative research
rangahau tiro hōhonu	qualitative research
raraunga tatauranga	quantative data
raraunga tiro hohonu	qualitative data
reopori	sociolinguistics
taharangi	recession
takahiri	ironic
tāpui	intimate
taurangi	variable/variation
tihoi	divergent
tipatipa	false, leading astray
tōkeke	fair, just

tuakiri	identity
tūmataiti	private
tūmatanui	public
turuki	progress, growth
tūtanga ā-hapori	equity
ui makihoi	rhetorical question
whakaahu	dissatisfied
whakaraupeka	doubt
whakariuka	unrest
whakatoatoa	arrogant
whanonga	behavior
whatunga	network
wheako	experience
whīwhiwhi	complex, complicated

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ĀPITIHANGA 1

TE HOE NUKU ROA HE RANGAHAU I NGĀ ĀHUATANGA KEI TE PĀ TE KĀINGA

Tena koe.

E mihi ana i runga i ngā tini āhuatanga o te wā.

Kia hoki rā ō mahara ki te wā i āwhina mai koe i tā mātou kaupapa rangahau e āta tiro tiro ana ki ngā āhuatanga kei te pā ki ō tātou kāinga Māori. I noho atu tētahi o ā mātou kaimahi ki te whakawhitiwhititi kōrero mō te kaupapa, ā, ko te tino whāinga kia puta he hua hei āwhina i te haere whakamua a te iwi Māori.

He taonga ō kōrero, ā, ko tā mātou i whai ai kia whakahokia ngā pānui, ngā pūrongo, ngā whakarāpopoto ki a koe. Ka tukuna hoki he pūrongo ki ngā rōpū Māori, me ngā tari kāwanatanga, pērā i Te Puni Kōkiri, hei āwhina i ngā kaupapa o tēnā o tēnā.

I roto i ngā wiki kei te tū mai, e tīmata ana mātou i tētahi wāhanga hou o tēnei kaupapa rangahau, arā, he titiro ki te āhua o te reo Māori i roto i ō tātou kāinga. E mōhio nei tātou ki ngā kōrero kua puta i ngā tau nei e mea ana, kāore i te tino pakari te tū o tō tātou reo. Ko tā mātou e whai nei kia puta he hua hei whakapakari ake i tōna tū. Arā, kia mōhio ai tātou ki ngā āhuatanga kei te whakararu i te reo Māori i ō tātou kāinga, ngā huarahi e whāia ana e tēnā e tēnā hei whakapai i ēnei whakararu, he aha hoki te wāhi ki ngā rōpū Māori me te iwi whānui hei hāpai i te reo i roto i ō tātou kāinga.

I roto i ngā wiki kei te tū mai, ka tae atu tētahi o ā mātou kaimahi ki tō kāinga ki te tono atu ki a koe kia uru mai ki tēnei kaupapa. Inā whakaae mai koe, ka whakaritea tētahi wā ka noho tahi koe me ā mātou kaimahi ki te whakawhiti kōrero e pā ana ki te reo

Inā whakaae ana koe, ka noho matatapu tō ingoa ki a mātou, kore rawa e whākina ki tētahi atu. Kotahi hōra pea te roa o te whakawhitinga kōrero. Ahakoa he nui pea ō mahi i tēnei wā o te tau, e whakaponono ana mātou mā tō whai wāhitanga mai ki te kaupapa, ka puta he hua hei hāpai i tō tātou reo. Mutu ana tā mātou kohikohi haere i ngā kōrero, ka tuhia he whakarāpopoto, ka whakahokia atu ki a koe. Muri atu i tēnā, ka tuhia hoki he pūrongo hei tuku atu ki ngā whakahaere reo Māori.

Mēnā he pātai āu, he kōrero rānei, tēnā koa whakapā mai ki a mātou.

Te Hoe Nuku Roa
Department of Māori Studies
Massey University
Private Bag 11222
PALMERSTON NORTH

Ian Christensen
Department of Māori Studies
Telephone 06 3569099
Fax. 06 3505634

ĀPITIHANGA 2

**Te Pūtahi-a-Toi, Te Kura Māori,
Te Whare Wānanga o Massey.**

He Rangahautanga Reo Māori

PUKA WHAKAMĀRAMA

He aha te kaupapa o tēnei mahi rangahau?

He āta tiroiro ki te reo Māori, te kōrerotia o te reo, me ngā āhuatanga kei te tāmi i te reo.

Ko wai mā ngā kairangahau?

Ko te kaiwhakahaere i tēnei rangahautanga, ko Ian Christensen, tētahi kaimahi nō roto i Te Pūtahi-ā-Toi, Te Kura Māori o Te Whare Wānanga o Massey. Koia tētahi wāhanga o te kaupapa rangahau nui o Te Hoe Nuku Roa, ka whai wāhi atu hoki ki te tohu tākutanga e whāia ana e Ian.

E whakahaerehia ana tēnei mahi rangahau i raro i te maru o te tūmuaki o Te Pūtahi-ā-Toi, a Professor Mason Durie.

Te whakapānga mai:

Mēnā he pātai, he kōrero rānei āu, me whakapā mai ki a
Ian Christensen
Te Pūtahi-ā-Toi,
School of Māori Studies,
Massey University,
Private Bag 11222,
Palmerston North.

Waea: (06) 3569099

Waea Whakaahua: (06) 3505634

He aha koe i tonoa ai kia uru mai ki tēnei mahi rangahau?

Kua tipako noatia ētahi tāngata rima tekau mai i te 1500 i whai wāhi atu ki te mahi rangahau nui o Te Hoe Nuku Roa.

He aha rā te taha ki a koe?

Ko tā mātou hiahia kia tukuna ētahi pātai ki a koe, hei whakautu, hei whakawhitiwhiti kōrero māu ki a mātou. Kotahi hāora pea te roa o tēnei patapatai/whakawhitinga kōrero, ā, mēnā ka whakaae mai koe, ka hopukina ō kōrero ki runga rīpene.

Ki te kore koe e pīrangi ki te whakautu i tētahi pātai, ki te pīrangi rānei koe ki te whakaputa atu i te mahi rangahautanga nei, kei te pai noa iho tēnā, me kōrero noa mai.

Ka haere tēnei mahi patapatai/whakawhitinga kōrero i te wā me te wāhi e pai ana ki a koe. Tokorua ngā kaimahi rangahau ka noho atu ki tō taha, ko tētahi hei tuku i ngā

pātai whakawhiti kōrero, ko tētahi hei tuhi i ō kōrero me ō whakaaro. E pai ana mēnā ka noho mai t/ētahi a ō hoa, tō whānau rānei hei āwhina i a koe.

Ka ahatia ō kōrero?

Ko te tino whāinga o te mahi rangahau nei, he āta tiroiro i ngā kaupapa e hāpaitia ai te reo Māori. Ko te tūmanako, ka puta he kōrero hei āwhina i a tātou, me ō tātou whānau, hapū, iwi e ngana nei ki te hāpai i tō tātou reo. Ka whakahokia ngā kōrero whakarāpopoto ki a koe, ka tukuna hoki ki ngā rōpū pērā i Te Kōhanga Reo, Te Kura Kaupapa Māori, ngā rūnanga, me ngā marae. Ka tuhia he pūrongo ki Te Puni Kōkiri, ki Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, me Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga.

Ka noho matatapu rānei ō kōrero?

Kore rawa e whākina atu ko wai mā ngā tāngata ka uru mai ki tēnei mahi rangahau, ka noho wehewehe tō ingoa me ō kōrero. Ko tā mātou he whakahiato i ngā kōrero a ngā kaiuru katoa, e kitea ai te āhua whānui ki tō tātou reo.

Ki hea ō kōrero noho ai?

Ka noho atu ō kōrero katoa ki roto i tētahi kāpata raka i Te Pūtahi-ā-Toi, Te Whare Wānanga o Massey. Ka noho wehe ngā ingoa me ngā wāhi noho ki tētahi kāpata kē.

Hei whakarāpopoto

Kei a koe te whiriwhiri mēnā ka uru mai koe ki tēnei mahi rangahau, kāore rānei.

Ki te whakaae mai koe, kei a koe tonu te mana mēnā:

- Ka kore koe e pīrangī ki te whakautu i tētahi pātai.
- Ka pīrangī koe ki te whakaputa atu i te kaupapa.
- Ka pīrangī koe kia whakawetohia te mihini hopu kōrero.
- Ka pīrangī koe ki te tuku pātai mai.

Kore rawa e whākina atu tō ingoa, ka noho matatapu katoa ō kōrero.

Ka tukuna atu ki a koe tētahi whakarāpopoto o te rangahautanga ā tōna wā.

ĀPITIHANGA 3

**Te Pūtahi-a-Toi, Te Kura Māori,
Te Whare Wānanga o Massey.**

He Rangahautanga Reo Māori

PUKA WHAKAAE

Kua pānuhia e au te ‘Puka Whakamārama’, ā, e mārama ana ki ngā āhuatanga katoa o te kaupapa rangahau nei. Kua whakautua paitia aku pātai, ā, e mōhio ana ahau ka taea te tuku pātai anō.

Kei a au tonu te mana mēnā ka pīrangī ahau ki te whakaputa atu i te rangahautanga, ki te kore rānei e pīrangī ki te whakautu i tētahi pātai.

E mārama ana ahau, ka noho matatapu aku kōrero katoa.

E whakaae ana ahau kia whai wāhi atu aku kōrero ki ngā pūrongo me ngā ripoata ka puta i tēnei rangahautanga, engari, kore rawa e whākina atu taku ingoa.

π E whakaae ana ahau kia hopukina aku kōrero ki runga ripene, engari kei a au te mana whakaweto i te mihini ina pīrangī ana ahau.

π Kāore au i te whakaae kia hopukina aku kōrero ki runga ripene.

E whakaaetia ana kia uru atu ahau ki te rangahautanga nei i raro i ngā tikanga e whakamāramahia nei.

Waitohu: _____

Ingoa: _____

Te Rā: _____

ĀPITIHINGA 4

**Te Hoe Nuku Roa/Toi te Kupu
Te Oranga o te Reo - Rangahautanga Reo Māori
TE RĀRANGI PATAPATAI**

1. He aha te reo i pakeke mai ai tō whāea/māmā/kaitiaki wahine?

- π Ko te reo Māori anake
- π Ko te reo Māori te reo matua, i ētahi wā ko te reo Pākehā
- π He āhua ōrite te nui o te reo Māori me te reo Pākehā
- π Ko te reo Pākehā te reo matua, i ētahi wā ko te reo Māori
- π Ko te reo Pākehā anake
- π Kāore au i te mōhio
- π Tētahi anō reo

2. He aha te reo i pakeke mai ai tō matua/pāpā/kaitiaki tāne?

- π Ko te reo Māori anake
- π Ko te reo Māori te reo matua, i ētahi wā ko te reo Pākehā
- π He āhua ōrite te kōrerotia o te reo Māori me te reo Pākehā
- π Ko te reo Pākehā te reo matua, i ētahi wā ko te reo Māori
- π Ko te reo Pākehā anake
- π Kāore au i te mōhio
- π Tētahi anō reo

3. Ko wai mā ngā pakeke i noho mai ki tō kāinga i a koe e tamariki ana. He aha te reo kōrero ki a koe o tēnā o tēnā?
(whakamahia te kāri *te reo kōrero - ŌRANGITEA*)

te hunga pakeke	te reo kōrero ki a koe					
hei taurira: whāea	π1	π2	π3	π4	π5	π0
	π1	π2	π3	π4	π5	π0
	π1	π2	π3	π4	π5	π0
	π1	π2	π3	π4	π5	π0

4. He Māori tō whāea/māmā/kaitiaki wahine, nō iwi kē rānei? Pēhea tō matua/pāpa/kaitiaki tāne?

whāea/māmā/kaitiaki wahine	matua/pāpa/kaitiaki tāne
----------------------------	--------------------------

5. I a koe e tamariki ana, he aha te reo kōrero a te hunga pakeke i tō kāinga ki a rātou anō.

- π Ko te reo Māori anake
π Ko te reo Māori te reo matua, i ētahi wā ko te reo Pākehā
π He āhua ōrite te nui o te reo Māori me te reo Pākehā
π Ko te reo Pākehā te reo matua, i ētahi wā ko te reo Māori
π Ko te reo Pākehā anake
π Tētahi anō reo

6. I a koe e tamariki ana, he aha te kōrero a ō mātua/pakeke ki a koe e pā ana ki te ako i te reo Māori?

π kāore ā rātou kōrero

π

7. I roto i ngā whakatipuranga kua pahure nei, kua mau rānei tō whānau tata ki te reo Māori hei reo kōrero i waenganui i a koutou, kua āhua huri rānei ki te reo Pākehā:

π kua mau ki te reo Māori (haere ki te pātai 15)

π kua āhua huri ki te reo Pākehā

8. Ināhea tō whānau i āhua huri ai ki te reo Pākehā hei reo kōrero i waenganui i a koutou, ā, e mōhio ana koe he aha ngā take i pēnei ai?

9. Kua āhua hoki anō tō whānau ki te reo Māori hei reo kōrero i waenganui i a koutou anō?

π kāore (haere ki te pātai 15)
π ae

10. Ko wai mā o roto i tō whānau e kaha ana ki te kōrero i te reo?

11. He aha pea ngā take i huri anō ai tō whānau (koe rānei) ki te whai i te reo?

12. He aha ētahi o ngā āhuatanga hāpai i te reo Māori i roto i tō whānau?

13. He aha ētahi āhuatanga, kaupapa rānei e hāpaitia ai te reo Māori i roto i tō whānau?

14. He aha ētahi āhuatanga, kaupapa rānei e pakari ai te tū o te reo Māori i waenganui i te iwi whānui?

15. He aha ngā āhuatanga kei te whakararu i a koe me tō whai i te reo Māori hei reo kōrero i tō kāinga?

te nui o te utu mō:

- π ngā akoranga reo Māori (mō te hunga pakeke)
- π te Kōhanga Reo (mō tō tamaiti/ō tamariki)
- π te kura reo Māori (mō tō tamaiti/ō tamariki)

te whai wāhitanga atu ki:

- π ngā akoranga reo Māori (mō te hunga pakeke)
- π te Kōhanga Reo (mō tō tamaiti/ō tamariki)
- π te kura reo Māori (mō tō tamaiti/ō tamariki)

te āhua o:

- π ngā akoranga reo Māori (mō te hunga pakeke)
- π te Kōhanga Reo (mō tō tamaiti/ō tamariki)
- π te kura reo Māori (mō tō tamaiti/ō tamariki)

te reo irirangi reo Māori, arā:

- π tō whai wāhitanga atu
- π ngā momo pāhotanga
- π te āhua o ngā pāhotanga

- π te whai wāhitanga atu ki te pouaka whakaata reo Māori

16. He aha ngā āhuatanga e whakauaua ana i ā koutou mahi hāpai i te reo Māori i tō koutou kāinga?

17. Pēhea nei te āhua o tō whakawhitiwhiti kōrero i roto i te reo Māori? (ngā kaupapa māmā noa iho o ia rā, pērā i te kōrero ki tō tamaiti mō āna mahi i te kura, ki tō hoa mō te haere ki tētahi wāhi...)

(whakamahia te kāri *matatau ki te reo -ŌRANGI*)

1 2 3 4

18. Pēhea nei te āhua o tō kōrero i tētahi pakiwaitara i roto i te reo Māori? (kaua hei pānui)

(whakamahia te kāri *matatau ki te reo -ŌRANGI*)

1 2 3 4

19. Pēhea nei te āhua o tō whakaatu i tētahi take whakanekeneke o te wā i roto i te reo Māori? (pērā i ngā mahi tōrangapū a Tau Henare mā)

(whakamahia te kāri *matatau ki te reo -ŌRANGI*)

1 2 3 4

20. Pēhea nei te āhua o tō whakaatu i ngā tohutohu e tae atu ai tētahi tauhou ki te kura i tōu takiwā?

(whakamahia te kāri *matatau ki te reo -ŌRANGI*)

1 2 3 4

21. Pēhea nei te āhua o tō whakamārama i tētahi whakaari, tētahi tākaro hākinakina rānei kua mātakihia e koe?

(whakamahia te kāri *matatau ki te reo -ŌRANGI*)

1 2 3 4

22. Mēnā kei tāwāhi koe e hararei ana, pēhea nei te āhua o tō tuhi reta ki tētahi hoa hei whakaatu i ō haerere haere?

(whakamahia te kāri *matatau ki te reo -ŌRANGI*)

1 2 3 4

23. Pēhea nei te āhua o tō tuhi i tētahi reta ōkawa? (pērā i tētahi reta ki te Kaunihera Takiwā e pā ana ki tētahi take whenua)

(whakamahia te kāri *matatau ki te reo -ŌRANGI*)

1 2 3 4

24. E whai wāhi ana koe ki ngā mahi reo Māori nei? Tēnā koa, whakamāramahia mai.

a) karanga _____

e) whaikōrero _____

h) tito waiata _____

h) ako waiata, patere, haka ... _____

25. Ko tēhea te reo māmā ake ki a koe ki te whakaputa i ō whakaaro (i te nuinga o te wā)

π te reo Māori

π te reo Ingarihi

π he ōrite te reo Māori me te reo Ingarihi

π tētahi reo kē

29. He aha te huarahi ako i te reo Māori i whāia e koe?

30. He pēhea nei te hiranga o ēnei kaupapa āwhina i a koe ki te piki i ngā taumata o te reo Māori?

i pakeke mai koe i te reo Māori i a koe e tamariki ana

1 2 3
he kaupapa tino whaitake he āhua whaitake he paku nei te whaitake

i ako koe i te reo Māori i te kura, i te kuratini, i te whare wānanga rānei

1 2 3
he kaupapa tino whaitake he āhua whaitake he paku nei te whaitake

i haere koe ki te Kōhanga Reo i a koe e nohinohi ana

1 2 3
he kaupapa tino whaitake he āhua whaitake he paku nei te whaitake

nā tētahi o roto i tō whānau koe i whakaako

1 2 3
he kaupapa tino whaitake he āhua whaitake he paku nei te whaitake

i haere koe ki ngā wānanga reo i tētahi marae

1 2 3
he kaupapa tino whaitake he āhua whaitake he paku nei te whaitake

i haere koe ki ngā akoranga o Te Ātaarangi

1 2 3
he kaupapa tino whaitake he āhua whaitake he paku nei te whaitake

nā tō whai wāhitanga atu ki ngā wāhi e kōrerohia ana te reo, ka hopukina noatia mā ōu taringa

1 2 3
he kaupapa tino whaitake he āhua whaitake he paku nei te whaitake

nā te mea he tamariki wāhau hei whakawhitiwhiti kōrero, ka pakari haere tō reo

1 2 3
he kaupapa tino whaitake he āhua whaitake he paku nei te whaitake

tētahi kaupapa kē (tēnā koa whakamārama mai)

1 2 3
he kaupapa tino whaitake he āhua whaitake he paku nei te whaitake

35. He aha tō reo kōrero ki ngā tāngata e noho ana i tō kāinga?
(whakamahia te kāri *te reo kōrero - ŌRANGITEA*)

te whanaungatanga	te reo kōrero
	1 2 3 4 5 6
	1 2 3 4 5 6
	1 2 3 4 5 6
	1 2 3 4 5 6
	1 2 3 4 5 6
	1 2 3 4 5 6

36. He take hirahira ēnei kei te pā atu ki tō whakamahi i te reo Māori i te kāinga?

te āhua o tō matatau ki te kōrero i te reo Māori

1 2 3 4
he kaupapa tino whaitake he āhua whaitake he paku nei te whaitake kāore he take

te āhua o te matatau o te tangata e whakawhitiwhiti kōrero ana koe

1 2 3 4
he kaupapa tino whaitake he āhua whaitake he paku nei te whaitake kāore he take

te kaupapa o te whakawhitinga kōrero

1 2 3 4
he kaupapa tino whaitake he āhua whaitake he paku nei te whaitake kāore he take

ngā tāngata kē atu kei tō taha i taua wā

1 2 3 4
he kaupapa tino whaitake he āhua whaitake he paku nei te whaitake kāore he take

te āhua o tō whakawhanaunga ki te tangata e whakawhitiwhiti kōrero ana koe

1 2 3 4
he kaupapa tino whaitake he āhua whaitake he paku nei te whaitake kāore he take

tō māia ki te kōrero i te reo Māori

1 2 3 4
he kaupapa tino whaitake he āhua whaitake he paku nei te whaitake kāore he take

tō āhua ngākau i taua wā

1 2 3 4
he kaupapa tino whaitake he āhua whaitake he paku nei te whaitake kāore he take

tētahi take kē atu _____

1 2 3 4
he kaupapa tino whaitake he āhua whaitake he paku nei te whaitake kāore he take

37. He take hirahira ēnei kei te pā atu ki tō whakamahi i te reo Māori i waho atu i tō kāinga?

te āhua o tō matatau ki te kōrero i te reo Māori

1 2 3 4
he kaupapa tino whaitake he āhua whaitake he paku nei te whaitake kāore he take

te āhua o te matatau o te tangata e whakawhitiwhiti kōrero ana koe

1 2 3 4
he kaupapa tino whaitake he āhua whaitake he paku nei te whaitake kāore he take

te wāhi e kōrero ana koe

1 2 3 4
he kaupapa tino whaitake he āhua whaitake he paku nei te whaitake kāore he take

te kaupapa o te whakawhitinga kōrero

1 2 3 4
he kaupapa tino whaitake he āhua whaitake he paku nei te whaitake kāore he take

ngā tāngata kē atu kei tō taha i taua wā

1 2 3 4
he kaupapa tino whaitake he āhua whaitake he paku nei te whaitake kāore he take

te āhua o tō whakawhanaunga ki te tangata e whakawhitiwhiti kōrero ana koe

1 2 3 4
he kaupapa tino whaitake he āhua whaitake he paku nei te whaitake kāore he take

tō māia ki te kōrero i te reo Māori

1 2 3 4
he kaupapa tino whaitake he āhua whaitake he paku nei te whaitake kāore he take

tō āhua ngākau i taua wā

1 2 3 4
he kaupapa tino whaitake he āhua whaitake he paku nei te whaitake kāore he take

tētahi take kē atu _____

1 2 3 4
he kaupapa tino whaitake he āhua whaitake he paku nei te whaitake kāore he take

38. E rite ana t/ētahi o ēnei kōrero ki ō whakaaro?

E hiahia ana kia kaha ake taku kōrero i te reo Māori engari,

π i ētahi wā, kāore i a au ngā kupu e puta pai ai ōku whakaaro

π i ētahi wā ka wareware i a au, ka hoki anō ki te reo Ingarihi

π he ngāwari ake te kōrero i te reo Ingarihi

π he ruarua noa iho ngā tāngata mātau ki te kōrero i te reo kei te kāinga e noho ana

43. He aha ngā whakaari reo Māori ka mātakihia e koe i te pouaka whakaata i te wiki kotahi?

te whakaari	te roa o te wā ka mātakihia e koe ia wiki

44. Kia hoki rā ō mahara ki ngā wāhi i haere ai koe i ngā rangi e toru kua pahure nei. Ko hea ngā wāhi whakawhiti kōrero ai koe ki tētahi atu tangata i te reo Māori?

45. Kia hoki rā ō mahara ki ngā wāhi haere ai koe i ngā rangi e toru kua pahure nei. Ko hea ngā wāhi rongo ai koe i ngā tāngata e whakawhiti kōrero ana i te reo Māori?

46. Ko hea ngā wāhi ka āhua manawarau koe ki te kōrero i te reo Māori. He aha koe e pēnā ai?

te wāhi	te takenga mai o tō āhua manawarau

47. Mēnā kua tae atu koe ki ngā wāhi nei i roto i te wiki kua pahure, he aha tō reo kōrero ki ngā tāngata o reira? Mēnā ko te reo Māori te reo whakawhiti kōrero i reira, i mauritau rānei, i āhua manawarau rānei koe.

(whakamahia te kāri *te reo kōrero -ŌRANGITEA* me te kāri *te mauritau - ŌRANGIHINA*)

te wāhi	te reo kōrero	tō mauritau
tētahi marae	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4
te kāinga o tētahi whanaunga	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4
te kāinga o tētahi hoa	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4
tētahi whare karakia	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4
tētahi wāhi hākinakina	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4
tētahi hui-ā-iwi, ā-hapū	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4
tētahi tari kāwnatanga,	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4
te kaunihera-ā-takiwā	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4
te whare pukapuka	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4
tētahi kōhanga reo	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4
tētahi atu momo kura tamariki nohinohi	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4
tētahi Kura Kaupapa Māori	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4
tētahi kura tuatahi	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4
tētahi kura tuarua	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4
tētahi hui _____	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4
tētahi pāparakāuta	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4
tētahi wāhi kē _____	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4

ĀPITIHINGA 5

Te Hoe Nuku Roa: Te Oranga o te Reo

Puka Kōwhiri:

Te Matatau ki te Reo

Taumata 1:

- E taea ana ētahi kupu ruarua noa iho.
- He uaua te whakaputa i ōku whakaaro
- Ka pōraharahu tōku reo, kāore e tika ana te whakatakoto i te kupu
- Ka haere ōku whakaaro mā roto i te reo Ingarihi
- He arero paremo tōku, kāore e tika pea te whakahua i te kupu.

Taumata 2:

- I te nuinga o te wā, e taea ana te whakawhitiwhiti i ōku whakaaro, engari ka raru i ētahi wā, i te kore mōhio ki te kupu e tika ana.
- Hāunga ngā rerenga kōrero poto noa iho, i ētahi wā, ka āhua pōraharahu tōku reo, kāore e tika te whakatakoto i te kupu.
- I te nuinga o te wā, ka haere ōku whakaaro i roto i te reo Ingarihi.
- I ētahi wā, he arero paremo tōku, engari e pai ana te whakahua i te kupu.

Taumata 3:

- E taea ana te whakawhiti i ōku whakaaro engari kāore e tino whānui taku puna kupu.
- I te nuinga o te wā, e pai ana te āhua o taku whakatakoto i te kupu, kāore e hapa ana.
- Rere pai noa āku whakawhitiwhiti whakaaro i te nuinga o te wā
- I te nuiga o te wā, ka haere ōku whakaaro mā roto i te reo Māori

Taumata 4:

- Rere pai noa āku whakawhitiwhiti whakaaro i ngā wā katoa
- Arā kē ngā momo whakahuahua i te whakaaro kotahi e taea ana e au
- Ka taea e au ngā momo kīwaha me ngā kīnga motuhake o te reo Māori
- Hanga pai ana taku whakatakoto i te kupu, kāore e hapa ana

Puka Kōwhiri:

Te Auau

1. **i ngā wā maha**
(e 2 ngā wā neke atu i te rangi mō ngā rongo kōrero o taua rangi, kotahi te hāora nui ake i te rangi mō te pūoro tangitangi, ngā whakaputa whakaaro, ngā whakawhiti kōrero-ā-waea rānei)

2. **i ētahi wā**
(kotahi te wā i te rangi mō ngā rongo kōrero o taua rangi, e 2 hāora nui ake i te wiki mō te pūoro tangitangi, ngā whakaputa whakaaro, ngā whakawhiti kōrero-ā-waea rānei)

3. **kāore e nui ngā wā**
(Kotahi noa iho te wā i te wiki, i raro iho i te kotahi hāora i te wiki mō te pūoro tangitangi, ngā whakaputa whakaaro, ngā whakawhiti kōrero-ā-waea rānei)

4. **kore rawa**

Te Hoe Nuku Roa: Te Oranga o te Reo

Puka Kōwhiri: Te Reo Kōrero

1. te reo Māori i ngā wā katoa
2. te reo Māori i te nuinga o te wā, i ētahi wā, ko te reo Ingarihi
3. he āhua ōrite te reo Māori me te reo Ingarihi
4. te reo Ingarihi i te nuinga o te wā, i ētahi wā, ko te reo Māori
5. te reo Ingarihi i ngā wā katoa

Puka Kōwhiri:
Mauritau

1. he tino mauritau taku hinengaro
2. he āhua mauritau
3. kāore e tino mauritau
4. ka manawarau ahau

ĀPITIHINGA 6

Te Hoe Nuku Roa/Toi te Kupu Te Oranga o te Reo - Rangahautanga Reo Māori NGĀ TIROTIRO A NGĀ KAIMAHI RANGAHAU

Ko te whārangi nei hei tuhinga mā tētahi o ngā kaimahi rangahau i te wā e whakawhitiwhiti kōrero ana ki ngā tāngata e whai wāhi mai ana ki te kaupapa nei. Ko ngā tirotiro a ngā kaimahi rangahau hei hāpai i ngā whakawhitinga kōrero ka kohia mā te papapatai, ka hopukina ki runga rīpene.

1. Tau kiri _____
2. Te wā _____
3. Te wāhi _____
4. Te roa o te whakawhitinga kōrero / patapatai _____
5. I whakamahia te patapatai reo Māori, reo Ingarihi rānei? _____

6. Pēhea nei te ngāwari ki te whakarite i te hui _____

7. He ngākaunui ki te kaupapa? _____

8. He ngākaunui ki te whakaputa whakaaro ki ngā pātai? _____

9. Ka puta he raruraru ki t/ētahi o ngā pātai? _____

10. He tangata atu anō i noho mai, i whai wāhi mai ki te whakawhitinga kōrero? _____

