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**RECLAIMING THE MĀORI LANGUAGE FOR FUTURE
GENERATIONS: FLAX ROOT PERSPECTIVES
TĪKINA TE MANA O TE REO MĀORI: TE PŪTAKETANGA
O TE PĀ HARAKEKE**

A thesis
submitted in fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree
of
Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Waikato
by

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THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

2014

Abstract

Using a combination of semi-structured interviews, focus group discussion and questionnaires (designed to elicit as many comments as possible), this thesis explores, through their own voices, the attitudes and practices of a group of people, mainly *Māori* but including a few *Pākehā* (non-*Māori*) who are attempting to reclaim *te reo Māori* (the *Māori* language), for themselves, their families and, above all, their children and grandchildren. Many of them were brought up in a context in which one or more parents, caregivers or relatives spoke *te reo Māori* fluently but few were given the opportunity to acquire the language naturally in infancy, generally because of a desire to protect them from the discrimination suffered by their elders. Those who were brought up to speak *te reo Māori* often suffered from language attrition at a time when the English language began to feature prominently in their lives. A few have attended *kōhanga reo* and *kura kaupapa Māori*. Many have attended courses in the *Māori* language and culture, often at considerable personal cost. Some have achieved their dream of becoming fluent speakers of the language; some have suffered frustration and disappointment. Whatever their own experiences, almost all of them want their children and grandchildren to be fluent speakers of the language, believing that this will give them confidence and a genuine sense of identity and belonging. Although the majority are committed to using *te reo Māori* as much as possible at home, especially when speaking to their children and grandchildren, most experience difficulties in doing so. These difficulties relate, in general, to their own lack of confidence and/or limited competence in the language, the fact that some of their friends and/or members of their immediate or extended family are monolingual in English, and resistance from some of the children, particularly as they grow older and are increasingly influenced by the dominant language and culture. Among those involved in this research project, there was widespread awareness of the importance of inter-generational transmission of *te reo Māori* and evidence of considerable commitment to learning the language and/or improving their existing competence in it. However, although the attempts of these adults to use *te reo Māori* in the home are clearly of considerable importance, they often, where they lacked a high level of oral proficiency, met with confusion, frustration, tension and resistance as their children

grew older. This, combined with the fact that there are currently so few domains in society at large in which the language can be used naturally, has led many of them to develop strategies aimed at ensuring that their children and grandchildren, as they grow towards adulthood (a) appreciate the sacrifices made by so many in order to give them the opportunity to learn the language and the responsibilities associated with these sacrifices, (b) are recognised and rewarded for their linguistic achievements, and (c) are encouraged and assisted to involve themselves in contexts where they can use the language. This includes encouraging them to become involved in *kapa haka* and other culturally significant activities in which the language plays a prominent part, promoting as much engagement as possible with friends and *whānau* who have a high level of proficiency in the language (including involving them and their friends in *marae*-based activities), and inviting into their homes people who are fluent speakers (which sometimes involves a conscious effort on the part of the adults to cement friendships with fluent speakers and to encourage them to interact with their children). These are things which all parents and caregivers can do, irrespective of their own language competence.

In doing these things, those who currently feel that they have little to offer in relation to the revitalization of the language can experience a genuine sense of involvement and empowerment. Accepting that there are currently many parents and caregivers who cannot realistically become involved in genuine inter-generational transmission of the language in the home does not mean accepting that they have nothing to offer.

Keywords: *te reo Māori*; inter-generational transmission; language loss; language planning; *Māori* language revitalization.

Tuhinga Whakarāpopoto

Mā te kōwhiringa o ngā uiuitanga hangā ngāwari, te whiriwhiri ā rōpū kanohi, me te puka patapātai (hei tōngia mai ngā kōrero whānui kē atu o tēnā, o tēnā), ka whakatewhatewha te tuhinga nei i ngā waiaro me ngā ritenga o tētehi rōpū e ngana ana ki te haumanu i te reo Māori hei taonga mō rātou ko ō rātou whānau, ā, mō ā rātou tamariki, mokopuna hoki. Te nuinga o te hunga nei he Māori; he tokoiti anō he Pākehā. He tokomaha o rātou i tipu ake i roto i te horopaki o te reo Māori, arā, kotahi neke atu o ō rātou mātua rānei, kaitiaki rānei, whanaunga rānei he matatau ki te reo Māori. Ahakoa rā, kāore te nuinga i whāngaihia ki te reo i ā rātou e pēpi ana, kei whakapai kanohitia pērā i ō rātou tūpuna. Ko rātou te hunga i tipu reo Māori mai, ka memeha haere tō rātou reo nō te tino putanga ake o te reo Pākehā ki ō rātou ao. He tokoiti o tēnei rōpu i kuraina ki te kōhanga reo me te kura kaupapa Māori; he tokomaha anō i whai wāhi ki ngā akoranga reo Māori me ōna tikanga, hāunga rā te nui o te nama. Ko ētehi, kua ea ngā wawata, kua matatau ki te reo; ko ētehi atu anō, kua pāngia kētia e te hōhā me te hēmanawatanga. Heoi, ahakoa ngā wheako ake o tēnā, o tēnā, he hiahia nō te nuinga kia matatau ā rātou tamariki me ā rātou mokopuna ki te reo, kia tū pakari ai, kia tū Māori ai ki tēnei ao. Te nuinga o tēnei rōpū he manawanui ki te kōrero Māori i te kāinga i te nuinga o te wā, koia anō rā i ā rātou e kōrero ana ki ā rātou tamariki me ā rātou mokopuna. Heoi anō, kei reira anō ngā papatoieketanga, e pā ana ki ō rātou ake tītengi rānei, ki te takarepatanga o tō rātou reo rānei, me te mōhio anō ko ētahi o ō rātou hoa, whānau, whānau whānui anō hoki, he reo tahi kē, arā, ko te reo Pākehā te reo kawē. Anō hoki, ko ētahi o ngā tamariki, i ā rātou e pakeke haere ana ka kaha papare i te reo Māori, ka whakawaia kētia rātou e te reo Pākehā me ōna tikanga. I waenganui i te hunga i whai wāhi ki tēnei kaupapa rangahau kua kitea he mārama pū te nuinga ki te tino hiranga o te tuku ihotanga o te reo; kua kitea hoki tō rātou kaingākau nui ki te ako i te reo, ki te whakapakari rānei i tō rātou reo. Hāunga tērā, me ō rātou ngana anō ki te kawē i te reo Māori i te kāinga, ko ngā mātua kāore anō kia tino eke te reo ā-waha ka mate i te pōraruraru, te pōkaikaha, te āwangawanga, me te kaha papare a ngā tamariki e pakeke haere ana. Nā runga i tērā, me te take anō hoki he ruarua noa iho ngā wāhi o te hāpori whānui i ēnei rā kia taea te reo Māori te rere noa, kua whakapuāwaitia e te tokomaha o tēnei rōpū ētahi rautaki hei ārahi i ngā tamariki me ngā mokopuna i ā rātou e pakeke haere ana, kia mārama rātou ki ngā whakahere tinana a te marea

kia whai wāhi ai rātou ki te ako i te reo, me ngā here e haere kōtui ana ki ērā āhuatanga, kia whakanuia, kia utua hoki ngā tamariki i runga anō i ngā whakatutukitanga reo, kia manaakitia hoki rātou ki te whai wāhi anō ki ngā horopaki reo Māori. Hei konei ka ākina rātou ki te uru ki ngā kapa haka me ngā tino kaupapa anō o te ao Māori e whakatairanga nei i te reo. Anō hoki, ka whakahauhautia kia piritata ki ā rātou hoa me ō rātou whanaunga e tino mōhio ki te reo, me te whakauru hoki ki ngā mahinga marae. Waihoki, ka pōwhiritia te hunga matatau ki te reo ki te toro mai ki ō rātou kāinga (nā reira, me whakapau kaha anō ngā mātua ki te whakahoahoa, ki te patipati, ērā tāngata kia whakaae mai ki te noho ki te taha o ngā tamariki whakaputa kōrero ai). Koinei ngā mea ka taea ai e ngā mātua katoa, e ngā kaitiaki katoa, ahakoa kei hea te tohungatanga o tō rātou reo. Mā reira, ka whai wāhi tonu, ka whakamanahia tonu tēnei hunga e pōhēhē nei pea he iti noa iho tā rātou hei koha atu ki te whakarauoratanga o te reo. Nō reira, hāunga rā te whakaaro he nui ngā mātua me ngā kaitiaki tamariki i tēnei wā e kore e tino whai wāhi ki te tukunga iho o te reo i te kāinga, ehara i te mea he kore noa iho tā rātou hei koha atu ki tēnei kaupapa whakahirahira.

Ngā Mihi

Ko te tangi o te manu nei, kuu, kuu, kuu, tuiia, tui tuiia, karanga te pō, karanga te ao ki te pūkorero o te wānanga, pū-ahwio rangi, pū-takataka te marama, ahu-nuku te marama, ahu-rangi, ka tā, ka tō, ka tau ki te wā o Tū, ko Tū-te-winiwini, ko Tū-te-wana, ko Tū i whakaputaina ki te wheiao ki te ao marama tihei mauriora!

Ko te mea tuatahi, me wehi ki te Runga Rawa e noho ana ia ki tōna ahurewa tapu, nōna nei ngā mea katoa i hangā, nōna nei anō te tuangāhuru o ngā mea katoa, me whakahōnoretia e tātou tōna ingoa tapu mō ake tonu atu Pai Marire.

Ko tēnei te mihi ki te kaupapa o te Kīngitanga, arā, ko te kotahitanga o ngāi tāua te iwi Māori, otirā, ki a Tuheitia, ki te Kiingitanga, ki a tātou katoa, Pai Marire! Ki a rātou katoa kua hinga ki te pō, kua whetūrangihia, kua haere ki tērā taha o te ārai, ki Paerau, ki Hawaiki Nui, Hawaiki Roa, Hawaiki Pamaomao, Te Hono i Wairua, haere, haere, haere atu rā, okioki ai.

E tangi ana, e heke iho te hupe me te roimata ki te tau o taku ate, arā, ko Frances Teri Kirikino (Frank/ Wherahiko) nō Ngāti Porou rātou ko Ngāti Tamaterā ki Pare Hauraki, me Ngāti Maniapoto ki Rākaunui ngā iwi nei. Heoi, i tōna wā koia te kaiako ki Miropiko Te Kōhanga Reo, ki te rohe pōtai o Te Waka o Tainui, ki Waikato, ki Kirikiriroa ki te whenua o Ngāti Wairere, i mate ia i te mate-pukupuku 27/7/2011, moemoeā, moemoeā, moemoeā e hine, e taku tau, i roto i tō moenga roa.

Ki ōku marae maha, ko Te Pai o Hauraki, ko Te Mātai Whetū, Ko Te Rangimarie, ki te maunga tapu a Maunga Tautari ki Waikato Tainui, ki ngā maunga tapu a Moehau ki tai, ko Te Aroha ki uta, ki a Tikapa Moana, ki ngā awa o Waihou rāua ko Ōhinemuri, puta noa ki aku nei whānau, whanaunga, hapū, iwi, ko Patukirikiri, ko Ngāti Tamaterā, ko Ngāti Kiriwera, ko Ngāti Marutūahu, ko Ngāti Tūkorehe, ko Ngāti Raukawa ki Waikato, ki Ōtaki hoki, me kī, ko Ngāti Toarangatira koia rā te whakapapa me te waka o Te Ngatokimatawhaorua me te waka o Tainui nui tonu te honohononga, arā, e tika ana te pepeha nei: *'Ko Mokau ki runga, ko Tāmaki ki raro, ko Mangatoatoa ki waenganui, ko Pare Hauraki, ko Pare Waikato ki te Kaokaoroa o Pātetere, ki te Nehenehenui e'*.

Huri noa ki a tātou te hunga ora tēnā rā tātou katoa. Ka nui te mihi nei ki te Whare Wānanga o Waikato, arā, ko Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao Research Excellence Awards me tō koutou karahipi (scholarship) i hōmai nei hei oranga mōku, hei tino āwhina mai i a au e mahi ana i taku nei tuhituhingarua, arā, ko te Tohu Kairangi nei, nā reira e pono ana te kōrero, kei te mihi, kei te mihi, kei te mihi rawa atu.

Noa nei te mihi ki ōku kaiārahi, arā, ko Associate Professor Dr Winifred Crombie rāua ko Dr Hēmi Whaanga, nā rāua i para te huarahi, i whakatikatika ai taku nei mahi, i akiaki ki a au kia oti pai te mahi nei kia tika. Ki te kore kōrua e akiaki ai, ā,

kāore e kore ka hinga au i tēnei mahi whakahirahira nei, nā reira, kei te mihi, kei te mihi, kei te mihi.

Ko tēnei te karanga atu, te arohanui ki a Miropiko te Kōhanga Reo i to koutou tautoko mai me te manawanui, i a au e mahi ana i taku nei mahi, otirā, ki ngā kōhanga reo katoa o Tainui Waikato koutou ko Pare Hauraki puta noa i te motu nei, tēnā rā koutou katoa.

Nā, he maha ngā rangatira i tautoko mai i a au i tēnei haerenga, arā, ko ētehi ko ōku kaiarahi, ko ētehi he whanaunga, ko ētehi he hoa tata, me kī, ko ētehi kātahi anō au ka tūtaki ki a ia, engari, kātahi anō ka whakahoahoa māua me taku harikoa hoki, nā reira, kei te tino nui te aroha e mihi ana tēnei, e kore au e wareware i ā koutou katoa. Pai Marire.

Te Whakapapa a Murray Hamaka Peters

Wiremu Pita Taurua = Te Aira Meremana Kōnui

|

Rangituia

|

Toby Karaka Peters = Tapita Rātahi Peters (nee O'Brien)

Te Kiriwera Tukukino = Atanetta Tukukino (nee Royal)

|

Tairiri Tukukino = Mita Hamaka Hoera O'Brien

|

Tapita Rātahi O'Brien = Toby Karaka Peters

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Chapter 1

Introduction to the Research Project

1.1 Introduction

By the 1970s, a large number of *Māori* children were growing up with little or no knowledge of the *Māori* language and there were very few domains in which the language was being used, these being largely confined to the *marae*, the home and the church (Benton, 1981). In fact, whereas in 1900, over ninety per cent of *Māori* children arrived at school speaking *te reo Māori* as their first language, that figure had fallen to twenty six per cent by 1953 and to around five per cent by the 1970s (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, para. 3.3.2).

Since the 1970s, however, there have been a large number of language revitalization initiatives that have aimed to secure the survival of the language. These initiatives include the introduction of the language as a subject in mainstream schools and tertiary institutions, the establishment of *Kōhanga Reo*, *Kura Kaupapa Māori*, *Whare Kura*, and a host of more localized language-centred activities (see, for example, Lewis, 2014; Nock, 2010). However, unless revitalization efforts lead to intergenerational transmission of the language in homes and communities they will not secure the long term survival of the language (Crystal, 2000, p. 1; Fishman, 1991, p. xii).

Indeed, as indicated by the *Waitangi Tribunal* in its WAI 262 report (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011), the future of the language is by no means assured and revitalization efforts remain fragmented (pp. 407-440). It has been noted that the home is the key domain where *te reo Māori* needs to be re-established as the main language of the community (see, for example, Timutimu, Ormsby-Teki & Ellis, 2009). Although there are studies that aim to explore the ways in which *whānau* negotiate issues associated with intergenerational transmission in homes and communities, particularly in the context of interventions involving mentoring (see, for example, Ormsby-Teki et al., 2011), reports of these studies seldom include the type of detail that could provide important insights into the beliefs and practices of participants.

In addition, such studies are generally predicated on the belief that it is necessarily the case that maximum use of the language for day-to-day interaction in the home by parents and caregivers is necessarily a good thing irrespective of the level of oral proficiency of the participants although there is considerable evidence of the fact that attempts by adults who lack a high level of oral proficiency to use the language in their homes may be largely limited to interactions that are not linguistically demanding (see, for example, Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010).

In undertaking this research project, I was concerned not only to find out as much as possible about the use of *te reo Māori* by parents and caregivers in their homes, but also to find out as much as possible about the other strategies they employed, particularly where they themselves lacked fluency in the language, to encourage and support their children's developing linguistic competence.

1.2 Overall aim of the research

The overall aim of the research project reported here was to explore the ways in which parents and caregivers of young people who are learning *te reo Māori* encourage, support and reward their children's developing linguistic competence, including their own use of the language in their homes.

1.3 Rationale for research

In recent years, much attention has been focused on the plight of indigenous languages. However, as Walsh (2005, p. 1) observes, “[it] remains unclear why some attempts at language revitalization succeed, whereas others fail”. One thing that *is* clear, however, is that a critical aspect of language survival is intergenerational transmission (see, for example, Crystal, 2000, p. 1; Fishman, 1991, p. xii). However, it is just ten years since Spolsky (2003, p. 57) observed with reference to *te reo Māori* that “although there is good evidence that language loss has been checked, and that school-related and community-approved processes are leading to steady-state language maintenance”, it is nevertheless the case that “there has not yet been language revitalization in the sense of the restoration of natural intergenerational transmission”.

In view of this, and in view of the intimate connection between language and culture, with the loss of a language necessarily entailing substantial cultural loss, it

seemed to me to be important to attempt to add to what is currently known about the intergenerational transmission of *te reo Māori* through exploration of the backgrounds, attitudes and values of a sample of adults who are fluent speakers of the language or learners of it and/or who are the parents or caregivers of young people who are exposed to the language in a variety of ways, the primary emphasis being on the strategies they use to encourage and support their development and use of the language. In some cases, these adults may be involved directly in intergenerational transmission of the language in the home; in other cases, they may be involved in activities that are likely to lead to intergenerational transmission in homes in the future.

1.4 Research questions

The questions that underpin this research project reported here are:

1. *What are the attitudes and approaches of a sample of adults (mainly fluent speakers or learners of the language) to the intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori in homes and communities?*
2. *What factors that facilitate or inhibit inter-generational transmission of the language do these adults identify?*
3. *What strategies do they use to encourage, support and reward their children's developing linguistic competence and use of the language?*

Each of these questions is fundamental to the overall aim of the thesis. In the case of the first question, the emphasis is on *both* beliefs about intergenerational transmission *and* practices relating to it. My interest here is in attempting to determine the nature and strength of beliefs about intergenerational transmission, the rationales provided for them, the extent to which actions are consistent with beliefs and, where there appear to be inconsistencies, the reasons for these inconsistencies. Since the overall emphasis of the thesis is on intergenerational transmission, the second research question, which focuses on participants' perceptions and experiences of factors that inhibit and promote intergenerational transmission is of central importance in that it has the potential to provide those committed to preserving the language with information that could prove to be of

considerable significance in relation to matters associated with policy and planning in the future. This is also true of the third research question in which the emphasis is on the ways in which participants support, encourage and promote the developing linguistic competence of the next generation.

1.5 Research approach and research methods

At the beginning of *Decolonizing Methodologies*, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999/2012, p. 1) makes the following observation: “The word itself, 'research', is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary”. She also notes that “indigenous peoples are deeply cynical about the capacity, motives or methodology of Western research to deliver any benefits to indigenous peoples . . .” (p. 122). These observations have been in the forefront of my mind throughout this research project.

It is with them in mind that I have made decisions about the overall approach adopted (a *Kaupapa Māori* approach) and they are at the very core of my determination to attempt to provide a way of highlighting and promoting the voices of the participants, allowing these voices, wherever possible, to speak for themselves. Thus, while I have, in selecting questions, in organizing the data collected thematically and in relating that data to the literature reviewed in *Chapter 3*, provided a lens through which the data can be viewed, I have also taken a number of measures that are intended to ensure that participants' views are as fully and accurately represented as possible and that both the participants themselves and other readers can reorganize and reinterpret the data should they choose to do so.

These include providing as much opportunity as possible at all stages of the research project for participants to provide information and opinion that is important to them rather than simply answering questions (discussed in more detail in *Chapters 4 and 5*) and by providing the raw data in appendices. The overall approach guiding this research project, is an approach which provides its epistemological and ontological underpinnings and has a significant impact on the research methods employed, is that of *Kaupapa Māori*, that is, one that aims to address issues of significance to *Māori* in ways that are fully respectful of *Māori* knowledge and *Māori* cultural practices and expectations, and aims to be of benefit to *Māori* and, in particular, to those *Māori* involved in the research (Smith, 2012, pp. 193 - 195). For some (see,

for example, Irwin, 1994, p. 27), *Kaupapa Māori* research is always conducted by *Māori* researchers, that is, by those who not only “happen to be *Māori*” but those who are committed to a *Māori* perspective.

It is, in the words of Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012), 'counter-hegemonic' (p. 191), involving “critique, resistance, struggle and emancipation” (p. 187). As Graham Smith (1992, p. 11) notes, it prioritizes *Māori* philosophy and principles, takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of a *Māori* world-view, takes as an imperative the survival and revival of *Māori* language and culture and is concerned with the struggle for autonomy over cultural well-being. The following seven principles, outlined by Linda Smith (2012, p. 124) guided my approach to the research:

- *Aroha ki te tangata* (Respect for people);
- *Kanohi kitea* (Face-to-face interaction);
- *Titiro, whakarongo, kōrero* (Look and listen before speaking);
- *Manaaki ki te tangata* (Share and host people);
- *Kia tūpato* (Be cautious);
- *Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata* (Do not humiliate others);
- *Kaua e whakaputa mōhio* (Do not flaunt your knowledge).

Thus, for example, I distributed questionnaires by hand, remaining to assist where requested to do so (Principle 2), provided opportunities for questionnaire participants to add comments in relation to all of the questions included in the questionnaire and for interviewees and focus group participants to not only answer questions but to take the discussion in directions they found relevant (Principles 1, 3, 6 and 7), provided a seafood meal for those involved in the focus group discussion (Principle 4), and, as indicated above, have included raw data in appendices in order that my own interpretation of that data should be as open to challenge and modification as possible (Principles 1, 5 and 7). Some of these procedures, the rationale for them and their implications are discussed in more detail below.

The research was survey-based, the survey involving questionnaires, semi-structured interviews and focus group discussion, thus providing an opportunity for

triangulation, that is, for the provision of “a more detailed and balanced picture” (Altrichter, Feldman, Posch & Somekh, 2008, p. 147) through “cross-checking data from multiple sources to search for regularities” (O’Donoghue & Punch, 2003, p. 78).

There are a number of advantages and disadvantages associated with questionnaire-based surveys. Some of the main advantages are that they allow for the speedy collection of as much data as possible with as little financial outlay as possible from a wide range of participants in a way that facilitates the analysis, display and comparison of that data (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011, pp. 268, 287 & 288). However, a potential disadvantage is that they may not provide much insight into participant cognition.

In an attempt to overcome this, I interspersed behavioural and attitudinal questions (Hoinville & Jowell, 1978, p. 310), included a number of open-ended questions and provided space for comment after a number of the questions. There remained, however, a major potential problem - that is, the fact that questionnaire-based surveys can run counter to the fundamental cultural preference of *Māori* for face-to-face interaction (see Smith’s second principle above). In an attempt to overcome this potential disadvantage, I made myself available to those participants who wished to discuss or ask questions about the questionnaire as they completed it.

Although this meant the loss of some of the widely recognised advantages of questionnaire-based surveying (e.g. speed of data collection), it proved to be a significant factor in securing involvement and inspiring trust. There remained a further problem associated with the questionnaire-based approach. Because so many participants were involved, it was difficult to ensure that all of them were provided with some return, however small, for their efforts (see Smith’s fourth principle above). In many cases, however, the participants indicated to me that the best reward they could be given was that the research might go some small way towards contributing to the revitalization of the language. As indicated above, an attempt was made to develop the questionnaire in such a way as to maximise the amount of qualitative data collected.

Even so, questionnaire-based surveys, however carefully constructed, can never be as effective as other survey techniques in providing participants with an opportunity to share their thoughts and opinions as fully as they might wish. For this reason, it was decided to conduct semi-structured interviews with those questionnaire participants who indicated a willingness to become more deeply involved in the research.

The decision that the interviews should be semi-structured was determined by the fact that although certain types of information and opinion were being sought, it was also considered important to provide interviewees with an opportunity to supply other types of information. Hence, although certain questions were asked of each interviewee, wherever opportunities to follow-up on each interviewee's contributions arose, these were capitalized on, something that could involve adding questions or comments and/or varying the order of the pre-determined questions (see Cohen et al., 2011, pp. 415-431). This approach provided the researcher and the participants with as much opportunity as possible to explore issues in depth.

The final method adopted was focus group discussion. In this case, participants, all of them with children or grandchildren attending a particular *kōhanga reo* (Māori immersion kindergarten) with which I am associated, were given an opportunity to engage in discussion and interaction around a small number of prompts (see Cohen et al., 2011, p. 432). A major advantage of this approach was that the participants had an opportunity to interact with one another as well as with the researcher and could provide ideas and suggestions that might prove to be of use to the others present.

As Kitzinger (1995, p. 299) has observed, focus groups “capitalise on communication between research participants in order to generate data”. Thus, “people are encouraged to talk to one another: asking questions, exchanging anecdotes and commenting on each others' experiences and points of view”. An additional advantage of the focus group approach was that it provided a genuine opportunity for *manaakitanga* (see Smith's fourth principle above), with participants sharing food and hospitality.

Participants in the interviews and focus group discussion were asked to make suggestions for any revisions/ additions they wished to make to their contributions. In the event, no such suggestions were made. So far as the dissemination of the research findings to *Māori* communities and, in particular, to those who participated in the research, is concerned, a decision was made to (a) provide all of those involved in the interviews and focus group discussion with a summary of the findings and an opportunity for follow-up discussion, and (b) to seek out opportunities to discuss the findings at *Māori* gatherings, particularly those that take place in the *Waikato* region where most of the research was conducted.

1.6 Ethical considerations

The University of Waikato has a number of committees charged with ensuring that all research involving human subjects is conducted in a way that fully protects the interests of the research participants, members of *Te Kāhui Manutāiko* (The Research Ethics Committee) of *Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao* (The School of Māori and Pacific Development) having particular expertise in the ethical requirements of research involving *Māori*. In connection with the research reported in this thesis, submissions were made to *Te Kāhui Manutāiko* for permission to conduct all aspects of the project, careful consideration being given to the need to (a) explain the nature of the research to the potential participants, (b) give them an opportunity to ask any questions they chose about it, (c) protect their rights in relation to anonymity in reporting and their right to approve (or otherwise) the inclusion of their contributions in the reporting of the research), (d) assure them that they need not answer any questions they preferred not to, and (e) conduct the research in a way that fully recognized the linguistic and cultural preferences of participants (including providing them with an opportunity to respond in whatever language they chose). The first submission to *Te Kāhui Manutāiko* was approved in 2009. An amendment/ addition to that submission were submitted early in 2013 to allow for the inclusion of a focus group component. Approval in relation to that amendment was granted early in 2013, the Chair of the Committee observing that “[the] proposed change is minor and within the scope of the existing approval so I’m happy . . . for the focus group to be an approved activity”. The original ethics approval documentation is included as *Appendix 1: Ethics approval documentation*.

1.7 Thesis structure

Following an overview of *Māori-led* efforts to revitalise the language (*Chapter 2*), there is a critical review of selected literature on language shift, language endangerment, language maintenance and language revitalization, the focus in the second part being on research conducted by *Māori* in *Māori* communities (*Chapter 3*). This is followed by three chapters that report on various aspects of a survey focusing on language revitalization.

The first of these reports on a questionnaire-based survey involving one hundred and twenty seven (127) participants, the focus being on the backgrounds, beliefs and linguistic practices of a sample of users (mainly also learners) of *te reo Māori* (*Chapter 4*); the second reports on semi-structured interviews involving nine (9) participants (all of whom also completed the questionnaire) in which, in addition to following up on issues raised in the questionnaire, an attempt was made to explore a number of additional but related issues in depth (*Chapter 5*); the third reports on a focus group discussion also involving nine (9) participants (*Chapter 6*).

In the case of the focus group discussion, all of the participants were parents or caregivers of children attending a *kōhanga reo* in the *Waikato* region. Once again, the focus was on the backgrounds, beliefs and linguistic practices of the participants. The final chapter (*Chapter 7*) provides an overview of the research findings and an indication of its perceived limitations and the nature of the contribution it makes.

1.8 A note concerning the use of *te reo Māori* and *Māori* words and expressions

Commonly used *Māori* words and phrases (e.g. '*te reo Māori*') whose meaning can be recovered from the context in which they are used are not translated. Where, however, *Māori* words and phrases with which some readers may be unfamiliar are used, a translation is provided in brackets on the first occurrence of their use except in the case of extracts from the focus group discussion in *Chapter 6* where, in order not to disrupt the flow of the discourse, translations are not provided. They are, however, where considered necessary, made available in brackets in the full focus group transcript which is included as an appendix.

I have chosen to write up the research in the English rather than *te reo Māori* for two main reasons, the most important of which is the fact that I, as a learner of the language in adulthood, am not fully confident of my ability to express myself in writing in a way that does full justice to the nuances of the language. In addition, I am aware that some of those who may have an interest in the research may not have an adequate level of proficiency to cope with a text written in *Māori*.

This does not mean that I am not committed to using the *Māori* language to the maximum extent possible in everyday oral interaction, particularly when interacting with the young. Nor does it mean that I have relied wholly on translation (which can never provide anything other than an approximation of meaning) to represent the views of those participants who have chosen to express their views in *te reo Māori*. I have tried, in transcribing and translating the words of participants, to be as true to the original as possible. If there are occasions when I have not fully succeeded in this, I offer my sincere apologies to both participants and readers.

Chapter 2

A Short Introduction to the Fate of *te reo Māori* since Colonization (including *Māori* Language-related Activism)

2.1 Introduction

As Belich (1986, p. 300) has observed, there were over forty different tribes and between one hundred and one hundred and fifty thousand native inhabitants of *Aotearoa/New Zealand* when Europeans first began to arrive on these shores and as Spolsky (2003, pp. 555-556) notes, *te reo Māori* was the language in which most communication between *Māori* and non-*Māori* took place until the middle of the 19th century. Thus, as Christiansen (2001, p.13) has explained:

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* settlement throughout Aotearoa.

Since then, a range of factors, including, above all, a determination on the part of colonizers to impose their own linguistic and cultural preferences has led to a situation in which the language and culture of the native inhabitants of these islands are threatened with extinction. *Māori* have not accepted this situation passively. Due to sustained activism on the part of *Māori*, all may yet not be lost.

My focus in this research project is on the positive efforts of *Māori* to bring about change for the better rather than on those things that have led to the dire situation we now face. Nevertheless, although the reasons for this situation have been discussed at length in many different publications (see, for example, Benton, 1981, 1987, 1991; Hohepa, 1999; Ka'ai, 2004; Matamua, 2006; Ormsby-Teki et al., 2011; Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, 2010, 2011, and Winitana, 2011).

It is important that they should be recognized and acknowledged here and so I begin by providing a brief account of some of them, the primary focus, however, being on later sections in which *Māori* responses are highlighted. It is important to recognize that none of the gains that *Māori* have made to date in relation to the revitalization of *te reo Māori* have come easily. There seems to be little reason to doubt that this will continue to be the case in the foreseeable future. Unless this is fully appreciated, unless young *Māori* learn the lessons of their forebears, *te reo Māori* and, with it, a unique culture, will almost certainly be lost to future generations.

This short chapter is therefore intended to contextualize the research project reported here, serving as a reminder of the fact that whatever concessions successive governments may make, any real gains will depend critically on raised political, cultural and social awareness among *Māori*: *Māori* determination, commitment and sacrifice will be required if widespread inter-generational transmission of *te reo Māori* is to become a realistic possibility.

Following a brief overview of the fate of *te reo Māori* since European colonization (*section 2.2*), the chapter focuses on discussion of WAI 11 and its impact (*section 2.3*), *te reo Māori* and the educational context in *Aotearoa* (*section 2.4*), *Māori* broadcasting (*section 2.5*), the *Māori Language Strategy* (*section 2.6*) and WAI 262 and *Te Reo Mauriora* (*section 2.7*). It ends with some comments concerning the recent redirection of emphasis towards *Māori* in homes and communities (*section 2.8*).

2.2 The fate of *te reo Māori* since colonization: A brief overview

The rapid decline of *te reo Māori* can only be fully understood in the context of the colonisers' aim to achieve hegemony and assimilation. Three primary elements were critical to the colonisation paradigm: economic-necessity, familiarity, and a sense of superiority. First, colonisation was primarily driven by an economic imperative: the desire not only to achieve a basic standard of living in the new country but, ultimately, a better standard than many settlers had in their European homelands. Second, colonisers aimed to re-create (to the extent possible) the way of life with which they were familiar (Lewis, 2014).

The third element was an internalised assumption, influenced partly by social Darwinism and the colonisers' more advanced technology, of innate superiority and the concomitant inferiority of *te reo Māori* and culture (Belich, 1986, pp. 299 - 300). This ideology of racial hierarchy produced widespread negative attitudes toward *Māori* and *te reo Māori* language. Many believed that the demise (or assimilation) of the *Māori* population and the decline of the language would be the inevitable result of natural selection (Belich, 1986, pp. 299 - 301, 323; Durie, 1998, p. 31; Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2011, pp. 204 - 205).

This combination of elements is significant: not only did it underpin the gradual dispossession of *Māori* land and the increasing control over their lives and minds, it also justified it. Shortly after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 and the subsequent seizing of control by the colonizers of political and economic structures in ways that de-centred *Māori* and *Māori* interests (Matamua, 2006, pp. 67 - 68), there was a massive increase in settler numbers, which went from around two thousand to over two hundred and fifty six thousand between 1840 and 1871, and decrease to fewer than forty six thousand (due to warfare and the introduction European diseases) in *Māori* numbers (Christiansen, 2001, pp. 15 - 16).

By this time, the undermining of *Māori* language and culture had began in earnest, with, in particular, the Education Ordinance Act 1847 (which decreed that only those schools that promoted instruction through the medium of English would be given financial support) and the Native Schools Act 1858 and 1867 (which placed *Māori* schools under government control. The negative impact of these measures on the language was reinforced by large scale confiscation of, and alienation from *Māori* land and, with it, the process or urbanization of *Māori*, a process which intensified after World War 2 when "there was a mass exodus of *Māori* from their rural homesteads as land loss and lack of employment and government support began to make life there increasingly difficult" (Nock, 2014, p. 12).

Whereas in 1936 only 11.2% of *Māori* lived in urban areas, by 1980s, this had risen to over 90% (King, 1996, p. 249). The impact on *Māori* language and culture of this migration was intensified by the process that came to be known as 'pepper

potting', a process "that aimed to speed up assimilation by destroying the close-knit community ties that had bound *Māori* together and were essential to linguistic and cultural maintenance" (Nock, 2014, p. 13) and was intended to bring about integration and, in the words of the Hunn Report (1961, p. 14), to prevent a "colour problem' from arising" by avoiding a situation in which people were "living apart in separate communities". A consequence if all of this was, as Lewis (2014, p. 7) notes, "*Pākehā* control over privileged access to public discourse".

2.3 *WAI 11* and its impact

The Waitangi Tribunal was established (Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975) at a time when *Māori* protest was growing. It was set up initially to address unresolved historical grievances relating to *Te Tiriti o Waitangi 1840*. In 1985, however, the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 was amended, its remit being extended. It remained the case, however, that it could only make recommendations to government rather than making requirements of government (Rice, 1992, p. 511; Walker, 2004, p. 212).

In 1985, a claim was lodged with the Tribunal (Te Reo Māori Claim: WAI 11) by Huirangi Waikerepuru and *Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo* (Inc) seeking that *te reo Māori* be given official recognition. The claimants alleged that the Crown had not honoured its Treaty obligations, having failed to protect *te reo Māori* (as a *taonga*) as, they argued, was required under Article 2 of *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* (Walker, 2004, p. 268).

They proposed that *te reo Māori* be made an official language of *Aotearoa/New Zealand* in order to enable it to be used, *by right*, in Parliament, in law courts, in Government departments, and in the context of the workings of local authorities and other public bodies. The Tribunal decided that Article 2 of the Treaty covered both tangible and intangible *taonga* (treasures) and that, therefore, it was a "denial of . . . protection for the Crown to refuse Māori the right to use his (sic) language in the courts especially when some persons who appear before the Courts may be able better to express themselves in Māori rather than English" (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, §4.3.9). Among the recommendations were:

- Legislation should 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.
- A supervising body should be established by statute to supervise and foster the use of the *Māori* language.
- 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.
- In the formulation of broadcasting policy regard should 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.
- Amendments should 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 in English to be a prerequisite for appointment to such positions as the State Services Commission deems necessary or desirable.

The Tribunal stopped short of recommending that *te reo Māori* should be a compulsory subject in schools and that all official documents should be published in both English and *Māori*, believing it to be more profitable to promote the language rather than to impose it. On the 1st of August 1987, the *Māori Language Act 1987* was passed. It declared *te reo Māori* to be an official language of *Aotearoa/New Zealand*, giving anyone who chose to do so the right to speak the language in certain legal proceedings.

The Act also established *The Māori Language Commission* whose role was:

- to initiate, develop, co-ordinate, review, advise upon, and assist in the implementation of policies, procedures, measures, and practices designed to give effect to the *Māori Language Act*;
- to promote the *Māori* language, and, in particular, its use as a living language and as an ordinary means of communication;
- to consider and report to the Minister upon any matter relating to the *Māori* language that the Minister may from time to time refer to the Commission for its advice;
- such other functions as may be conferred upon the Commission by any other enactment.

The *Māori Language Act 1987* was amended in 1991, changing the name of the *Māori Language Commission* to *Te Taura Whiri i te reo Māori* and expanding the range of legal settings in which *te reo Māori* could be used officially to include the *Tenancy Tribunal* and any *Commission of Inquiry*. However, *te reo Māori* continues not to have the same status under law as English. For example, tax records must be kept in English unless the Commissioner of Internal Revenue agrees otherwise. As noted by *The Waitangi Tribunal* (2011, p. 397):

The Māori Language Act has provided token recognition for Māori, lacking recognition in many areas such as the right to use spoken and written Māori in dealings with all central Departments and local authorities, signage and official publications. Funding for projects and organisations promoting Te Reo in comparison to other organisations both in New Zealand and overseas has been inadequate with a subsequent low impact.

2.4 The teaching and learning of *te reo Māori*

2.4.1 *Ngā Tamatoa*

Out of a Young Māori Leaders Conference held in 1970 at Auckland University (a conference organised by Ranginui Walker) emerged *Ngā Tamatoa* (The Young Warriors), a group consisting mainly of urban, university-educated *Māori* (Brooking, 1988, p. 191; Walker, 2004, p. 210). *Ngā Tama Toa*, which was inspired by other indigenous movements throughout the world as well as the Black Panther

movement in the US, became the political face of *Māori* unrest (Rice, 1992, pp. 508 & 509).

In 1972, its members, together with members of the *Reo Māori Society* led by the late Hana Te Hemara of *Ngā Tamatoa*, presented a petition with more than 30,000 signatures to the New Zealand Government demanding that *te reo Māori* be taught in primary and secondary schools (Mead, 1997, pp. 67 & 68; Metge, 2004, pp. 177-178; Smith, 1999, p. 13). *Ngā Tamatoa* members, along with many other prominent *Māori*, played an important role in the establishment of the *Kōhanga Reo* movement, the reintroduction of *te reo Māori* into primary and secondary schools, the development of bilingual and *Māori-immersion* schooling and the introduction of *Māori Studies* into polytechnics and universities (Walker, 2004, pp. 210-212). Three years after the petition referred to above was presented to government, New Zealand's first officially bilingual school opened at *Ruatoki* in the *Urewera*.

2.4.2 *Te Ātaarangi*

In the early 1970s, Caleb Gattegno, an Egyptian mathematician, developed a new approach to the teaching of mathematics that focused on creating challenges for learners, later extending his approach to the teaching of additional languages, in which context it was referred to as 'The Silent Way' (Gattegno, 1992). That approach was adapted to incorporate critical aspects of *Māori* culture by Kāterina Mataira. The adapted version, called *Te Ātaarangi*, was first used in 1979 within the context of a free community-based *Māori* language programme whose tutors were members of the community.

In 1985, it was introduced into the teaching of *te reo Māori* at the *Waikato Polytechnic* by Katerina Mataira and Petiwaea Manawaiti and soon spread to other tertiary providers. Although there have been many major developments in the teaching of additional languages since the early 1970s, the New Zealand-based version of 'The Silent Way' continues to be popular and it has been estimated that over 30,000 learners of *te reo Māori* have had some experience of it. Furthermore, *Te Ātaarangi Incorporated Society* has now become involved in a wide range of initiatives involving community-based language revitalization (see *Chapter 3*).

2.4.3 *Te Kōhanga Reo*

In 1981, *Māori* elders convened a meeting called *Hui Whakatauirā*, its purpose being to develop *te reo Māori* language revitalization strategies. From this *hui* (conference) came the concept of *kōhanga reo* (language nests), pre-school programmes incorporating *Māori* culture that were intended to be run exclusively in *te reo Māori* by mature women fluent in *te reo Māori*. In that same year, the *kōhanga reo* movement was launched, the overall aim being that every *Māori* child should be bilingual in English and *Māori* by the age of five. The first *kōhanga reo*, *Pukeatua Kōkiri*, was opened in 1982 in *Wainuiomata*, near Wellington (Walker, 2004, p. 238). During its first decade, the *kōhanga reo* movement flourished. One hundred (100) *kōhanga reo* were established in its first year alone (Sharpe, 1990, p. 189) and by 1985, there were over 6,000 children attending 416 *kōhanga reo* (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011, p. 396). In 1990, responsibility for *kōhanga reo* was transferred from the Department of *Māori* Affairs to the Ministry of Education, leading to greater emphasis on regulatory control. Even so, the movement continued to expand so that in 1993, there were 14,514 children attending 809 *kōhanga reo* (p. 398). However, although just under half of *Māori* children were attending *kōhanga reo* in 1993, it was just under one quarter in 2011 (p. 398). As indicated in *Ko Aotearoa Tēnei* (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011, p. 408), there are many possible reasons for this, including (a) the fact that an increasing number of parents are in paid work and therefore unable to play the significant role expected of them if their children are attending *kōhanga reo*, (b) there was a dwindling number of older *Māori* speakers, and (c) some concerns about the quality of childcare provided in some instances.

2.4.4 *Schooling: Bilingual Education and Kura Kaupapa Māori*

The late 1970s and early 1980s saw the earliest developments of bilingual education with the establishment of transitional bilingual education programs in a few schools operating in predominantly rural *Māori* communities, and in 1977, the first bilingual school in Aotearoa was designated at *Ruatoki* (Cohen, McAlister, Rolstad & MacSwan, 2005, p. 1568; Mead, 1997, p. 68; Spolsky, 1987, p. 10). Meanwhile, parents/ caregivers of children who had attended *kōhanga reo* became concerned that they quickly lost their *Māori* language gains when they moved to primary schools.

This led, in 1985, to the establishment by *Māori* of a *Māori* immersion primary school (*kura kaupapa Māori*) at *Hoani Waititi Marae* in West Auckland. Growth was initially very strong. In 1990, there were 6 *kura kaupapa Māori* but that number grew to 59 by 1998 and 70 by 2009. Similar growth initially characterized the offering of some level of *Māori-medium* education in other schools (396 schools by 1999 but reduced to 321 in 2009) (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011, p. 396).

The main principles that *Kura Kaupapa Māori* adhere to, *Te Aho Matua o ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori*, include the *Te Reo Principle*, requiring the schools to best advance the *Māori* language learning of pupils. These principles were published in the *New Zealand Gazette* (with an explanation in English) in January 2008 (Reedy, 1992). There are now three main types of *Kura Kaupapa Māori*: *Kura Tuatahi* (Primary Schools); *Kura Arongatahi* (Composite Schools), and *Whare Kura* (Secondary Schools).

The total number of students in bilingual and immersion learning peaked at 30,793 in 1999, including 18.6% of all *Māori* students. The peak in the actual number attending *Māori-medium* education, however, came a little later, at 27,127 (16.9%) students in 2004. However, by 2009, this had dropped to 15.2%. Even so, the number of *Māori* students learning through the medium of *te reo Māori* for at least 12% of the time more than doubled between 1992 and 2009. Between 1989 and 2009, the number of students learning *te reo Māori* as a subject in secondary schools rose 43% and the number of schools offering the subject increased by around two thirds (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011 p. 399).

2.4.5 The tertiary education context

In 1923, Apirana Ngata argued in Parliament that Government should support and promote the publication of *Māori* cultural research. His efforts resulted in the establishment of the *Māori Ethnological Research Board* which initially supported the work of Elsdon Best, Peter Buck and H. D. Skinner but later began to promote the study of *te reo Māori me ōna tikanga* (Walker, 2004, p. 194). Ngata then requested the Senate of the University of New Zealand to include *Māori-Studies* in the curriculum for its Bachelor of Arts degree.

Two years later, *Māori Studies* was introduced into the New Zealand University. It was, however, not until 1951 that Auckland University began to teach courses in *te reo Māori*, with Victoria University following suit in 1967. Master's degree programmes in *Māori Studies* were introduced at the University of Waikato and Victoria University in 1978, at Auckland University in 1979 and at Canterbury University in 1984 (Mead, 1997, p. 21; Walker, 2004, p. 194). By 2000, 13.9% of *Māori* were involved in tertiary education, with 2% attending university (Walker, 2004, p. 359).

It was at this time that the New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit (NZUAAU) “established a paradigm for Treaty compliance as a subsection of general audits of universities”, its core features being that *Māori* should participate in decision-making at all levels, there should be regular consultation with *tangata whenua*, support for *Māori* staff and students, visible symbols of *Māori* culture, courses dealing with *Māori* knowledge and culture and support for *Māori-relevant* research (New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit, 2004). In its 2001 Mission, the University of Auckland included its intention to:

- empower *Māori* with the opportunity to assume increased responsibility and control over the means of meeting their own needs in the university; and
- recruit and provide for the learning needs of *Māori* students.

In 1996, the University of Auckland was the first university in the country to establish the position of Pro-Vice-Chancellor *Māori*. By, 2003, the University of Waikato and Victoria and Massey Universities had followed Auckland's lead (Walker, 2004, p. 361). The first *wānanga*, *Māori* tertiary education provider basing its approach on the ancient houses of learning, was established in Te Awamutu in 1984 as a private training establishment called the *Waipā Kōkiri Arts Centre*, later (in 1993) developing into *Te Wānanga o Aotearoa* and being given official recognition under section 162 of the *Education Act 1989*. It has now become the largest public tertiary education provider in the country, offering a wide range of

Māori-based educational programmes across a number of campuses (Walker, 2004, pp. 349-355 & 358).

In August 1975, *Te Āti Awa*, *Ngāti Raukawa* and *Ngāti Toarangatira*, also known as the Art Confederation (ARTC), established a *Whakatupuranga Ruamano* (Generation 2000), aiming to increase fourfold the number of fluent speakers of *te reo Māori* in their Iwi by the year 2000. During the late 1970s and early 1980s, ARTC made four submissions to Government for the funding of a *Māori* institute of learning (Te Wānanga o Raukawa Trustees, 2002, pp. 12-17), finally becoming, in 1984, an incorporated body based in *Ōtaki* and known as *Te Wānanga o Raukawa*. In 1993, the Crown recognised *Te Wānanga o Raukawa* as an official wānanga (Walker, 2004, p. 345 – 247).

In 1987, Professor Hirini Moko Mead first mooted the possibility of establishing a wānanga to provide tertiary education to the people from *Ngāti Awa* and the *Mataatua waka*. In 1992, *Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi* was established (Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi, 2010). By 2004, largely due to the establishment of wānanga, 23.1% of the *Māori* population was involved in tertiary education (falling to 19.6% in 2009). The number of students taking courses in *te reo Māori* in tertiary institutions was 36,356 in 2003 (falling to 16,934 in 2007) (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011, p. 400).

2.5 Māori radio and television broadcasting

In the early 1970s, radio programmes catering to *Māori* needs and interests were extremely scarce. They were scattered throughout the national network, with a *Māori* news bulletin on Sunday evenings, *Māori* songs on Fridays and current events on Saturday mornings (one and a half hours of air time in total each week). In 1973, various *Māori* organisations (including the Auckland Māori Council, *Te Whare Wānanga Māori Committee* (Auckland), *Te Reo Māori* (Victoria University) and *Te Reo Irirangi Māori*) put forward submissions to the Broadcasting Committee concerning the need for the establishment of a *Māori Radio Station*. Aspirations for such a radio station included bilingual broadcasts in both *Māori* and English. Although the Broadcasting Committee was interested in the idea, it was hesitant in its approach because it doubted the commercial viability of *Māori Radio*,

feeling that there would be a need for government assistance (Hay, 1987). As Walker (2004, p. 269) explains:

This timidity delayed the establishment of a Māori radio station. By the time moves were made in 1975 to convert one of the existing Radio New Zealand stations in Auckland, it was too late. The Labour Government lost the election and the incoming National Government negated the proposal on the excuse of financial stringency. A whole decade passed before the battle for the expression of Māori culture through the medium of the airways was renewed.

1984 saw the establishment of the *Māori Economic Development Commission* (MEDC) which was charged with reporting to the *Minister of Māori Affairs* on matters relevant to *Māori* development. It severely criticized Radio New Zealand for failing to provide adequate listening time for *Māori* in its fifty years of broadcasting and recommended that a Radio Aotearoa Network be established initially in Auckland and later in Wellington and Christchurch, with further *Māori* radio stations based in as many populous *Māori* areas as possible (e.g. Whangarei, Rotorua, Hastings, Thames, Paeroa, and Whanganui).

Late in 1988, *Radio Aotearoa* piloted a station that ran for six weeks broadcasting to *Māori* listeners in Auckland as well as throughout a 130 kilometre signalling radius. In 1989, the Government set aside radio and television broadcasting frequencies for use by *Māori* and in June of that year Radio Aotearoa began broadcasting in *Māori* for eight hours daily. Under Part IVA of the Broadcasting Act 1989, *Te Reo Whakapūaki Irirangi* (TRWI) was established, its role being to promote *te reo Māori* by making funds available for the production and broadcasting of programmes in *Māori*.

In 1993, *Te Māngai Pāho* (TMP), under the terms of the Broadcasting Amendment Act 1993, replaced TRWI as the funding agency for *Māori* radio and television. The *Iwi Radio Network* was then established in the early 1990s and in 2006 it became mandatory for *iwi* radio stations to transmit a minimum of eight hours *te reo Māori* programming daily between the hours of 6 a.m. and midnight in order to

receive funding. In 2004, there were twenty-one *iwi* radio stations throughout *Aotearoa* of which twenty are based in the North Island (Walker, 2004, p. 334).

In 1985, a submission by Professor Whatarangi Winiata to the *Royal Commission on Broadcasting* questioned the lack of *Māori* language and cultural content within the broadcasting regime, observing that Section 3 of the Broadcasting Act 1976 required that broadcasting should reflect the identity and culture of New Zealand. After a considerable delay, *Te Māngai Pāho* tendered out a thirteen week pilot scheme for a *Māori* channel, the intention being that it should go on air within six weeks. However, transmission range was limited and finance for programming fell well short of industry standards.

The successful bidder was the *Aotearoa Television Network* (ATN). The six-week deadline for the pilot station was met and the channel was up and running in that time, attracting many enthusiastic young *Māori* from a diverse range of backgrounds wishing to become involved in television (Joint *Māori*/Crown Working Group on *Māori* Broadcasting Policy, 1996; New Zealand Audit Office, 1995). However, as Walker (2004, p. 338) observes, “[c]riticism in the public domain over what was interpreted as intemperate spending by directors of ‘taxpayers’ money’ brought the company down”. Even so, the closure of ATN did not deter *Māori* from pursuing a *Māori* television service.

In 1991, Huirangi Waikerepuru and Graham Latimer filed a claim, WAI 176, with the *Waitangi Tribunal* alleging Treaty breaches in the Crown’s broadcasting policies and seeking that the Broadcasting Act 1989 and the Radiocommunications Act 1989 be amended to ensure that *Māori* and their language and culture were given a secure place in broadcasting in *Aotearoa/New Zealand*.

The Tribunal, in its report on that claim (Waitangi Tribunal, 1994), indicated that it would not make any further inquiry into the matter because it covered ground that had also been covered in earlier reports (i.e. reports on WAI 11 and WAI 150). Nevertheless, in 1998 the Government agreed to the establishment of *Te Āwhiorangi*, a *Māori* television trust which, in 1999, presented the Ministers of Broadcasting and *Māori* Affairs with a business proposal for a *Māori* television

service. In 2000, Cabinet agreed to the establishment of a *Māori* television channel, with *Te Puni Kōkiri* being required to give advice to the Government regarding *Māori* broadcasting policies. *Te Puni Kōkiri* then established a *Māori Broadcasting Committee* which made its recommendations in October 2000 (Joint Māori/Crown Working Group on Māori Broadcasting Policy, 1996; New Zealand Audit Office, 1995). The aim was to have the MTS up and running by 2002, being accessible to over 70% of New Zealand homes and broadcasting in both *te reo Māori* and English. In a joint statement, the then Prime Minister and Minister of Māori Affairs, Helen Clarke and Parekura Horomia, made an announcement that included the following commitment:

This Government also accepts the obligation [a reference to the undertaking by the previous National Government to provide for Māori television] to promote Māori language and culture through the medium of television . . . and in doing so will play a vital role in Māori economic, social and cultural development (Walker, 2004, p. 370).

On the eve of Waitangi Day 2004, MTS Board Chairman Wayne Walden announced that at the end of March the *Māori Television Service* would begin transmission from its studio in New Market, Auckland. On the March 28th, it did so (pp. 377 & 400).

2.6 *Te Rautaki Reo Māori* (The Māori Language Strategy)

Something that came about as a result of many years of *Māori* language activism and should have had a positive impact on the revitalization of *te reo Māori* was the development of a *Māori Language Strategy/Te Rautaki Reo Māori* in 1997 and its revision in 2003 under the auspices of *Te Puni Kōkiri* (Ministry of Māori Development) and *Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori* (Te Puni Kōkiri & Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2003).

However, it has some major deficiencies. Among the many criticisms of the strategy included in the *Waitangi Tribunal* report, *Ko Aotearoa Tēnei* (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011) is the following:

The consultation *hui* on the MLS were destined from the outset to be of limited influence (p. 454). . . . It was a standard piece of pre-consulted Crown policy . . . sitting in sharp contrast to the grass-roots momentum of the *kōhanga reo* movement in the early 1980s (p. 455).

The *Māori Language Strategy* (Te Puni Kōkiri & Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2003) claims to set out a framework for progress in *te reo Māori* over a 25 year period (from 2003 – 2028). It is, however, very unclear in terms of expectations, with words such as ‘*whānuitia*’ (‘widely’), as used in the vision statement, being characteristic:

By 2008, the *Māori* language will be widely spoken by *Māori*. In particular, the *Māori* language will be in common use within *whānau*, homes and communities. All New Zealanders will appreciate the value of the *Māori* language to New Zealand society (p. 5).

Kia taka e tau 2028, ka whānuitia te reo Māori e te iwi Māori. Ka kōrerotia whānuitia te reo i waenganui i ngā whānau Māori, i roto i ō rātau kāinga me ngā hāpori Māori. Ka whakaaro nui ngā tāngata katoa o Aotearoa ki te reo Māori, me ōna painga mō ngā tāngata katoa o Aotearoa.

It is noted in the strategy document that this vision reflects, among other things, the central role of *whānau* (family) in transmitting the language to new generations within homes and communities (pp. 16 & 17). The *Māori Language Strategy* has sections on the history of *te reo Māori*, the current health of the language, a vision for the future of the language, the goals for language growth, and the roles of *Māori* and functions of government in supporting language maintenance and revitalization. Critically, it is noted that although the number of speakers of *te reo Māori* had stabilized at around 25% of the *Māori* population (in 2003):

Tērā hoki te whānuitanga o te matatau o ngā kaikōrero Māori, ka tīmata i te ‘teitei rawa’ ka heke ki te ‘iti rawa’. Ko te nuinga o ngā tāngata, me kī ko ngā pakeke taitamariki, me te hunga ako i te reo hei reo tuarua, he

huinga i te pito whakararo. E 9% noa iho o ngā pakeke Māori he tino matatau ki te kōrero i te reo Māori.

There is a range of proficiency among *Māori* speakers, from ‘very high’ to ‘very low’. Most people, especially young adults and second-language learners are clustered at the lower end of the range. Only 9% of *Māori* adults have high spoken proficiency in the *Māori* language (pp. 13 & 14).

It was also noted that the passive skills of listening and reading were stronger than the active ones of speaking and writing and that although *Māori* speakers were most likely to speak the language with children (especially infants), use of the language was limited in most domestic settings (pp. 13 & 14). In summary, the five goals, which are presented as being inter-related, are that by 2028 (a) the majority of *Māori* will be able to speak the language to some extent (with overall increases in proficiency levels), (b) use of the language will have increased and the language will be in common use at *marae*, in *Māori* households and in other targeted domains, (c) all *Māori* and other New Zealanders will have enhanced access to high-quality *Māori* language education, (d) *iwi*, *hapū* and local communities will be the leading parties in local-level revitalization, and (e) the language will be valued by all New Zealanders who will appreciate the need to protect it.

In addition, it is noted in the *Strategy* that *Māori* have primary responsibility for transmission of the language within homes and communities, for use of the language in *Māori* domains, for researching and transmitting tribal dialects and for maintaining and supporting ceremonial functions, and that *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau* should drive revitalization at a community level (pp. 29 & 30). It is also noted that government should have responsibility for supporting *Māori* language education, broadcasting, arts, services, archiving and community planning and for providing overarching policy guidance, some co-ordination, monitoring of the health of the language and evaluation of the effectiveness of strategies and interventions (pp. 31 & 34).

And, finally, that all government departments should develop *Māori* language plans which should be monitored by *Te Puni Kōkiri* (pp. 34 & 35). The primary problem

associated with *The Māori Language Strategy* is that it is not, in fact, a strategy at all in that its goals are not measurable, the costs involved are not calculated and it relies on planning that has not yet (at the time of writing) taken place. Furthermore, although it places intergenerational transmission of *te reo Māori* at the core of revitalization of the language, it does not directly address the two main problems associated with this, that is, how the overall level of proficiency in *te reo Māori* needed to do this is to be achieved and how those many *Māori* who will need to play a major role at grassroots level are to be motivated to do so.

2.7 *Ko Aotearoa Tēnei and Te Reo Mauriora*

WAI 262 is a claim lodged with the *Waitangi Tribunal* in October 1991 by six claimants on behalf of themselves and their *iwi* and relates to indigenous flora and fauna and cultural and intellectual property, including *Māori* dialects which, being *taonga* (treasures), are considered to come within the domain of Article 2 of the *Treaty of Waitangi* (*Waitangi Tribunal*, 1986). The aspect of the claim that relates to *Māori* dialects was broadened out by the Tribunal to include all aspects of the language. The Tribunal report relating to this claim was released in July 2011 under the title *Ko Aotearoa Tēnei* (*Waitangi Tribunal*, 2011). The fifth chapter deals with the claim as it relates to *te reo Māori*. It is recognised in that chapter that *te reo Māori* is important to all New Zealanders (being a central aspect of national identity). It is, however, stressed that successive governments have not only failed to provide adequate support for the revitalization of the language in a general sense, but that they have, in particular, failed to provide adequate support for the revitalization of *Māori* dialects in community-based settings and failed to engage in genuine partnership, reserving for themselves decision-making rights, including, for example, the right to determine the final form of the *Māori Language Strategy 2003* (*Te Puni Kōkiri & Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori*, 2003). Above all, it was stressed that “the Government’s *Māori* language agenda is not working” and that “[m]ost of the key indicators show that the language is currently going backward” (p. 477). Included among the recommendations made were that *Te Taura Whiri* should have the power to:

- require and approve *Māori* language plans by a range of public agencies;

- approve all early childhood primary and secondary curricula involving te reo, as well as all level 1 - 3 tertiary *te reo* courses;
- set targets for the training of *Māori-medium* teachers and require and approve plans for teacher training institutions; and
- carefully monitor the health of the language, reporting back to the community on progress every two years (pp. 477 & 478).

The fifth chapter of *Ko Aotearoa Tēnei* was released ahead of the other chapters in order that it be made available to those involved in a review of the *Māori Language Strategy* and the *Māori* language sector that was announced in July, 2010. This was because the intended outcome of that review was a report that would underpin a revised *Māori Language Strategy* which was to include an implementation plan for key initiatives to be undertaken over the next 5 years, the focus being on outcomes, value for money, improved infrastructure and greater engagement with *iwi* and *Māori* generally (Te Paepae Motuhake, 2011, pp. 68 – 79). The review panel (*Te Paepae Motuhake*), led by Sir Tamati Reedy, was set up in July 2010 and reported in April 2011. The primary goal as expressed in that report, called *Te Reo Mauriora*, was that 80% of *Māori* homes would be *Māori-speaking* by 2050 (pp. 7 & 23). *Te Reo Mauriora* also recommended sustaining authentic dialects and giving funding priority to *Māori* in homes (hence focusing on intergenerational transmission) while expanding all other *Māori* language initiatives (p. 23). It stressed that responsibility for language revitalization should rest with *Māori* but that government should play a role, one that primarily involved providing support by removing obstacles and supplying the necessary funding. Whereas the writers of *Ko Aotearoa Tēnei* disputed the government's estimate of the amount of money spent annually from government sources on *te reo Māori*, noting that it was extremely inflated, including costs that would necessarily be incurred irrespective of *reo-related* spin offs, the writers of *Te Reo Mauriora* accepted the government's estimate (approximately NZ \$600 million dollars).

While noting that *iwi* had not always prioritized language revitalization and that not all *iwi* were equally well equipped to do so, it observed that *iwi* had “expressed their readiness and willingness to assume leadership for revitalizing *Māori* language”. It also recommended that (a) there should be a *Māori-speaking* Minister with overall

responsibility for the language and oversight of funding relating to the language, (b) an organization (*Te Mātāwai*) be established with a nine-person Board of Trustees (made up of “*Māori* language revitalization experts”) to conduct research and manage revitalization initiatives, and (c) nine *Rūnanga-ā-Reo* be established to oversee *Māori* language sector programmes and services within their regions (p.7).

While there are some major differences between *Ko Aotearoa Tēnei* and *Te Reo Mauriora* in terms of some of their findings and recommendations, both agree that *Māori* should play a significantly increased role in decision-making in relation to all aspects of *te reo Māori* revitalization and that there should be much greater emphasis on the preservation of *Māori* dialects and on the use of *Māori* in homes and communities.

2.8 A final note

Māori activism in relation to *te reo Māori* focused initially on gaining protection for, and official recognition of the language under the terms of Article 2 of *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* and on seeking to ensure that it was as fully represented as possible in the country’s educational and broadcasting systems. More recently, the primary emphasis has been directed towards the preservation of *Māori* dialects, the use of the language in homes and in communities and, hence, inter-generational transmission. If this redirection of emphasis is to lead to successful outcomes, more research will need to be conducted on a range of issues, including:

- the flow-on effect (in terms of *whānau* and community use of the language) of provision of *te reo Māori* education in various types of educational institution;
- the relative success (in terms of proficiency gains) of various approaches to the teaching and learning of the language;
- the relationship between the proficiency achievements in *te reo Māori* of learners of the language and their motivation/ ability to transmit the language to children within the context of families and communities;
- factors that impact in a positive or negative way on inter-generational transmission, including, for example, the ways in which, and the extent to which the language is represented in the country’s linguistic landscape, the

range of domains in which it is, and can be used and the incentives made available for its use.

Chapter 3

Critical Review of Literature on Critical Aspects of Language Shift, Language Endangerment, Language Maintenance and Language Revitalization

3.1 Introduction

According to Crystal (2000, p. 14), ninety six percent of the world's remaining languages are spoken by only four percent of the world's population, with a quarter of the world's languages being spoken by fewer than 1,000 people. At his opening address of the Endangered Language Fund (established in the USA in 1995), Crystal (p. vii) made the following observation:

Languages have died off throughout history, but never have we faced the massive extinction that is threatening the world right now. As language professionals, we are faced with a stark reality: Much of what we study will not be available to future generations. The cultural heritage of many peoples is crumbling while we look on. Are we willing to shoulder the blame for having stood by and done nothing?

There are a number of factors and combinations of factors that are known to undermine the potential of a language to survive and prosper, factors which can ultimately lead to language death (*section 3.2*) and all of these also impact on efforts to revitalize languages (*section 3.3*), efforts which can take place at a number of different levels (*section 3.4*). Whatever approaches, or combinations of approach, are adopted, at whatever levels, it is generally agreed that success, in terms of sustainability, depends on the extent to which they lead to inter-generational transmission of the language (*section 3.5*). However, although there have been a number of initiatives aimed at supporting inter-generational transmission of *te reo Māori* in the home and local community, there is, as yet, little discussion in the literature on language revitalization of exactly what is required in order to make inter-generational transmission a real possibility and how that transmission can best be encouraged and supported (*section 3.6*).

3.2 Language shift and language endangerment

There are currently between six and seven thousand languages in the world. Of these, half are likely to be extinct by the end of this century (Krauss, 1992), the current rate of language loss being approximately one language every two or three weeks (Crystal, 2000, p. 19). When a group or community moves away from speaking its primary language and towards the primary use of another language, the phenomenon taking place is known as 'language shift'. Language shift can be voluntary or involuntary depending on circumstances. Thus, for example, as part of their assimilation to a new country, immigrants may experience a shift in language ideologies and choose not to pass on their mother tongue to their children (Fernando, Goldstein & Valijarvi, 2010, p. 48; Hinton & Hale, 2003, p. 3; Makihara & Schieffelin, 2007, p. 70).

Fishman (1991, p. 81) has described language as being threatened when:

. . . [speakers] are not replacing themselves demographically, i.e. when they [languages] have fewer and fewer users generation after generation and the uses to which [they] are commonly put are not only few but, additionally, they are typically unrelated to higher social status (prestige, power) even within their own ethnocultural community.

Indigenous language shift, loss or even death is usually attributed to a combination of factors, including:

- the confiscation of lands and the destruction of indigenous habitat and natural resources;
- political, military, infrastructural and economic dominance;
- relocation to new areas with consequent loss of community support;
- challenge to, or extinction of ancient cultural beliefs and traditional worldviews and practices (Fernando, Goldstein & Vilijarvi, 2010, p. 48; Grenoble & Whaley, 2006, p. 41; Hinton & Hale, 2001, p. 4; Patrick, 2010).

Language shift, which has been in evidence throughout recorded history, began to have a major impact on indigenous peoples as a result, initially, of European colonialism and US expansionism (NeSmith, 2011, p. 35) and, more recently, an increase in globalisation, a phenomenon involving processes of international integration (associated with economic and cultural interdependence) that has intensified since the second half of the 20th century as a result of advances in transportation systems and telecommunications and the formation, following World War 2, of a range of international organizations. These processes often have a particularly powerful impact on indigenous languages:

The decline of linguistic diversity in the world is linked to the world political economy which invades and takes over territories of indigenous peoples, threatens ecosystems in which they live, wipes out their traditional means of livelihood, and (at best) turns them into low-caste labourers in the larger society in which they must now live on the margins (Hinton & Hale, 2001, p. 4).

Language shift in its most radical form involves intergenerational discontinuity. However, even in circumstances where an indigenous language is being passed on to the next generation in the home, the survival of that language is not assured since, outside of the household, children may confront diverse language issues, such as the promotion of mainstream language ideologies and preferential treatment for those for whom a mainstream language is the dominant one. The impact of these things, combined with peer pressure, can be severe, leading children to shift towards the dominant mainstream language and culture (Baker, 2006, p. 17; Crystal, 2000, p. 22; Hinton & Hale, 2001, p. 4; Lewis, 2007, p. 7). A number of studies have identified factors that contribute to language shift. These include migration, industrialization, urbanization, competing religious beliefs and mainstream educational practices. All of these things, combined with the impact of mass media and frequently insensitive and/or hostile government policies, can cause people to re-evaluate their view of themselves and lead to changing social, cultural and personal beliefs, values and goals that can have a profoundly negative impact on language maintenance (Fernando, Goldstein & Valijarvi, 2010, p. 48; Hinton & Hale, 2001, pp. 3 & 4; Kulick, 1992, pp. 8 & 9).

Since the mid 1960s, sociologists have had a particular interest in the ways in which social structures can impact on the attitudes of a language group and/or community, and how these attitudes can cumulatively influence language choices in such a way as to lead, ultimately, to the abandonment of one language in favour of another. A number of studies have shown that it can take as little as one to three generations for a language to die (Hinton & Hale, 2001, pp. 3 & 4; Kulick, 1992, p. 8; Lewis, 2007, p. 8).

The impact of language shift is particularly in evidence at the point when that shift results in inability to continue indigenous language transmission in the home, the extended family, the neighbourhood, and the wider community (Crystal, 2000, p. 1; Fishman, 1991, p. xii). Thus, for example, Bruce Connell has reported that in 1994-5 during fieldwork in Africa he came across a number of moribund languages, including Kasabe, which had only one remaining speaker named Bogon. On returning to the region in 1996, he discovered that Bogon had died on 5th November of that year and that, therefore, the Kasabe language had become extinct.

Patrick (2010, para. 6) has made the following observation regarding the indigenous languages of Aboriginal Australia:

Over 350 languages were spoken when Capt. Cook landed in 1770 – perhaps twice that number! 200 years later, only 90 survived as viable languages. 70 of those are threatened by extinction in the near future. Something is known of another 100 or so. Only 10% of Aboriginal people still speak native languages. Only 8 languages have more than 1,000 speakers, 45 languages have only 10 to 100 speakers – not enough to ensure survival.

Around 10,000 years ago, the oceans rose, separating the area that is now called Tasmania (which has been populated for at least 35,000 years) and its native inhabitants from mainland Australia. Dutch explorer Abel Tasman in 1642, and Capt. Cook in 1777 sighted Tasmania which was eventually re-settled and colonised by the British in 1803. At that time, the indigenous population was made

up of approximately 8,000 people who lived in tribal/clan groups of about 40-50 and spoke around 10 distinct languages. However, as Patrick (para. 7) observes:

Between 1802 and 1833, disease and genocide by English settlers reduced this population to about 300, less than 4%. By 1832 the last free indigenous Tasmanians were put in a concentration camp by the British, while fugitives were killed for sport by bounty hunters. Of the 300 resettled, 250 had died by 1847. By 1876 all had died, except for cases of intermarriage.

A similar situation obtains in the case of Amerindian languages, with the advent of European contact, Amerindian languages, particularly in North America, were purposely destroyed, with Native American Indians being separated from their kin and relocated to reservations hundreds of miles away with individuals from other tribes who could not communicate or understand each other. History has shown that this is one of the single most effective ways of eliminating minority languages. Indeed, over eight hundred Native American languages are currently endangered, moribund or already dead (Reddish, 2001).

As Fishman (1991, p. 13) observes, some Amerindian languages have been neglected for so long that it has been necessary to piece their grammars and vocabularies together from various oral and written sources before any attempt at revival could begin. Even so-called 'healthy' languages such as Cherokee (spoken by some 22,000 people) are threatened because few children are learning them. Furthermore, although the Navajo language is the most widely spoken Amerindian language in the US, with more than 100,000 speakers, fewer and fewer children are starting pre-school as fluent Navajo speakers each year (Baker, 2006, p. 65; Hinton & Hale, 2001, pp. 5 & 84; Hinton & Hale, 2003, p. 44; Reddish, 2001). As indicated in *Chapter 2*, language shift has been in evidence in relation to *te reo Māori* for some considerable time. The period from 1941 to 1980 was one in which there was rapid language shift and a breakdown of intergenerational transmission among *Māori*, with speakers of the language consequently having less ready access to other speakers (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2004). This has inevitably had a severe impact on tribal dialects which are particularly threatened when there is a measure of reliance on

teaching and learning in formal educational settings since it is generally a standardised version of languages that is the focus of attention in such settings (Fishman, 2007).

The fate of any language is ultimately reliant on its speakers passing on their mother tongue to their children and grandchildren. If they do not do so, language shift, leading, potentially, to language death, becomes rampant (Crystal, 2000, p. 22; Lewis, 2007, p. 8). Lewis (2007, pp. 8 & 9) have summarised six common stages in language death observed by others as follows:

1. The community or its indigenous inhabitants consists of monolingual speakers of a mother-tongue language native only to them.
2. There is insistent interference in native culture, ruthless competition for native land and resources and relentless pressure for speakers and speaking space by a dominant language. This can either be top-down, in the form of national, regional and local body governmental policy incentives, recommendations and laws, or bottom-up in the form of negative peer group pressures. If the minority language group has less power, status and influence, and if their language is not a strong identity marker, the progress of language decline is likely to intensify.
3. The indigenous people become bilingual, being able to speak a new language as well as their own language. Due to language competition, over time these people start to use and identify more with the new language, their first language becoming less relevant to their daily needs. A negative attitude by the dominant group towards the minority group accelerates and intensifies the processes of language decline.
4. Parents no longer use their indigenous language to communicate with their children and thus their native tongue is no longer the primary language of socialization of the youngest generation. Families whose members continue to speak their mother tongue begin to realize that there are fewer other families to converse with. Many people become self-

conscious semi-lingual speakers. This is when the most significant loss of mother tongue occurs.

5. In terms of speaker numbers and supporting infrastructure, bilingualism begins to decline dramatically, the mother tongue being subsumed by a new language. Most children become monolingual in favour of the new language and/or passively bilingual. For the most part, it is now too late to stave off language death.
6. The language becomes endangered, moribund or dead, the generation who did not receive intergenerational language transmission now living, speaking and thinking in another language but, perhaps, beginning to reflect on the loss of language and culture and to wish that things had been otherwise. Their mother tongue, formerly abandoned, can now become a source of identity and ethnic pride.

Lewis (2007, p. 4) observes that it is often only at the last stage of language loss that thoughts of language revitalization begin to stir within language communities. However, irrespective of their determination, those attempting to revitalize their minority language, do not necessarily have the choice of continuing to use that language freely (Hinton & Hale, 2001, p. 3).

Fernando, Goldstein and Valijarvi (2010, p. 48) note that the main reasons for language endangerment today are socioeconomic, political, religious and cultural, adding that, in general, people do not realize, or perhaps care that we are at a critical point in human linguistic history. He has observed that unless language revitalization initiatives are meticulously planned, implemented, supported, stabilized and maintained, these languages will be extinct within the next one hundred years (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006, p. 1; Hinton & Hale, 2001, p. 3; Hinton & Hale, 2003, p. 44). A critical issue so far as language shift is concerned is that of identity formation. Much of the literature on language and identity formation relates specifically to migrants to a new country (see, for example, Berry, 1993, 1997; Giddens, 1990, 1991, 2000; Phinney, 1990; and Phinney & Devcich-Navarro, 1997). There is, however, literature which explores language and identity from the perspective of the impact on the existing inhabitants of countries of the migration

of others to these countries (see, for example, Condon, 1988; Hermans & Kempen, 1998; Ivory, 1999; and Verma & Saraswathi, 2002).

In both cases, issues relating to what has been referred to as 'bicultural identity' emerge. As Arnett (2002, p. 777) observes, "as a consequence of globalisation, most people in the world now develop a bicultural identity, in which part of their identity is rooted in their local culture while another part stems from an awareness of their relation to the global culture". While different studies have focused on different parts of the world, Johnson (2008, p. 68) has noted that the findings appear to have certain things in common, among the most significant being:

- those who seek to adopt a global identity in addition to their local identity are generally successful in doing so in direct relationship to their socio-economic status (the higher the socio economic level, the higher the chance of successfully adopting a global identity);
- the drive to adopt a global identity creates tension (often negative) between old and new cultural values and practices;
- tension (often negative) between old and new cultural values and practices creates significant intergenerational tension and often rupture of traditional family roles and structures;
- the greater the distance between the original cultural values and 'global' values the greater the potential for conflict;
- the greater the distance between the original cultural values and 'global' values the greater the possibility of failure to 'belong' to the global community;
- the lower the socio-economic position, the greater the possibility that, in attempting to adopt a global identity, both the local and the global identity are lost.

With particular reference to sub-Saharan Africa, Nsamenang (2002, p. 13) notes that all of these things have produced "a marginal population whose adults, teenagers and children are groping desperately to reconcile within individual and collective psyches the ambivalences and contradictions of a confusing cultural

braid", and Arnett, (2002, p. 778) has argued that this has led to a situation in which "some young people find themselves at home in neither the local culture nor the global culture". With specific reference to migrants, Berry (1997) has noted that this can lead to marginalization, culture shedding and acculturative stress.

These have been summarized by Johnson (2008, p. 69) as involving loss of interest in maintaining the original culture accompanied by rejection of, or rejection by the new culture (marginalization); discarding of aspects of a previous cultural repertoire because they are considered to be no longer appropriate (culture shedding); and conflict between the competing cultures (acculturative stress). All of this can lead to what Arnett (2002, p. 778) describes as "an acute sense of alienation and impermanence . . . with a lack of cultural certainty [and] a lack of clear guidelines for how life is to be lived".

The relevance of all of this to the situation in *Aotearoa/New Zealand* has been highlighted by Johnson (2008, p. 69) who notes that "there are clear warning signs that the symptoms of identity confusion, with its associated problems, are becoming widespread". She makes the following observation (pp. 68-69):

For people in countries like Aotearoa/New Zealand, the impact of globalisation on issues of identity makes an already complex situation even more so. Citizens of this country have always grappled with complex issues associated with identity. In common with many other oceanic societies, we are a nation built on a combined indigenous and colonial past, with generations of citizens identifying, in complex ways, with issues associated with cultural heritage while at the same time feeling the need to forge some kind of cohesive national identity.

With reference specifically to young people in this country, Johnson (2008, p.70) makes a number of critical points:

On the one hand, young people are often urged by their elders to adhere to traditional cultural values and practices. On the other hand, they are encouraged to 'fit' into a society where indigenous world views are not

always valued or easily accommodated. Add to this mix the complexity of inter-racial marriage, ease of international migration and the insistent temptations of globalisation, and the situation becomes one in which the potential for confusion and alienation is extremely high. The problem for these young people is not simply to develop a bicultural identity, but to somehow construct what Hermans & Kempen (1998) and Ivory (1999) identify as a 'hybrid identity', one that combines all the different strands of their own ancestral map.

The issue of the association between language and identity formation is a complex one when viewed in the context of the revitalization of *te reo Māori*. As Lourie (2011) observes, there is considerable ambivalence in *Aotearoa/New Zealand* concerning the issue of whether, given the intimate association between language and identity, non-*Māori* should be encouraged to learn *te reo Māori*. Thus, for example, currently "[prevailing] beliefs that *Māori-medium* education offers a more effective means of language learning (May, Hill & Tiakiwai, 2004) tend to obscure the fact that a relatively large number of students study the *Māori language* as a subject at school" (Lourie, 2011, p. 218).

Whereas there are, on the one hand, "many *Māori* people who do not regard *Māoritanga* as being theirs only and are quite prepared to share it" (p. 222), there are others who believe that providing non *Māori* with access to *Māoritanga* gives them "a means of cultural appropriation and continued oppression" (p. 223), the latter view now perhaps being partly responsible for the decreasing number of non-*Māori* who have some competence in the language.

It would certainly appear to be the case that, as Lourie (2011, p. 222) maintains, "Iwi -based frameworks can be seen to be re-shaping the relationship between *Māori* and the Crown and, as a result, reframing biculturalism", with increasing emphasis being placed on the important role of *Māori* communities in linguistic and cultural revitalization. As Lourie (p. 219) observes, "[the] central theme of *Te Aho Matua*, the philosophical document of *kura kaupapa Māori*, is the placement of the child within the tribal world" and there are, of course, compelling reasons for this in terms of *Māori* identity, as Mutu (2005) explains.

3.3 Reversing language shift

When there are fewer places where a language is used and fewer reasons to use it, the language loses prestige and there is, therefore, less demand for it, language decline being a self-perpetuating phenomenon (Ager, 2001, pp. 126-135). ‘*Language revitalization*’, however, is a process that involves the attempted rescue of an endangered or moribund language (i.e. a language that few or no native speakers in its youngest generation); ‘*language revival*’ is a process that involves the attempted resurrection of a language considered dead or extinct (i.e. one with no living native speakers); ‘*language maintenance*’ involves the provision of ongoing support for a language, including its protection from negative attitudes and influences (Reddish, 2001). In practice, language revitalization and language maintenance go hand-in-hand (Fernando, Goldstein & Valijarvi, 2010, p. 49; Grenoble & Whaley, 2006, p. 13).

As Spolsky (1995, p. 178) observes:

With all the problems involved in language maintenance, the most difficult is that concerned with control of the passing of a language from parents to children as a ‘mother’ tongue. This phenomenon, labelled formally as ‘intimate’ or ‘informal intergenerational transmission’, is clearly the central feature of maintenance. If the chain is once broken, to repair it takes not just a major effort but, if not a miracle, then “the rare and largely fortuitous co-occurrence of language-and-nationality ideology, disciplined collective will and sufficient societal dislocation from other competing influences to make possible a relatively rapid and clean break with prior norms of verbal interaction”. (Fishman, 1991: p. 291).

Because language, identity and power are inextricably linked, any attempt to revitalize a language is inevitably a highly politically charged activity (Shohamy, 2006, pp. 23, 24 & 167). Hence the comparison by C. H. Williams (2000, p. 2) to ‘a battleground’ involving forces representing and forces challenging the *status quo*. For this reason, compromise is almost always required (Lo Bianco, 2008, p. 157) and threatened languages are almost always at the mercy of politicians rather than language experts (Myers-Scotton, 2006, pp. 375 & 376).

Those who aim to make a positive impact in the area of indigenous language revitalization must therefore pay careful attention to (a) what is required in order to *persuade* those in power to provide some measure of support (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, pp. 113 & 114), (b) what is required in order to build alliances at grass roots level, and (c) what types of political process must be negotiated and how they may be negotiated. They would also do well to remember that however strong rights-based and/or equity-based arguments in favour of language revitalization are, “no language plan is likely to succeed unless the decision makers are convinced of its economic value” (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 167).

It is, however, not only economic value that is generally of interest to policy-makers. They are also generally motivated by cost in the broader sense. Thus, for example, the social cost (in terms, for example, of social disruption) of discriminating against some groups in society may be far greater than the economic cost of attempting to remove that disadvantage (Grin, 2003, pp. 39 & 43). This does not mean that there is no role for linguistic activism. Indeed, activism may be the only route open to those who are marginalized (Combs & Penfield, 2012, p. 462) and it is very often with the aim of reclaiming their sense of indigenous identity that motivates language activists.

Fishman (2007, p. 171) observes that reversing language shift is extremely complex because it involves a whole range of social changes:

Re-vernacularization requires not only inter-generational language transmission, but societal change. If you are going to change the language, you have to change the society. That is, informal society must change its way of living during the long stretch from one generation to the next.

What is involved is a complete change of ways of being. Thus, Fishman (2001, p. 452) makes the following observation:

RLS [reversing language shift] is concerned with the recovery, recreation and retention of a complete way of life, including non-linguistic as well as linguistic features.

It is, therefore, according to Fishman (2001, p. 458), community that is the key to reversal of language shift:

Gemeinschaft (the intimate community whose members are related to one another via bonds of kinship, affection and community of interest and purpose) is the real secret weapon of RLS.

Fishman (1991, pp. 87-107) proposes an 8-point scale for identifying the stages of reversing language shift (with the first point below being the final stage). A simplified version of that scale, which should not be seen as representing an invariable sequence, is provided below:

- Used in education, work sphere, mass media and government operations at higher and nationwide levels.
- Used in local and regional mass media and government services.
- Used in local and regional work sphere (not only by those whose forebears spoke the language).
- A. Public schools offer some instruction in the language (but within the context of 'mainstream' curricula and control).
B. Offered in schools controlled by the language community.
- Offered by educational institutions to learners of all ages but not as a substitute for / in place of compulsory education.
- Used in intergenerational and demographically concentrated home-family-neighbourhood-community contexts as the basis for mother-tongue acquisition.
- Cultural interaction involving the community-based older generation.
- Reconstructing the language and adult acquisition of the language.

With reference to *Stage 6*, in many ways the most critical stage because the home is the context in which the family and community retain most control over children's development, Fishman (2001, p. 427) identifies three components:

- the establishment of informal communicative links between generations through the revitalized language;
- the ‘demographic concentration’ of this activity, that is, anchoring it within a community or neighbourhood; and
- institutional reinforcement of the natural use of the language (see also Benton & Benton, 2001, p. 427).

Over the past fifty years, many innovative programmes aiming to revitalize endangered or moribund languages have been initiated throughout the world. However, although the processes by which languages become endangered, moribund or lost are similar, approaches to revitalization may differ widely in response to the differing historical, political, social, cultural and economic factors that impact on languages. For this reason, revitalization efforts must be undertaken on a case-by-case basis (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006, pp. ix & 21). Even so, regeneration/ revitalization activity can often be broken down into three stages: *language maintenance or stabilisation*; *language restoration* (involving renewal) and *language spread* (involving increasing use and functions) (Fishman, 1991, p. 1; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, pp. 64, 75, 284, 290 & 309; Spolsky, 2003, p. 554).

Furthermore, it can often also, as Fernando, Goldstein and Valijarvi (2010, pp. 53 & 54) argue, be associated with one of three main types:

1. Increasing the perceived prestige of the low-prestige language;
2. Increasing the amount of the language heard in society and the public arena; and
3. Formal language teaching of the lower-prestige language to children who would otherwise speak only the higher-prestige language.

In spite of a number of commonalities, every case is different and “stories of success . . . are the exception as opposed to the rule” (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006, pp. 1 &

21). Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, pp. 273 & 308) assert that for successful revitalization the following are requirements:

- there must be a large, vibrant and expanding pool of speakers;
- the speakers must be willing to pass on the language to the next generation;
- there must be opportunities to use the language in a variety of domains;
- the language must serve key communicative functions in the community;
- there must be economic benefits associated with use of the language.

3.3.1 Increasing the perceived status of the low-status language

Planned activities that centre on increasing the prestige of a language come within the domain of what is generally referred to as ‘prestige planning’, a type of planning that often includes ‘discourse planning’, that is, planning that involves increasing critical awareness through promotion, rhetoric, advertising and propaganda (Baldauf, 2005, p. 22; Cooper, 1989, pp. 99 & 120; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 87; Lo Bianco 2005, pp. 258-262). This involves adopting strategies that are intended to change attitudes, that is, strategies that are intended to have an impact on perceptions of language rights and responsibilities (Cooper, 1989, pp. 45 & 185), and, in doing so, to change language behaviours. This, in turn, involves addressing competing ideologies. After all, changing the values associated with one language involves changing those associated with others in a way that is ultimately centrally political (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 271). Furthermore, language attitudes, which depend, to a considerable extent on emotional, intellectual and financial investment (Ager, 2001, pp. 126-135), can be very difficult to change. In addition, the process of change will generally require nurturing rather than coercion or imposition (Cooper, 1989, p. 77) and is extremely difficult to measure except with reference to changes in patterns of action, including increased willingness to devote time, energy and money to acquiring a language in response to the perception of its increased value (Ager, 2001, pp. 126-135).

One aspect of the status of a language is the extent to which its use provides users with advantages, such as enhanced employment and promotion opportunities and

greater respect (Ager, 2001, pp. 34 & 126-135; Cooper, 1989, pp. 13, 14, 68 & 99; Fishman, 1991, p. 18; Grenoble & Whaley, 2006, p. 9; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, pp. 62 & 156). However, increasing the prestige of a language in a general sense takes time. It is therefore important to start with the indigenous community itself:

Although it is important to create positive attitudes generally, marae-level language activists will generally begin by attempting to influence attitudes within their own communities, by challenging negative stereotypes of *Māori* and increasing the status of speakers of *te reo* within their own *whānau*. Qualified *te reo Māori* teachers and other educated *Māori* speakers may already have an increased status that comes with their positions. However, a strategy to raise the status of other *Māori* speakers among the *whānau* will increase the value of *te reo*. This could include celebrating the achievements of those who have taken the time to learn the language by going as a *whānau* to their graduation or including feature stories about language achievers and language learners in *whānau* newsletters and websites (Lewis, 2007, p. 8).

These things are valuable in themselves. However, they have an additional value in that they raise awareness of the issues and cause people to examine their own views. In doing so, they can constitute an effective means of promoting the language - something that is important at all stages of the processes involved in language renewal, particularly as it impacts on those who make critical decisions about what language will be spoken in the home, that is, parents and caregivers (Crystal, 2000, p. 105; Welsh Language Board, 1989, p. 12). Changing attitudes is, however, not simply a matter of providing relevant information. It also involves role modelling, forming firm relationships based on trust and, in addition, peer pressure (Cooper, 1989, p. 70; Crystal, 2000, p. 99).

3.3.2 Increasing the amount of the language heard in society and the public arena

As Houia-Roberts (2004, p. 18) observes, “even though children may learn *Māori*, there are very few domains in which they can actually use it”. Planned activities which aim to increase the number of functions for which an endangered language

can be used and the number of domains in which it is used are generally referred to as 'usage planning'. Also involved may be various types of 'corpus planning' that is, planning that focuses on the resources of the language itself and may include standardisation and lexical and stylistic modernisation (Baldauf, 2005, p. 22; Cooper, 1989, pp. 99 & 120; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 87; Lo Bianco 2005, pp. 258-262).

If there are very few domains in which a language can be used, it is generally difficult to motivate people to learn that language. In such a situation, however, schools can play a very important role by providing a context in which the use of the language is the norm (Cooper, 1989, p. 67; Dorian, 1981, p. 64). As Lewis (2007, p. 51, note 43) maintains:

To cluster domains around the out of school lives of children who attend kura kaupapa Māori may be the most effective in the long term. Thus, for example, kapa haka, summer and winter sports, after school Oscar programmes all run in te reo are extremely important supports to the home environment.

In this way, it is possible to create an environment in which children can learn to use the target language in a wide range of contexts (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006, p. 8; Nicholson 1987, p. 30). This is, however, only a beginning. It is also important to linguistically infiltrate those areas that are associated with decision-making, power and wealth, such as mass media and government (Fishman, 1993, pp. 73 & 74) and, in doing so, increases the perceived prestige of the language (see above).

It is, however, important to recognize that infiltration of a range of domains may be very difficult unless there has been careful preparation in relation to the development of the language in such a way as to meet the requirements of these domains (Cooper, 1989, p. 171; Grenoble & Whaley, 2006, p. 5). This is something that is necessary in the short term. In the longer term, as the language becomes more embedded lexical development will take place naturally and spontaneously (Crystal, 2000, p. 125).

3.3.3 Formal teaching of the language

Planned activities that involve the teaching and learning of the language, particularly in formal educational settings, are generally considered to come within the domain of what is commonly referred to as ‘acquisition planning’ or ‘language in education planning’ (Baldauf, 2005, p. 22; Cooper, 1989, pp. 99 & 120; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 87; Lo Bianco 2005, pp. 258-262).

Fundamental to the effective teaching of threatened languages are not only highly motivated students, highly skilled teachers and good quality, realistic teaching resources but also culturally embedded teaching (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 12; Dorian, 1981, p. 64; Nicholson, 1987, p.30). Where languages are threatened, it is often essential to provide high quality language education that is readily accessible (Cooper, 1989, p. 157; Grenoble & Whaley, 2006, p. 3; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2003, p. 19). The most effective type of language education, in terms of its promotion of inter-generational transmission, often proving to be language education that is supplemented by the teaching of other subjects through the medium of that language (Cooper, 1989, p. 109; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, pp. 184 & 280). However, as Grenoble and Whaley (2006, p. 51 & 52) note, in order to create an effective total immersion educational environment, it is important to have a healthy speaker base from which to draw as well as the support and encouragement of the local community. In the absence of a context that supports immersion education, or where immersion programmes are not possible for other reasons, offering the language as a subject in the context of a mainstream curriculum - primary, secondary and/or tertiary - can have an important role to play, as can community - based programmes that may reflect the local culture and perspective (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006, p. 59). One type of community-based language programme is the master/ apprentice programme developed in California in which students are paired up with ‘master’ elders who speak the language as a language teaching/learning team. Fundamental to this type of programme is the fact that it is essentially oral in nature and centres on real-life contexts (pp. 60 & 61). At a time when the focus is primarily on the role of communities in supporting intergenerational transmission, it is also relevant to note that even formal educational contexts may provide language learners with access to speaking communities:

For many language learners, Māori language programmes provide access to speaker communities that may continue beyond the lifetime of an individual course (Edwards & Ratima, 2010).

3.4 Different levels of language revitalization activity

As Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, p. 80) and Cooper (1989, p. 85) observe, there are a number of potential disadvantages associated with classical language planning that is conducted at a national level, planning that aims to effect change through policy and legislation and may make use of the mass media to promote and/or reinforce that change. Planning at this level may, for example, involve an attempt to reproduce rather than overcome inequalities, preserve the interests of élites, inhibit multiculturalism and reinforce Western ideologies in a way that involves a type of conceptual colonialism. It is important not only to be aware of this before deciding whether to advocate language planning at a national level (*macro-level planning*), but also to be aware of the possibilities that exist for effective language planning activities at other levels, that is, *meso-level planning*, involving large organizations such as *iwi*, and *micro-level planning*, involving smaller groups such as *hapū* (Baldauf, 2005, p. 228; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, pp. 3, 81 & 82; Cooper, 1989, p. 160).

3.4.1 Macro-level language planning

New Zealand has never successfully initiated languages planning at a *macro-level*. An attempt to do so in the early 1990s was probably doomed to failure from the start because it emanated from a single government Ministry (the Ministry of Education) rather than being more widely-based, relied heavily on the energy and enthusiasm of a single government Minister - Lockwood Smith, Minister of Education at that time - and, in spite of widespread consultation, lacked a high level of support nationally. As Lewis (2007, p. 11) observes:

In the early 1990s, just after Australia launched its language policy, the New Zealand government gave some thought to national language planning. The then Education Minister, Lockwood Smith, commissioned Jeffery Waite to prepare a draft policy. Waite consulted with many groups and in 1992 published *Aotearoa: speaking for ourselves*. This was a well-constructed

document that placed the strength of *te reo Māori* and also bilingualism in general, as the top priorities whilst also including aspirations for other languages, including English. Unfortunately, Smith was replaced as Education Minister soon after and to this day Waite's proposals have never resulted in a co-ordinated language policy. As a result, macro-level initiatives for *te reo Māori* have generally been haphazard, affected by the political whims of successive governments, deferring to majority opinions rather than *Māori* aspirations.

What we see in this case is the way in which language initiatives may fail where there is a lack of co-ordination and genuine commitment (Cooper, 1989, p. 177; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 187). As Benton (1997, p. 30) notes, "tokenism in Māori language matters has often created an impressive façade of progress masking a retrogressive reality". Above all, what we see here is the negative impact of a failure to ensure that national-level language planning is conducted in a way that impacts on all sectors of society, including, for example, the Ministry of Transport, in relation to road signage, and the Reserve Bank, in relation to the way in which bank notes and coins signal the nation's linguistic commitment (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 117; Te Puni Kōkiri, 1999, pp. 9-12). Another factor that can impact negatively on attempts to establish language planning at a national level is failure to cost proposals adequately and to ensure that the costs identified can be met. In the case of the initiative referred to above, there was no attempt to include financial planning.

3.4.2 *Meso-level and micro-level language planning*

In the absence of effective language planning at a national level, particularly in the absence of language planning that is fully integrated and involves all of a nation's linguistic aspirations, language planning initiatives will necessarily centre on smaller groups within society. Such initiatives may, in fact, be more effective in some cases than national ones (Baldauf, 2005, p. 23; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, pp. 81-82 & 303-304; Lo Bianco, 2005, p. 276). After all, national language planning initiatives may not reflect local realities (Fishman, 1991, p. 126). As Crystal (2000, p. 154) notes, there are dangers involved when communities with particular language interests rely on others to protect these interests. As Cooper (1989, pp.

160 & 183) observes, this is particularly the case where initiatives taken at higher levels are not supported or endorsed throughout society as a whole.

One of the advantages of lower-level language planning is that it is more likely to be culturally acceptable, to be tailored to particular needs and aspirations (Nicholson, 1987, p. 10) and to reflect the will of the people most directly involved, that is, those who are in the best position to make decisions relating to key domains, such as that of the home.

At the same time, it is important to stress that governments will always have an important part to play in language planning (Cooper, 1989, p. 183), particularly in relation to resourcing, including funding (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2004, p. 9) and training (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 3). Thus, in spite of some of the benefits of lower-level planning, an approach in which it is combined with higher level planning is most likely to be effective (Te Reo o Taranaki Charitable Trust, 2005, p. 8).

Certainly, it is important when engaging in *meso-level* or *micro-level* language planning to be fully aware of those circumstances which have led to language decline (Cooper, 1989, p. 183; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 88) and those national and global realities that will necessarily impinge on planning (Durie, 2003, p. 3), realities that include political, educational, social, demographic and cultural factors (Cooper, 1989, p. 80; David, 1995, pp. 114-131).

3.5 Inter-generational transmission

3.5.1 Inter-generational transmission: Overview

The most important determiner of the success of any language planning activity that relates to an endangered language is the extent to which it can be shown to have led to an increased level of inter-generational transmission of the language, that is, the extent to which it has contributed to the passing on of the language from one generation to the next in the context of home, family and community (Dorian 1981, p. 105; Fishman, 1993, p. 73). It is therefore important to focus primarily on those language planning activities that can be shown to be most likely to have a positive impact, either directly or indirectly, on inter-generational transmission (Chrisp,

1997, p. 5; Fishman, 1991, p. 161; Powick, 2002, p. 127). Although there are often very good reasons for incorporating the teaching and learning of endangered languages in mainstream settings in schools into language planning, this is unlikely, on its own, to lead to inter-generational transmission in the future (Fishman, 1993, p. 76).

The language may be acquired outside of the home. However, commitment to using the language is considerably more difficult to achieve in the absence of home influence (Benton, 1997, p. 24). Indeed, the vast majority of those who claim to speak *te reo Māori* 'well' or 'very well' also claim to have learned the language, in whole or in part, in childhood from adults in the community (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2002, p. 22). One key to the importance of inter-generational transmission in the home is the fact that families influence this area and cannot be subjected to external controls (Fishman, 1991, p. 91).

In his research on revitalizing the ceremonial *Māori* language in *Hauraki*, Ngāpō (2012), found that in some small, isolated communities (e.g. *Manaia*, *Harataunga*, *Kōpūtauaki* and *Kaiaua*) that were predominantly *Māori*, intergenerational transmission of *te reo Māori* was taking place with little or no disruption whereas in areas that were more subjected to the influence of *Pākehā* culture, the situation was very different. Successful intergenerational transmission in the home is very difficult to achieve where parents and/or guardians are not themselves native speakers of the language being transmitted and/or where there are both external and internal pressures that militate against its transmission, such as children's preference for the dominant language. For this reason, it is important that indigenous or minority language families are provided with advice and guidance on how to raise and nurture their children as balanced bilinguals, especially where only one parent or guardian is able to speak the language in question and, even then, may lack a high level of proficiency. As Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, p. 62) observe:

When a community of minority language speakers is embedded within a larger community using another language; if both languages can serve the same functions and domains, then the minority speakers are often drawn to the majority language because it offers greater access to material rewards,

employment, economic opportunities, and status perhaps. Over time the majority language becomes more dominant. Over time the young have no incentive or opportunity to learn the language, consequently within three or four generations . . . even the native speakers can only speak in a restricted set of registers.

Although oral interaction between grandparents, parents, caregivers and children in the home and local community is at the core of mother-tongue intergenerational language transmission, this is not always, for a variety of reasons, accessible to research investigation. Furthermore, although there are many who urge parents and caregivers to ensure that the language of the home is the language that is under threat (see, for example, Hinton & Hale, 2003, p. 48), it is not always recognized and/or acknowledged that there may be extreme difficulties involved.

Furthermore, those who focus exclusively on inter-generational transmission often fail to pay adequate attention to those things which make intergenerational transmission a realistic possibility. Before parents and caregivers can pass a language on to children in the natural setting of the home, they will often themselves need access to language learning programmes. It is therefore unwise to favour one type of revitalization activity (such as use of an endangered language in the home) at the expense of others. Furthermore, it is unwise to allow the future of a threatened language to rest with individuals (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 212).

3.5.2 Towards inter-generational transmission of *te reo Māori*: Determining community needs

As part of a *Māori* language regeneration research project, *Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori* is working with *iwi* to determine what their needs are in relation to the development of programmes that aim to support and promote language revitalization. In connection with this, a number of *iwi* researchers and language advocates attended a *hui* in 2009, the aim being to decide what would be required for the development of *iwi-specific* language plans. In the case of *Ngāi Tūhoe*, it was decided that the approach would include conducting a survey in two different communities in order to generate data that would inform language planning. Initially, it was decided that these surveys would be conducted in *Ruatāhuna* and

Ruatoki. However, as the researcher who was to have operated in *Ruatoki* was unable to conduct the survey there, the *Ruatoki-based* survey was replaced by a *Waikaremoana-based* one, with the researcher who had originally agreed to conduct the survey in *Ruatāhuna* conducting both surveys (in *Ruatāhuna* and *Waikaremoana*). These surveys (conducted between August 2009 and April 2010) generated two reports, both produced in 2010 and both authored by Dr Rangi Matamua: *Te Reo o Waikaremoana (Waikaremoana Language Survey): Final Report* (Matamua, 2010b) and *Te Reo o Ruatāhuna (Ruatāhuna Reo Survey): Final Report* (Matamua, 2010a). Both surveys involved face-to-face questioning and a series of in-depth interviews.

A comparative table (*Table 3.1*) outlining some similarities and differences in some of the findings for the *Waikaremoana* and *Ruatāhuna* surveys is provided below.

Table 3.1: *The Waikaremoana and Ruatāhuna surveys: Some comparative findings*

	Waikaremoana	Ruatāhuna
Self-assessment: proficiency	Majority beginner or intermediate level, with only 27.5% claiming to be in the top 3 of 5 levels (above intermediate)	Majority intermediate or advanced
Self-assessment: understanding of spoken language	Majority – limited understanding	Majority – sound understanding, fewer able to speak with confidence
Regular use of te reo Māori	Only a small number use te reo Māori regularly	More likely to use the language in a sporadic manner when forced to do so.
Used with whom?	Adults most likely to use te reo Māori when speaking with children.	Adults most likely to use te reo Māori when speaking with children. Only a small number always used the language when speaking with adults and children.
Used most often with which home-based activities?	Commands to do tasks; single word identification of objects; reading books; explaining facts	Casual conversation about everyday things; commands to do tasks; single word identification of objects; explaining facts

Table 3.1 (cont): The Waikaremoana and Ruatāhuna surveys: Some comparative findings

	Waikaremoana	Ruatāhuna
Used most often by whānau when engaging in which activities?	Marae-based hui and wānanga; during kapa haka and Māori performing arts; during church services	On marae and at kura; visiting friends or whānau; noho marae and wānanga
Most popular activities for extending their te reo Māori	Interacting with whānau; visiting kaumātua and proficient speakers; community-based; noho marae and wānanga	Visiting kaumātua and kuia; in the home; attending language classes and wānanga
Judgment concerning importance of Tūhoe language	Over half judged it to be ‘not important’ or ‘kind of important’	The majority believe it to be very important
Perception of whether use of te reo Māori has declined in the community recently	The majority believe it has	The majority believe it has
Perception of whether the community is a Māori-speaking one	The majority believe it is not	The majority believe it is
Perception of where responsibility for the language is mainly located	Kōhanga reo; school; marae; individual	Whole community, including marae, kaumātua and kuia, school, kōhanga reo.
Whether individuals need to take more responsibility for the language	YES	YES
Whether a comprehensive community-based language plan should be developed	YES	YES

Although these reports indicate that there are some major differences between the two communities in terms, for example, of self-assessed proficiency and beliefs regarding the degree of importance for *Tūhoe reo*, what they have in common is the fact that the majority of respondents in both samples indicated (a) that they believed that the use of *te reo Māori* in their communities had declined in recent years, and (b) that individuals needed to take more responsibility for the language. In addition, an overwhelming majority of participants in both communities believed that a

comprehensive community-based language plan would be of assistance in securing a future for the language.

3.5.3 Towards inter-generational transmission of *te reo Māori*: Supporting community use

A number of groups and organizations are currently working to support community use and inter-generational transmission of *te reo Māori* in the home. Some of these are discussed below, often in considerable detail since this is an area of direct relevance to the research project reported here.

3.5.3.1 *Te Puni Kōkiri* (2002)

Te Puni Kōkiri (2002) conducted research relating to factors that assisted or hindered the intergenerational transmission of *te reo Māori* within families and communities. That research involved Māori parents from four different areas (Christchurch (12), Ōpōtiki (11), Porirua (11) and Wellington (17)). All of the research participants completed a background questionnaire (p. 49ff) and each of them participated in two focus groups, with seven also taking part in individual interviews. It was noted that the participants “tended to have medium to high *Māori* language proficiency” (p. 19). Among the findings were that participants tended to:

- set high benchmarks for their own language learning and see themselves as having failed if they did not achieve them (pp. 23-24);
- experience anxiety when learning the language and using it around more proficient speakers (pp. 31 & 32);
- have a preference for communicative approaches to language learning that include group activities and language relevant to their everyday lives (p. 25);
- lack critical awareness in relation to the time required to learn an additional language, the stages involved, and the importance of regular exposure in the context of intergenerational target language use and strategies for overcoming children’s resistance to it (pp. 36 & 37).

The recommendations (p. 39) are summarized below:

- *Māori* language speakers should be encouraged to recognize their *Māori* language skills and supported to increase their confidence;
- language training providers should focus on the needs and preferred approaches of learners and recognize the complex problems they face;
- community ‘leads’ should be identified and should receive targeted training;
- safe environments for *Māori* language use should be established;
- information should be provided to assist (a) language learners to understand more about the language learning process, (b) parents to make informed language choices, and (c) fluent speakers to understand the difficulties facing language learners.

These recommendations are based on research involving a relatively small sample (a total of 51 participants) and do not include anything that could not have been inferred from the more general literature on language revitalization. Nevertheless, they do serve as a timely reminder of the sorts of problems faced by those involved in *flax roots* level language revitalization.

3.5.3.2 Review of *Te Reo o Taranaki* Trust Language Revitalization Strategy

In June 2010, the report of a review of the revitalization strategy of *Te Reo o Taranaki Trust* (TRoT) was produced by Dr Will Edwards and Dr Mihi Ratima. TRoT was established in 1986 to facilitate *Taranaki Māori* language revitalization and to secure a better understanding of barriers and facilitators to revitalization. The enterprise focused on identity and on building critical awareness among speaker communities rather than on language acquisition itself, and a variety of strategies to encourage community-based language use and acquisition were piloted.

The overall aim at the time of the establishment of *TRoT*, as indicated in *Te Reo o Taranaki* (2005, p. 7), was:

By 2005, *Taranaki reo* will be the preferred *Māori* language dialect used in Taranaki, naturally acquired and sustained within all *Māori* community environments, strengthening our unique regional identity.

A central point made in the review (p. 43) is the importance of community:

A consistent point derived from all project data sources is that *Taranaki Māori* community is at the heart of localized *Māori* language revitalization. Further, a bottom up rather than top down approach is recognized as underpinning local language revitalization.

Also identified as being central was the development of critical awareness (p. 44):

Critical awareness is . . . a mediating construct between language revitalization and broader community cohesion as a platform for development across sectors and the sustainability of initiatives. Critical awareness underpins the conscious efforts that are required by speakers who choose to speak the threatened language in environments that are overwhelmingly based on the more dominant language or dialects from other *iwi*. *Critical awareness is not so much about knowing what to do in terms of either language revitalization or community development, but rather about individuals and communities understanding the root causes of language loss and a concurrent readiness to take action based on that understanding. . . .* (emphasis added).

Raising community critical awareness is fundamental to building the level of *Taranaki reo* activism that needs to be instilled in individuals and communities in order to make the sacrifices required in the face of other language domination to maintain *Taranaki reo* on a day to day basis. *There are steps that may be taken to support language development. . . . However, alone they are insufficient to enable intergenerational language transmission. . . . Caregivers must have the level of activism that cements their motivation to change themselves, their daily lives, and their speaker community in order to achieve the level of immersion required for language revitalization* (emphasis added).

A further critical aspect relates to the role of government versus the role of communities (p. 45):

Communities have the central role . . . and it is the nature of the relationship between communities and their language that determines whether or not language revitalization will be successful.

In contrast the role of government is around national language priorities. . . . *Government needs to . . . accept that if a goal of the Māori Language Strategy is to support self-priming language communities, this cannot be achieved with the predominant set of language revitalization projects that are currently being implemented* (emphasis added).

Stressed in the report is the relationship between language revitalization and identity and the importance of accessibility and relevance (pp. 46 & 47):

Data generated in this study supports the view that language revitalization is not only about *Taranaki reo*, but is also centered on *Taranaki* values and culture which can only be practiced in community contexts. This lends further credence to the broad benefits of community based and non-formal learning environments.

It is important that language programmes are accessible to communities, and therefore fit with the lived realities of *Taranaki Māori*. That is, for example, that programmes are not perceived to be ‘academic’ in nature and targeting the elite in an environment *where there are rising concerns that Māori language acquisition may be a luxury ‘affordable’ only to middle class Māori* (emphasis added).

Findings of the research indicate the need for community-based real world learning experiences through, for example, participation at *tangihanga* (funeral) and other *hui* (meetings).

It is important to note that one of the barriers to providing effective community-based support identified in the review is financial (p. 52):

Since its inception, TRoT has suffered from inadequate levels of sustainable financial resources to implement the range of identified strategic responses that would progress localized language revitalization in sustainable ways. *A major problem is that there is no clear funding stream from Government for the types of language revitalization activities undertaken by TRoT. . . .* [The] development of longer term immersion environments (such as a proposed *Taranaki reo* immersion kibbutz initiative) do not fit with structured educational programmes and therefore sit outside of current funding frameworks (emphasis added).

Although it is noted that forging alliances with educational institutions has been unavoidable, it is stressed that “the tertiary education model has a focus on ‘private good’ as opposed to ‘public good’”, does not involve the whole *whānau*, is outputs-focused and runs to specified timeframes (p. 53). It is also noted that “[c]ommunity activism is a central motivator and driver of localised language revitalization” but that “[g]enerally, government policy has sought to institutionalise community activism” so that “interventions become output rather than process focused” (p. 53).

Above all, a critical problem that is identified relates to community buy-in (p. 55):

The extent of *iwi* and wider *Māori* community buy-in to language revitalization generally has been a constraint for TRoT.

In concluding, the reviewers outline six key areas that require further consideration and development (pp. 59- 63):

- Funding models that retain the authenticity of community action while maintaining administrative integrity with regard to expenditure of State funds;
- *Māori* community and *iwi* coordination of the language revitalization project at a national level;
- Investment in critical awareness and language use in practice;

- Intergenerational language transmission model as the crucial component of language acquisition;
- Best practice processes; and
- Sustaining localized regional dialects.

3.5.3.3 *Te Arawa*: Survey Report

A report on a research project conducted in *Te Arawa* was produced in 2010 (Raureti & Hohepa - Watene, 2010). The overall aim of that project was to find ways of increasing the amount of *Māori* spoken in the region, improving the overall standard of the language spoken and identifying ways of helping people to use the language. This, in turn, involved attempting to identify barriers and facilitators. Surveys were carried out using a five-part *koru*-style framework developed by *Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori* in order to identify states of language development. In each of a number of areas (status; acquisition; proficiency; use) five levels of engagement were identified, with *Level 1* being the lowest and *Level 5* being the highest. Eight projects were identified, with five of them (listed below) being the main focus of attention:

- *Kura Pou Reo*;
- *Tūhourangi Whānau Kōrerorero*;
- *Ngāti Pīkiao ki te Kāinga*;
- *Pō Kawhei*;
- *Marae ki te Marae Hīkoi*.

In relation to the first project above (*Kura Pou Reo*), although twelve *Pou Reo* were present, only eleven completed an initial survey (2009). In the final survey (2010), only eight *Pou Reo* were present (all completing the survey), with two being involved in other activities at the time. In terms of the five levels, the self-reported distribution was as indicated in *Table 3.2* below:

Table 3.2: *Te Arawa survey report: Kura Pou Reo Self-assessment levels*

	Level 1 (lowest level)		Level 2		Level 3		Level 4		Level 5 (highest level)	
	2009	2010	2009	2010	2009	2010	2009	2010	2009	2010
Status			1	1	1	1	3		6	6
Acquisition						2	1		10	5
Proficiency					1	2	3		7	6
Use			1	1	1	3	3		6	3

All of those involved in this aspect of the survey were teachers of *te reo Māori*. It is, perhaps, therefore not surprising to find that they showed a high level of motivation and readiness to improve their knowledge and understanding of the language. What *is* surprising is that whereas 10 of the 11 involved in the first survey (91%) selected the highest level of involvement under the category of acquisition, fewer, that is, 5 out of 8 of those who participated in the second survey (62.5%) did so. The report writers suggest that this may have been because the survey was given on the final day of their course so that “the decline in their recorded readiness to learn . . . reflected the ‘last day of school’ frame of mind” (p. 20). This may have played a role in the participants’ responses. Whether it did so or not, it is important to note that the quantitative aspect of the research findings has no real significance in view of (a) the small number of questionnaire participants and (b) the nature of the statements from which participants were asked to make a selection. Thus, for example, under the heading of ‘acquisition’, the five levels of engagement (from lowest to highest) were:

I have some interest in knowing more *Māori* words;

I am now ready to learn more *Māori* words;

I am now ready to learn more *Māori* phrases;

I am now ready to learn more *Māori* phrases pertaining to a variety of situations;

I am now ready to learn about the details pertaining to the structure of *te reo Māori*.

Each of these statements is problematic from the perspective of language acquisition. Thus, for example, the organization of the statements suggests that ‘learn[ing] *about*’ (emphasis added) language structure is a high-level acquisition goal. Certainly, it is generally agreed that language teaching should be informed by, among other things, an understanding of language structure. However, it is also generally agreed that learning about the structure of a language (as opposed to learning how to use language that is appropriately structured) is not a language acquisition goal (see, for example, Wang, 2008, pp. 174-180). Since the participants in this aspect of the survey were involved in language teaching (and might therefore be expected to have had some awareness of the issues raised here in connection with the nature of the discriminators used), they may have had particular difficulty in making sense of the statements relating to acquisition as discriminators. In addition, although the overview of the survey includes a recommendation that *Te Ātaarangi rākau* method should be continued, there is no provision in the study to compare that method with any others. Nevertheless, the recommendations that relate to qualitative aspects of the survey do provide some useful information. In connection with this, it is interesting to note that in response to a question about what made their learning more difficult (included only in the final survey), the participants made reference to a range of competing activities that occupied their time (e.g. *tangihanga*) and indicated that the provision of free childcare during language sessions would be of considerable assistance.

The second project examined was *Tūhourangi Whānau Kōrerorero*, a series of *whānau-centred Māori language classes*. At the first of these classes, in 2009, there were 46 people present, including the *pou ruruku* and three *Tūhourangi pou reo*. Forty-one (41) surveys were completed. The final survey was conducted in May 2010. At that time, there were 19 *whānau* members present but only 12 surveys were completed and returned. Of these, only 5 were completed by people who had been involved since the project’s inception.

Although the emphasis in the overview is on the fact that new participants were welcomed throughout the project (p.35), the fact remains that there was clearly a high attrition rate. In connection with this, the authors made the following comment: “. . . from conversations with Pou Reo . . . the main reasons people left were because of employment - performing in evening concerts [and] working in seasonal kiwifruit industry” (p. 36). It is, however, added that “having a long break in attending class over the Christmas-New Year holiday period . . . resulted in loss of motivation to begin again in 2010” (p. 36). Once again, as in the case of the first project (and for similar reasons), little genuinely useful information can be retrieved from the quantitative aspect of the survey. What does emerge strongly, however, is the difficulty of securing long term engagement in projects such as this. From this perspective, the recommendation that classes of this type should be delivered in shorter, thematic blocks, with participants selecting which they would attend seems, at first sight, to be sensible. Even so, it is a recommendation that is inconsistent with what is known about the importance of ongoing engagement with language learning.

The third project investigated was *Ngāti Pīkiao ki te Kāinga Reo Māori* classes. In this case, there were 31 people present during the first survey (September 2010), of whom 27 completed questionnaires, but only 3 students remaining at the time of the second survey in 2010. The reasons given by the writers of the report are similar to those given for the drop in participation rate in the case of *Tūhourangi Whānau Kōrerorero*. The researchers’ primary conclusions, that “there has . . . been an increase in the amount of *reo Māori* spoken by participants” and “an increase in the standard of *reo Māori* spoken (in terms of participants’ perceptions)” cannot be said to valid inferences from the data collected. Nevertheless, it is relevant to note that the barriers to success in this case (i.e. other commitments and loss of motivation during the long Christmas/ New Year break) are the same as they were in the case of the previous survey (i.e. *Tūhourangi Whānau Kōrerorero*).

The fourth initiative studied was *Pō Kawhei*, an initiative involving the provision of a café-style environment where people could meet and engage in activities aimed at encouraging them to use *te reo Māori*. Booklets that listed simple phrases bilingually in English and *Māori* were made available to assist discussion.

At the first session, in September 2009, there were, at any one time, from 20 to 30 people present, mainly women and mainly in the 45-60 age groups. Overall, in the first half of the season (September - December 2009), the average number of participants was 23; in the second half (February - April, 2010), it was 6.5. Once again, the long Christmas-New Year break was hypothesized to be one of the reasons for the considerably lower attendance later in the programme (p. 72). Another possible reason provided was the change of days - from Monday to Thursday evenings (pp. 72-73). Finally, it is noted that “participant numbers may have dropped [because of] the nearing of autumn and with it colder evenings and daylight saving” (p. 73). The overall conclusion reached is as follows:

With reference to the main aim . . . which was to increase the amount of *reo* spoken within *Te Arawa*, it can be said that the *kaimahi* of *Te Arawa FM* achieved that goal by establishing and operating *Pō Kawhehi* from September 2009 to March 2010, because they provided a café-type setting where *te reo Māori* was spoken, celebrated, enjoyed and promoted on a weekly basis where none had been previously (p. 73).

The final project investigated was *Marae ki te Marae Hīkoi*, a project whose main aim was to promote the use of *te reo Māori* whilst engaging in healthy and enjoyable activity (walking, warming up exercises and learning about different *marae*). There were four planned walks involving eight different *marae* commencing in February and ending in April 2010. The number of participants for each of these activities was: 35, increasing to 50 by the end of the event (*Event 1*); 40, increasing to 50 by the end of the event (*Event 2*); approximately 50 (*Events 3 & 4*).

It is noted in the report that “[*te*] *reo Māori* was promoted from the start to the end of each Hīkoi” (p. 92). During the fourth event, tee shirts promoting *te reo Māori* and a healthy lifestyle were distributed, something that proved popular with the participants. Clearly, these events were very successful, more so than the others to the extent that the participation rate remained high throughout.

Overall, the *Te Arawa Māori* language initiatives (which included one - *Ruamata Waka Ama* - which did not eventuate) demonstrated very considerable commitment on the part of the organizers. However, in all cases except for the *Hīkoi* the participation rate fell off markedly, something that was attributed by the reviewers to the intervention of other responsibilities and commitments and to a reduction in motivation resulting from a long break over the Christmas/ New Year period. There may, however, have been other reasons, a possibility that was not fully investigated.

Another thing that was not investigated in the case of the three projects that explicitly involved the teaching and learning of *te reo Māori* was the possibility that different teaching methods, particularly the wide range of methods developed in the context of the communicative approach to language teaching during the past fifty years, might have been more appropriate, particularly where young learners were involved, and might have led to higher retention and achievement rates. All of these things, combined with the fact that the descriptors used in relation to acquisition appear to have been problematic, raise important issues concerning the validity of some of the conclusions reached and recommendations made. In view of the increased significance that is currently being attached to community-based initiatives relating to the learning, use and inter-generational transmission of *te reo Māori*, highlighting issues such as these could prove to be of considerable significance in relation to future research in the area.

3.5.3.4 He Kāinga Kōrerorero

He Kāinga Kōrerorero is a mentoring programme set up in 2006-7 under the umbrella of *Whānau Language Development*, a component of the *Māori Language and Broadcasting Team* of *Te Puni Kōkiri*. *Te Ātaarangi Education Trust* was charged with delivery of the programme. The overall aim of the programme is to support intergenerational transmission of *te reo Māori* through *whānau* language development. Initially, in the pilot stage, ten *whānau* in each of ten communities were involved. By 2010, the programme was running across the country (in all regions of the North Island and in Canterbury and Otago in the South Island) and one hundred and forty *whānau* were involved, with each *pouārahi* (mentor) responsible for several *whānau*.

Surveys of the effectiveness of the programme in terms of its short-term outcomes were conducted in 2009 and 2010 via three questionnaires (one for adults over 15; one for children under 15 - completed by an adult on their behalf; one for *whānau*). The second of these surveys (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010), in which 118 adults and 121 children participated, provided comparative data. Among the findings (for 2010 only unless indicated otherwise) were the following:

- 33% of child participants were reported to be first language speakers of *Māori*;
- 26% of children had been speaking *Māori* at home for a year or less;
- children were most likely to use the language at mealtimes, during morning routines and at bedtime;
- in terms of self-assessed proficiency, 63% of adult participants rated themselves as being at levels 2 or 3 (beginner or intermediate) on a six-point scale;
- in terms of ability to speak the language, self-assessed on a six-point scale, the highest response rate for adults was for the second lowest point on the scale (28%), with around 20% selecting each of the next two higher categories;
- in terms of use of the language, 66% of adults selected 'speaking sometimes' or 'reasonably common use', the mid-points on a six-point scale;
- approximately 79% of adult participants indicated that they used the language regularly when speaking to children, with fewer (53%) reporting that they did so regularly when speaking to other *whānau* and friends;
- in terms of using the language when engaged in particular types of activity (e.g. requiring tasks to be done around the home) and when in particular settings/ contexts (e.g. mealtimes/ in the kitchen), responses of adults indicated that there was a considerably greater likelihood that they would do so in linguistically less demanding circumstances;

- approximately 46% of *whānau* reports indicated that they were using or starting to use a plan relating to speaking *Māori* in the home or were using only *Māori* in the home.

While there seems little doubt that the programme referred to above is likely to assist those seeking to use *te reo Māori* in home settings, it is important to note that sporadic or intermittent use of the language in the home, particularly where it is restricted to particular contexts and is characterized by a lack of genuine fluency, is unlikely to contribute in any major way to inter-generational transmission. In connection with this, it is relevant to note that the research indicates that the majority of those involved do not have a high level of proficiency in *te reo Māori* and tend to use it in contexts that are linguistically undemanding.

3.5.3.5 *Reo o te Kainga*: A *Ngāi-te-Rangi* tribal response to advancing Māori language in the home

The two and a half year project to which reference is made here relates to a *Ngāi-te-Rangi* initiative, the overall aim of which was to investigate how partnership arrangements with *whānau* can facilitate use and comprehension of *te reo Māori* in homes (Ormsby-Teki et al., 2011). Involved in the project were nine *whānau*, each being assigned a mentor. Although *whānau* members had varying degrees of proficiency in *te reo Māori*, it is important to note that a requirement of involvement was that, in all cases, at least one *whānau* member had what is described as “an in depth comprehension of *Te Reo*” (p. 71). It is also important to note that a number of strategies for creative engagement in *reo* and *tikanga* were used in order to assist *whānau* (including, for example, *whānau* story telling) and that *whānau* were provided with a number of inputs to assist them to begin to engage in home use of the language, including lists of useful words (p. 13). Several impediments to the use of *te reo Māori* in the home were identified, the most significant of which was, as in the case of other studies, time pressure.

Another was awkwardness and embarrassment (p. 99). Among the disincentives identified was the tendency of some *rangatahi* to correct the errors of other *whānau* members and of some teenagers to be insensitive to the feelings of others and to exhibit passive behaviour (p. 90). Among the strategies that were found to be most

effective were the establishment and recognition of *Māori* only areas (p. 89) and the introduction of competitive games and activities associated with rewards (p. 105). Most notable among the findings were:

- the valuable role that *whānau* believed mentors played in motivating and supporting their efforts (p. 106);
- the tendency for women to play a more positive and active role than men (p. 94);
- the importance of having a *whānau* ‘driver’ who remained enthusiastic and committed, someone who need not necessarily be the most proficient speaker (p. 95);
- the fact that *kuia* and *koroua* played an inspirational role overall and that the most significant *te reo korero* relationships existed between *kuia* and *koroua* and their *mokopuna* (p. 105);
- individuals with high oral competence did not necessarily operate as key players or initiate and sustain more conversational interactions than did other *whānau* members (p. 89).

Some of the observations, such as, for example, the fact that that most progress was made when all *whānau* members supported one another (p. 102), are not surprising. The following two are, however, not what might have been anticipated:

What was . . . surprising was that although there were some who had undertaken prior study of Te Reo, this did not guarantee a strong basis for the *whānau* to strive forward in their Te Reo aspirations. In some cases, it was actually a deterrent. Those who had te reo (or some te reo) did not always actively become Te Reo supporters in their home.

. . . . *The reo capacity of an individual was therefore not the determining factor of whether individuals spoke reo at home or whether they participated positively in the project. The person who motivated everyone to korero was not necessarily the most able Te Reo speaker within the home (emphasis added) (p. 107).*

. . . . The research results indicate that increasing language in the home depends on more inter-*whānau* relationships, *inter-whānau* dynamics, and inter-personal dynamics than it does on language course history, language inputs or even the process of language acquisition itself. . . . [W]e . . . found . . . that *those particular whānau who had such experience had no clear advantage in raising the level of spoken language in the home, in comparison to the whānau who had no experience in te Reo Māori at all*” (emphasis added) (p. 108).

Taken at face value, these observations would appear to have very considerable significance in relation to inter-generational transmission. However, these observations require interrogation. There are many possible reasons why those who have prior experience of taking language courses may find it more difficult to take part in the sort of activity outlined here. Some may, for example, have had a heightened awareness of the complexities involved and, therefore, have been less optimistic about what was likely to be achieved. Without further information, it would seem unwise to base any firm conclusions on these types of very general observation.

3.5.3.6 *Te Puna o Waiōrea*: Final report

A report on a *Māori* language playgroup model was produced in 2010 (Aperahama et al., 2010). The aim of that free programme was to (a) develop and refine the current playgroup language model with a view to making it more extensive and inclusive, and (b) seek to ensure that it stimulated functional language use in homes, local communities and other communities where playgroup family members associate (p.4). The programme, which included adults living in urban settings in Auckland who felt isolated from the *Māori* language educational system, had two main strands: *Māori4kids* and *Māori4grownups*.

The first was a one day a week (2 hours) mother and baby programme; the second was made up of a range of evening activities (e.g. games nights and movie nights) focusing on fun and rich in *Māori* language experiences. To assist in the development of their language, caregivers were provided with lists of *Māori* words

and phrases that could be used when interacting with their children. They were also provided with a *Māori* language resource list. In addition, those with a higher level of proficiency were encouraged to provide the others with ten minute adult language lessons based on the *rākau* method (See 2.4.2). The primary focus of the report was the experiences of a group of participants based in Auckland. Data were collected largely via questionnaires (15 completed) and face-to-face interviews (11 completed) but some informal observations were also included in the report. Among the findings were:

- on a 7-point scale, 60% of those involved assessed their own ability in *te reo Māori* to be at the mid-point;
- some of the participants preferred this model to the *Kōhanga reo* model because they preferred that their children be primarily home-based in their early years;
- many attempted to use *te reo Māori* when speaking to their children but used English when speaking to other adults in the home;
- major barriers to use of *te reo Māori* in the home were time (e.g. lack of time to check dictionaries, etc.), inability to express themselves clearly (over 75% of participants) and fear of being judged as linguistically incompetent;
- major motivators for learning *te reo Māori* for all of the participants were the desire to speak the language to their children and the opportunity of using it in a supportive *Māori-speaking* environment.

Of particular interest so far as the current project is concerned is the following comment made by one of the parents:

It's important not to model incorrect language structure so I avoid doing that. For the development of thinking and concepts . . . it's important to be exposed to rich language. That's why I spoke English as well because I could model all the complex patterns which is important for development (*Appendix 1*).

3.6 Conclusion

There is general agreement in the literature on language revitalization that intergenerational transmission in homes and communities is the key to sustainability. A number of recent research projects focusing on *Māori* explore issues associated with use of, and support for *te reo Māori* in homes and communities. However, some of these use approaches to data collection that lack genuine rigour and some include conclusions and recommendations that would appear not to relate in any direct way to the data collected. Furthermore, while use of, and support for the use of *te reo Māori* in homes and communities is a necessary condition for inter-generational transmission, it is very far from being a sufficient condition. It is simply not possible to transmit a language from one generation to the next unless those who are attempting to do so have an adequate level of proficiency in the language. In addition, as one of the parents involved in *Te Puna o Waiōrea* pointed out, there are potential dangers involved so far as children's cognitive development is concerned. Add to this the difficulty of attempting to do so in a context in which the dominant language of the country is an international one that is associated with a wide range of activities and cultural expressions (e.g. fashion, film, music) that have a particular appeal to young adults and the need for much more research in the area becomes undeniable.

Chapter 4

Reporting on a Questionnaire-based Survey of the Backgrounds, Beliefs and Practices of a Sample of Users of *te reo Māori*

4.1 Introduction

A survey of a sample of users (mainly also learners) of *te reo Māori* was conducted between June and October 2010. That survey involved questionnaires and semi-structured interviews, the first being intended to collect as much relevant data as possible, the second being intended to gain more in-depth information. This chapter reports on the questionnaire-based part of the survey. It provides background information about it (4.2), a summary of the data collected (4.3), a discussion of the findings (4.4) and a final observation (4.5).

4.2 The questionnaire-based survey: Background information

4.2.1 Aim of the survey

The primary aim of the survey was to investigate the backgrounds, beliefs and practices of a sample of users (mainly also learners) of *te reo Māori* with a view to gaining data of relevance to the three research questions that underpin the research project as a whole:

1. *What are the attitudes and approaches of a sample of adults (mainly fluent speakers or learners of the language) to the intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori in homes and communities?*
2. *What factors that facilitate or inhibit inter-generational transmission of the language do these adults identify?*
3. *What strategies do they use to encourage, support and reward their children's developing linguistic competence and use of the language?*

The decision to begin with a questionnaire-based survey was determined primarily by a desire to collect as much data in the limited time available as possible.

4.2.2 Production and trialling of the draft questionnaire

A draft questionnaire was designed in four parts: *Background information*, consisting of 13 questions; *Attitudes, beliefs and practices*, consisting of 18 questions; *Words, concepts and domains*, consisting of 3 questions; and *The Next Generation*, consisting of 7 questions. In addition, there was a final question inviting participants to add any further information/ opinions they wished. The initial section of the questionnaire (*Background information*) was considered important in order to ensure that the responses to the other sections could be appropriately contextualized. The thirteen questions in this section related to gender, age range, ethnic background (including, where available, specific details relating to tribal affiliation), childhood language/s, experience/ understanding of aspects of *Māori* culture, contexts in which learning of *te reo Māori* took place/ are taking place, qualifications relating to *te reo Māori*, dialect used by participants' teachers (where relevant), self-assessment of current proficiency in the language (using a six point scale) and estimated amount of time spent using the language each day.

The final question in the questionnaire, which invited participants to make any comments they wished, was intended to ensure that they were given adequate opportunity to include anything they considered relevant irrespective of whether it was covered in the other questions. The questions in the remaining three sections were intended to relate directly to the two research questions outlined above (each of which relates to inter-generational transmission). The central questions - those relating most directly to the research questions underpinning the research project - were the following ones:

2.5 If you have ever chosen to learn te reo Māori, what are/were your reasons?

2.5 I am not Māori but I have Māori children.

2.5 I want/wanted to be able to raise my children to speak te reo Māori and understand tikanga.

2.11 *How important do you think it is to use te reo Māori when speaking to other speakers of the language (essential; very important, not important)?*

3.3 *Which of the following is true in your case (including: I prefer to speak Māori rather than English)?*

4.1 *Do you have children or grandchildren (including whāngai children)?*

4.2 *If you answered 'yes' (to 4.1 above), approximately how much of the time do you speak te reo Māori to them (always; usually; occasionally; never)?*

4.3 *Do you ever experience any problems in using te reo Māori to communicate with your own children or grandchildren or other children with whom you have regular contact (yes; no; sometimes)?*

4.4 *If you have children or grandchildren did you, do you or will you send them to te kōhanga reo (yes; no; don't know)?*

4.5 *If you have children or grandchildren did you/ do you/ will you send them to primary/ intermediate schools that teach mainly through the medium of te reo Māori (yes; no; don't know)?*

4.6 *If you have children or grandchildren did you/ do you/ will you send them to secondary schools that teach mainly through the medium of te reo Māori (yes; no; don't know)?*

4.7 *How important do you believe it is to ensure that your children or grandchildren speak te reo Māori (essential; very important; important; not important)?*

Overall, there were 42 questions, including a combination of:

- binary questions (e.g. male/female; yes/no);

- questions involving selection of one of a range of between three and six options (including questions that involved selecting a point on a scale);
- questions involving selection of as many options as participants wished from a list of between four and twenty options (including questions that involved, in the case of each selection, a further choice involving selecting a point on a scale);
- questions involving the provision of information relating to a number of specified areas (e.g. the names of *iwi*, *hapū*, *marae* etc.);
- wholly open questions (asking, for example, for a reason/ explanation relating to a previous response).

Following trialling of the questionnaire by three learners of *te reo Māori*, it was decided to add spaces (headed ‘Comment’) after a number of the questions for participants to add further information if they chose to do so, thus providing more opportunities for respondents to express their views and, consequently, allowing for the provision of more qualitative data and therefore potentially enhancing the overall information base. The time taken to complete the questionnaire by those who trialled it was between 15 and 20 minutes (which all three considered not to be overly demanding). The final, revised version of the questionnaire, including all of the questions as well as information about the research and an outline of the rights of participants is included as *Appendix 2: Questionnaire for learners of te reo Māori*.

4.2.3 Ethical considerations

In accordance with the policy of *Te Whare Wananga o Waikato* (The University of Waikato) and that of *Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao* (The School of *Māori* and *Pacific* Development), a copy of the questionnaire (and the interview prompts used in the semi-structured interviews reported in *Chapter 5*) plus a list of the procedures to be followed were submitted to *Te Kāhui Manutāiko* (The Human Research Ethics Committee of the School of *Māori* and *Pacific* Development) for vetting and approval. The Committee reviewed and approved the documentation provided (see *Appendix 1: Research Ethics Committee approval*). In accordance with recommendations included in Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007, p. 259), the questionnaire cover sheet indicated:

- the overall aim of the research;
- the estimated amount of time for questionnaire completion (15-20 minutes);
- the wholly voluntary nature of participation and the right of participants to decide not to answer some of the questions;
- a guarantee that the findings of the survey would be presented in such a way as to ensure anonymity of participants and the confidentiality of individual responses.

4.2.4 Target population and distribution

Included in the target population was anyone over the age of 16 who was, or had been a learner of *te reo Māori* and had, therefore, already indicated some commitment to the language. In practice, however, the sample was one of convenience. All 230 potential participants who were approached were known personally to the researcher or to friends of the researcher or were people the researcher met at *hui* or other gatherings. All were approached personally by the researcher who, if they wished, remained with them while they responded to the questionnaire, answering any questions (including requests for clarification) they had. Most, but not all of those who were approached were *currently* directly involved in, or associated with the educational sector (e.g. *kōhanga reo*, *kura kaupapa Māori*, *wānanga*) and were at that time living in the *Waikato* or *Hauraki* areas, that is, the areas to which I had most immediate access. While it is acknowledged that limiting participation to people living in these areas has the potential barrier to impact in a negative way on the overall generalizability of the findings, it was necessary in view of my personal circumstances. In the event, responses to one of the questions indicated that while most of the participants were located in the *Waikato* or *Hauraki* areas, they came from many different areas of the country (see 4.3.1 below). One hundred and twenty-seven (127) questionnaires were completed, a response rate of fifty-five per cent (55%).

4.2.5 Analyzing the response data

Each questionnaire was individually numbered and *Microsoft Excel* (selected because it was readily available to me and had all of the functions required in this case) was utilized to record data and to analyze those data that were subject to

statistical manipulation, all other data being grouped into categories in terms of thematic content.

4.3 Data analysis

Some of the comments made by participants are included in the data summary below. These have been selected either because they add something to the data that is not recoverable from the statistically-based account and/or because they are particularly relevant in relation to the research questions underpinning the research as a whole. A complete list of comments is, however, included as *Appendix 3: Comments made by questionnaire participants*.

4.3.1 Part 1: Background information

Responses to *Questions 1.1-1.3* and *1.5* are summarized in *Table 4.1* below.

Table 4.1: Some background information about the participants

Categories	Variables	No.	%
Gender	Male	41	32%
	Female	81	64%
	NR	5	4%
Age	16-20	16	12.5%
	21-30	32	25%
	31-40	34	27%
	41-60	39	31%
	60+	6	5%
Ethnic background	Māori	121	95%
	Non-Māori	5	4%
	NR	1	0.7%
Language/s introduced to in infancy (excluding languages other than Māori & English)	Māori and English	64	60%
	English only	33	31%
	Māori only	10	9%

Question 1.4 asked participants to provide, if possible, the names of their *maunga*, *awa*, *moana*, *hapū*, *iwi*, *waka* and *marae*. The entries revealed that although most of the participants were located in the *Waikato* or *Hauraki* areas, they came from many different areas of the country.

Question 1.5 asked participants which of a range of aspects of Māori culture they had experience of and to what extent. The responses are summarized in Table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2: Experience of different aspects of Māori culture

Categories	Variables						No response
	A lot		A little		A bit/ nothing		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Kai moana (fishing/bird/food and resource collecting from oceanic water sources)	82	64.5%	37	29%	6	5%	2
Kai kiore (fishing/bird/food and resource collecting from bushlands, forests, wetlands, rivers and lakes)	40	31%	47	37%	37	29%	3
Kai mārā (traditional Māori farming and/or gardening)	53	42%	43	34%	31	24%	0
Toi Whakaari (arts)	53	42%	43	34%	28		3
Toi Harakeke (weaving from flax and related resources)	42	33%	47		37	29%	1
Toi Whakairo (wood carving/carpentry/ waka building, etc.)	10	8%	43	34%	70	55%	4
Tā Moko (traditional Māori tattooing)	12	9%	32	25%	81	64%	2
Whakapono Māori (Māori religion karakia/ whakapapa)	62	49%	46	36%	18	14%	1
Mau Rākau (traditional Māori offensive and defensive martial arts/ strategies)	24	19%	42	33%	56	44%	5
Rongoa Māori (Māori medicine and healing)	23	18%	67	53%	31	24%	6

Question 1.6 also asked participants to add any other activities, under the heading ‘Other’, that they had experience of. There were twelve (12) responses:

I te wā i tupu au, i kitea au, i rongō au i ēnei momo mahi, waenganui i tōku whānau whānui. (Whilst growing up I saw and heard about these distinct skills within my family and extended family).

Tino kaha taku whānau ki te whai atu ngā rongōā Māori (e.g. *tohunga*). (My family are fiercely passionate about, and practice traditional Māori healing and medicines (e.g. expert)).

Karanga, waiata tāwhito, kapa haka. ((*Karanga*) One who calls visitors on to a *marae* or a place where a meeting, function, congregation is to be held, etc in accordance with *tikanga Māori*; (*waiata tāwhito*) traditional Māori songs; (*kapa haka*) Māori cultural performance group).

We lived in town so I didn't have the experience to do *kai moana, kai kiore, kai mara*. (We lived in town so I didn't have the experience to do (diving for seafood, hunting for bush-food, traditional home garden).

Kaupapa waka (Knowledge of traditional *waka*).

Waka Taua (Rowing Māori *waka*).

Kapa Haka, Mau Rākau, Tītoa Waiata Māori. (Māori performance group, wielding Māori weapons of war, composing Māori songs).

Kapa Haka is instrumental to the increase of experience & comprehension of 'Reo' for non speakers. More and more people are involved with *kapa-haka*, thousands attend regional and national competitions.

In the process of attending *tikanga Māori* classes. (Māori knowledge, culture, philosophies and principles, practices and world view).

Raised by *koro* (grandfather).

If applicable, *hei whiwhi taonga māku, he moko kauae nō tōku hoa rangatira, me te iwi o Ngāti Apakura – Hiretu.* (If applicable, I am to have an adornment, a *moko* (traditional Māori tattoo for women) on my chin applied by my husband, and the tribe of Ngāti Apakura - Hiretu).

Question 1.7 asked participants to indicate which of a number of statements were true in their case. The responses are summarised in Table 4.3 below.

Table 4.3: How/where participants learned te reo Māori

Categories	Variables				No response
	True in my case		Not true in my case		
	No.	%	No.	%	
At least one of my parents/caregivers spoke te reo Māori to me and taught me tikanga Māori since I was born and they were also raised in the same way	86	68%	36	28%	5
I learned to speak te reo Māori by being raised by at least one parent/caregiver who learned to speak te reo Māori as a second language	69	33%	48	54%	10
I learned to speak te reo Māori at Kōhanga Reo	43	34%	73	57%	11
I learned to speak te reo Māori in a bilingual unit of a 'mainstream' secondary school	42	33%	64	50%	21
I learned to speak te reo Māori by taking it as a subject in a 'mainstream' primary/intermediate school	25	20%	80	63%	22
I learned to speak te reo Māori at a primary/intermediate school where Māori was the main or only medium instruction for the school as a whole	26	20%	78	62%	23
I learned to speak te reo Māori at a secondary school where Māori was the main or only medium instruction for the school as a whole	24	19%	77	61%	26

Twenty three (23) respondents chose the 'Other' category and ten (10) of them provided further details as follows:

Kaimahi i te Kōhanga Reo (As a worker at kōhanga reo).

Learnt Māori in secondary school - Compulsory (Boarding School).

After my *tupuna* died I paid to go back to *kura* to learn. [He] died when I was 14 years old.

I learnt to speak *te reo* in a *Kōhanga Reo* as an adult alongside my children.

Rangitahi College is a *Māori* school and they're aiming to increase the language.

I learnt *te reo* growing up with my nana and going to *kōhanga* furthered it.

Te wā i whānau mai te pōtiki o aku tamariki (When my youngest child was born).

I attended *Te Ara Rima* (A *Māori-immersion* primary/ intermediate school).

Home school till I was eleven.

I noho au i te kāinga ki te mahi tae atu i tōku tau 13. (I stayed at home to work until I turned 13).

Question 1.8 asked participants if they were studying towards a qualification that included *te reo Māori* (some possible qualification types being listed for selection). The responses are summarized in *Table 4.4* below.

Table 4.4: *Participants who were currently studying towards a qualification including te reo Māori*

Categories	No. (127)	%
NCEA Level 1	32	25%
NCEA Level 2	30	24%
NCEA Level 3	22	17%
A certificate, diploma, degree, majoring in te reo Māori	26	20%
A certificate, diploma, degree that includes papers in te reo Māori	20	16%
Other qualifications in te reo Māori	57	45%

Under the heading ‘Other qualifications in *te reo Māori*’ 57 replies were recorded. These are included as **Appendix 4: Additional qualifications recorded by questionnaire respondents in response to Question 1.8.**

Question 1.9 asked in which of a number of listed contexts participants were currently studying or had studied *te reo Māori*. The responses are summarized in *Table 4. 5. below.*

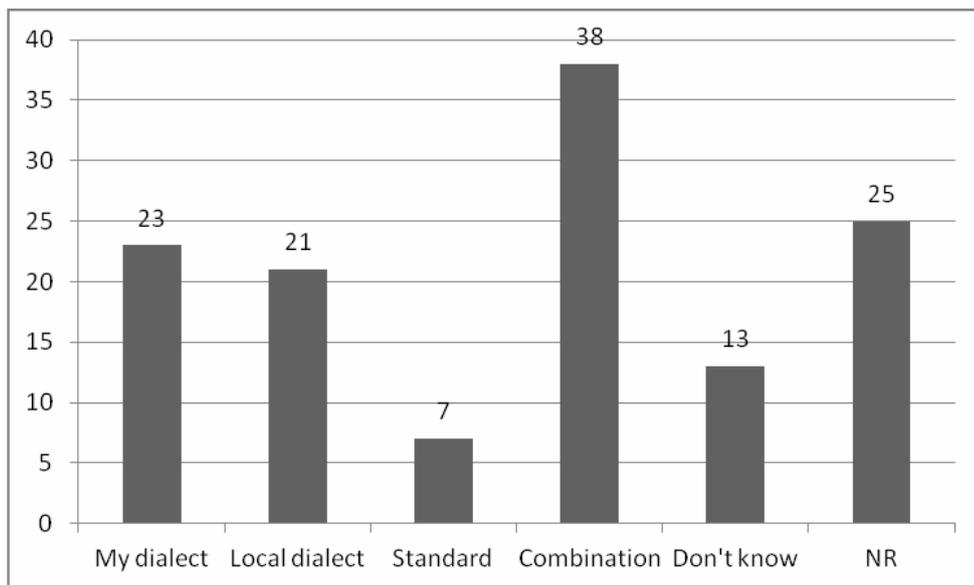
Table 4.5: Contexts in which participants were studying or had studied *te reo Māori*

Categories	Variables		
	Currently studying (no.)	Have studied (no.)	Currently studying/ have studied (combined %)
A programme at an educational institution (school, university, polytechnic, etc.) in which only <i>te reo Māori</i> was used for at least 4 hours each day in term time for a minimum of a year.	8	25	26%
A programme at an educational institution (school, university, polytechnic, etc.) in which I attended a course or courses in <i>te reo Māori</i> several times a week and in which English was never or almost never used but where I almost always understood because the teacher/s was/were very effective at conveying meanings using a range of resources.	7	44	40%
A programme at an educational institution (school, university, polytechnic, etc.) in which I attended a course or courses in <i>te reo Māori</i> several times a week and in which English was never or almost never used and where I often didn’t understand.	8	25	26%
A programme at an educational institution (school, university, polytechnic, etc.) in which I attended a course or courses in <i>te reo Māori</i> several times a week and in which English was used for at least 30% of the time (to give instructions, etc.)	4	34	30%

Question 1.10 asked which variety of *te reo Māori* participants' language teachers use/ used in class (with the possibility of selecting more than one category). The responses, indicating that use of the standardized variety of the language only is the exception rather than the rule, are summarized in *Figure 4.1* below where the key is as follows:

My dialect =	My dialect only;
Local dialect =	A local dialect (only) which is not also my dialect;
Standard =	Standardized variety of the language only;
Combination =	A combination of dialects and/or dialect/s and standardized variety.

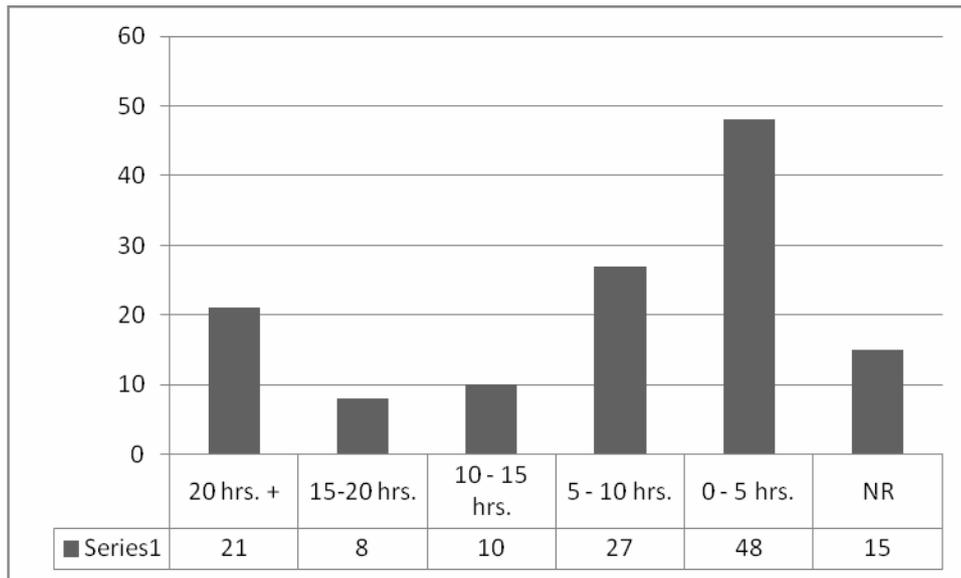
Figure 4.1: *Variety of te reo Māori used by participants' language teachers*



Question 1.10 also invited respondents to add comments if they chose to do so. Many of the comments indicated that the dialect prioritized tended to depend, to a considerable extent, on the area in which the teaching took place and/or a teacher's own preference but that a combination of the standardized variety and one or more regional dialects was common.

Question 1.11 asked respondents how much time each day *on average* they spoke *te reo Māori*. The responses are summarized in *Figure 4.2* below.

Figure 4.2: Number of hours each day participants spoke te reo Māori on average



Respondents were invited to add comments in relation to *Question 1.11* if they chose to do so. Of the 27 comments added, most indicated that the extent to which they used *te reo Māori* depended on the context they were in and who was present. However, three (3) respondents indicated that they would like to speak the language more often if circumstances permitted, and six (6) indicated that they used the language infrequently – in two cases because of laziness or loss of interest. Finally, there were three (3) who referred specifically to speaking *te reo Māori* to *tamariki* and there was one who recorded a barrier to use of *te reo Māori* with *tamariki*:

I korero au i ngā wā katoa ki taku mokopuna. E noho ia ki taku taha. (I speak [Māori] all the time to my grandchild. he/she lives with me).

Our youngest is 6 yrs old therefore he is spoken to only in *te reo*.

Once English is introduced all our other children converse mainly in English.

Mainly to the kids.

E tū atu i aku tamariki me ētehi atu ko te nuinga o ngā tāngata i tau mai ki taku whare. Ko te reo Pākehā anake e mōhio rātou. (My children and others

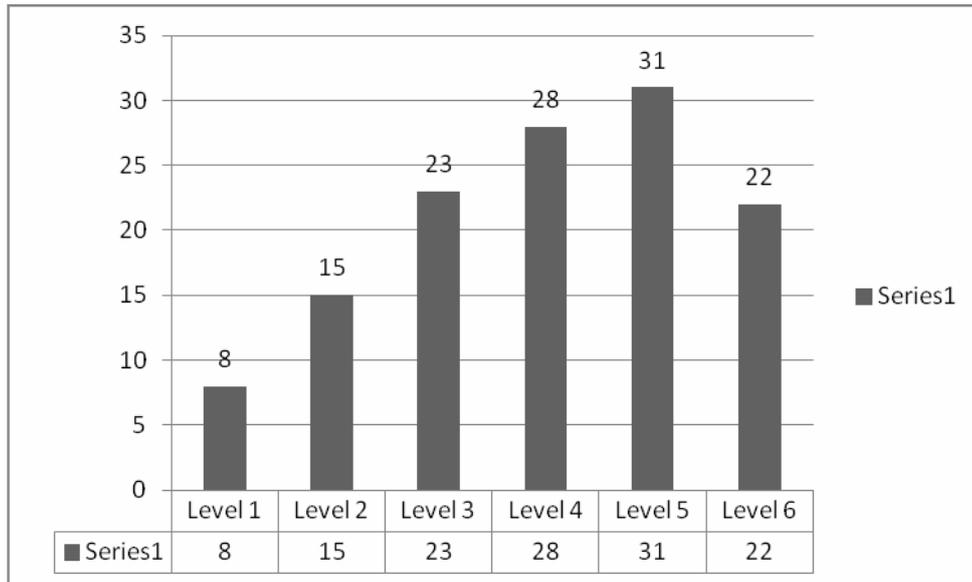
say that most of the people who come to my house, they only know how to speak English).

Question 1.12 asked participants to assess their own proficiency level in *te reo Māori* based on the following scale:

1. I can understand and use some familiar everyday words, expressions and greetings.
2. I can understand and use familiar words, expressions and sentences that relate to information about myself and my family and everyday routine matters (e.g. where things are located).
3. I can express, in simple terms, most of the things that I need to communicate about on a day-to-day basis and can understand what others say to me about everyday routine matters so long as the language they use is relatively straightforward.
4. I can understand most of what is said by native speakers of *te reo Māori* when they are speaking to me or others and can communicate most of what I want or need to communicate but I do not have the range or subtlety of expression that is associated with highly competent native speakers.
5. I can understand without difficulty almost anything that is said to me in *te reo Māori* and can adapt my language to meet the different requirements of a wide range of differing contexts of use (e.g. to speak on the *paepae*, or to *karanga*, *karakia*, *waiata*, *whakataukī* etc) but I occasionally have difficulty in understanding or using the language, particularly in complex cultural contexts.
6. I believe that I can use the language as well as any, or almost any, highly competent native speaker.

The responses are summarized in *Figure 4.3* below.

Figure 4.3: Respondents' self-assessment of their level of proficiency in *te reo Māori*



It is interesting to note that the number of respondents who assessed their proficiency level to be in range 5 or 6 is lower than the number who indicated that they were raised with *te reo Māori* from infancy.

This suggests (a) that some of those brought up with *Māori* only may have suffered *Māori* language attrition later in life (when English was introduced), and (b) that some of those exposed to both languages may have suffered *Māori* language attrition and/or that their early exposure to *te reo Māori* was not sufficient to ensure full acquisition. Respondents were also invited to provide comments relating to *Question 1.13* Seventeen (17) chose to do so. In most cases, these comments indicated that the respondents were still in the process of learning the language and/or that they had learned in several different contexts (e.g. ¹*Te Kōhanga Reo*, *Te Kura Kaupapa* and *Whare Kura*). In three (3) cases, however, respondents stressed that their understanding of the language was greater than their ability to speak it. For example:

Understanding is high, however the ability & confidence to speak at that level is different.

¹ Māori immersion kindergarten, primary/ intermediate, high schools.

4.3.2 Part 2: Attitudes, beliefs and practices

Question 2.1 asked respondents if they believed that *te reo Māori* should be a compulsory subject at school for all Māori students. *Question 2.2* asked if they believed that it should be a compulsory subject at school for all students. *Question 2.3* asked if they believed that all Māori students should have an opportunity to learn *te reo Māori* at school. *Question 2.4* asked if they believed that all students should have an opportunity to learn *te reo Māori* at school. The responses are summarized in *Figures 4.4 – 4.7* below.

Figure 4.4: *Should te reo Māori be a compulsory subject at school for all Māori students?*

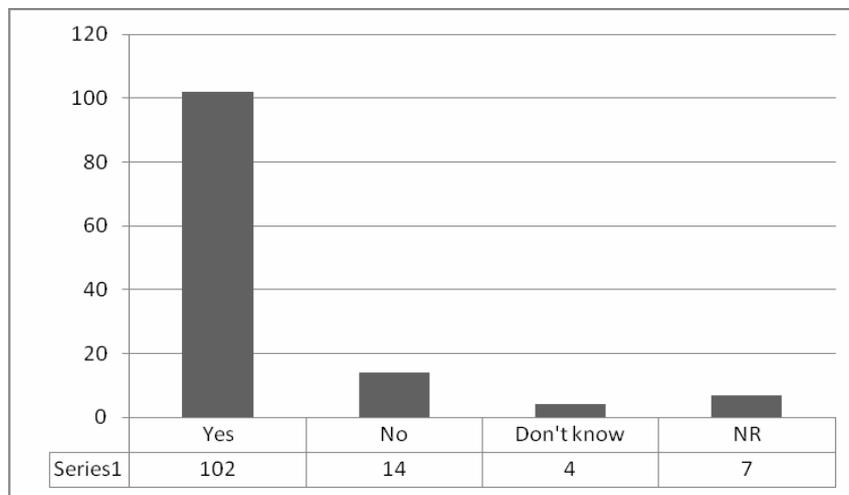


Figure 4.5: *Should te reo Māori be a compulsory subject at school for all students?*

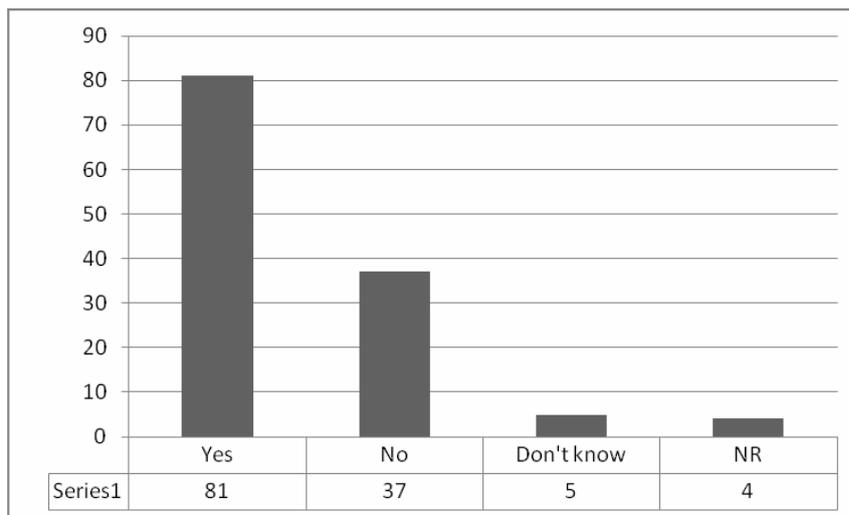


Figure 4.6: *Should all Māori students have an opportunity to learn te reo Māori at school?*

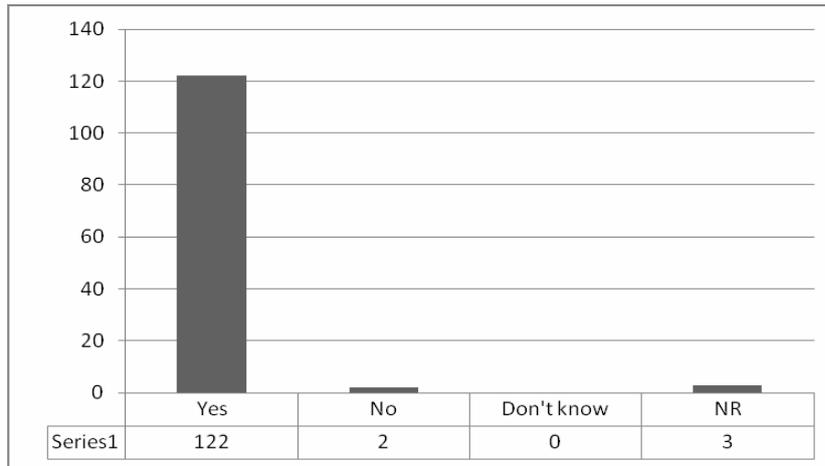
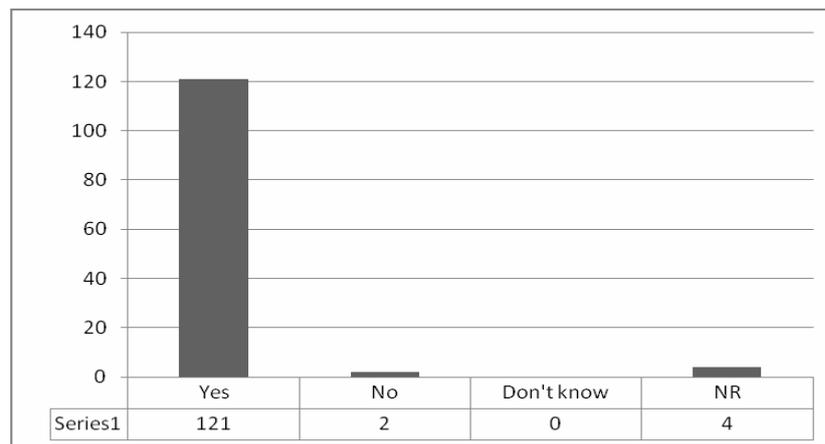


Figure 4.7: *Should all students have an opportunity to learn te reo Māori at school?*



There were thirty-six (36 comments) relating to *Question 2.1*; thirty-two (32) relating to *Question 2.2*; and seventeen (17) relating to each of *Questions 2.3* and *2.4*. A few of these comments (comments which sum up the differing perspectives expressed) are outlined below:

Sample comments relating to *Question 2.1*:

It should be made compulsory-my parents didn't let me do *Māori* at school and now I feel ripped off because I had a right.

Official language of *Aotearoa*.

Students need the desire to learn a skill before they will succeed. However home support is also required.

Sample comments relating to *Question 2.2*:

Why not English was compulsory so why not *Māori*.

We had no choice but to learn *Pākehā*. (English).

Absolutely *Māori* is the indigenous language of this country.

I believe that all students should be taught the very basic *te reo* and *Māori* protocols but should not have to be made to learn *te reo* if they or their families don't want to.

Wouldn't want people to hate our *reo* or culture by being forced to learn it. It's up to the individual.

Sample comments relating to *Question 2.3*:

I think that it is a little bit *whakamā* (shame) when *Māori* can't speak their own *reo* because of lack of *awhi* (help).

The language is the key to our culture.

To have their identity.

It is important for *Māori* to rediscover where they are from (heritage, *Māori* culture) before they will ever know where they are going to.

Sample comments relating to *Question 2.4*:

Absolutely. The problem is inadequate resourcing and providing proficient teachers.

To get a better understanding about *tangata whenua*, our values and beliefs.

It is part of our national identity - promotes *kotahitanga*. (unification).

Question 2.5 asked respondents whether, if they had have ever chosen to learn *te reo Māori*, what their reasons for doing so were (see *Table 4.6* below).

Table 4.6: *Reasons for learning te reo Māori*

Categories	YES	%
I am Māori and believe that it is important for me to understand the language and culture of my ancestors.	110	87%
I am not Māori but wanted to help preserve the Māori language and culture	4	3%
I am not Māori but I have/ had a Māori partner	1	
I am not Māori but I have Māori friends	2	
I am not Māori but I was raised in a Māori environment	0	
I am not Māori but I have Māori children	1	
I want/wanted to be able to raise my children to speak te reo Māori and understand tikanga	102	80%
I want/wanted to be able to interact with native speakers in te reo Māori	91	72%
I want/ wanted to be able to interact with other learners in te reo Māori	89	70%
I want/wanted to be able to read historical documents written in te reo Māori (e.g. Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Te Paipera Tapu (Bible) etc)	72	56%
I want/ wanted to become a teacher of te reo Māori and tikanga	56	44%
I want/ wanted to try to understand how my Māori ancestors viewed their world	79	63%
I want/ wanted to raise awareness about Māori issues, including political and language issues	67	53%
I enjoy/enjoyed learning te reo Māori and tikanga	102	80%
I want/ wanted to understand myself better	76	50%
I want/ wanted to reconnect with my Māori side	68	54%
I want/wanted to contribute to the paepae (e.g. whaikōrero)	42	33%
I want to contribute to the mahau (e.g. karanga)	55	43%
I want/ wanted to contribute to the marae as a whole	83	65%

Question 2.5 also invited participants to add comments. Twenty-seven (27) comments were added. Some examples are provided below:

It's just the right thing to do.

To help ensure the survival of *te reo*.

My grandmother's wishes.

My parents wanted me to learn *te reo*.

I am lucky enough to speak *Māori*, am *Māori* and live and was raised around a *Māori* community around our *marae*.

Was taught to me by grandparents.

I te wā e tamariki ana, ko ngā wāriū, ngā kawa ngā tikanga me ngā āhuatanga katoa e akongia i te taha o ōku kuia, koinā anake te mea nui kia mau ki te reo rangatira, kāore e ngaro ai. (When I was a child I learned, values, culture, lore everything I know from my female elders, that is the only reason why I retain and will never lose my noble language).

I tupu aku mokopuna katoa i roto i te reo. (All my grandchildren grew up in *te reo*).

Good examples for my *tamariki* (children).

I wanted to be able to identify myself in this rapidly changing world. I wanted to also be able to help our children and *mokopuna* (grandchildren) also to learn their ancestral background which is very important. There are a lot of young *Māori* that have headed down a pathway of self destruction and I believe it is due to them not knowing who they are as *Māori*.

I felt it was a good way to learn about myself and where I was from.

I love everything I do with *Māori* and I am proud to be *Māori* being able to korero and identify with the *whenua* (land) and the people around me is even better.

From the age of nine I was hearing voices say to me "remember your *Māori*", at 55 I am now learning *te reo*.

Learning the *rongo haere* (dialect) of my *marae*.

I love being *Māori* and portraying that through *Māori* Performing Arts.

I want/wanted to contribute to our country becoming whole & have less separatism or intolerance, & prejudice.

Question 2.6 asked those participants who are, or have ever been learners of *te reo Māori* to identify which of a number of statements was usually or often true in their case. The responses are summarized below in *Table 4.7* below.

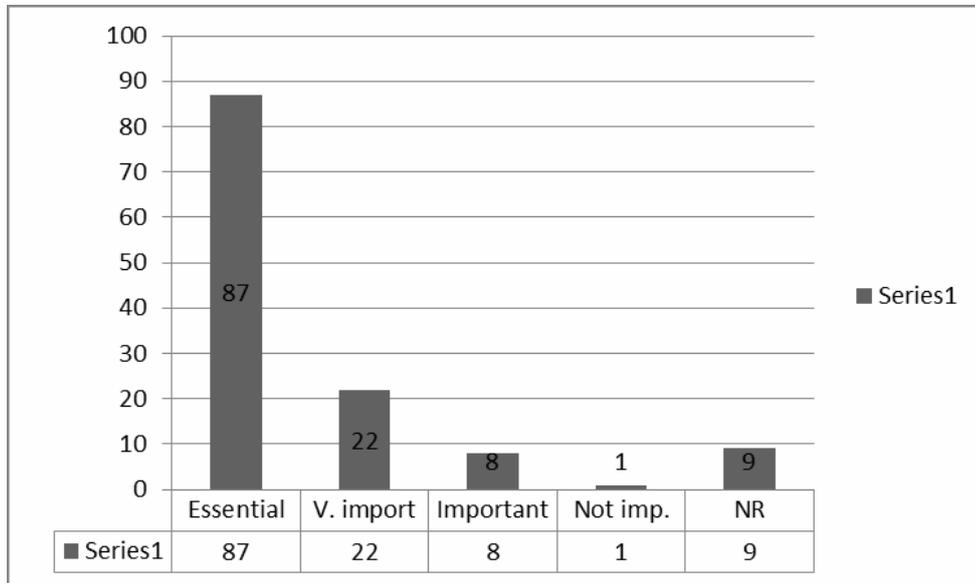
Table 4.7: Which of the following statements is usually or often true of the participants

Statement	Usually or often true in my case		Not usually or often true in my case		NR
	No.	%	No.	%	
I get/got lots of opportunities to speak te reo Māori in class	84	81.5%	19	18.5%	24
My teacher's Māori is/was excellent	87	86%	14	14%	26
I am/was never afraid of making mistakes	58	58.5%	41	41.5%	28
I am/was too embarrassed to speak unless I absolutely had to	64	65%	34	35%	29
The lessons are/were very stimulating	79	80%	20	20%	28
There are/were lots of opportunities to use the language outside of class	74	74%	26	26%	27
I always get/got support from home	65	64%	36	36%	26
I am/was never too busy with other duties to do my homework	44	47%	50	53%	33
My teacher explained things clearly	83	83%	17	17%	27
My teacher made sure that I had opportunities to speak to native speakers	68	70%	29	30%	30
My teacher translated new words and expressions into English to explain their meaning	71	72%	27	28%	29
At the end of lessons I was clear about exactly what I had achieved during that lesson	75	77%	22	23%	30

Question 2.7 asked how important participants thought it was for learners of *te reo Māori* to interact with native speakers (i.e. with those who were brought up from

birth to speak the language) in order to become effective users of the language. The responses are summarized below in *Figure 4.8* below.

Figure 4.8: Importance for learners of *te reo Māori* of interacting with native speakers



Fifteen of those who responded to *Question 2.7* added comments. There focused, overall, on three themes: the paucity of native speakers; the impossibility of developing an adequate standard of spoken language without access to native speakers, and the awkwardness sometimes experienced when speaking to those with a much higher level of competence than one's own.

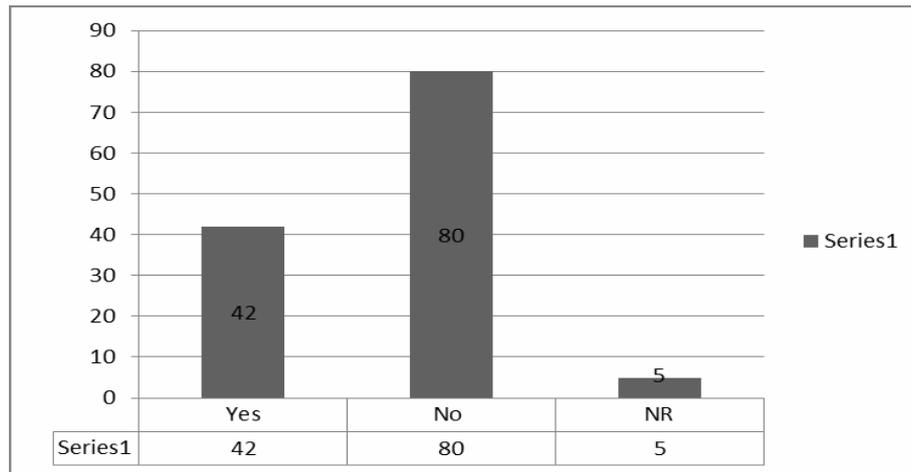
Question 2.8 asked participants which of a number of possibilities they had done/ were doing to help ensure that they became more effective users of *te reo Māori*. The responses are summarized below in *Table 4.8* below.

Table 4.8: Strategies used in past or present to become a more effective user of *te reo Māori*

Categories	Variables			
	In the past		Now	
	No.	%	No.	%
I sometimes go to my marae to listen to speakers of <i>te reo Māori</i>	49	38.5%	69	54%
I regularly go to my marae to listen to speakers of <i>te reo Māori</i>	43	34%	66	52%
I sometimes go to other marae to listen to speakers of <i>te reo Māori</i>	35	27.5%	63	50%
I regularly go to other marae to listen to speakers of <i>te reo Māori</i>	34	27%	57	45%
I sometimes listen to recordings of native speakers of <i>te reo Māori</i>	37	29.5%	46	36%
I regularly listen to recordings of native speakers of <i>te reo Māori</i>	40	31%	39	31%
I sometimes engage in conversations in Māori with native speakers of <i>te reo Māori</i>	31	24%	59	46%
I regularly engage in conversation in Māori with Native speakers of <i>te reo Māori</i>	37	29.5%	59	46%
I sometimes read Māori language material (e.g. Newspapers, books, websites etc)	31	24%	72	57%
I regularly read Māori language material (e.g. Newspapers, books, websites etc)	34	27%	75	59%
I sometimes watch Māori Television or listen to Māori radio	26	20%	79	62%
I regularly watch Māori Television or listen to Māori radio	36	28%	90	71%

Question 2.9 asked participants if it was difficult for them to get together with native speakers of *te reo Māori* to engage in conversation. The responses are summarized in *Figure 4.9* below.

Figure 4.9: *Difficult to engage in conversation with native speakers?*



Question 2.10 asked those who had responded in the affirmative to the previous question to indicate what the problems they had (selecting as many possibilities from a list as they wished). The responses are summarized in *Table 4.9* below.

Table 4.9: *Reasons why it is difficult to get together with native speakers to engage in conversation*

Statements	No.	% of those who answered YES to previous Q	% of total cohort
I don't know any native speakers of te reo Māori that I can meet and converse with in te reo Māori.	8	19%	0.6%
I know native speakers of te reo Māori that I can carry on conversations with in te reo Māori	22	52%	17%
I don't have the time to meet and carry on conversations with native speakers of te reo Māori	13	30%	10%
I am embarrassed to engage in conversations with native speakers of te reo Māori because I am afraid of making mistakes when I speak the language.	14	33%	11%
Conversation is limited to topics I am not very interested in	6	14%	5%
The native speakers of te reo Māori I know live far from me	18	43%	14%

Nine (9) respondents added comments relating to *Questions 2.9* and *2.10*. These are included below:

I can regularly engage in conversations with proficient levels of *te reo* but they are not native speakers.

I knew some people in *Tūhoe*.

Not many native speakers left in our *rohe*.

There are not a lot of native speakers here in the *Hauraki*.

Kei Kirikiriroa au e noho ana he maha ngā taitama he reo tūturu engari ko ngā Pakeke he iti iho. (I live in Hamilton where there are many young adults who speak *Māori* but very few adults do).

My personal family commitments are such that I don't have much time to give to my extra studies.

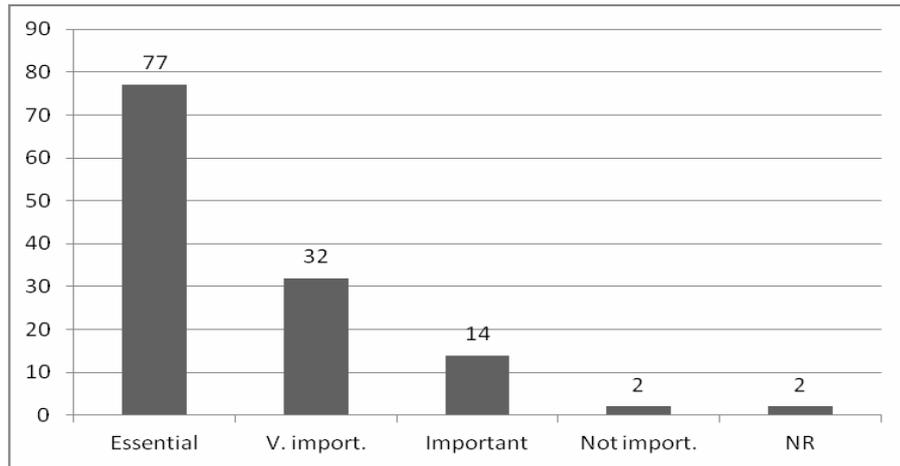
I seek companionship with other *reo* pupils. Hit hard at post subjects, grammar etc.

Not confident, want to learn more.

I'm not very good at speaking and I don't really understand.

Question 2.11 asked participants how important they thought it was to use *te reo Māori* when speaking to other speakers of the language. The responses are summarized below in *Figure 4.10* below.

Figure 4.10: Importance of speaking te reo Māori with other speakers of the language

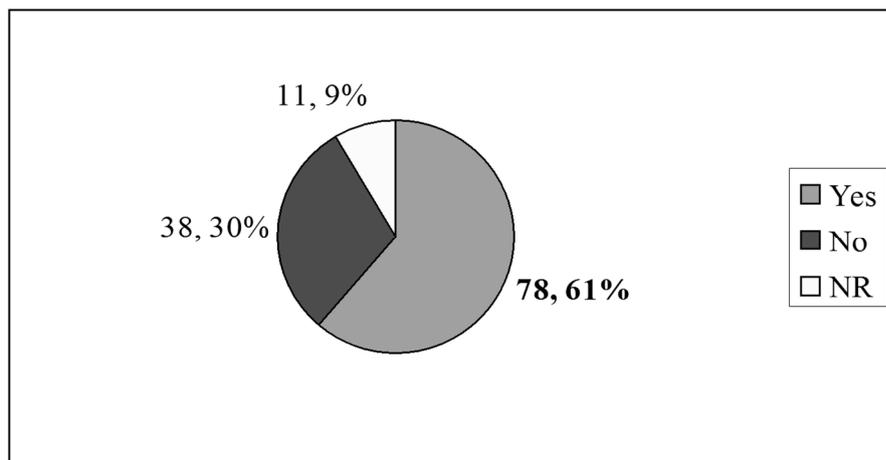


Seven (7) respondents added comments in relation to *Question 2.11*. One of these is included below:

It depends on how important the message is that I need to convey. If it's important, I'll speak English.

Question 2.12 asked respondents if they spoke the dialect of their ²whānau, hapū and iwi. The responses are summarized in *Figure 4.11* below.

Figure 4.11: Respondents who speak the dialect of their whānau/hapū/ iwi



Those who answered *Question 2.12* in the affirmative or negative were asked (*Question 2.13*) to explain why. There were seventy-three (73) comments from those who had answered in the affirmative. Many of them sought to justify use of a

² Family, clan and tribe

particular dialect rather than to explain why they are able to speak it. Among the others, most indicated that it was the dialect they had been brought up with. Some sample comments are included below:

It's my language from my *tupuna* (ancestors).

It's the only one I know - and hear everyday.

Nā te mea i tipu ake au i waenganui i te reo o aku tūpuna, hapū, iwi.
(Because I was nurtured within the language of my ancestors, clan, tribe).

It is part of my role as a *kaimahi* in *Waikato* to *ako* the *mokopuna* in the *reo* of *Waikato rohe*. (It is part of my role as a teacher in *Waikato* to teach the children in the dialect of [the] *Waikato* area).

Did not learn my own dialect at secondary school.

When learning *te reo* in my own *rōpū* (group) our *tūtei* (teachers) encouraged us to revitalize our own dialect.

I learnt most of my *reo* from *Tūhoe* and my father said I had to go back home to learn my own. At the time I was angry and didn't understand but now I know the importance.

Nā ōku mātua tūpuna me ngā kaiako i ako taku mita tūturu ki ahau. (My parents and teachers taught me my dialect).

Actually it's a bit of other dialects as well.

Those who answered *Question 2.12* in the negative provided thirty-eight (38) comments. Some of these are provided below:

I was brought up at KKM (kura-kaupapa *Māori* immersion schools) in *Te Arawa* but my mother spoke *Ngāti Porou* dialect and my teacher at university spoke *Tainui*.

Kei te ako au i te rohe o Tainui (I'm learning in the *Tainui* area).

Kātahi anō tōku hapū kia tīmata te aro ki ō mātou ake reo ā hapū. Tīmata kē au te ako i mua tonu (20 - 25 tau i mua). (My clan have only just begun to research the language of our *hapū*. I started to learn 20-25 years ago).

Because the situation where I learnt *te reo* (the *Māori* language) I spoke the standardized dialect for *wānanga* or their own dialect, and learning *te reo* in *Tainui rohe*.

I haven't learnt *Tainui* dialect. I am too shy to try in case I get it wrong. I need to learn the correct way or I won't do it.

My Teachers were from other *hapū/ iwi* (clan/ tribe).

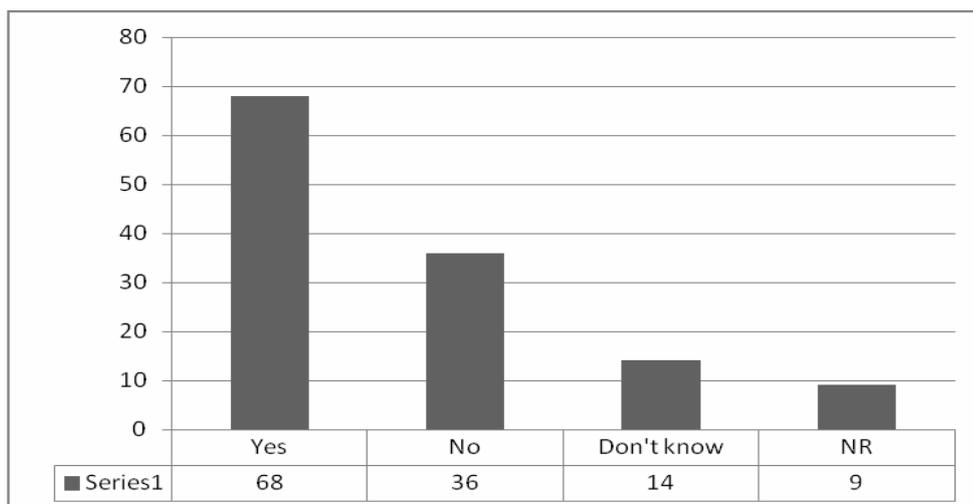
I'm *Pākehā*.

Whānau are too spread out (Family are too spread out).

Because I'm afraid of saying the wrong thing.

Question 2.15 asked respondents whether they thought it mattered which dialect/version of *Māori* they spoke. The responses are summarized in Figure 4.12 below.

Figure 4.12: Whether respondents think it matters which dialect/version of *Māori* they speak



There were thirty-nine (39) comments relating to *Question 2.15*. These comments reinforced the positive or negative responses, ranging from some who believed that dialect was wholly unimportant to those who believed it was critical - see four sample comments below:

It acknowledges your *tipuna*, your *reo tawhito*, *tōu rohe*. (It acknowledges your ancestors, your dialect, and tribal area's).

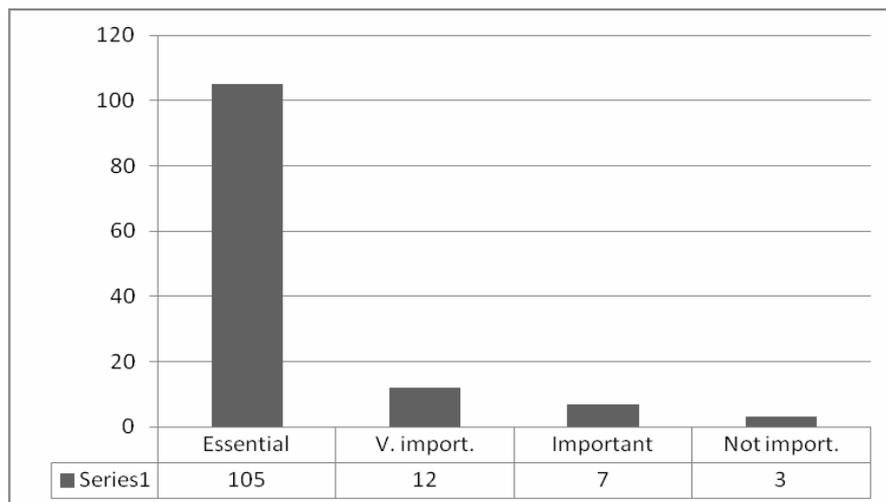
Connects you back to your own *tūpuna* (ancestors) their traditions etc.

Ki au nei, waimarie ake mehemea motuhake kē to reo heoi, ko te mea nui, kei te kōrero, kei te rere te reo rangatira. (In my view, one is fortunate if you speak your dialect, however, the most important thing is to speak and hear our noble language).

It all ends up meaning the same.

Question 2.16 asked participants how important they thought it was to include *tikanga Māori* in *Māori* language courses. The responses are summarized below in *Figure 4.13* below.

Figure 4.13: Importance of including *tikanga* in *te reo Māori* courses



There were 33 comments relating to *Question 2.16*. All of them commented on the absolute centrality of *tikanga* – see examples below:

Can't have one without the other.

Mā te reo e kawē te tikanga Māori. (The Māori language cradles the Māori culture).

If you don't know the *tikanga* (culture/ lore) then how are you going to pass on that knowledge to your *tamariki* (children).

Ki te kore koe e marama ki ngā tikanga kua koretake to reo. (If you don't understand its culture your say is without substance).

Tikanga and no *reo*, means the language is dead. *Tikanga* is language!

Questions 2.17 and *2.18* asked participants about their best and worst experiences of learning *te reo Māori* to date. There were ninety-seven (97) responses relating to best experiences and sixty-three (63) relating to worst experiences. Many of the responses concerning best experiences made reference to specific classes or teachers. However, there were also many that referred to (a) interaction with *tamariki* and involvement in *kōhanga reo* (14 responses); (b) learning about ancestral knowledge and engaging in verbal arts, such as *waiata* and *kapa haka* (14 responses); (c) *marae-based* experiences, such as speaking on the *paepae* (7 responses); and (d) media-based experiences, such as being interviewed for *Māori* television (3 responses). Several of those who commented in connection with *Question 2.18* simply noted that they had had no bad experiences (18 responses).

After that, the most common type of comment made reference to awkwardness or embarrassment associated with failing to understand, being corrected or being unable to perform adequately in particular circumstances (18 responses). Five (5) people noted that the worst aspect of learning *te reo Māori* was the cost and three (3) recorded their resentment about being taught by people who were not familiar with their dialect and/or local *tikanga*.

4.3.3 Part 3: Words, concepts and domains

Question 3.1 asked respondents what they would do if they came across a concept or term that they did not know how to express in *te reo Māori*. They could select as many as they wished of a number of options. The responses are summarized in Table 4.10 below.

Table 4.10: Strategies used when words/ terms in *te reo Māori* unknown

Statements	No. (127)	%
Ask my teacher (if you are doing a course in <i>te reo Māori</i>)	55	43%
Ask a native speaker of <i>te reo Māori</i>	68	54%
Ask a colleague/fellow student	59	46%
Search the Māori language dictionaries	77	61%
Use the English term	34	27%
Create expressions/terms myself	23	18%

In relation to *Question 3.1* there were thirteen comments as follows:

My partner, *reo Māori* teacher.

Ask my Nan.

Ask my Mama.

Ask my dad.

Ask mum and dad.

Ask my *tāne* (husband).

Ask a *whānau* member (family member).

Find out somehow somewhere

I also search for other similar words to improve my vocab.

Get as much *awhi* (help) as possible.

'Pending on the question depends on whom I go to.

I try not to speak English so I just use my hands or use a dictionary.

Transliterations.

Question 3.2 asked respondents to select as many as they wished from a list of occasions/ circumstances when they used *te reo Māori*, indicating frequency of use. The responses are summarized in *Table 4.11* below.

Table 4.11: *Frequency of use of te reo Māori in particular contexts*

Categories	Variables								
	All the time		Most of the time		Sometimes		Never		NR
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
On the marae	25	15%	54	42.5%	33	26%	7	5.5%	8
At home	18	14%	38	30%	60	47%	5	3.9%	6
At work	41	32%	18	14%	31	14%	16	12.5%	21
When in class	37	27%	24	19%	18	14%	11	9%	37
At student meetings	11	9%	12	9%	28	22%	23	18%	53
With other classmates and students	17	13%	28	22%	27	21.5%	12	9%	43
With other Māori language speakers at social occasions (e.g. at parties, church etc)	40	31%	43	34%	22	17%	13	10%	9
When phoning other Māori speakers	35	27.5%	37	27%	22	17%	13	19%	20
When texting other Māori speakers	30	24%	31	24%	26	20%	21	16.5%	21
With family members who are speakers of te reo Māori	42	33%	29	22%	34	27%	8	6%	14
To compose <i>waiata</i> , <i>pūrākau</i> , <i>ruri</i> , etc.	44	35%	23	18%	20	16%	15	12%	25
To read and write	24	19%	29	23%	36	28%	14	11%	24

Each of the comments provide in connection with *Question 3.2* is included below:

Tangihanga (funeral) (3 responses).

At *kapa haka* (Māori performance group).

With my *tamariki* (children).

When I'm drunk, a lot!

I find it more comfortable to speak with my friends in *te reo Māori*.

I ngā wā katoa (All the time).

I try to speak as much as possible.

Learning to write it now.

Kei te kura e mahi ana taku pēpi i roto i te reo tauwiwi. (My baby is at school learning English).

Ko te tino mate ētehi wā korekau he tangata ki te whakawhiti kōrero. (The biggest problem is that sometimes there's no one to talk to).

Question 3.3 asked participants which of a list of things were true in their case. The responses are recorded in Table 4.12 below.

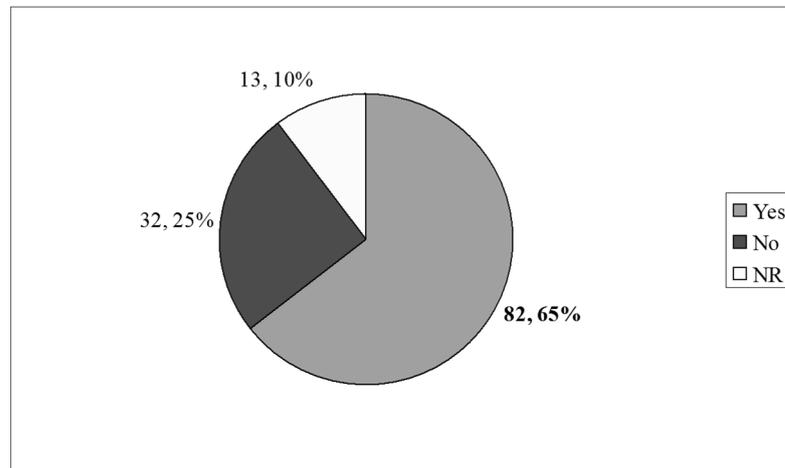
Table 4.12: Things that are true of participants

Categories	Variables								
	All the time		Most of the time		Some-times		Never		NR
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
I dream in Māori	9	7%	12	9%	51	40%	34	27%	21
I think in Māori	37	29%	29	23%	37	29%	11	9%	13
I prefer to speak in Māori rather than English	33	26%	22	17%	47	37%	9	7%	16
I prefer to read and write in Māori rather than English	35	27%	21	17%	33	26%	20	16%	18
I read more easily in Māori than in English	35	27%	11	9%	30	24%	32	25%	19
I write more easily in Māori than in English	30	24%	16	13%	23	18%	35	23%	23
I read and write equally well in Māori and in English	29	23%	21	17%	33	25%	24	19%	20

4.3.4 Part 4: The next generation

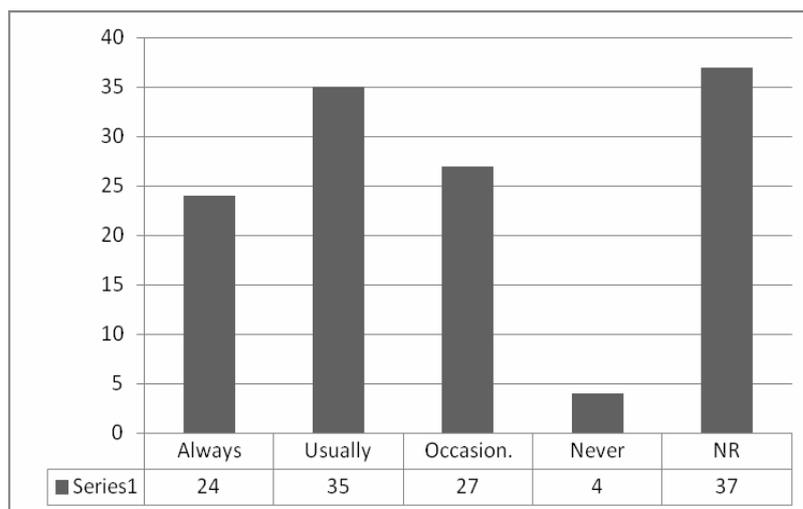
Question 4.1 asked respondents if they had children and/or grandchildren (including *whāngai* (adopted children)). The responses are summarized below in *Figure 4.14* below.

Figure 4.14: *Whether respondents have children and/or grandchildren*



Those who answered *Question 4.1* in the affirmative were asked how much to the time they spoke to their children/ grandchildren in *te reo Māori*. The responses are summarized in *Figure 4.15* below.

Figure 4.15: *To what extent participants use te reo Māori in speaking to their tamariki*



Among the 13 comments provided by respondents in connection with *Question 4.2* were the following:

I speak *te reo Māori* all the time to my nieces and nephews.

Because my *tamariki* and *moko* speak the *reo*, *whāngai* friends etc are embraced too.

They learn better that way.

Without the help of grandparents to speak *Māori* to will our language survive.

I have nephews - I speak *Māori* to them a lot.

They're now in *kōhanga*.

All the time at *kōhanga* and often at home.

I try to speak to my son in *Māori* when I know how to say it in *Māori*.

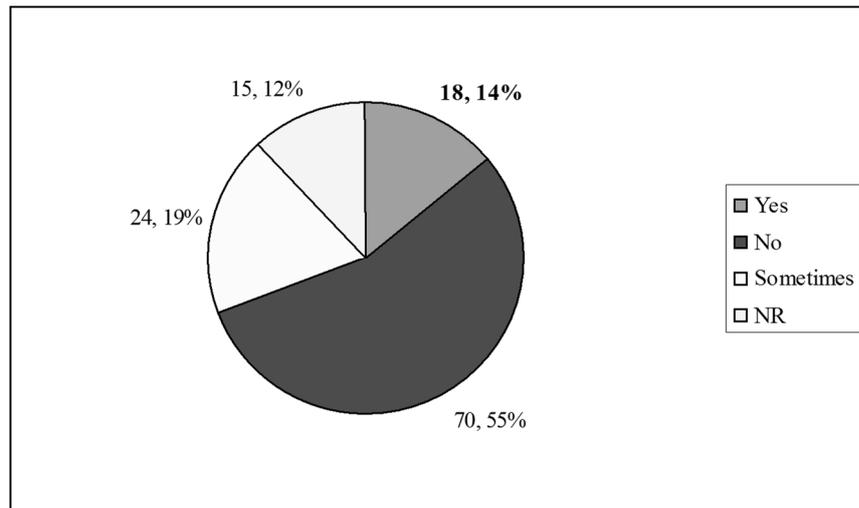
Ko te reo tauīwi a rātou ake reo. Kei Tamaki Makaurau e noho ana. (They speak English. They live in Auckland).

I ngā wa o mua i ngā wa katoa engari he taiohi rātou ināianei no reira he rerekē i tēnei rangi. (In the past, all the time, but they're teenagers now, therefore, it's different these days).

He Pākehā taku hoa tāne tokotoru ā māua tamariki. (My husband is Pākehā, we have three children.).

Question 4.3 asked respondents whether they had ever experienced any problems in using *te reo Māori* to communicate with their own children or grandchildren or other children with whom they had regular contact. The responses are summarized below in *Figure 4.16* below.

Figure 4.16: *Whether participants had experienced problems in speaking te reo Māori to children with whom they were acquainted*



There were 14 comments relating to *Question 4.3*:

Don't have any children or grandchildren.

Shopping centre, we get weird looks from *Pākehā* (white people) around us.

At *kōhanga* (*Māori* immersion kindergarten) they don't really use *te reo Māori* but at home with my nieces and nephews they know and can hold a conversation in *Māori*.

Ētahi wā kāore rāua i te mōhio ki āku kōrero. (Sometimes my two children don't understand what I'm saying).

My *mokopuna* (grandchildren) [are] unable to understand.

I used body language as well.

I only speak to *tamariki* at *kōhanga*.

They don't speak *Māori* so I have to explain what it means.

You don't use it you lose it, *kei te pērā aku tamariki ināianei* (my children are like that now).

Not to the younger *mokos* (grandchildren) but the older *mokos Māori* exceeds mine.

My *tamariki* are far more advanced.

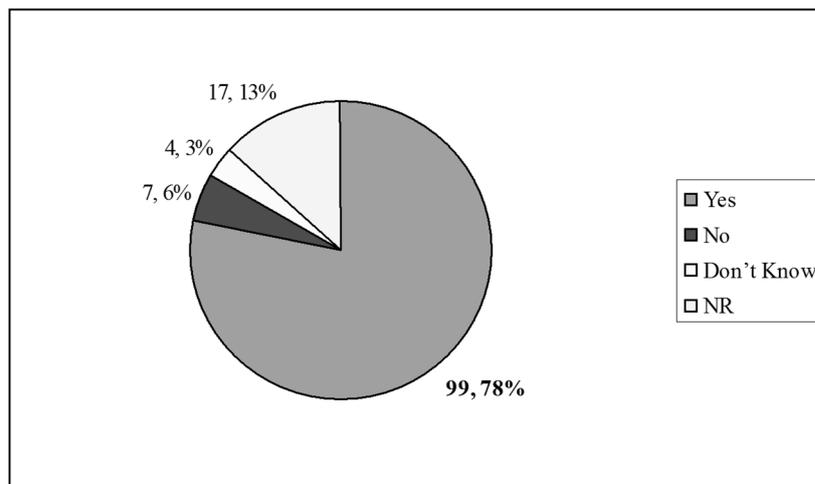
It's a learning process for us we learn together learn new words we share it.

No te mea e hē te whakatakoto i ngā kupu e.g. "*he āporo mō koe*". (Because the wording is grammatically incorrect e.g. "*he āporo mō koe*", (It should be "*he āporo māu*" or 'an apple for you')).

Āe, ko tā rātou reo, te reo tauwiwi kē. (Yes because they only speak English).

Question 4.4 asked respondents whether, if they had children or grandchildren, they would send them to *kōhanga reo*. The responses are summarized below in *Figure 4.17* below.

Figure 4.17: Whether participants do/ would send their children/ grandchildren to *kōhanga reo*



There were 27 comments relating to *Question 4.4* as follows:

Don't have any.

No grandchildren yet.

Up to their parents.

Ko te hiahia te tūmanako, ka haere āku mokopuna ki te kōhanga, heoi, kei ngā mātua te tikanga. (The desire and hope is that my grandchildren will go to *kōhanga reo* (Māori immersion kindergarten), however, it's up to their parents.).

Definitely, definitely.

I go with them.

All been.

Kua mahia (Done).

They have been.

Essential for their *wairua*.

I sent all my children to *kōhanga* and *kura kaupapa* and forgot about myself. Our two oldest daughters went to *te kōhanga reo* in Huntly. *Kaitumutumu*.

Want him to be surrounded by *te reo* especially learning and participate/interact with children own age.

My nieces and nephews attend *kōhanga reo* my own I will send them to *kōhanga*.

Both *tamariki* went through *kōhanga/ kura* and *wharekura* and my *moko* has started *kōhanga*.

My son already goes to a *kōhanga* and then hopefully to *Te Ara Rima* (a Māori immersion primary/ intermediate school).

Yes, because I wouldn't want them to be like me.

Didn't send my own children but will encourage them to send their grandchildren.

Home School.

Not with the *Māori* language in the home. The *mokopuna*, their *reo* will be more advanced than the *kōhanga reo*.

I kuraina ai i āku tamariki kei te kura tuatahi i akongia i te reo tauwiwi kē i ngā ra o mua 1970s. (My children were schooled at primary school and just learned English, back in the day 1970s).

We don't have a *kura* (school) in our area.

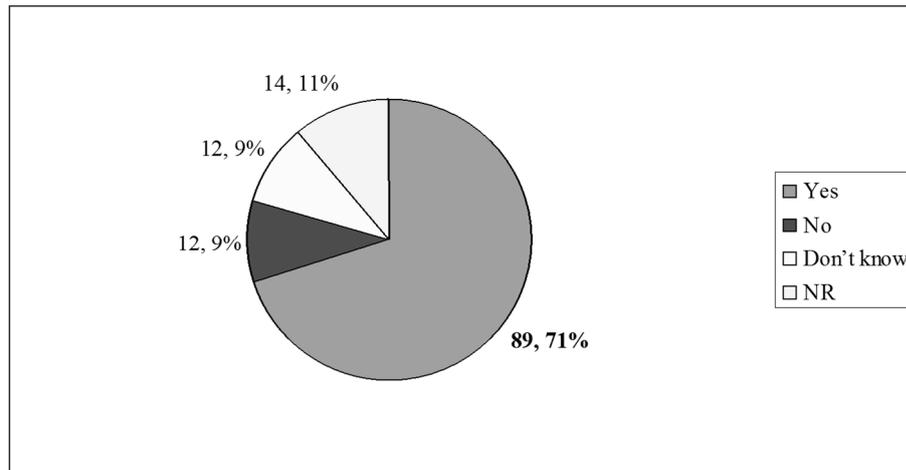
2 out of the 4 have been or are at *kōhanga* other 2 can't get in yet. I will never get in due to waiting list.

Kāo kua haere kē rātou ki te kura auraki. (No, they're going through mainstream education).

I feel we need to learn English 1st for it is an everyday language in saying that I want to learn my kids want to learn so *kōhanga* could be an option.

Question 4.5 asked respondents whether, if they had children or grandchildren, they did/would send them to primary/ intermediate schools that teach mainly through the medium of *te reo Māori*. The responses are summarized below in *Figure 4.18* below.

Figure 4.18: Whether participants do/ would send their children/ grandchildren to primary/ intermediate schools that teach mainly through the medium of te reo Māori



There were eighteen (18) comments relating to *Question 4.5*. Those that add something other than repetition/reinforcement of the initial response are listed below:

Kare e kore, koinei tētahi huarahi hai whakaora ai i tō tātou reo! (Without a doubt this is one pathway that will keep our language alive).

This is the only way to preserve te reo and the only places that will treasure our *tamariki, moko* (children and grandchildren) - and believe in them.

Have 5 *tamariki* 3 oldest went through main stream youngest two went through *kōhanga kura kaupapa* and are both now at *Ngataiatea wharekura*.

If places are available.

We are a home schooling family.

Nā ngā matua i whakaritea tō rātou kura. (Their parents decided which school they went to).

Tautoko au i ngā hiahia o ngā mātua o āku mokopuna. (I support the wishes of my grandchildren's parents).

No they will learn *Māori* at school.

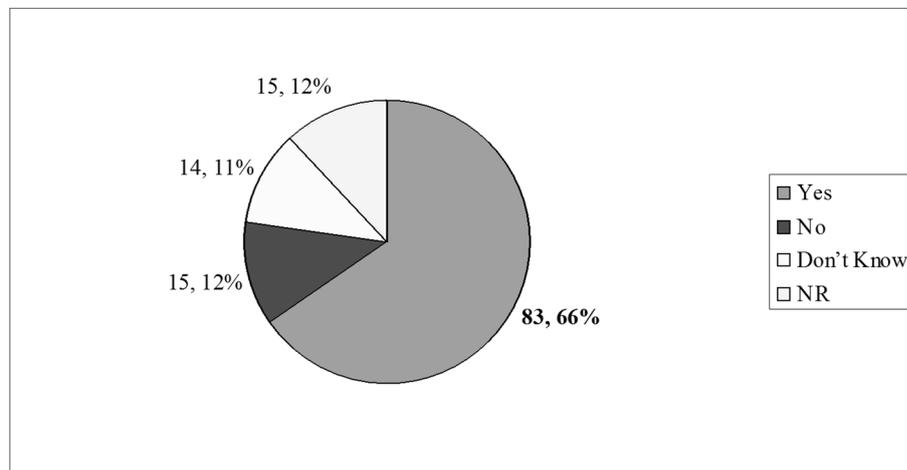
They are too old to start learning in a total immersion school.

We may trial this to a certain age.

I feel English is the language that the world is speaking & wish my children to be proficient in that first.

Question 4.6 asked respondents whether, if they had children or grandchildren, they did/would send them to secondary schools that teach mainly through the medium of *te reo Māori*. The responses are summarized below in *Figure 4.19* below.

Figure 4.19: Whether participants do/ would send their children/ grandchildren to secondary schools that teach mainly through the medium of *te reo Māori*



There were (10) comments relating to *Question 4.6*. Those that add something other than repetition/reinforcement of the initial response are listed below:

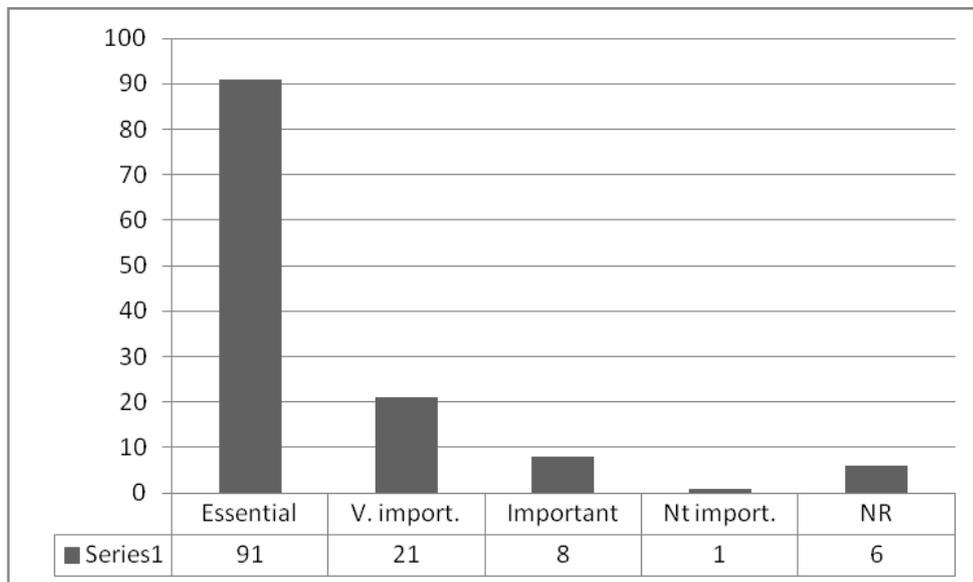
The choice of secondary school will be his as long as he is taking *Māori* as a subject.

I don't think our *kura kaupapa* is up to the standard it should be.

Trial - depends on whether the *kura* can offer same opportunities as mainstream.

Question 4.7 asked participants how important they believed it was to ensure that their children or grandchildren spoke *te reo Māori*. The responses are summarized below in *Figure 4.20* below.

Figure 4.20: *Whether participants believed it was important that their children/grandchildren spoke te reo Māori*



There were 22 comments relating to *Question 4.7*. Those that involve more than repetition/ reinforcement of responses to the previous question are listed below:

Ka ora tonu tō tātou reo Māori mō ake tonu atu (May our language live for ever).

Now I realize it is who we are.

We can't leave it behind and live without it.

Because that is who they are and it is a beautiful language why not.

The future generation must continue the legacy of our ancestors.

Kia mōhio ai rātou ko wai rātou nō hea rātou, ā, me ō rātou tikanga, whakapapa, pepeha, whānau. (So that they know who they are, where they are from, their culture, genealogy and family).

Kia mōhio pai rātou nō hea rātou i ahu mai rātou i hea me tērā me te Māori titiro. (So they know where they originate from and to have a Māori perspective).

Mā te whakapono ki te reo hei ārahi ngā mokopuna ki te ako. (Being true to the Māori language will inspire children to learn).

Mā tēnei ka taea e rātou te tū kaha, te tū mana, ai hai tamaiti Māori i roto i tō rātou ake whenua. (This will enable them to stand strong, stand proud as young Māori on their own land).

To grow from birth to adulthood speaking and thinking in our *Māori* language.

They are our future repositories of knowledge. They will pass on the *reo*.

That way the language that was taught to me will not be lost.

If our children do not learn their own language then it will be lost. That's why I want to be able to speak it fluently myself and for my children to speak it as well.

Ko te reo Māori tō rātou reo tuatahi tae atu ki te tau ngahuru (10 yrs) kātahi ka ako i te reo Pākehā. (The Māori language was their first language until they reached the age of ten then they learnt English).

Their right to be exposed to both.

You need English to work in today world but don't lose your heritage or where you come from.

Because I didn't have *te reo* as a child and adult it is extremely important to me that my *tamariki* (children) do.

Be better speaker than us.

I think schools should teach *tikanga Māori* (*Māori* traditions).

I want to keep my child in the environment of *Māoridom* (being *Māori*) so hopefully he learns *tikanga*.

Question 4.8 was the final question. It invited participants to add anything they wished to their responses. There were twenty-two (22) responses. Those that add something of substance are listed below.

What is right?

I feel it is a right for all *Māori* to learn *te reo* free . . . we are the first peoples of *Aotearoa*. Only in learning *te reo* and our history, are we able to move forward.

A deeply felt need/ desire:

He roa tōku whai i tēnei huarahi ko te ako i tō tātou nei reo. Heoi, maumahara au, koia tōku wawata nui mai i te wā e 7 ōku pakeke. Hoki au ki te kāinga me tāku ki tōku whaea Mum I want to learn Māori, ahakoa kare he reo i te kāinga, Pākehā kē tōku ao kura. Nā reira, ki au nei, he wawata tuku iho. (For a while now I have been following this path, to learn our language. However, I remember wanting this since I was 7 seven years old. I went home and stated to my mother: "Mum I want to learn *Māori*". The language was not spoken at home, and I experienced *Pākehā* (English) schooling. Therefore, in my view, it is an inherent desire).

I love being *Māori* and want to be able to share it with my son.

Focus on revitalization:

I believe revitalizing *te reo Māori* language is courageous and overdue!

Would be great to hear more *Māori* language spoken out on the streets in general day to day conversation.

He kaupapa matua tēnei mōku anake. He take nui, he ako i aku tamariki. He taonga tuku iho te reo Māori me ōna tikanga. (This is the main focus for me. It is extremely important my children learn. The *Māori* language and culture is a treasured inheritance).

Āe rā kāore he mea tū atu i te reo Māori mō ngāi tātou te iwi Māori nā te mea ka ngaro tō tātou reo ka ngaro ko tātou pērā ki te ngaro o te moa, tā Apirana Ngata ka ngaro tō tātou reo ka ngaro te iwi Māori ā ka tū hei Pākehā parauri arā Brown European. (Of course, nothing else compares to the *Māori* language for *Māori*, because if our language dies, we die like the moa. Sir Apirana Ngata said if our language dies we become brown Pākehā).

Persistence:

Mehemea he tangata whakapono ai ki te reo - Ā, kia rere atu i ngā wā katoa. (If one is true to the *Māori* language - it will survive).

Changed values:

I have 3 - children - 17, 25, 26 - all have been through mainstream. All my values have changed (things that are important to me now) goals for my kids. Career, money, status have changed - doesn't mean a thing. *Ngā*

tamariki me ahau (for my children and I) to acknowledge to learn the *reo* (language), [is] a shift in my desire for my *mokopuna* (grandchildren).

Problems:

The reason I don't go back to the *marae* to learn is because dad was a *whāngai* (adopted) and now that he has passed on we/ his kids don't feel welcome at either *marae*. Plus *whānau* fighting first cousins my dad's generation not getting on and can't agree or decisions re: *Marae* decisions. This flows down to us kids and we just leave it. *Ka aroha mō rātou!* (I feel such *aroha* for them).

Inter-ethnic relations and multilingualism:

I believe *te reo* and *tikanga Māori* are essential for this country's learning to become unified. One culture or the other should not be above the rest but it is important that New Zealand becomes stronger in a world and global situation.

Children must be bilingual as well if not trilingual, depending on their *whakapapa* (*Māori* genealogy).

4.4 Discussion

One hundred and twenty-seven (127) people were involved in this survey. Of these, the vast majority - all except five - were *Māori*. Some were friends and *whānau* of the researcher; some were acquaintances. The vast majority were people he met once and may never meet again. Each one of them took the time to complete the questionnaire. This included providing one hundred and eleven (111) reasons for particular responses and one hundred and sixty (160) accounts of their best and worst experiences of learning *te reo Māori*. Not content with that, they added four hundred and fifty two (452) comments. What begins to emerge from all of this is some measure of the dedication and commitment to the survival of *te reo Māori* that characterizes the day-to-day lives of so many *Māori*. That dedication and

commitment become even more evident when the responses are examined in more detail.

4.4.1 Attitudes towards the language and culture: Critical awareness

Almost all of the respondents were determined that the next generation of *Māori* would have every opportunity possible to speak the language of their ancestors. One hundred and twenty (120/ 94%) believed that it was essential (91), very important (21) or important (8) for their children or grandchildren to speak *te reo Māori*. One hundred and twenty two (122/ 96%) believed that all *Māori* children should have an opportunity to learn *te reo Māori* at school, with one hundred and two (102/ 80%) believing that it should be compulsory for them to do so. Furthermore, the vast majority of respondents indicated that they had sent or would send their children or grandchildren to *kōhanga reo* (99/ 78%) and to primary/ intermediate (89/ 70%) or secondary schools (83/ 65%) that taught mainly through the medium of *te reo Māori*.

In some cases where they had not or would not do so, the reasons related simply to availability of places and/or existing competence in the language. Thus, for example:

We don't have a *kura* in our area.

Not with the *Māori* language in the home. The *mokopuna* their *reo* will be more advanced than the *kōhanga reo*.

The participants in this questionnaire-based study appear to have, overall, a high level of critical awareness.

4.4.2 Commitment to personal linguistic and cultural development

At least 103 of the participants (81%) were currently involved in learning *te reo Māori* in an educational setting or had been involved in doing so in the past (see responses to *Question 2.6*). All were aged 16 or over and, therefore, no longer of an age where they were legally obliged to be involved in education, and yet many of them were currently working towards a qualification that included *te reo Māori*, with 46 of them (36%) studying for a *Certificate, Diploma or Degree* that included

papers in *te reo Māori* and yet only five (5) of them made any reference to the sacrifices involved, all five referring to the financial cost of learning the language that should have been their birthright. When asked their reasons for learning *te reo Māori*, one hundred and ten (110) respondents (all but two of those who indicated that they were *Māori*) indicated that they believed that it was important for them to understand the language and culture of their ancestors. Furthermore, of the 103 who were currently engaged in learning the language in an educational setting or had done so in the past, 102 indicated that one reason for learning the language was a desire to raise their children to speak the language and understand *tikanga*. Commitment to personal language development was not confined to attendance at courses. Asked about the strategies they employ to become a more effective user of the language, over half of the participants indicated that they currently regularly visited their own *marae* to listen to speakers of the language (52%), read *Māori* language material (59%) and/or watched *Māori* television or listened to *Māori* radio (71%).

All of this, combined with the fact that over 65% of the participants indicated that they always or usually used *te reo Māori* when speaking to their *tamariki* (children) suggests a high level of awareness of that need to take personal responsibility for language maintenance which Crystal (2000, p. 154) has stressed and of the importance of role modelling emphasized by Cooper (1989, p.70) (see Chapter 3).

4.4.3 Use of *te reo Māori*

As indicated above, almost all of the respondents (123) believed that it was essential (77), very important (32) or important (14) to use *te reo Māori* when interacting with other speakers of the language, and eighty-three (83/65%) indicated that they did so on social occasions (at parties, church, et.) all of the time (40) or most of the time (43), although they were slightly less likely to do so in interacting on a day-to-day basis with *whānau* who were speakers of the language (as was found also to be the case in the *He Kāinga Kōrerorero* study (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010) - see Chapter 3.

However, of the ninety (90) respondents with children or grandchildren who responded to a question about the amount of time they used *te reo Māori* when

speaking to them, thirty-one (31/ 34%) indicated that they did so only occasionally (27) or never (4). There are many possible reasons for this, including a range of potential communication problems associated with language competence. Thus, for example, 46 of the respondents (36%) judged their own proficiency in the language to be at level 3 or lower on a six point scale and only sixty-six (66/ 52%) indicated that they thought in *Māori* for all (37) or most (29) of the time. Furthermore, several respondents noted that, whatever their commitment to using *te reo Māori*, it simply was not always possible to do so. This could be the case even in the context of a *Māori-speaking* home. Thus:

E tū atu i aku tamariki me ētehi atu ko te nuinga o ngā tangata i tau mai ki taku whare. Ko te reo Pākehā anake e mōhio rātou. (My children and others say that most of the people who come to my house, they only know how to speak Pākehā).

Furthermore, forty-two (42%) reported that they found it difficult to engage in conversation with native speakers, largely because they either did not know native speakers with whom they could engage in conversation (19%) or those they knew lived too far away (43%), lacked the time to engage in conversation with them (30%) or were too embarrassed to engage in conversations with native speakers because they were afraid of making mistakes (33%). In spite of the problems sometimes associated with attempting to use *te reo Māori* on a day-to-day basis in the context of home and family, there was clear evidence that most of the participants were keen to do so and were conscious of the importance of doing so.

4.4.4 Learning *te reo Māori* in educational contexts: Attitudes and experiences

In spite of the inevitable sacrifices that are often involved and the inevitable artificiality of the educational contexts in which some learners find themselves, survey participants' attitudes towards the courses they had attended or were attending were generally positive. Thus:

- 87 out of 101 respondents (86%) indicated that they believed that their teachers' *Māori* was generally excellent;

- 84 out of 103 respondents (81.5%) indicated that they had lots of opportunities to speak *te reo Māori* in class; and
- 83 out of 100 respondents (83%) reported that their lessons were generally stimulating.

Just over half of the participants (68/ 53%) believed that it matters which variety of the language they speak, stressing the interaction between dialect and ancestry. However, for many, what is most important is simply speaking the language, dialectal competence being regarded as a bonus. While a potential disadvantage of learning in formal educational contexts is the absence of local content, participants in this survey indicated that their teachers generally used a local variety of *te reo Māori* (which was sometimes also the variety spoken in the area from which the respondents came) or a combination of one or more local varieties and the standardized version. In spite of their generally positive attitudes to the courses in *te reo Māori* that participants had attended or were attending in educational institutions, some significant barriers to success were identified. Of those who indicated whether certain statements were usually or often true (or otherwise) in their case:

- 50 (53% of respondents) indicated that they were usually or often too busy with other duties to do their homework;
- 36 (36%) indicated that they did not usually or often get support from home;
- 41 (41.5% of respondents) indicated that they were usually or often afraid of making mistakes; and
- 34 (35% of respondents) indicated that they were usually or often too embarrassed to speak unless they absolutely had to.

The last two of these, combined with the fact that 33% of participants reported that they were too embarrassed to engage in conversations with native speakers because they were afraid of making mistakes (see above), reinforces a point made in much of the literature, that is, the fact that awkwardness or embarrassment can be a significant barrier to success (see, for example, references to Te Puni Kōkiri, 2002 and Aperahama et al. 2010 in *Chapter 3*).

Among the best experiences/ consequences of learning *te reo Māori* recorded by the participants were:

- interacting with *tamariki* and involvement in *kōhanga reo* (14 responses);
- learning about ancestral knowledge and engaging in verbal arts, such as *waiata* and *kapa haka* (14 responses);
- *marae-based* experiences, such as speaking on the *paepae* (7 response); and
- media-based experiences, such as being interviewed for *Māori* television (3 responses).

The most common negative experience associated with learning the language was awkwardness or embarrassment associated with failing to understand, being corrected or being unable to perform adequately in particular circumstances (18 responses).

4.5 Overview

The research questions underpinning this research project were concerned with (a) attitudes and approaches to inter-generational transmission of *te reo Māori* in homes and communities, and the identification of (a) factors that inhibit or facilitate such transmission and (b) strategies used to encourage, support and reward children's linguistic competence and use of the language. The questionnaire responses revealed a high level of political awareness among participants. This was accompanied by very positive attitudes towards *te reo Māori* and *tikanga Māori* (*Māori* culture/ lore) and commitment and determination in relation to the improvement of personal, *whānau* and community proficiency (with *Māori* television and radio and opportunities to interact in the language on the *marae* playing a significant part in their personal language development and maintenance) and to use of the language, with almost all of them believing that it was important to learn the language of their ancestors, to raise their children to speak the language and to use the language as much as possible, especially when speaking to *tamariki*. In general, participants accepted that educational institutions currently had an important role to play, with almost all of them believing that all *Māori* children should have an opportunity to learn *te reo Māori* at school and most believing that

it should be compulsory for them to do so. Well over two thirds of the participants had been or were currently involved in learning the language in educational institutions and were largely satisfied with their own experiences in that context, one in which there was generally found to be plenty of opportunity to use the language and one in which the focus was generally said to be on the dialect used in the region where the teaching took place or a combination of that dialect (and sometimes others) and a standardized version of the language. Over three quarters of the participants had sent or would send their children or grandchildren to *kōhanga reo*, and a majority had sent or would send them to *Māori* medium primary schools or secondary schools. So far as barriers in relation to personal language development are concerned, a major concern was lack of time, lack of home-based support, lack of opportunities to converse with native speakers and, above all, awkwardness, embarrassment and fear of making mistakes and being judged by others (including native speakers).

So far as barriers to use of the language with *tamariki* are concerned, there were issues for some associated with the fact that some of the *tamariki* as well as other *whānau* members and visitors to the home were monolingual in English. Language proficiency, with over one third of the respondents judging their own proficiency in *te reo Māori* to be at level 3 or lower on a six point scale, is likely also to have a negative impact on capacity to interact with *tamariki* in naturalistic settings. In the next chapter, many of the themes introduced here are pursued in greater depth in interviews with a number of the research participants.

Chapter 5

Reporting on Interviews with a Sample of Speakers of *te reo Māori*

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I report on interviews held with nine speakers of *te reo Māori* all of whom have attended courses in the language in educational institutions (eight) or attended *kōhanga reo*, *kura-kaupapa* and *wharekura* (*Māori* immersion kindergarten, primary/ intermediate, high schools) (one).

The chapter begins with an outline of the nature of the interviews and the ethical protocols (5.2). This is followed by some background information about the nine interviewees (5.3), a report of the findings (5.4) and a discussion of their import (5.5). The chapter ends with some final observations. (5.6).

5.2 Nature of the interviews and ethical protocols

The primary aim of the semi-structured interviews was to provide a sample of questionnaire respondents, those who signalled on completion of the questionnaire discussed in *Chapter 4* that they were willing to participate in semi-structured interviews, with an opportunity to clarify and/ or expand on some of their questionnaire responses.

All of those who signalled their willingness to participate in semi-structured interviews were then located in *Kirikiroa* (Hamilton) and/or had a close connection with *Kirikiroa* and were personally known to the researcher. While this has the potential to impact in a negative way on the generalizability of the findings, a review of the background of the interviewees (see *Table 5.1* below) indicates that at least seven of the nine were raised in areas other than *Kirikiroa*.

The interviews were semi-structured. Although there were a number of guiding prompts/ questions, they were not necessarily intended to be included in the same order and would not necessarily be asked in cases where responses to other questions covered the ground that would have been covered had they been asked.

Furthermore, the intention was, in addition to focusing on the issues raised in the questions, to follow up on issues raised by the interviewees themselves wherever possible. There were twenty-two (22) semi-structured interview question prompts, some in several parts. Some of them were the same as, or very similar to, questions included in the questionnaire; others extended on the types of question included in the questionnaire. These questions were drafted and, together with the procedures to be followed, submitted for ethical approval (and approved) at the same time as the questionnaire (see *Chapter 4*). The questions are provided in English below, the *Māori* versions being available in some of the interview transcripts:

1. Do you believe that *Māori* is an endangered language?
2. For how much of the time each day on average do you speak *Māori*?
3. How important do you think it is for learners of the *Māori* language to interact with native speakers (i.e. with those who were brought up from birth to speak the language in order to become effective users of the language?)
4. Using this scale (below), how difficult it is for you (or not) to get together with native speakers of the *Māori* language to engage in conversations in *Māori*? Please explain your answer.

1	2	3	4	5
Easy	Slightly difficult	Difficult	Very difficult	Impossible

5. Using this scale (below), rank how difficult (or not) it is for you to get together with speakers of the *Māori* language (other than native speakers) to engage in conversations in *Māori*? Please explain your answer.

1	2	3	4	5
Easy	Slightly difficult	Difficult	Very difficult	Impossible

6. How important do you think it is to use the *Māori* language whenever you interact with other people who speak the language?
7. When and where do you use the *Māori* language - on the *marae*; at home; at work, with other *Māori* language speakers; on social occasions (e.g. at parties, church, etc.); with family members who are speakers of the *Māori* language; to compose *waiata*, songs, stories, poems etc.; to read and write?
8. Which of the following is true in your case? I dream in *Māori*. I think in *Māori*. I prefer to read and write in *Māori* rather than English. I read and write more easily in *Māori* than in English.
9. Do you have children or grandchildren (including *whāngai* (adopted) children)?
10. How important do you believe it is to ensure that your children/grandchildren speak the *Māori* language?
11. Approximately how much of the time when you interact with them do you speak the *Māori* language to your children or grandchildren (*mokopuna*)?
12. Do you ever experience any problems in using the *Māori* language to communicate with your own children or grandchildren or other children with whom you have regular contact?
13. Did you, do you or will you send your children or grandchildren/*mokopuna* to *Kōhanga Reo*; a *Kura Kaupapa Māori School*; a *Whare Kura*?
14. Do you think *Māori* should be compulsory for ***all Māori school students*** in this country?
15. Do you think *Māori* should be compulsory for ***all school students*** in this country?

16. Do you have an opinion as to why *Māori* is not compulsory in all schools in this country?
17. Do you think that today's modern *marae* can help revitalize the *Māori* language?
18. Do you think that *Māori* really need the support from the Crown to fully revitalize the *Māori* language and *tikanga*?
19. What factors do you believe are essential in the revitalization of the *Māori* language and *tikanga*?
20. Do you believe that in this day and age it matters which dialect or (e.g. standardized) version of *Māori* people speak?
21. Do you believe that this country will ever be truly bilingual (in *Māori* and English)?
22. Do you have any further views in relation to the *Māori* language and *tikanga* that you would like to add?

Initial contact with prospective participants was made with the by telephone. The interviews took place at a date and time and in a location that was nominated by the participants and were conducted in English, *Māori* or a combination of English and *Māori* depending on the preferences of the interviewees. The recorded interviews were then transcribed (see *Appendix 5: Interview transcripts*) and interviewees were given an opportunity to notify me of any changes and/or additions they wished, on reflection, to make.

Data from the semi-structured interview are provided below where three dots in square brackets [. . .] indicate that the recording was inaudible at that point and spaced dots that are not in brackets ‘. . .’ indicate that material has been omitted. The full transcript is available as *Appendix 5: Semi structured interview transcript*.

5.3 The interviewees

Some information about each of the nine interviewees is provided in *Table 5.1* below in which pseudonyms have been used.

Table 5.1: Information about the interviewees

Assumed name, m/f	Iwi	Age	Employment	Other details	Comments
Ihu (male)	Ngāti Pākehā (European/ Kiwī)	Approx. 50	Currently completing a PhD relevant to Māori language revitalization.	Married to a Māori woman – 3 children	Learned te reo Māori at polytechnic (via Te Ātaarangi) and at university. Lives in Kirikiriroa (Hamilton).
Kākahu (female)	Ngāti Porou/Waikato	Approx. 18	Works part-time at a Kōhanga reo, attending university	In a relationship – no children	Attended kōhanga reo, kura-kaupapa Māori and wharekura. Born, raised and lives in Kirikiriroa.
Miriama (female)	Ngāti Mahanga/ Tainui	Approx. 45	Unemployed at time of interview	Mother and grandmother	Learned te reo Māori in the Wellington area. Raised in Whatawhata, lived in Tāmaki Makaurau (Auckland) and now lives between Kaikohe and Kirikiriroa.
Epa (female)	Ngāti Maniapoto/ Tainui	Approx. 40	Works at a Kōhanga reo	Married – has 3 children	Learned te reo Māori at polytechnic (via Te Ātaarangi). Raised in Africa and Indonesia and now lives in Kirikiriroa.
Hake (male)	Ngāti Māhanga /Ngāti Paoa from Pare Hauraki/Tainui	Approx. 30	Works at a Kōhanga reo	Has a partner and father of 2	Learned te reo Māori at polytechnic (via Te Ātaarangi). Raised in Tāmaki Makaurau and now lives in Kirikiriroa.
Arana (male)	Pare Hauraki/ Te Whānau a Apanui	Approx. 45	Painter/ decorator	In a relationship has 3 children	Learned te reo Māori (via Te Ātaarangi). Raised in, Auckland and now lives in Kirikiriroa.
Ata (male)	Pare Hauraki/ Te Whānau a Apanui	Approx. 48	Māori Liaison Officer	Married – father and grandfather	Learned te reo Māori at Polytechnic (via Te Ātaarangi) and at university and now lives in Kirikiriroa. His father is a native speaker.
Atawhai (female)	Pare Hauraki/ Ngāpuhi	Approx. 45	Works in a national university	Married - mother and grandmother	Learned te reo Māori at polytechnic (via Te Ātaarangi) and at university. Born and raised in Paeroa/Pare Hauraki and now lives in Kirikiriroa. Parents: native speakers.
Apera (male)	Pare Hauraki/Ngāti Porou	Approx. 40		Married – a father	Learned te reo Māori at university. Raised in Tokoroa and now lives in Kirikiriroa.

5.4 Reporting the interview findings

5.4.1 Critical awareness

Many *Māori* these days are so colonized they don't know that they are lost because that is the way their parents have lived. If you could get a person to realize that they are missing out on something - everyone comes to that in one point in their lives but some still choose to go the other way. Don't wait to get to be old men and then want to learn. (**Arana**)

5.4.1.1 Attitudes towards *te reo Māori*

All of the interviewees expressed very positive attitudes towards *te reo Māori*. Thus, for example, **Arana**, in talking about speaking *Māori* to his children and grandchild, indicated his attitude to the language in his choice of descriptor, that is, '*reo rangatira*' [noble language]. Another, **Hake**, observed that although he spoke English when necessary, he was keen to increase the percentage of time during which he spoke *Māori*. Furthermore, **Kākahu**, noted a relationship between speaking the language and enjoyment of the occasion:

Social occasions, āe, e tika ana tēnei mea, i taku kitenga ake ki ngā pāti, tino, ki ngā wāhi whakangahau, mehemea kua inu rātou, mehemea tino harikoa rānei, kua kite au e tino whakapau kaha nā rātou ki te kōrero Māori, nā reira, āe, tērā pea, i te mea, karekau he whakamā. (Social occasions, yes, this is true, from what I've seen at parties, absolutely, at social occasions, if they've had a drink, or if they're merry, I've seen people very boisterous when speaking, therefore, yep, perhaps, because, there's no inhibitions').
(**Kākahu**)

All the interviewees preferred to speak *Māori* rather than English although **Epa** said that it depended on the '*mita*' (dialect) and **Ihu** said that he preferred to speak *Māori* after he had been in an immersion situation for three or four days.

Arana said that he preferred "to do everything in *Māori*", not because he found it easier but because of the sense of meaning and belonging associated with it:

I wouldn't say that I read more easily in *Māori* than in English, but reading *Māori* always touches me in a deep sort of way. I know it's something that's mine. English is a language I learned first but *Māori* is the language of my *wairua* (soul). It's the language of my people and it belongs to us. (**Arana**)

As he indicated, an important factor in deciding whether to use English or *Māori* was a subject matter:

If it is to do with *Māori* then yes if it is to do with English then no. If I am writing about *Pākehā* things in *Māori* then it becomes difficult. (**Arana**)

For **Kākahu**, a primary reason for her preference for *Māori* in reading and writing is the fact that it has, for her, a spiritual dimension:

Pai ake ki au ki te kōrero i roto i te reo Māori, i te mea, he, pai ake te wairua i roto i te reo Māori. (I prefer to speak in *te reo Māori* because, *te reo Māori* is spiritual). (**Kākahu**)

5.4.1.2 Association of language and culture with identity formation and wellbeing

All of the interviewees focused at various points in the discussion on the interaction between language and culture on the one hand and identity formation and wellbeing on the other. Thus, for example, **Miriama** made the following observation:

I want my *mokopunas* (grandchildren) not to be lost, and my children because through our *reo* we actually get our identity and that's very important to me who you are, yep.

For **Hake**, an important consideration was the desire to ensure that appropriate norms of behaviour were instilled in his children, norms that would provide them with a measure of protection:

My wish is for my children to speak *Māori* and know *tikanga* so that they can survive in this world. I have learnt much in my experiences, such as to

speak *Māori* and learn *tikanga*. I think it will benefit my children to learn *Māori* and *tikanga* it will keep them on the straight and narrow. (**Hake**)

For **Arana**, learning the language of our ancestors can heal what is referred to as an 'emptiness':

Give it to them in a way that they feel like that they are missing out on something. They think: 'What am I missing out on? I feel like an emptiness' but having those right people that can show them that emptiness that they are feeling is for the loss of their *reo*. This is a thing that they need in their lives. Or when you're around speakers and you are the only non-speaker, you realize that you are going without. It's [not] until we actually start learning that we realize that we have really been going without. It's more than just *kapa haka*. It's more than just rowing *waka*. Those are good steps [but] at the end of the day, it's all about *te reo Māori* because once you understand what you are saying [and] understand what you are doing right down to your *mahi-a-ringa* (body language), you realize how adept our ancestors were. (**Arana**)

For **Apera**, knowledge of language opens the way to a fuller understanding of culture and, with it, of the significance of our connection to the past:

To understand *te reo Māori* is to understand the *Māori* culture and it is such an important language. It is the language that was spoken by *Rangi* and *Papa* (*Ranginui* and *Papatūānuku* (sky-father and mother-earth)) and that has derived down to these our ancestors, down to us and should we ever choose not to revitalise the language, I just think it is going to be a huge part of culture that will be lost forever [but] I am confident that won't happen as long as there are people like us that are around and have the vision and the foresight to keep the *reo* going. Although in saying that, it is a big job. I think it is an important job. (**Apera**)

5.4.1.2 Attitudes towards standardization

Some of the interviewees said they believed that maintaining *Māori* dialects was of fundamental importance; others were more concerned that the language (even if in a modified and standardized form) should survive. Six of the nine interviewees felt strongly that dialect was of critical significance. These were **Kākahu**, **Miriama**, **Epa**, **Arana**, **Hake** and **Atawhai**. Some extracts are included below:

Yes, hold true to our *Tūhoetanga*, to our *Tainuitanga*, to our *Ngāpuhitanga* (tribal link). That's very important. There are differences in dialect for all tribes in their histories and *waiata* (songs) so if that's gone essentially tribal identity will be erased if it goes that way. **(Hake)**

When I went to learn *te reo Māori*, I didn't care because most of my friends are from *Tūhoe*. That's where I learned it from. Then I went home to my people and you hear a different dialect again. Dialect then wasn't important - but now that I am older and have learned to speak, I think it is important. You know when you go to a certain area they might talk differently. Their *reo* is from the *haukāinga* (home). Dialect is important to me now. I want people to know where I come from not where I learned my *reo* from. **(Miriama)**

Dialect [is what] differentiates *Māori* [. . .] makes *Māori* unique as an *iwi* (tribe). We don't want to conform to say we are all one. This is the standard because I like knowing my *Haurakitanga* (tribal link) - so I think it is still important to keep those dialectal differences because in ways we have a different *reo*, we have different *tikanga* and that is shown when we go back to visit to the *marae*, where the *paepae* (sacred place where learned men who speak for the *marae* sit) is placed. You have got two *kawa* (in this context it means ways of speaking on the *paepae* whilst on a *marae*) in this country - *tau-utuutu* (host speaks, and then visitor speaks, then host speaks, then visitor speaks and so on..., hosts have last say) and *pāeke* (the visitors speak and then the hosts speak) - so that differentiates us as a tribe and an *iwi* (tribe) as well. I think that's cool. It is good that we can still have that. **(Atawhai)**

Epa's concern was to ensure that dialects survived:

Like they say *Māoridom* has evolved but in regards to *mita* (dialect), I think it's been snuffed out. It hasn't been allowed to evolve and the language has been put into boundaries according to English [. . .] grammatically correct - and put into the English square, English box on how things should be done. **(Epa)**

She observed that dialect is “a dying language in itself”, adding that the *Māori* language should not be standardized further:

If you look at other countries, like *Africa*, they have all different dialects as well as a standardized language but the difference between them and *Māori* is that *Māori* can understand one another through their dialect because of similarity. Not because we can still understand one another even though we have our little differences [. . .] so I don't think there should be a standardized language. **(Epa)**

Kākahu, who was raised in the *Waikato* dialect, observed that she becomes apprehensive when she goes back to her *Ngāti Porou marae*. There, she tries to avoid speaking to her elders because she “will get a growling”. She added:

I think it actually does matter. Personally, when I am speaking *Māori* I feel a bond, a connection, to the *iwi nō konei* (tribe from here) and I would like to feel that with my own *iwi* (tribe) as well. So I think it does matter because I feel that it creates a more emotional connection. **(Kākahu)**

Arana seemed initially undecided:

There was word as to whether there should be a standardized *reo*. With us I don't think it would be a bad idea to standardize *te reo* but I think it should be kept the way it is like *Kai Tahu* (a South Island *Māori* Tribe) - they drop their *ngs* and put in the *ks*. **(Arana)**

However, as the interview progressed, **Arana** seemed to become more certain:

Yes, dialect does matter because that's how you identify where you are from. You might not know their *hapū* (clan) but you will know that he is *Tūhoe* or *Ngāti Awa*, *Taranaki*, *Kai Tahu* you know *kanaunga* (*whanaunga* (relative)) that sort of thing. (**Arana**)

For **Ata** and **Apera**, there were practical considerations. **Ata** noted that it was possible to go back to one's own area and learn the dialect but what really mattered most was ability to communicate:

My dialect is all over the place. I speak words from *Tūhoe*, words from *Ngāti Porou*, words from the Far North, South Island as well, but the bottom line is that I am able to communicate, listen to the elders and know what is being said no matter who the person is most of the time. (**Ata**)

Apera thought that dialect was an 'interesting topic', noting that “we have had a lot of debate on [that] at X”. He added:

I won't say the *iwi* (tribe) but, the *reo* is, dormant is, *ā kō kō tata mate* (near death) and they are not so hell-bent on dialect at this point in time. They are hell-bent on revising the language first and foremost and then, when they are at a time that they have a critical mass, then perhaps, from what I understand, that is a time that they will really look at the dialect of their own *iwi*. (**Apera**)

Finally, **Ihu**, answered with “yes and no”:

Yes it does matter. There's your first choice. I would love to hear people speaking dialectal versions of *Māori*, particularly those that aren't normally spoken, which is obviously not *Tūhoe* or *Ngāti Porou*. [I would] like to hear more of *Whanganui* - love hearing that, love hearing up north, love hearing *Tainui* dialect because you don't hear it that often and *Ngāi Tahu*.

So, yes it does matter. However, if your *iwi* has got to the stage where you got no more native speakers left who can speak in that dialectical thing you just do the best you can and if your dialect ends up with a bit of *Tūhoe* and a bit of *Ngāti Porou*, then so be it, because it's still *te reo Māori* and you just have to reconfigure your own image of your own identity to handle it.

(Ihu)

Ihu also said that it is possible to retrieve one's dialect "with this archiving and stuff like that", noting that among Native Americans "the younger generation have gone back to the recordings made by linguists of their older people" and "they've just gone over them, and over them, and over them, and over them until they got that twang back - that dialect - and then they passed it to the kids". He ended by saying:

So yes, it is important, but, if you've lost your dialect it shouldn't stop you trying to learn whatever *Māori* you can and pass that on to your *iwi*. **(Ihu)**

5.4.1.3 Awareness of language endangerment

Asked whether they believed that *te reo Māori* was an endangered language, with two exceptions (**Kākahu** and **Epa**), the interviewees said they believed that it is. A critical issue to which reference was made by one of the interviewees (**Hake**) was the fact that many *Māori* throughout the country, including members of his own *whānau* (family), did not know how to speak the *Māori* language. Two of the interviewees (**Ihu & Ata**) gave as one reason for the language's endangerment the fact that the majority of fluent speakers are elderly. Another (**Atawhai**) observed that very few adults know how to conduct themselves verbally in the context of *marae*. However, it was by no means only the number of *Māori* who do not speak the language, the age profile of speakers, or their competence in formal contexts that interviewees felt represented a barrier to the survival of the language. Another critical issue so far as one of the interviewees (**Ihu**) was concerned is the limited number of domains in which the language is used. Yet another issue, referred to directly by one (**Ihu**) and indirectly by two others (**Miriama** and **Arana**), is the

lack of status accorded to the language in the country as a whole. For one of them (**Miriama**), this was signalled by what she referred to as ‘*tokenism*’.

For representative extracts, see below:

There is not enough support even though there is *Māori* television, to me that is tokenism, a bit of *Māori* on TV and we’re supposed to learn *Māori* from that? (**Miriama**)

Māori are still looked down on and this needs to change. (**Arana**)

One of the interviewees (**Arana**) noted that although there remains much work to do, there are more *Māori* people speaking the *Māori* language than there were twenty to thirty years ago, adding:

It is also fantastic that there are *kōhanga*, *kura-kaupapa Māori*, *wharekura*. However most *Māori* are ignorant of *Māori*. They are lost and I find that very sad. (**Arana**)

One of the interviewees, a teenager educated in a *Kura* (**Kākahu**), who indicated that she believed that the *Māori* language was not endangered, nevertheless added that the attitudes of *Pākehā* and *Pākehā* institutions were impacting negatively on the number of domains in which *Māori* is used.

5.4.1.4 Awareness of the importance of using *te reo Māori* wherever possible

All of the interviewees believed that it was important to use *te reo Māori* when speaking with others who were able to speak the language. A number of reasons were provided. For **Apera**, a critical factor was that if the language is not used “it becomes redundant”. One of the interviewees, **Miriama**, indicated that speaking *te reo Māori* was particularly important when meeting someone for the first time as it signalled respect and established a connection, allowing for ease of interaction. She said: “It’s very important to me. That’s how I feel”.

Another of the interviewees, **Arana**, also stressed the importance of using *te reo Māori* in establishing a connection with others:

I think it's important because it's not one in five people who speak *Māori*. It's more like one in ten. If you go somewhere and you meet someone who speaks *Māori* you have something in common straight away. There's a connection with that person other than 'hey bro'. It's like *tēnā koe, kei te pēwhea* (hello how are you). Oh, you can speak *Māori* and then bang! So you got that *hononga* (connection) straight away when you hear other people speaking *Māori*, and then blah, blah, blah straight away. It's easy, important, very important. (**Arana**)

For both **Hake** and **Atawhai**, a critical factor in speaking *Māori* to others wherever possible is the issue of confidence and capacity building. As **Hake** observed, speaking *te reo Māori* with other speakers not only improves one's own language but also increases the confidence of others. He added that statistics show that there are not many confident speakers. **Atawhai** spoke of the time when she was learning the language using the *Te Ātaarangi* method, noting that the students used the language 'regardless of the circumstance' and that she would code switch to English only if necessary in order to clarify.

One of the interviewees, **Epa**, while stressing that speaking *te reo Māori* with others was very important to her, especially in the case of her own dialect, lamented the loss of dialects:

They say that *Māori* evolves but in the context of *mita* [dialect] it's been snuffed out. It hasn't been allowed to evolve. What has come along is a grammatically correct reo which has been introduced or colonized. We have been forced fed a language. *Te reo Māori* has been shaped to fit in with *Pākehā* structure on how they would like it structured. That's what I think. (**Epa**)

5.4.1.5 Attitudes towards the inclusion of *te reo Māori* in the school curriculum

Asked whether learning *te reo Māori* should be compulsory for all children, or all *Māori* children in Aotearoa/New Zealand, all but one of the interviewees said that they firmly believed that it should.

The one who did not state firmly that everyone should learn *Māori*, **Miriama**, felt that for *Māori*, the important issue was individual choice:

“People have the right to choose whether they want to learn *Māori* or not even if they are *Māori*”.

However, when she considered the assimilation-ist agenda and the fact that *Māori* had been forced to learn English, she seemed to change direction, saying:

We had to learn who *Pākehā* were. They tried to assimilate us. They taught that for years, so why can't they learn our *reo*?

Those who firmly believed that all children in this country should learn *Māori* gave a variety of reasons:

- it is a legacy and heritage (**Ata** and **Atawhai**);
- it is a requirement in terms of respect and equality (**Kākahu** and **Atawhai**);
- it would allow people to appreciate the beauty of the language (**Hake**);
- a working knowledge of the language would be likely to remove a primary cause of ‘backlash’, that is, the "fear of being left out" (**Ihu**);
- it would improve understanding and relationships among people (**Arana**);
- experiences in a range of countries clearly signal the advantages of bilingualism and multilingualism. (**Epa**)

Some extracts from the interview transcripts, along with comments, are printed below:

I think that *Māori* should be compulsory for everybody up until fifth form. Everybody! We are talking about, birthright, that it is part of who we are as *Māori*; *Māori* should be compulsory for all *Māori* students in all schools of *Aotearoa/New Zealand*. It's part of our legacy, it's part of our inheritance it's just the right way of doing it. (**Ata**)

Ata added that he did not need the '*Treaty of Waitangi*' to legitimize or rationalize what was clearly right.

For **Kākahu**, the issue was one of respect:

On a personal level, I still think yes, just because I think that it is respectful for all students *Māori*, *Pākehā*, Asian alike to learn the language whether or not they want to, only because they need to recognize and understand that *Māori* are the indigenous people of this country and that if they expect to stay and live here with equal rights then they should treat *Māori* and our language with the same equal rights as their own. (**Kākahu**)

For **Ihu** and **Arana**, the advantages associated with all young people learning *te reo Māori* relate, among other things, to inter-ethnic understanding:

Of course it has to be compulsory, once everybody has a working knowledge of the language that eliminates the fear of being left out [which is] a primary motivation for your *Pākehā* backlash. Who wants to be around in your own country where everyone speaks a language you can't understand. But once everyone understands it, they'll be a whole lot more supportive of it, which is fantastic. (**Ihu**)

Yes, I think it should be for all children not just for *Māori* children. If non *Māori* children learn they will see that we are not like X and them - that not all that is said about *Māori* in newspapers and so on is true, that we aren't reckless, thieves and that sort of thing. If they are well versed in *Māori* they will get a better understanding as to who we are as *Māori*. Yeah, *Māori*

should be compulsory in all schools because that is the first language of *Aotearoa*. (**Arana**)

For **Epa**, a critical issue is the fact that encouraging bilingualism in schools would pave the way towards multilingualism:

For all *Māori* students, yes, for all students, yes - It is good to have a second language and proof of that is Europe - If you look at England, the other language would be French and vice-versa [. . .] throughout France the other language would be English. In Germany it's the same. In Italy and Switzerland it's the same although in Switzerland they have got Italian, French and German as well as English but the other languages would be more prominent than English. (**Epa**)

Three of the interviewees expressed reservations and/or drew attention to potential problems associated with including *te reo Māori* as a compulsory part of school curricula. **Hake** observed that “there are many *Māori* out there who don't want to learn”. **Apera** said that he was a realist and had to accept that at the moment there was not a sufficient number of teachers who could do justice to the language in terms of fluency and the provision of good examples. **Ihu** also believed that the time had not yet come to make *Māori* compulsory for all children. There was “the political arena to deal with”. Furthermore:

Yes it should compulsory, but not yet, because you're going to get a backlash before you're ready for it. I really believe that the status of *Māori*, is like, the places you can use it, the linguistic landscape, they play, the bilingual signage - the whole status of *Māori* has to be lifted before it happens. (**Ihu**)

When asked why they believed that *te reo Māori* is not currently a compulsory school subject, the interviewees provided a range of reasons:

- racism/ colonization/ lack of equal status/ ignorance/ assimilationism/ loss of majority power/ greed (**Atawhai; Apera; Ihu; Kākahu; Miriama; Ata**);

- perception that there is no financial benefit/ that it is a waste of time (**Ata; Arana; Hake; Kākahu**);
- lack of government investment (**Ihu**);
- monolingual English speakers do not want to move beyond their comfort zone (**Ihu**);
- lack of people trained to teach the language and culture (**Ihu**);
- a ‘hangover’ from the older generation (50+) ‘*whinging pom era*’. (**Epa**)

Extracts from interviews providing reasons that fall into the first category above are provided below:

It’s about how - Joe Public views *Māori*, the language, the culture. The only value they see in it is as a commodity, not a something like a *taonga tuku iho*, (treasured heirloom from ones ancestors) something that’s handed down and that’s precious and unique [. . .] *Pākehā* don’t see it in the same - light as how a *Māori* person would. (**Ata**)

I think *Pākehā* think that *Māori* is not a viable language, not relevant. I think *Pākehā* have a hard time learning any other language than their own - too lazy even to pronounce our language. (**Arana**)

We have been brought up in - an environment where English has dominated our culture and I think that has been quite detrimental to us as a *Māori* race and part of doing that was stamping out the language [. . .] just another way of colonization. [*Māori* have] had to compromise in revitalizing the *reo* (the *Māori* language) and the types of *reo* that we are speaking because it is kind of transliterated *reo*. In my parents’ day, they were given a hiding for speaking the *reo*. My father would have been one of them. He was eight before he learned to speak English. He was raised by his grandparents up north totally immersed in *te reo*. Came down and moved to X and got a hiding. We have heard those stories all through our lives about our parents

being beaten - by the teachers for speaking their language and so it is like a way of stamping out our own culture. **(Atawhai)**

Simply because *Māori* have been totally assimilated into the *Pākehā* culture and they are still very much coming to grips in terms of the value and significance of *te reo Māori*. **(Apera)**

Racism, that's what it is [. . .] having everything in English is comfortable, [. . .] [a] comfortable situation for monolingual speakers of English that fear [of] having to change and having change forced upon them. [Also] the government hasn't put in the resources to create or to improve or upgrade the teacher training colleges so those teachers can get up there and teach them. I mean there are a whole lot of practical policy issues that would have to be sorted out before it could become compulsory in all schools, and at the present time because resources are limited [. . .] let's get real, [the] government's not giving out any cookies at the moment [. . .] it didn't come out in any of the reports, but what they should be focusing on is those kids that come out of *wharekura* (*Māori* immersion high school) [. . .] concentrating on them bringing up their kids in *Māori*, [so] once they start doing that then you've got intergenerational transmission. **(Ihu)**

Colonization - at this point in time [there is a] lack of equal status between *Māori* and *Pākehā*'. I think that - there has been a bit of [. . .] ignorance towards whether or not it is as important at this time for students to learn [*Māori*]. Personally I think that they think it may not benefit financially, which is why it's not being brought into the academic systems [. . .] most of the subjects that are brought into *kura* (schools) are pretty much there to serve the purpose of being able to [. . .] well financially benefit students in the future. **(Kākahu)**

I think it's about politics, greed, that's not giving *Māori* equality [. . .] *Pākehā* are frightened of losing too much power [. . .] if *Māori* become too well educated from the top to the bottom the *Pākehā* is going to have no job and I think that they don't honour the Treaty. When our ancestors signed

the Treaty, we [*Māori*] were looking for equality, not for them to supersede us and take over everything we had as *Māori*. *Kōhanga reo*, *kura-kaupapa* and *wharekura* are all tokenisms - an Iraqi can come here, be here for five minutes and put a school up. How many years have *Māori* been here? We have to wait five or six years to get a high school up. X is an example, six years fighting against the M.O.E. What is that all about? What's the problem? (**Miriama**)

One of the problems is the ignorance of the Government. There is no substance in what the Government says. They are only spouting words. They think it's not worth it, that it's a waste of time. (**Hake**)

I think it's a mindset. I think it's the older generation (50 plus) because where we come from there were *Pākehā* who spoke fluent *Māori* [. . .] did not have an issue with learning *Māori*, not at all. So I think it's those from the 50s, the whinging Pom era and all those who immigrated here who feel threatened. (**Epa**)

5.4.1.6 Awareness of the importance of native speakers

Ihu, **Hake** and **Atawhai** all stated that they believed it was critical for learners of *te reo Māori* to interact with native speakers. **Ihu** added that when he was with his wife's aunt, who was a native speaker, he would have already learned a new *Māori* word within half an hour. He believed that if he were to interact more often with native speakers it would not be long before he himself would have near-native ability. **Hake** too noted that there is much to learn from native speakers, observing that one can learn something new every day. He added that meeting *kuia* and *koroua* (elders) as well as *whānau* (family) is a very positive experience.

Both **Miriama** and **Epa** felt that it was important to interact with native speakers although **Miriama** believed that it was "not essential". Nevertheless, she (**Miriama**) noted that learners going home and hearing the local dialect felt "the *wairua* in their *kōrero*", something that she felt was not the same in the context of a *kura* (school): "I am not saying that there is no *wairua* in *te reo*. I am just saying for me that it has a big effect on me when I am around native speakers". This is a

point also emphasized by **Hake** who observed that he gets great pleasure from hearing language specific to his *marae* and to his home.

For **Kākahu**, an important advantage of interacting with native speakers is their insight into the *Māori* world and the authenticity of their language:

Āe, e tika ana tēnei kōrero, ki au nei, mehemea e taea ana te tangata te akonga nei, te whakapā ki tētahi tangata e matatau ana ki te reo, arā, kua tipu ake, me te tino mātātorutanga o te reo, ka taea e ia te rakuraku i te māhunga i te hirikapo o tēnei tangata kia tino whakaū i a ia anō ki te āhuatanga o te ao Māori, nā reira, ko te kupu Māori, te reo Māori. Ehara i te mea, ka taea noa iho koe [te] whakawhiti mai te reo Pākehā ki te reo Māori.

(Yes, this saying is right, I think if the person, this student, is able to relate to someone who is learned in the *Māori* language, i.e. was raised, nurtured and immersed in the *Māori* language then that student is able to query this authority in relation to the *Māori* world, therefore the *Māori* word, the *Māori* language. It is not as if you are able simply to have a literal-translation from the English language to the *Māori* language). (**Kākahu**)

As **Kākahu** noted, what is found in books and dictionaries is often "just transliterations", whereas native speakers use the language in everyday settings, formal and informal, as did our ancestors so "it's the way it should be really". For **Arana** and **Atawhai** part of the importance of interacting with native speakers is improvement of one's own language skills, particularly in connection with the finer points (nuances) of the language.

As **Arana** observed: "If you are a chess player the only way that you are going to get better is by playing masters and if you play people that aren't as good as you, you will never improve, same with speakers". He also made the following point:

We are talking about the Wharehuia Milroys of the world, the Pou Temaras, the Timoti Karetus and those types of people. When you learn from people

who are of that calibre then sure, you are going to get better. If not, then you will stay at the same level, so it's very important. (**Arana**)

For **Ata**, interaction with native speakers is a key to revitalization of the language, especially as most of those teaching through the medium of *te reo Māori* are second language speakers:

Ki ōku ake whakaaro karekau he mea i tua atu i tērā - tuku atu i ā tātou tamariki e tipu ake i roto i te reo i ēnei rā tonu. Mehemea ka tipu ake rātou taua reanga ki te taha o te hunga teretere pūmahara te hunga whakamireirei o te marae rātou e matatau ki te reo Māori he tino rongoa tērā ki te whakapiki ki te whakaora anō i te reo Māori, karekau he mea i tua atu i tērā.

(For me there is no substitute for that, these days we continue to send our children to be raised in the language. If they are raised [beside] that generation beside those learned ones central to the *marae*, people fluent in the *Māori* language - that would be very advantageous in the revival, in the revitalization of the *Māori* language, nothing is more important than that).

(**Ata**)

Although **Ata** stressed that he did not have any issues in relation to teachers who were not themselves native speakers, he nevertheless felt that it could be a real problem, that there was something missing - a 'disconnect' - that could be supplied by competent native speakers (such as those of his father's generation) who were born and raised in the *Māori* language. And finally, for **Apera**, native speakers were described as the model and support mechanism only in relation to whom was it possible to gauge fluency.

5.4.1.7 Attitudes towards support from the Crown

In response to a question asking whether *Māori* needed the support of the Crown to fully revitalize *te reo Māori* and tikanga, the interviewees responded in a variety of ways. Although all said that they believed that *Māori* had ultimate responsibility for the preservation of their language, most believed that the assistance of

government, largely in terms of financial support, was to be expected, particularly in view of the reasons for the decline of the language. However, there were those who believed that any involvement of government was likely to prove counterproductive:

No, I don't want that. At the end of the day, we can do it. However, it won't be easy. We can do it if we work as one. Never mind the Government because I think that they will be more trouble than it's worth to us. They will just slow us down. They will do it on purpose. It won't be easy but we can do it. **(Hake)**

No, I think - we have to be responsible for our own destiny. I mean - support - in regards to having our language more accessible and in the curriculum, yep! The Crown has the ability to do that but we can't be solely reliant on a system bringing our reo back in. It is up to us as a people and the only way you can do that is start with your children and *kōrero Māori i ngā wāhi katoa, i ngā wā katoa* (consistently speak *Māori* everywhere all the time). **(Atawhai)**

For **Apera**, a critical issue was responsibility of the Crown in terms of the Treaty of Waitangi:

In terms of the Treaty of Waitangi, yes [but] if *Māori* really want to learn, they will regardless. [However] to fully revitalise *te reo Māori*, yes we do need support from the Crown. **(Apera)**

Ata's response was a combination of 'yes' and 'no': 'yes' because the government has an obligation to preserve the *Māori* language under Article 2 of the Treaty of Waitangi; 'no' in the sense that, ultimately, "we need to as *Māori* - take responsibility' for our own destiny when it comes to *taonga-tuku-iho* (inheritance) - move from that victim mode and start looking after ourselves". Even so, **Ata** observed that he did think that "[the] Crown can help get rid of the bureaucratic bullshit [and] make it easier for *Māori* to implement initiatives".

Ata added:

No matter how many billions of dollars you throw at these sort of things, it's not going to help if the people are not there to make it happen [. . .] it's not the money, it's the people [. . .] the main thing is our people [. . .] we have to try and change the people's behaviour for things to happen. (**Ata**)

And **Epa** noted:

The thing with the Crown is that they try to put you into their little box of ideals, not the other way around. [However], it will be realized if we started with kids and primary schools. (**Epa**)

Arana believed that *Māori* could, potentially, revitalize the language on their own. He added, however, that “to do our people justice, we do need help from the Crown” although having the Crown's help is “like a two edged sword - gives with one hand and takes with the other sort of thing”:

No doubt [. . .] we could do it on our own if we have *wānanga* like how X and them have and that sort of stuff, we can do it but that is taking the harder road, but if we want to take an easier road then we have to take the Crown's road [. . .] the Crown equals funds [. . .] pay your *kaiako* (teacher) or whatever it is that you are doing, and pay for the venue where these things are being held and stuff like that, so you need it [. . .] if we really want to revitalize *te reo* then absolutely if the Crown agrees to help, but from what I've seen of *Māori* organisations these days that have been established, *Māori* radio, *Māori* television, *Māori* stations, *wānanga*. I think *te reo* is flourishing inside of us all, but if we want to revitalise *te reo* to all of New Zealand, support from the Crown is essential. [*Māori* are receiving] help from the Crown now to get our *reo* through the loan system and all that sort of thing because we can't do it on our own. It's a pity that we have to pay thousands of dollars to get something that belongs to us and we have to pay through the nose for it but that's the world today. (**Arana**)

For **Miriama**, the issue is one that relates to justice:

I actually look at it this way - they owe us. An example is; I have paid thirty thousand dollars to learn something that was rightfully mine from the start. What's up with that, ay? Not good. Yes, I think financially they should.
(Miriama)

Ihu believed that although *Māori* need the support of the Crown in terms of funding, it is important that the Crown should not lead revitalization efforts. He observed that whenever representatives of the Crown give out funds, they expect accountability: “That’s not a problem, but accountability is different from leadership”:

Māori have got to lead it, they’ve got to set the agendas, they’ve got to do the research, [and] they’ve got to have the - control over the process. The Crown needs to become *Māori* language speaking, and *Māori* language friendly, which is why, whenever I write to the police [. . .] for a number of things or government departments, I write in *Māori* and often when they write back, they only write in *Pākehā* (English) or like the Police who clearly didn’t have a clue [to] what I actually wrote. **(Ihu)**

Ihu added that he believed that a critical issue was finding a vehicle to lead *Māori* language regeneration, possibly “a revamped *Te Taura Whiri*”. He added: “What they need to do is - have five *iwi* (tribe) nominated on the Board of *Te Taura Whiri* (*Māori Language Commission*) and five from the government, half of *iwi*, half of government on the board so it’s balanced”:

The people that the Government nominates need to be the face for the government and the *Pākehā*, alright! The people that are on there from the *iwi* need to be the face for *Māori*, so they need to have *Pākehā*, that’s only my opinion and that’s not for any other reason - it makes it look safer to our racist brethren. **(Ihu)**

5.4.1.8 Considering the prospects for a bilingual Aotearoa/New Zealand in the future

Asked whether they believed that *Aotearoa*/New Zealand would ever be truly bilingual (English and *Māori*), four of the interviewees answered ‘no’ (**Arana**, **Hake**, **Epa** and **Kākahu**), four answered ‘yes’ (**Ata**, **Apera**, **Atawhai** and **Ihu**). One of the interviewees (**Miriama**) expressed a sentiment that all of them appeared to share: "I wish, I really wish". In one case, **Apera**, a positive response was clearly one that was influenced more by hope than belief:

I am really hoping so, that’s a big question sometimes I am influenced by my heart, I have to have faith in what I do, in what I teach, so I have to say, yes! (**Apera**)

In another case, **Arana**, a negative response was accompanied by a proviso:

Unless *Māori* somehow gain power; then no. (**Arana**)

All the interviewees, whether or not they believed that the country would ever become truly bilingual, believed that there were many challenges to face and obstacles to overcome. For example, **Kākahu** responded as follows:

That’s a hard one, truly bilingual? Well, the way we are going now, no I don’t think we will [be] truly bilingual where we have equal rights in every aspect, no! No I don’t but I like to hope that we will one day, but at the moment I don’t think so. (**Kākahu**)

Among the reasons given by those who responded in the negative were:

- the fact that the costs involved (“these days money is what makes the world go around”) were such that the Government would never provide adequate support and would never create an appropriate legal structure to underpin national bilingualism. (**Hake**)

- the fact that there are many other peoples and cultures in the country who do not want to learn *Māori*, preferring their own language. (**Hake**)

Some of those who responded in the affirmative pointed to positive signs. One interviewee (**Atawhai**) observed that although there would be “the political arena to deal with”, she believed that progress was being made:

We have total immersion *kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa, wharekura*, that would not even been envisaged by our *tupuna* (ancestors) who were beaten to a pulp even for the whisper of their language. (**Atawhai**)

Another interviewee (**Ata**) drew attention to the significance of census projections:

The New Zealand census projections are that between 2050, 2100 the *Māori* population will overtake the *Pākehā* population and then there are the *Chinese* and *Polynesian* not far off from us, *Aotearoa* is browning up. (**Ata**)

Ata also drew attention to the opportunities that exist for learning *Māori* language, adding that the *Māori* economy is very healthy and growing and that the *Māori* language and *tikanga* (culture) or part of that. He added that the uniqueness of *Māori* culture sets us apart from everybody else in the world, noting that that everyone “wants a piece of it”. He added that *Māori* needs branding because tourists want to know more about the language and culture. An important point that he made was the need for more non *Māori* to learn *Māori* language and *tikanga*.

5.4.1.9 Factors interviewees consider essential to the revitalization of *te reo Māori* and *tikanga*

For the interviewees, each of the following was considered to be important if revitalization efforts are to succeed: determination (including “living and breathing *Māori*”, positive community relationships; historical understanding; having appropriate *Māori* organisational structures (and using them appropriately); building up an adequate resource base (of people and money); effective teaching; and improving the status of the language.

For **Ihu**, the primary thing needed for *Māori* language revitalization to be effective is increased status:

If you can lift the value of a language, people are going to learn it. People are going to pass it on [. . .] in the 1940s-1950s, *Māori* had the language but they chose not to pass it to their kids. Why? Because the language had no status, so - status is really important. (**Ihu**)

Ihu added that he believed that *Māori* needed to be promoted and “*Māori* need to have an organization that’s separate from the government [. . .] a *whakakotahitanga o ngā iwi* (tribal unification), *ngā rōpū reo Māori* (*Māori* language groups), something like the *Welsh Language Society*”. Thus:

[So] when a school principal says ‘If *Māori* was compulsory in schools then it will put too much pressure on teachers’, *Māori* need an organization that could reply to the principal and say something like ‘That’s complete rubbish. Here’s our research that says they’re already wasting their time on all sorts of other rubbish’ so it becomes a lobby group, a body that would fight for *Māori*. (**Ihu**)

Ihu believed that being prepared to fight for the cause was of extreme importance:

Māori have got soft as well [. . .] like [the] *Welsh* - they just, fought, fought, fought, [and] fought. There was a policy put out that said we’re going to have *Welsh* signposts and then all the local councils said ‘That’s cool. We’ll replace them over the next twenty years’ and then they woke up next morning and all their signposts were knocked down, so they (the local councils) had to replace them. Many *Welsh* said ‘No! If you’re going to send an infringement notice to us, we want it in *Welsh*’, and they (the English) said ‘You’re not getting it in *Welsh*, if you don’t reply or if you don’t do this you’re going to go to prison’. So they went to prison. So that came in under the *Welsh Language Society*. So *Māori* need something like that because government will never do on its own back [. . .] you’ve got to do all those sort of things. They’re all factors as well. But, to me, those three things,

status, intergenerational transmission, and a political lobby group are your three most important. (**Ihu**)

For **Kākahu**, a critical factor is effective teaching of the language. For **Miriama**, what matters most is resources and relationships: “I always see it terms of *whānau*, *iwi* and *hapū* (family, tribal, and clan) support, development, community” and “having the actual resources there, as in people and in money”. For **Hake**, the *marae* and, critically, community relationships have a role to play:

One would be to adhere to the customs of old, working together as one *whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi*. Learn to speak *Māori*. Have teachers in *Māori*. (**Hake**)

Arana expressed the belief and the will to learn is what matters most: “. . . having the dream, having the desire, having the people to instill that desire into our people that haven’t got it, to learn, to know what it is to be *Māori*”.

Atawhai has seven siblings, none of whom were raised in *te reo Māori* or had *Māori* at school:

Yet our children and that whole generation - we have got nineteen - are all *reo* speakers and *ko te reo Māori tō rātou reo tuatahi* (*Māori* is their first language) - I think to have a whole generation. My generation learned it. My mother and my father can speak it. My generation now can speak it. My children and our *mokopuna* (grandchildren).

So we have actually turned it around. We have actually got four generations that are now immersed in *te reo* and have a high competency, fluency in the *reo* - that’s as a *whānau* (family) [so] we need more *whānau* like that and then we connect ourselves together and there’s your tribe. And then we are all engaging with the *reo* (*Māori* language). Different values, different *tikanga* (tribal philosophies) but we can actually come together and live communally and that is where the *marae* comes in. (**Atawhai**)

For **Atawhai**, although history cannot be changed, it is important to understand “who we are, where we come from” and “why things are the way they are” because that is “what drives us into the future” and “moves our people forward”.

Apera stressed that there is an urgent need for “a quick development - programmes that are similar to *te kura reo* (*Māori* language schools) that run throughout the *motu* (country)”. He added:

There needs to be adequate funding in teacher training colleges and also university institutions, but I also think one of the crucial factors is that it needs to be somehow brought into the homes. So perhaps we change the mind-set of people where *te reo Māori* is taught at home as a first language, and to do that . . . there are a whole lot of strategies and policies that need to be [implemented]. (**Apera**)

5.4.2 Attitudes and approaches to intergenerational transmission of *te reo Māori* in homes and communities (Research Question 1)

5.4.2.1 Attitudes towards intergenerational transmission

When asked how important it was to ensure that their children and grandchildren spoke *te reo Māori*, all of the interviewees insisted that it was very important. **Arana** stressed that the issue was not “Will you learn *Māori*?” but “You will learn *Māori*”. He added that *te reo Māori* must be taught to the next generation so that it would not die out like the *moa*:

Very important, if our language is dead we are dead brown Europeans bro.
(**Arana**)

For **Atawhai**, the essence of intergenerational transmission is 'liv[ing] and beath[ing] *Māori*':

You need to speak it, live it, *ā whānau, ā hapū, ā iwi* (within families, clans and tribes), so that it becomes, just a part of life.

For **Hake**, the issue, so far as young *Māori* are concerned, is primarily one of identity and future possibilities:

Our *tamariki* (children) must learn *Māori* because most *Māori* don't know *Māori* or *tikanga* (culture). To me it's good that we teach our children *te reo*. Our children will see a future for themselves. They will be able to fulfill their aspirations for themselves. Yes, all *Māori* should learn, that is to say everyone should learn. Yes all children should learn, then they will see the beauty in our language and culture, they will see that all the negativities said about our language are untrue. (**Hake**)

Ata noted that he grew up in English but that learning *Māori* had opened up a whole new world for him that should be available to all *Māori*. He also stressed that *te reo Māori* is still declining and that regeneration “starts in the home” with intergenerational transmission but that there's also a need for the language to be made compulsory in schools up to fifth form, something that would require major investment so as to ensure quality teaching, the most important thing being “ability to communicate in *te reo Māori*, so that they're able to pass it down [at] an acceptable level so that everyone can converse and understand fully in *te reo Māori*”.

5.4.2.2 Approaches to intergenerational transmission

All but one of the interviewees, **Kākahu**, who is young and does not yet have children, said that they either speak *te reo Māori* to their children or grandchildren regularly or as often as possible. **Ihu** said that he spoke *te reo Māori* to his children for at least 80 to 90 per cent of the time. **Epa** observed that she had no difficulty in communicating in *te reo Māori* with her children but would sometimes ‘switch’ to English to clarify her meaning. She said that she communicates in *Māori* “at home, in the car, and sometimes I will break out in *te reo* (the *Māori* language) because they have selective hearing so if it's in *te reo* then they will listen”. (**Epa**)

Miriama, who indicated that she spoke to her children and grandchildren in *te reo Māori* “as often as I can”, added:

When I *kōrero* (speak) to my *whāngai* (adopted) children who weren't brought up in *Māori* there's like a different respect thing [. . .] in terms of my own child, if I talk to him in English he will say what a lot of crap but if I talk *Māori* to him [in *Māori*] it becomes a deeper meaning for him and he gets it, he listens to me - it's awesome. (**Miriama**)

For **Hake**, a critical aspect of intergenerational transmission is ensuring exposure to language at *marae*:

Go back to *marae* [. . .] that is the main place to learn *Māori*. That is our place to stand. The *marae* is the place where both formal and informal dialogue is observed, where *tikanga Māori* is practiced. (**Hake**)

5.4.3 Factors facilitating or inhibiting inter-generational transmission (Research Question 2)

5.4.3.1 Facilitating factors

Clearly, one of the most critical factors in intergenerational transmission is the extent to which *te reo Māori* is used in the environment of home and community. The context in which the interviewees indicated they spoke *te reo Māori* were as follows:

- on all the occasions/ for all the purposes listed (**Epa**);
- on the *marae* (all of the interviewees);
- at home (**Ihu, Miriama, Epa, Hake, Arana, Kākahu** and **Atawhai**);
- at work - *kōhanga* (**Hake, Arana** and **Kākahu**); at work - other (**Ihu** and **Apera**);
- on social/ religious occasions (**Kākahu, Miriama, Epa, Hake** and **Arana**)
- to compose songs, etc. and/or at *kapa haka* (**Hake, Kākahu, Miriama, Ihu** and **Arana**)

Most of the interviewees (**Ata**, **Miriama**, **Arana**, **Ihu**, **Hake** and **Kākahu**) indicated that they also used *te reo Māori* in creative contexts. Thus, for example, **Kākahu** observed that she composed songs in *te reo Māori* and that *te reo Māori* is the language used most of the time by the teachers of *her kapa haka* group (*Māori* culture group) and **Arana** noted that he used *Māori* for all sorts of compositions, including songs, poems and *haka*. One of the interviewees, **Ihu**, indicated that a primary reason for composing in *Māori* was so that his children would benefit:

To compose *waiata*, songs, stories and poems [. . .] we try and like give our kids - *waiata Māori* (*Māori* songs) [. . .] for when we have *manuwhiri* (visitors) come [. . .] when we have *manuwhiri* coming to our *karakia* (prayer), so we taught our kids *waiata Māori* and then we would create *pūrākau tamariki* (children's stories) from the *Paipera-Tapu* (Bible), just *kia mama ai ki a rātou* (make it easy for them) - and read and write although it's much easier for me to read in *Pākehā* . (**Ihu**)

The amount of time each day during with the interviewees said they spoke *te reo Māori* varied considerably. Responses relating to time spent speaking the language are outlined below:

Hake: About 75% of the time (works in a *kōhanga reo*) but mostly English at home because majority of his *whānau* (family) do not speak *Māori*.

Ata: Around six or seven hours every day. Uses English except when speaking to his seven children, grandchild and grandfather.

Apera: Every day (time unspecified).

Miriama: As much as possible (time unspecified), especially when speaking to her *mokopuna* (grandchildren including a newly-born one).

Kākahu: All day at work (in a *kōhanga reo*) and while doing tertiary studies but currently rarely at home.

- Ihu:** Approximately two hours each day. Uses English most of the time at work and "when speaking to adults at home" but generally uses *te reo Māori* when speaking to his children.
- Arana:** Approximately one hour each day (at *kōhanga reo* and with his children at home). Uses English at home except when speaking to visitors who speak the language or to his *moko* and children.
- Epa:** Approximately one hour each day - when speaking to children at *kōhanga reo* and to her own children.
- Atawhai:** Speaks English for most of the time at home and at work but uses *te reo Māori* when speaking to her children and grandchild.

All of those who made any reference to their children and/or grandchildren indicated that they spoke *te reo Māori* to them. In addition, **Kākahu**, a recent school leaver, said that after she finished her schooling she had tried to encourage those at home to use the language with the result that:

Kua piki ake te taumata o te reo ki tōku kāinga [ko] aku tuākana, mātua, poua, aha rānei, ka kaha kōrero Māori mātou katoa. Nā reira, ki te kāinga he tino pai - anō nei, ki te mahi.

(The standard of the language at home improved my elder siblings, parents, grandparents, and I were always speaking *Māori*. Consequently, it all went very well at home). (**Kākahu**)

Identifying contexts in which *te reo Māori* can be spoken can be an important factor in terms of one's own language maintenance and in terms of providing a role model for the next generation. For **Epa**, **Ihu**, **Hake** and **Atawhai**, the critical factor was where they worked - at a *kōhanga reo* in the case of **Epa** and **Hake**, and in area of a national university where there were many second language speakers in the case of **Ihu** and **Atawhai**. **Ihu** noted that, in addition to using *te reo Māori* at work, he

also had an opportunity to speak with second language speakers when he dropped his children off at *kura* (school, (where he spoke with the children “in their amateur *Māori*”). He noted that *te reo Māori* was used consistently by many of his colleagues. For **Miriama**, **Kākahu** and **Ata**, an important factor was their choice of friends. Thus, in addition to *whānau*, including her children and *mokopuna* (grandchildren), the people **Miriama** conversed with were people she had chosen to “hang out with” because she was 'pro-*Māori*'. Extracts from the responses of **Kākahu** and **Ata** are printed below:

Kao - kāore i tino uaua māku i te mea. [e] mōhio ana au i ngā tāngata maha e kōrero ana i te reo, [kei te] mōhio au ētahi tāngata e ako ana i te reo i tēnei wā, kāore rātou e matau ana, engari e ako ana, āe. (No, it's not very hard for me to converse with speakers of *te reo Māori* because I know many people who speak the language, I know some who are learning the language now. They are not fluent but [they are] still learning, yep). (**Kākahu**)

Tā te mea [he] tāngata ngākau nui tēnei, māua ko taku hoa [ko] te nuinga o mātou nei hoa matatau [. . .] te nuinga o rātou [. . .] i roto i te reo Māori [. . .] a X mā, [ko] Y koia taku whanaunga [ko] tērā momo reanga, he maha ngā tāngata, Karaitiana [. . .] there are quite a few [. . .] and we mix in that world anyway.

(Because my wife and I are most passionate most of our friends are learned in the *Māori* language such as X and his colleagues, [and] Y he's my relation [that] generation, and many Christians [. . .] there are quite a few [. . .] and we mix in that world anyway). (**Ata**)

Interviewees were asked whether they thought that today's *marae* can help revitalize the *Māori* language and *tikanga* (culture). In response, seven replied in the affirmative: **Apera**, **Ihu**, **Epa**, **Miriama**, **Hake** and **Ata**. Some extracts from their responses are provided below:

Most certainly. (**Apera**)

Yes, the marae has always had a traditional role in being the perfect place for *tikanga* (culture) and language. Just the physical assets of *marae* are fantastic for *wānanga* (*Māori* focused conference). In fact it's much easier to set up your *marae* as a learning institution [because] it sort of gets around the RMA (Resource Management Act). There's always the opportunity to have *kōhanga reo* on your *marae*, and many *marae* have *kōhanga reo*, the *marae* provides a network of people and usually with a legal [. . .] covering so it's good for getting funding for your *wānanga*. (**Ihu**)

Ihu added that because *marae* are connected with *iwi* and *hapū* (tribe and clan) this allows for a pooling of resources: "So you might not have any *kaumātua* (learned elders) that can speak but other *hapū* might - so - that's at a really practical level".

Epa stressed the importance of learning and using the language in a marae context:

At home they've been having *te reo wānanga*, *whakapapa* (*Māori* language and genealogy) *wānanga* and all that. [Because] back at your own *marae*, you still have native speakers so it's good to utilize them while they are still around. (**Epa**)

For **Miriama**, the importance of the *marae* is its people:

It's not about the *marae* being modern but the people of the *marae* and what they have to offer. (**Miriama**)

5.4.3.2 Inhibiting factors

For **Atawhai**, an inhibiting factor so far as intergenerational transmission is concerned is the paucity of total immersion *Māori* speaking communities in the country and the fact that few *marae* encourage total immersion in the language. She observed:

Our current *marae* situation is really poor when it comes to the revitalization of the *reo* mainly because we lost the *reo*, [The one's] actually running the

marae are our *pakeke* (elders). [People have identified themselves as] *kaumātua* (learned elder) but they do not have the *reo*, and to me if you do not have the *reo*, you can't even - look at being a *kaumātua* [and] that's critical in a *Māori* setting. Being a *kaumātua* is like that of a *tohunga* (specialist) [for] a particular area. It might have been *karakia*, (prayer) so you will go to that *tohunga* for *karakia* or go to another *tohunga* if you wanted to be immersed in some other *kaupapa* (subject matter) but these days everyone wants to be a *tohunga*. Everyone wants to be the leaders. (Atawhai)

Arana also referred to the fact that "too many *marae* now that haven't got speakers", adding that "that's why our language is in the dump".

In the case of **Kākahu**, similar doubts surfaced:

Because of my own experience when I go back there, *te reo* is not being used so - how can we say that we're going to revive *Māori* if we don't use it?

And I find there is a big generation gap between those who can't speak *te reo Māori* and who can and at the moment *kaumātua* (elders) are the ones who can't. Going back to my own *marae* with my *koro* who is the head of our family and he must speak on our behalf. He was a part of the generation who were whacked at *kura* (school) for speaking so they never spoke and so he does not know anything about the *reo* (language), and it's sad because we get there to the *marae* and I've had to write his *whaikōrero* (formal speech) and he's had to learn it in the car on the way to the *marae*, and he's done it that way. So I think that, it's not that we don't want to [but] right now the generation who would be in charge of heading the revitalization are just not capable of it. *He mahi tino nui tā ngā marae* (*marae* have much work to do). (Kākahu)

[The language is] declining on *marae* [and] we do not want to acknowledge that that's happening so we tend to turn a blind eye, pretend it's not happening when we actually know it is. It's up to everybody [. . .] if we are

going to say it's our language, then it's our language and we all need to take responsibility. We shouldn't be putting it on everybody else. (**Kākahu**)

Both **Kākahu** and **Atawhai** also noted that there were difficulties in maintaining the use of *te reo Māori* with the next generation because there are many who do not speak the language. **Atawhai** observed that although *Māori* was spoken "on the marae proper", it was 'useless' for her to attempt to speak *Māori* in the kitchen because there were those there who did not speak the language. For her, this difficulty extended to other areas of the *marae*:

Ki au nei, inā, ka kōrero te tangata, ehara ngā wāhi, nā te mea i runga - ō mātou marae te nuinga kāore e kōrero Māori. Ko ētehi i runga i te pae ka noho wahangū, ahakoa kei te noho i runga i te pae, karekau i matatau ki te kōrero i te reo Māori. Pērā hoki ētehi ō mātou koroua, kuia.

(In my view, if, one is speaking, then the place is irrelevant because on our *marae* the majority cannot speak *Māori*, some sit on the *pae* in silence because although they are sitting on the *pae*, they are not able to speak in the *Māori* language. The same can be said for many of our elders).
(**Atawhai**)

A barrier so far as some of the interviewees were concerned was the difficulty of getting together with native speakers in order to improve and/or maintain their own proficiency and, hence, the quality of language used with their *tamariki* (children). Whereas **Kākahu**, **Epa**, **Apera** and **Atawhai** reported no difficulty in getting together with native speakers, **Miriama**, **Ihu** and **Ata** indicated that they did have some problems in this respect and **Arana** noted that he had considerable difficulty.

Kākahu said that getting together and conversing with native speakers presented her with no difficulty as she was raised by native speakers. The situation was similar for **Atawhai** whose father was a native speaker and who also had contact with native speakers at work (as did **Apera**). **Epa**'s situation was different. However, she had native speaking in-laws in their late 70s and early 80s and could easily pop around to see them or pick up the phone and ring them.

Miriama noted that she had slight difficulty in respect of interacting with native speakers because she has contact with native speakers only when she goes back to her *papa-kāinga* (traditional lands). However, when there, she converses with her elders in *te reo Māori*. She added, however: “We don’t have any young ones who can speak *Māori*”.

Ihu noted that in the place where he worked (part of a national university that is dedicated particularly to *Māori* language and culture) there are fluent speakers although there are very few in the institution as a whole. He added that he rarely went back to visit his wife’s aunt who is a native speaker of *te reo Māori* (because of home and work commitments) but that going home to his wife’s *marae* more often would allow him access to more native speakers: “We might catch more, 'cause there’s really good speakers there”.

Hake noted that many of his elders have passed on and that a critical problem in relation to contact with others was physical distance: “I don’t often get to see my elders who are fluent in *Māori*, they don’t live close by - I see them sometimes at funerals or meetings that I go to, that is where the native fluent speakers are”.

Several of the interviewees focused on the fact that attitudes of older children could be a barrier to intergenerational transmission of the language. **Atawhai**, for example indicated that her grown up children were not comfortable with *te reo Māori*, preferring to speak English:

I usually do that [speak *te reo Māori*] to my children but although they can speak *Māori* they are at an age where they are not interested in my *mokos* (grandchild) learning *Māori* so I take it upon myself as my *moko*’s *kuia* (grandmother). (**Atawhai**)

In similar vein, **Kākahu** noted her younger siblings after returning home from speaking *te reo Māori* all day at school had no interest at all in speaking the language at home and responded to her in English. She also observed that although the *Māori* language was very strong at home and although her younger siblings

could speak the language, her mother rarely chose to do so thus making it difficult for her to do so unless there were many others present who were all conversing in the language.

Ihu identified problems associated with the language his children were learning and/or using as an issue. He said that he spoke *te reo Māori* to his children at least 80 to 90 per cent of the time but indicated that he had problems with his children's language, problems he associated with the way "all their mates talk". He observed that "their grammar is bad" and that there were a lot of mistakes, "a lot of *Pākehā whakaaro*" (English language sentence structure when speaking *Māori*). He added that although "the young ones, the five and six year olds, mostly speak in *Māori*", as his children have grown, they have become more inclined to speak English:

The older ones will play in *Pākehā*. Its like, how do they do that? Because we mostly speak *Māori* to them, my oldest one takes ages to get her to speak *Māori*, and she'll speak *Pākehā*, I'll speak *Māori*, she'll speak *Pākehā*, I'll speak *Māori*, she'll speak *Pākehā*. (**Ihu**)

Ihu also said: "As the kids get older, they fall more in love with English but there's certain times that they do feel really proud being *Māori*". He added: "The only thing is that I would have to guess is with the amount of English that [I and my] wife speaks, [the] children think the adult language is English".

Like **Ihu**, **Arana** and **Ata** said that when they spoke *te reo Māori* to their children, they would sometimes respond in English and **Arana** said that his older children "have become lazy in speaking *Māori*". **Ata** noted that his older children sometimes failed to take notice if he spoke to them in *te reo Māori*, adding that his older children were embracing the English language and were curious about the wider world:

They're in a discovering phase of their lives, they're got girlfriends and they're starting to have children and so their energies are more focused around the world that they live in, and it's not the *Māori* world really. (**Ata**)

So far as negative attitudes towards use of *te reo Māori* among older children are concerned, **Epa** maintained that this was associated with a lack of adequate political awareness, noting that young *Māori* were not educated in ‘*real history*’ during their schooling in a way that would counter mainstream propaganda: "You have to teach the history as well as the language - it is at tertiary that the young ones learn about the injustices of subsequent governments and generations of *Pākehā* who have ripped *Māori* off". (**Epa**)

Hake, who said that he speaks to his children in *te reo Māori* about fifty per cent of the time, outlined two of the problems he experiences - tiredness and lack of comprehension:

About fifty percent of the time I speak *Māori* to my children at home. Sometimes I get tired speaking *Māori*. Sometimes my kids don’t understand or won’t listen. That’s when I switch to English. Yes, I have problems because most times they understand and sometimes they don’t. I will repeat myself, but after a while I will switch to English. When they understand what I am saying I will switch back to *Māori*. (**Hake**)

For **Apera**, the situation is slightly different:

Just some of the words that I use they sometimes say: ‘*Papa he aha te tikanga o tērā kupu?*’ (*Papa*, what does that word mean?) - but no problems in terms of talking everyday conversational use of *te reo Māori*. (**Apera**)

Miriama observed that she had no problem when speaking in *te reo Māori* to those who have the language, such as children attending *kōhanga reo* and children who had learned the language from their parents. However, with her extended family, who “weren’t really raised in *te reo*” it was not possible just to have a casual conversation in the language.

Interestingly, **Arana**, **Ata**, **Atawhai** and **Apera** all said that they spoke only *te reo Māori* to their children when they were young but increasingly spoke English as they grew older. Part of **Arana**’s dialogue is printed below:

To my *mokopuna* I speak *Māori* to them all the time, my two eldest are a teenager and an adult, my two youngest are still children [. . .] with my children not much now, but when they were children [i.e. younger] only *Māori* was spoken in my house. (**Arana**)

Apera also gradually introduced English as his children grew:

My children, when they were younger, for example my four year old, I speak no other language but *Māori*, and my older two which are now at high school, I would say 60-40 depending on what environment we are in. (**Apera**)

Ata said that he consistently spoke *Māori* to his children when they were younger but that as they got older and attended high school “*things changed*”. He indicated that he became concerned because although he felt that his children’s English was ‘quite passable’, the children themselves did not, but nevertheless refused to attend English classes at *wharekura* (*Māori* immersion high school) and were very upset when “their test exams for *Māori* in a full *Māori* immersion school were in English and they threw it down in disgust they didn’t even attempt to do it”. Although he felt that this was ‘a bit of a cop out’, he and his wife had had a ‘rethink’ since he wanted his children to “have no problems about reading and writing in whatever language as well”. He added that he and his wife led very busy lives and found it difficult to spend quality time with their children in order to ensure that they did not encounter the problems that they were currently having, problems that were, in his opinion, not an isolated case but ones that impacted on many *kura kaupapa* children (children who attended and are taught through the medium of *Māori* immersion kindergarten, primary, intermediate, and high schools) who were struggling with their English. Thus for **Ata**, a major concern so far as *Māori-immersion* is concerned, is the potential for inadequate competence in English:

When they went from the transition period between *kura kaupapa* and *wharekura* we found out quite quickly that our kids were disadvantaged because we were so strong in *te reo Māori*. So we were trying to help them

and encourage them - as much as we could to improve their *taha Pākehā, te reo Pākehā* (their *European* side, the English language) so that they were able to with some sort of confidence, be able to answer the questions in the exams. (**Ata**)

Ata expressed concern not only about his older children but also about his second youngest son (who would be starting *wharekura* (high-school) soon) as he also had problems with the English language. He was also concerned that *Māori-immersion* schools could not always provide everything that some children required, noting that if there was something in a child that the *wharekura* could not provide for, he would seriously consider sending that child to a mainstream school. He added, however, that his wife thought otherwise. Even so, although at that point in time all of his children were attending full *Māori* immersion schools, things might change:

I know my youngest daughter she's got a very sharp mind, [she wants] to be a lawyer and of course that stuff is not really fostered at the *wharekura*. No disrespect to X but even though they're very supportive of children in whatever they want to follow and they sort of get around it and that sort of thing, but they don't have the capacity or the infrastructure to do stuff that is not part of their course. (**Ata**)

Ata added that many *Māori* children are into sports such as rugby or netball and would end up, even if many of their parents were fluent in *te reo Māori*, going to a mainstream school if they could not be adequately supported in the context *Māori* immersion schooling.

Kākahu, who had herself been educated in a *Māori* immersion context, was not sure whether she would have her own children educated in the same way, adding that much depended on the social circumstances of the day:

When I do have children I think it will depend on what our society is like. If I was to have a *tamariki* now and if I had to send them to *kura-kaupapa* or mainstream at this time, I would probably have to send them to mainstream.

She noted that “the way that our government and society is being led at the moment is unjust”, adding:

I would want them to have a fair advantage, but the way that our society is heading at the moment these institutions [are] at a big disadvantage and I feel like this is putting our *tamariki* at a big disadvantage and I wouldn't want that for my *tamariki*. (**Kākahu**)

Ihu, while stating that his philosophy and that of his wife was that their children should have a good grounding in *te reo Māori* by attending *kōhanga reo*, *kura kaupapa* and *wharekura*, nevertheless bemoaned the fact that the language they were learning was not necessarily of a high standard: “We try and speak *Māori* to them and blikin correct their *hōhā* (annoying) grammar”. This is an issue that was also raised by **Ata** who referred explicitly to his perception that there was a need for improved teaching of the language in schools:

Āe, whakaponu au ki tērā, engari he wero kei roto, kia tika ai te reo, kia tika ai te - momo reo e rere ana, nō reira, he wero tēnei ki te hunga e whakaako ana - ngā kaiako e whakaako i te reo Māori, kia tika te kōrero, kia tika te ako, te whakaako i te tauira, i te pia.

(Yes, I truly believe that, but it will be a challenge, to get the language right, the correct language structure, therefore, this will be the challenge to - those who will be teaching it, the teachers who will be teaching the *Māori* language, the correct pronunciation, the correct teaching methodologies.)
(**Ata**)

Of those who indicated that they spoke *te reo Māori* for all or part of the time at work (**Hake**, **Arana**, **Kākahu**, **Ihu** and **Apera**), three (**Hake**, **Arana** and **Kākahu**); worked in *kōhanga reo*. One of them, **Kākahu**, noted that there were children there who spoke only *te reo Māori* and so it was imperative that the language be spoken there. She added, however:

Ki te mahi; ētehi ō aku hoa mahi [e] kaha nei ki te kōrero Māori, ētehi karekau he reo.

(At work, some of my colleagues - consistently speak *Māori*, some have no *reo*). (**Kākahu**)

Other difficulties referred to by the interviewees related to lack of confidence and/or competence. For **Ihu**, three factors explained his using the language less often than might be expected - tiredness, taking the easiest route and habit. He said: “I’m a little bit conflicted here - you’d think I would do it all the time but sometimes you’re just blinkin tired”. After noting that he had some bad habits, such as speaking in English to his wife, he said that although he generally, in other circumstances, spoke *Māori* with others who spoke the language, he did not necessarily do so in the presence of those whose competence was low because “it just makes it easier”.

For **Kākahu**, an important inhibiting factor in relation to use of the language as frequently as possible was a desire not to have to listen to *Māori* that is of poor quality:

Pīrangī koe he honest opinion? I te mea [. . .] tino pai ki au te rango mai i te reo me te mea hoki i a au e kuraina ana ki te kura ko au tētahi tangata tino rawe ki au ngā mahi manu-kōrero, whai-kōrero, ko au tērā [i]haere ki ngā whakataetae i a tau, i a tau me te mea hoki, he tangata āhua rakuraku i te hinengaro o te tangata, nā reira, mehemea e mōhio ana ahau, ka taea e rātou te kōrero i te reo, ka ngana au ki te whakarongo ki a rātou e kōrero ana, i te mea - pīrangī au te mōhio [e] pēwhea tō rātou taumata, āe ko au tērā tangata [. . .] kāore au pīrangī i te rongō i te Indian-Māori, me kī.

(Do you want an honest opinion? Because I love listening to the *Māori* language when I was going to school I was someone who was passionate about participating in speech competitions, oratory, I went to the competitions every year also, I scrutinized people, consequently, if I knew they were able to speak in the *Māori* language, I would try to listen to them while they were speaking because I would want to know how proficient they

were, yep, that's me [. . .] I don't want to have to listen to *Indian Māori*.
(**Kākahu**)

In connection with this, it is relevant to note that **Atawhai** observed that native speakers can intimidate those who are learning the language.

Arana indicated that the level of difficulty he experienced when speaking to native speakers depended on who he was speaking to. When speaking to someone he knew well, there was no problem because that person knew his "level of *te reo Māori*". However, he also said that when speaking to people "who have beautiful reo", it can be harder, adding that "it's all about watching your Ps and Qs, ay. You want to make sure you get your *reo* right. You become apprehensive".

For several of the interviewees, uneven proficiency development was an issue. Thus, for example, **Miriama** indicated that her proficiency in English and *Māori* differed in relation to skill area. Although she could write more easily in *te reo Māori* than in English, she could speak more easily in English. **Ihu**, on the other hand, indicated that he always read more easily in English but that whether he wrote more easily in English or *Māori* depended to some extent on the audience and the topic.

Atawhai noted that one of the advantages of speaking *te reo Māori* to her children was that she could give instructions and leave it at that. Thus, "the tone in the *whare* (home) was a bit more calmer". However, her family had been involved in karate for nine years and it was during these years that "we kind of introduced - English with them". Introducing English had, she believed, changed the atmosphere, introducing an "abusive type of language" which could easily become part of daily life: "just yelling at the kids to go and do the washing, go and do their chores and go and do this that and the other".

With reference to the ways in which English encroached on *Māori-speaking* children, **Atawhai** observed that attending karate classes six days a week, where all of the commands were given in English, had been detrimental to her children's *Māori* language. After three years of classes, the English language had become a

major influence on the children's vocabulary as it was around them for so much of the time:

When they first started speaking English I think X would have been about twelve years old and Y would have been about eleven and Z was a bit younger and [. . .] that was just through karate and they [. . .] sound so *fobby* [speaking broken English]. (**Atawhai**)

For all of the interviewees, a critical barrier to intergenerational transmission of *te reo Māori* in homes and communities was the fact that attitudes in society at large were so negative. Thus, for example, **Ihu** made the following observation:

People are saying: 'Oh, you know, never mind speaking *Māori*. We all should speak *Chinese*'. What they mean is, what they really mean is, we're not interested in speaking any language, but we'll just say we should speak *Chinese* so you can stop talking about speaking *Māori*. (**Ihu**)

5.4.4 Strategies used to encourage, support and reward children's developing linguistic competence and use of the language (Research Question 3)

All of the interviewees were keen to *encourage* their children and/ or grandchildren to develop their linguistic competence. In all cases, an important factor was their determination to use *te reo Māori* as much as possible (thus providing role modelling) and, in particular, to use it when interacting with *tamariki* (children). In addition, **Ihu** referred to the importance of attempting to ensure that the language is presented to them in ways that are contemporary and of relevance to their lives:

There are new generations of *wharekura* kids (*Māori* immersion high school kids) [and] those who don't become teachers should become geeks, or something like that, because you can create an image for your language that is far greater than what the numbers of speakers would suggest that it has [. . .] you could create an internet image, a web profile for your language, which again comes back to status, the status of your language [. . .] a new media outlet for your younger generation. Those are the younger generations that you have got to focus on. Kids don't really read newspapers. I wouldn't

worry about newspapers too much. What are the kids into? That's where you've got to focus because you've got to create a world where they can grow up in *te reo Māori* at least eighty per cent of the time. It doesn't mean we're going to give away *te reo Pākehā* - we want our kids to be bilingual.

(Ihu)

One of the main ways in which the interviewees *supported* the developing linguistic competence of their children and/or grandchildren was to ensure that they had an opportunity be exposed to *te reo Māori* at school. Indeed, **Ata** had made the effort to relocate in order to ensure that his children and grandchildren did not need, as he had done, to learn the language in later life rather than when they were young:

. . . because if my children, grandchildren didn't know the *Māori* language, I would be absolutely devastated. That is why my wife, children and I moved to X because before that we were living at Y. My wife and I knew if our children grew up in the *Māori* language then our reo would in turn flourish. That is why we moved to X to attend *Te Ātaarangi*. **(Ata)**

For **Hake**, a critical factor in relation to supporting children's developing linguistic and cultural competence was ensuring that they attended *marae* functions:

Yes, I support that because our children in the *kōhanga*, *kura kaupapa* and *whare kura* follow the culture of the *marae*. Eventually they will return to their *marae* and fit right in. However, the most important job is to ensure that the *Māori* focused schools and *marae* work together. When - finished at school, go back to the *marae* which is another school again. Go there observe and interact as the *marae* is where everyone is welcome and looked after. You don't have the problems one might encounter in the home so it is a place to learn also. **(Hake)**

A similar point was made by **Ata** for whom the *marae* is also seen as providing not only a linguistic resource but also a cultural one:

Yeah, that's the beauty of *marae*, it creates a space for those sort of things to happen and we are talking about the language in this case. It just goes without saying. So if we look at modern *marae*, the *marae* is the bastion of all things *Māori* and so of course it can revitalize *te reo Māori*. It's a space that's created for any of that type of dialogue to take place and hence the reason why most modern *marae* that are urban *marae* that are found within - the cities and stuff, not that in towns [. . .] well patronized by many, many groups. Also the *marae* is an inexpensive place and accommodation to have conferences, and an area for people to get a better understanding about *Māori* culture, about language and about proper pronunciation. It's the culture. It's the ways, the do's, the don'ts, the acceptable behaviour, the reasons, the values, the *Māori* values that are attached, inextricably linked together [. . .] what guides us - in our lives and the values that are based around . . . manaakitanga (kindness) is a fundamental part. How we look after our dead, how we think during those times [. . .] those important significant events in the *Māori* world. It's all of that. (**Ata**)

For **Arana**, one way of supporting the linguistic development of *tamariki* was to "simplify *Māori* so they understand what I am saying". He noted that his "body language also helps".

So far as *rewards* are concerned, **Ihu** made it clear that use of *te reo Māori* was rewarded in concrete ways:

I'll tell her, speak *Māori* and she'll want something and she'll go 'No! I want this' and speak *Pākehā*, and I go 'okay you're not getting it, until you ask me in *Māori*. (**Ihu**)

Atawhai referred to competence as a reward in itself, one that is associated with a sense of being fully at home in the context of all things *Māori*:

My children are adept on the *marae*. They know its protocol from the front to the back. They will sit quietly and support those who are speaking. (**Ata**)

In similar vein, **Atawhai** referred to the ultimate reward as coming in the form of opportunities:

All I can do as a parent is feed them as much as I can in the reo, tikanga, skills and what they do with it when they get out in the big world is up to them and I just hope that I've done a good job as a parent. (**Atawhai**)

Ihu also drew attention to the fact that if at some stage the Government acknowledges that *te reo Māori* is important, there are likely to be job opportunities in the future for those who have *Māori* language skills, opportunities that will not be available to others, noting that "if *Māori* get on the bandwagon, they will be the first in these jobs".

5.5 Overview and further discussion

5.5.1 Introduction

All but one of the nine people involved in these interviews are *Māori*. The exception is **Ihu**, a *Pākehā* man, aged approximately fifty, who has a *Māori* wife and children and who was, at the time of the interviews, conducting PhD research relating to *Māori* language revitalization. Not surprisingly, in view of the life choices he has made, he emerged as being among the most-staunch of those interviewed in relation to the revitalization of *te reo Māori*.

Interestingly, **Kākahu**, who having attended *kōhanga reo*, *kura-kaupapa Māori* and *wharekura*, would appear to have had to make the fewest sacrifices in order to acquire the language. She was one of only two (the other having lived and been educated overseas) who believed that *te reo Māori* was not in danger of extinction:

In certain circumstances, I do believe that *Māori* could possibly be endangered but personally, because of my past experiences and growing up in *kura-kaupapa Māori*, right through to *wharekura* I strongly believe that it is **not!** (**Kākahu**)

She was the only one who had ceased to speak *te reo Māori* at home because her siblings (who are speakers of the language) replied in English.

. . . when I was going to school we rarely spoke it at home because it was spoken all day at school however when I finished school I yearned to hear the language again. Consequently, I revitalized it in our home, it was from that desire [. . .] if I spoke to my younger siblings, they would not want to speak *Māori* to me as they were absolutely fed up speaking it every day, everywhere they just wanted to get it over and done with when they were speaking to me, they never put much thought into it, hence the reason they would switch and speak *Pākehā*. (**Kākahu**)

And

... my mother rarely speaks because her pronunciation is poor so that's problematic for us consequently, sometimes I don't want to speak.

She was also the only one who, if she had children now, "would probably have to send them to mainstream". She, too, was the only one who seemed unprepared to make concessions in relation to the attempts of others to speak the language: "I don't want to have to listen to *Indian Māori*". Much of this may be attributable to her age at the time (approximately 18). Nevertheless, her responses do appear to represent a trend.

After all, a number of the interviewees indicated that their older children and/or grandchildren tended to reject the use of *te reo Māori*. This may simply be a phase, one that is reinforced by the pressures on young people that are brought about by the globalization of homogenized teenage culture. Nevertheless, it is something that must be of major concern, something that reinforces the wisdom of comments made by two of the other interviewees. Thus, **Ihu** stressed the need to make *te reo Māori* and *tikanga* relevant to the felt realities of youth and **Epa** insisted on the need to politicize the young, pointing to the need for young people to be introduced to 'real history' at school.

Clearly, it is important to ensure that those who are educated in *Māori* immersion contexts understand the sacrifices that were made in the past (and the reasons why these sacrifices were necessary) in order that they should have that opportunity. Otherwise, there is a danger that all that has been gained through long and often painful struggle will be quickly lost. In connection with this, it is interesting to note that the four interviewees who believed that there was a possibility that *Aotearoa/New Zealand* would become a fully bilingual country in the future had all attended courses in *te reo Māori* at university and, as another of the interviewees observed, “it is at tertiary that the young ones learn about the injustices”.

It seems likely that it is also often in the context of higher education that they learn most about what has been achieved and can be achieved through persistence and determination, not only so far as *te reo Māori* is concerned, but also in relation to indigenous language revitalization more generally. Once again, as in the case of the questionnaire responses, what emerged overall in the interviews was a strong sense of political awareness indicated by:

- (a) awareness of the fact that *te reo Māori* continues to be an endangered language and the existence of widespread negative attitudes towards it accompanied by a very positive personal sense of its value and determination to use it as much as possible;
- (b) consciousness of the critical link between language (and dialect) and culture on the one hand and identity and wellbeing on the other;
- (c) understanding of the historical reasons for language shift and therefore of the need to take control of the revitalization process at the same time as acknowledgment of the fact that the Crown, while always having the potential (and frequently also the desire) to undermine and subvert, has a duty to support the process and should be expected/ required to do so;
- (d) awareness of the fact that while learning the language in educational contexts can currently have an important role to play, there is a need for individuals and *Māori* communities to avoid too heavy reliance on educational institutions which can never provide a meaningful substitute for that nurturing within *whānau* (families) and communities that is at the core of identity formation; and

(e) a sense of the importance of working together to improve the status and spread of the language.

Some of the interviewees emphasized the barriers to revitalization and full bilingualism, including:

- the *age profile* of speakers, the *lack of rhetorical skills* and the limited number of domains in which it could be used;
- the comparative *powerlessness of Māori* and the *lack of status* accorded to the language;
- the *cost* and the *lack of adequate government support* (including an appropriate legal framework);
- widespread *lack of genuine awareness of the country's history*;
- *lack of commitment from people of non-Māori ethnicity*;
- the *need for improvement in the teaching* of the language;
- *lack of incentives*; and
- a *failure to use the language* by of some of those who had competence in it.

Others, however, drew attention to the positive signs, including:

- the development of *kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa and wharekura*;
- a '*browning up*' of the country according to census projections; and
- the fact that there is *growing interest in Māori language and culture* at home and overseas and *the country's interests would be served by their preservation*.

As **Atawhai** observed: “We have total immersion *kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa, wharekura*. That would not even have been envisaged by our *tupuna* (ancestors) who were beaten to a pulp even for the whisper of their language”.

5.5.2 Revisiting the research questions

5.5.2.1 Intergenerational transmission: Attitudes and approaches (Research Question 1)

The interviewees were adamant that they did not want their children and grandchildren to experience the difficulties that so many of their generation and their parents' generation had done in seeking to gain proficiency in *te reo Māori*. All of them said they believed that it was very important to ensure that their children and grandchildren spoke *te reo Māori* in order to ensure survival of the language and also in order to ensure that these children had a secure connection with their roots and developed a genuine sense of belonging and identity. An important aspect of intergenerational transmission in homes and communities is role modelling - which involves not only using the language in direct interaction with children but also being seen to use it (and to prefer to use it) in other contexts. All of the interviewees indicated that they preferred, in general, to speak *te reo Māori* rather than English. In fact, **Arana** said that he preferred to do “everything in *Māori*” - not because he found it easier but because of the deeper sense of meaningfulness that he experienced when he did so. All of the interviewees also said that they believed that it was very important to use *te reo Māori* when conversing with other speakers of the language, some noting that it provided a basis for establishing a genuine connection with others and could help to increase confidence in using the language. All of the them indicated that they spoke *te reo Māori* on the marae whenever possible, five that they did so on social occasions, in the context of *Māori* verbal arts, and at work.

So far as maximizing opportunities to use the language are concerned, while some indicated that there were difficulties in getting together with other speakers of *te reo Māori*, particularly native speakers, because of physical distance and/ or lack of time, others stressed the importance of choosing friends who were speakers of the language. As **Miriama** observed, she chose to hang out with speakers of *te reo Māori* because she was '*pro Māori*'. Irrespective of opportunities (or otherwise) to use *te reo Māori* at work, all of the interviewees made a point of stressing that they used, or generally used, *te reo Māori* whenever they were speaking to children who were conversant with the language. In most cases where English was used at home,

the reason was that other members of the *whānau* (family) were not speakers of the language. A proactive stance - seeking out opportunities to use *te reo Māori* rather than simply waiting until they occur was seen to have a major impact on language development and retention.

5.5.2.2 Factors identified as facilitating and inhibiting intergenerational transmission (Research Question 2)

For all of the interviewees, a critical factor in the facilitation of intergenerational transmission was improvement and/or retention of their own language proficiency which involved, in addition in some cases to undertaking courses in the language, seeking out opportunities to use the language, including attending *marae* functions. However, while all except one of the interviewees were in favour, in principle, of *Māori-medium* education for their children and grandchildren, some had reservations. These reservations are important because they could, in the future, represent barriers to revitalization. Thus, for example, **Ihu** noted that although he was fully committed to sending his children to *kōhanga reo*, *kura kaupapa Māori* and *wharekura*, he was concerned about the standard of the language they were picking up in these contexts (something that was also referred to by one of the questionnaire respondents). In addition, as **Kākahu** and **Ata** observed, *Māori-immersion* schools were not necessarily always well placed to provide for the needs of particular children, including providing for their sporting needs and/or their needs in relation to English language development.

Among the barriers to inter-generational transmission in homes and communities to which interviewees referred were:

- some *marae* (and some elders) were not in a position to encourage or promote total immersion in the language;
- some members of the *whānau* and some visitors to their homes were monolingual in English;
- tiredness, lack of time for quality interaction and an ingrained habit of using English;

- the resistance of some *whānau* members, particularly teenagers, to using the language; and
- lack of confidence and/or competence, particularly when conversing with native speakers and/or when unable to express themselves clearly in *te reo Māori* or use the appropriate dialect.

Lack of confidence emerged as a recurring theme throughout the interviews (as it also did in questionnaire responses) as did a tendency for children who spoke *te reo Māori* all day at school to revert to English at home and for older children to resist the use of *te reo Māori* at home as the pressures to conform to a predominantly English speaking norm began to encroach. Indeed, although all eight of those who had children and/or grandchildren spoke to them in *te reo Māori* for all of the time or as much of the time as was possible when they were very young, four of them indicated that they did so less frequently as they grew older. Furthermore, **Ihu**, **Arana** and **Ata** observed that their children would sometimes respond in English when addressed in *te reo Māori*.

5.5.2.3 Encouraging, rewarding and supporting children's development and use of *te reo Māori* (Research Question 3)

For most of the interviewees, an important strategy for encouraging and supporting children's language development and use was having them educated in *Māori-immersion* contexts. For all of them, being a good role model, in terms of being seen to use the language as widely as possible was also important, as was ensuring that children were exposed to contexts, such as *marae* functions, in which their linguistic and cultural competence and confidence could be both extended and demonstrated. For **Ihu**, a critical strategy was ensuring that the language was presented in a way that had contemporary relevance. For **Arana**, it was important to develop ways of promoting understanding by simplifying the spoken language and supplementing it with appropriate body language. So far as rewards are concerned, while **Ihu** drew attention to the importance of establishing a context in which use of the language was positively associated by children with getting some of the things they wanted in a concrete sense and observed that a time may come when speaking the language is of fundamental significance so far as employment opportunities are concerned, **Atawhai** stressed the fact that those who had been well

provided for in terms of linguistic and cultural development in their early years would discover the benefits for themselves as they grew older.

5.6 A final observation

Once again, as in the case of the questionnaire responses, what emerges most strongly from the interviews is an overwhelming sense of commitment and determination in the face of very considerable difficulties such as, for example, the fact that one of the interviewees (**Miriama**) had already spent thirty thousand dollars “to learn something that was rightfully [hers] from the start”. In summing up those things that they believed are required in order to make the revitalization of *te reo Māori* a genuine possibility, **Ihu** called for greater activism, noting that “*Māori* have got soft”; **Kākahu** highlighted the importance of effective teaching of the language; **Apera** stressed that there was an urgent need for “programmes that are similar to *te kura reo* that run throughout the *motu* (country)”; **Miriama** drew attention to the need for more resources (both financial and personal); **Atawhai** emphasized the importance of “liv[ing] and breath[ing] *Māori*”; and **Arana** referred to the importance of motivation - of “having the dream, having the desire”. In the next chapter, the emphasis is on the very young. It involves a focus group meeting of the parents and caregivers of a group of children attending *kōhanga reo*.

Chapter 6

Reporting on the Backgrounds, Attitudes and Practices of a Sample of Parents and Grandparents of Children Attending *Kōhanga Reo*

6.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to report on a focus group discussion among a sample of parents/ grandparents and/or caregivers of children attending a *kōhanga reo* in the *Waikato* region. A number of question prompts were used, the overall aim being to elicit information pertinent to the research questions. The chapter begins with a description of the focus group (see 6.2) and the facilitation process that was undertaken (see 6.3). This is followed by an overview of the data collected (6.4) and a discussion of the findings (6.5). The chapter ends with a final comment (6.6).

6.2 The focus group

Twenty-six children attend the *kōhanga reo*. There is one *kaiako* (teacher), five *kaiāwhina* (teachers-aid - one part-time) and one *kaiāwhina* (teachers-aid/ cook). A *pānui* (letter) was sent out to all parents/ caregivers of children attending the *kōhanga reo* inviting them and *whānau* (family) members to participate in a discussion relating to my research, whose overall aim was described as being “to explore different approaches to saving *te reo Māori* for future generations”. The *hui* (focus group) was organised for the 27th of February 2013 at 6.00 p.m. As an incentive and expression of gratitude for participation, a *kai hākari* (meal) consisting of seafood was provided. A total of nine parents/caregivers participated in the focus group (2 males and 7 females).

6.3 Facilitating the group discussion: Setting the context

The focus group was conducted by the researcher with the assistance of one of his supervisors. Once all participants were seated, a brief *whakataū* (prayer to settle the spiritual and physical aspect of peace within the meeting) and *karakia* (prayer to open proceedings) were conducted by the researcher (who is also a *kaiāwhina* at the *kōhanga reo*). A short introduction to the research and an overview of the ethical procedures was then provided. It was stressed that participants should not feel

obliged to answer all of the prompt questions and that they were at liberty to withdraw from the group at any point and/ or to request that their contribution to the discussion should not be used in the reporting of the research. They were also invited to ask, before, during or after the discussion, any questions about the research they chose. Permission was asked to record the discussion so that the researcher would be able to transcribe it in order to ensure accuracy in his reporting. It was also noted that the information and views that were to be collected during the focus group would be discussed in the thesis in the context of other information gathered from questionnaire responses and interviews. Finally, participants were given an assurance that their names would not appear in any presentation or publication relating to the search, pseudonyms being used, and that all other information that could potentially identify them would be removed unless they wished otherwise. Following this short introduction, the participants were given the opportunity to introduce themselves.

6.4 Reporting on the focus group findings

The entire discussion was recorded and transcribed to facilitate analysis of the data. There were five question prompts as follows:

- What language or languages do you and other adults in your family use when you are talking to your children?
- What language or languages do they respond in?
- What language or languages do they use when talking to their friends or siblings?
- If you have older children – teenagers or older – how do they feel about using *te reo Māori*?
- What language or languages would you like your children to use in their own homes when they are grown up?

Data from the focus group discussion are provided below where three dots in square brackets [. . .] indicate that the recording was inaudible at that point and spaced dots that are not in brackets ‘. . .’ indicate that material has been omitted. The full transcript is available as *Appendix 6: Focus group discussion transcript*.

6.4.1 Introducing the participants

The participants were asked to introduce themselves. Some provided much more information than others. On the basis of what they said, it would appear that **Etera** may be the only one with near native speaker proficiency in *te reo Māori*. Although five (**Etera; Hahana; Hakeke; Kiri; Ihapera**) were brought up in a context in which one or more parents or grandparents were speakers of *te reo Māori*, only one (**Etera**: the *kaiako*) was brought up as a speaker of the language (although he later suffered from language attrition).

Four of them (**Etera; Awa; Hahana; Hakeke**) have attended classes in *te reo Māori* taught through *Te Ātaarangi*, and **Hakeke** also studied the language at university for a year. Four (**Etera; Kiri; Ihapera; Hine**) had some exposure to the learning of *te reo Māori* at school. Some of them stated clearly that they did not regard themselves as being fluent in the language (**Hahana; Hakeke; Hine; Ihapera**). Based on the way in which some others describe the nature to their exposure to the language, it seems unlikely that they are fluent (**Kiri; Kaitaka**).

In the case of one, **Awa**, it is difficult to determine from what she says how proficient she is in the language. However, she did say that she still “quite often default[s] back to English when [she] can’t get things out quick enough” which suggests that she is not fully fluent in *te reo Māori*. The only one, however, who has never had any exposure to learning the language, is **Hehu**. Some extracts from the introductory comments made by each of these participants are provided below.

6.4.1.1 Etera (the *kaiako*)

Etera spoke *te reo Māori* as a first language. He attended *kōhanga reo* when he was young and went to *kura kaupapa Māori* for a term but his parents moved him into the mainstream. He began to suffer language attrition although he continued to be able to understand the language. He was introduced to *kapa haka* at college and began to develop a real interest in the language, becoming politicized. Over ten years prior to the focus group discussion, he joined a course and began to learn more about the *Māori* world. Later, he moved location in order to attend a course in *te reo Māori (Te Ātaarangi)* and began to feel uplifted. He wants to help *Māori* people, loves the language and deeply regrets the fact that so few of his *whānau* can

speaking it. He feels blessed that he is able to contribute on his home *marae* through his knowledge of the language. He has two children, aged six and nine.

An extract from his introduction of himself is printed below:

I went to *kōhanga reo* when I was a young fella [. . .] after *kōhanga reo* [I] went to *kura kaupapa* (*Māori* immersion primary school) for about a year - not even that - about one term then for some reason my parents decided to change me over to mainstream which was a big shock. And my first *reo* was *te reo Māori*. From that time onwards my *reo* just drifted away from me, in saying that though my mother was brought up with her grandparents and the *tikanga* they used to run by was to go to all the *tangis* (funeral) with all the *whānau*. So just about every week we would go to *tangi*. I spent a lot of time on the *marae*, getting to know the ins and outs on a *marae*, spending a lot of time with the *whanaunga* (extended family), hearing the *reo* all the time, seeing different things happen on a *marae*. So I thought that was quite lucky for myself [and] even though I wasn't speaking it (the *Māori* language), I was still able to understand as well. So by the time I got to *kura* I started rebelling then got to college and then was introduced back into *kapa haka* (*Māori* performance group) and then from there done *kapa haka*. At that point of time at college - when I went to college - I joined the *kapa haka* group. That was a turning point for me, just the messages that were involved in the *waiata* and stuff. This one particular *haka*, we just talked about *te reo Māori* [. . .] at the time they celebrated one year [. . .] we should be celebrating every day of our lives, every minute, all the time, day and night. For me - and in there it talked about really beating our *whānau* up, all the stuff our *tupuna* (ancestors) went through beaten up and all that stuff, it really touched my heart and I was encouraged from there. *Kapa haka* made me be more, more involved in our *kaupapa Māori* (being *Māori*) through the *kapa haka*. And then in 1999 I joined the [. . .] course learning all the *kaupapa Māori*, the course involved us going to every *poukai* for one year, every *poukai* we had, used to go do the *karakia* [. . .] uplifting of the flag and pulling down the flag at the end of the *Poukai*. *Te reo* was choice and being immersed in something that I could appreciate. And then the tutor

asked me one day: 'What do you want to do?' I said: 'Oh wouldn't mind getting into *te reo Māori*'. This was in 1999 in X [the] *Kaumātua* said: 'That's it! You're going to Y'. Anyway - made the big move [the place] where he sent me was to *kura* - to *Te Ātaarangi*, and then [. . .] I went from this person who was shy. Anyway, learned *te reo*. Just the *wairua* - it really uplifted me as a person. It's not the *reo* that I am going to help; it's our *Māori* people and that kind of stuff. So, yeah, it's been a journey for me. I also managed to be involved in *kapa haka* at a national level. Yeah, that's pretty much me, for *te reo Māori*. I love it to death and I am really pretty passionate 'bout it. Out of ah probably, all up about eighty to ninety first cousins there - only about three of us that can speak the *reo Māori*. Every time there's *tangi* (funeral), they actually turn to me now even though I'm probably about the 30th first cousin in line to speak.

6.4.1.2 Awa

Awa's father was *Pākehā*. Her mother left home young, did not speak *te reo Māori* and believed that there was no benefit in learning it. **Awa** had no real experience of the language when she was young except through '*Māori Maths*' (which she found difficult). She began to feel that something was missing as she grew older and wanted something more for her children than she had had. She became involved in *kapa haka* but found the words difficult to remember because she was unfamiliar with the language. At that point, she became more interested in *te reo Māori* and had begun attending classes (*Te Ātaarangi*) eleven years before the time of the focus group discussion. She loved learning the language but met with resistance from some friends who said that it would never help her to get work. She has two children who attend *kōhanga reo*.

An extract from her introduction of herself is printed below:

My mum was brought up in X [. . .]. She left home when she was really young [. . .] and never went back, and never had anything to do with her language. My dad was *Pākehā*. He grew up in X and I always remember my mum saying that it's a *Pākehā* world and you need to get on in this world. You need to just worry about things *Pākehā*. Even though there was a lot of

Māori around [and] we sort of mixed together. [As] far as the *reo*, I never, never heard other than [. . .] *Māori Maths* [. . .] I mean math's was long enough anyway, and to have it in *Māori* was even longer, but the good thing about it was they had a *kai* (meal) afterwards. So I didn't really have any *Māori* influence. I still remember it was quantum. I didn't want to be a half cast, that was bad [. . .] I wanted to try to get to the wider side of things, so I tried to be a quarter or an eighth [. . .] but as the kids got older, I got older, I think kids make you realize there's something missing, and you want more for your kids than you do for yourself. So I started the journey, and I started with this *kapa haka* [. . .] found it was really, really hard to learn the *waiata* (*Māori* songs) because I didn't know what I was singing about. Everything sounded the same, and then listening to people who had *te reo*, who were much younger than I was [. . .] they could learn it so easy because they could understand what they were singing about. So that sort of started me getting interested in learning and like some of others here [. . .] it was [Te] *Ātaarangi* that was recommended to me, and that was the one thing. It catered for all of me, my spiritual side of me, yeah. It's - you weren't put down, all those sorts of things that happened when I was in school. I haven't looked back since. Its eleven years now and to all those people that knocked me when I was learning, like: 'You'll never get a job. The *reo* won't get you anything [. . .] what [do] you want to do that for? You're mad.' Yes you can get a job using your *reo*; I got two *mokos* (grandchildren) that go here to the *kōhanga*. That's how I link in.

6.4.1.3 Hahana

Hahana grew up in a small town with her grandparents who, although both fluent in *te reo Māori*, rarely used it when speaking to the children because they believed that they were more likely to get work if they spoke English well. She was often present on her marae as a child and believes she may have picked up some *te reo Māori* through passive assimilation. She tried to learn the language in *te reo Māori* classes at school but failed. Approximately half of her *whānau* speak the language. She learned through *Te Ātaarangi* and enjoyed the spiritual dimension of it but does not consider herself to be fluent. She sent her children to a bilingual schooling unit but regrets she did not choose full immersion.

An extract from her introduction of herself is printed below:

I grew up in X, little town in X with my grandparents [. . .] my granddad was fluent and my grandmother was fluent in *te reo Māori* [. . .] he was half Scot [. . .] but he never [. . .] not much did they speak *Māori* to us because he - my granddad - said it's better to get [. . .] *tohu o ngā Pākehā* (mainstream education) so you can get *mahi* (work). But half my *whānau* (family) speak *Māori*. My dad's fluent in *te reo*. He is, but [its] been drummed into them that they couldn't share with us the same knowledge that they had. But in saying that, I never heard *te reo* but we always went to every *marae* [. . .] *Tūrangawaewae (Kīngitanga marae)*, always had to go when I was a child [and] follow the *Kīngitanga* movement 'cause my granddad become on the board there. So even though I didn't get the *reo* from my own *whānau* (family), maybe I was picking it up out there, unknown, and I was a real shy child [. . .] 'cause I grew up in a white environment in X. There you could count the *Māori* in this primary school up there [. . .] there was about three *Māori* in that *kura* [. . .] and you had that stigma. So I became quite withdrawn. [. . .] [But] my nan really wanted me to learn *Māori*, but she just had that problem of trying to give it, and then granddad telling her, oh no cause that girl won't get anywhere, same issue. Then I went to X thinking [. . .] that was an environment for *Māori* but it was more of a disciplinary school where you learnt a lot of English. I tried to learn *Māori* in the *Māori* classes. I really struggled. I couldn't understand the books they gave [. . .] I couldn't learn that way so I picked up nothing. By the time I left college I was sixteen. I had to come home and look after my grandparents. Half of my *whānau* speak *Māori*. On my real side they shun it because they never grew up with any of it so I might be the only two of us in my real *whānau* that can speak *te reo*. I wouldn't say I was fluent but I kind of like ended up being passed the *rākau* (leadership role) so *koia rā* (that's that). I met my *tāne* (husband) who was really hungry for *te reo Māori* and that. His *whānau* had a re-connection. He really wanted his *reo* which drove me towards *Te Ātaarangi* and that's where I learned. It was [. . .] everything. It was the *wairua* (spiritual connection) in it, the way

they did the *rākau*. They made you hungry for it because you learned *ngā pakiwaitara e pā ana ki ngā kai* (knowledge of traditional Māori foods) just [the] *whakaaro* (philosophies) and it was [a] beautiful *whakaaro* which made me want to learn more. Plus I felt *aroha* for my *tamariki* [because] they were struggling - going to bilingual *haere ki tērā atu* (went there) and then I realized [. . .] bit late, that [they] should have gone straight to full immersion because they wouldn't [have] struggle[d] so much [. . .] I wish I had brought them straight into *kōhanga reo* and let them grow in the full immersion because they'll learn English no sweat because they will see it every day on the *pouaka whakaata me ngā reo irirangi* (TV and radio) [. . .] English is more out there so Māori to me should - for my *tamarikis* (children), I should have done that *mōhio ana ināianei* (I know that now). I make sure my *mokopuna* (grandchildren) go through because now I learned, so I can *awhi* (help) them. That's it aye.

6.4.1.4 Hakeke

Both of **Hakeke**'s grandparents were fluent in *te reo Māori*. Her grandfather was a renowned orator. Her mother understands the language but remembers a time when she was punished for speaking it and does not speak it now. The strongest influence on **Hakeke**'s life was her grandfather from whom she learned stories and *whakapapa* (Māori genealogy). She has little knowledge of *te reo Māori* but did study it for a year at university. However, she became disheartened when her grandmother failed to understand what she was saying. All of her children have attended *kōhanga reo*. She has recently begun to learn the language (*Te Ātaarangi*) in the evenings.

An extract from her introduction of herself is printed below:

On my mum's side, we X. On dad's side, we are Y, but most of my influence has been around X - and both my grandparents were fluent. My grandmother and her father were staunch *Kīngites* (*Kīngitanga*). Her father was a renowned orator. My mother come from a generation where she was given the strap for talking *te reo* at school so even today she understands it but she won't actually speak it. I suppose the biggest influence in my life would

actually be my grandfather - a lot of passing on stories and *whakapapa* (*Māori* genealogy) father. So in regards to *te reo* (the *Māori* language) - I don't know my *te reo* that much but I actually started learning *whakapapa* when I was about twenty-one. I did *te reo* at X. I did a year there but due to work commitment then we ended up leaving the country. I came back when I was about seventeen. I did my trade cert and my first introduction to racism was down in X . . . I had enough of school - well just enough of that school - so I went on a *Māori* trade training programme, but then I got bored there [. . .]. I needed to stimulate myself some more so I went to polytech and then I ended up working for *iwi* (tribal) social services [. . .] I also did *te reo* papers. I did X and Y - but trying to use it with my grandmother I got slung back 'cause she couldn't understand what I was saying - so they came up with that term *pukapuka reo*. 'Don't understand what you're talking about girl'. So I thought if you can't understand me it's a waste of time to keep on learning it so I just progressed more on the *Māori* resource side. I got quite interested in the environmental side but in the same time in the third year of university I fell *hapū* (pregnant) with my first *tamariki* and then I brought her to this *kōhanga* when she was two. So I've been involved with this *kōhanga* for eleven years. My last child is here at the moment. He is four, going on five. I also learned [Te] *Ātaarangi* and night courses - but that was just like last year - but I got to pick that up again. But otherwise I am very much involved in *Māori* resource development - land and all that, *Waitangi* claims.

6.4.1.5 Hine

Hine did not grow up around speakers of *te reo Māori* (the *Māori* language) although she was aware that her grandfather had spoken the language in his youth. She learned a little of the language at school through *kapa haka* (*Māori* performance group). She loves the language and wants her children to learn it. An extract from her introduction of herself is printed below:

I never grew up around anybody speaking *Māori* or anything like that. I know that my grandfather when he was younger he could speak *Māori*, but they weren't allowed at school and stuff, so he sort of shied away from that,

and my parents never talked *Māori* I learned a little bit at high school through *kapa haka* and stuff [. . .] I really love the language and that, and that's why I want my kids to learn it.

6.4.1.6 Ihapera

Ihapera was brought up by her grandparents. Her grandfather believed that speaking *te reo Māori* was of little use so her mother (who tried to learn the language later in life but found it too difficult) and her mother's siblings did not learn to speak the language. Her father's parents spoke only *te reo Māori*. She was introduced to *te reo Māori* at school but learned only a little and was discouraged from learning it by her grandfather. An extract from her introduction of herself is printed below:

I was brought up in X with my grandparents. I was lucky to live on the *pā* (*Māori* village) a lot of the time. I lived with my grandparents on my mothers' side. My grandfather, he was in the war. He had this good saying. He used to say 'Don't do anything *Māori* because it's not going to get you' [anywhere]. So I can understand why my mum and her sisters, and a brother of hers, why they don't speak *Māori* and now my mother is old and she has been trying to learn but she has found it really difficult, and she actually jumped off the *waka* (finished). On my dad's side, my grandparents only spoke *Māori*. They were from X so that was their life I suppose. The *Pākehā* that lived in X could speak *Māori* too. Myself, I actually was kind of spoilt, but I didn't like school and I never learned to speak a lot of *Māori*. I remember when I was at high school [. . .] I did *Māori* and [the] teacher asked what was my *hapū* (clan). I didn't know so I went home and asked my grandparents and my grandfather told me, 'Your *hapū* is the Church of England' so I thought oh yeah, so I went to *kura* (school) and said my *hapū* [is the] Church of England. I was wondering why my cousins were laughing at me. Then I think my oldest son, he never learned *Māori* [. . .]. My other four children, I've sent all of them to *kura kaupapa Māori*, (*Māori* immersion schools) because I wanted to learn the *reo* (*Māori* language) and I also did *Te Ātaarangi* and loved it, loved everything about it. For me it was sort of a missing link you know. I felt I had the *tikanga* (culture/lore)

but didn't have the *reo* and couldn't quite communicate as well as I could, I suppose.

6.4.1.7 Kiri

Kiri was brought up in a bilingual setting. Her Nan used to speak the language to her. She could understand but not speak the language herself. She studied *Māori* at secondary school. An extract from her very short introduction of herself is printed below:

I was brought up in a bilingual setting, my nan used to talk *Māori* to me I could understand it but I didn't speak it back to her, [I] done *Māori* at high school.

6.4.1.8 Kaitaka

Kaitaka did not grow up with *te reo Māori* but she describes it as being her passion. The only time she heard the language spoken as a child was on the *marae*. She left school at fourteen and had no opportunity to learn the language until her children (who she describes as being much more proficient in the language than she is) learned it.

An extract from her introduction of herself is printed below:

I didn't really grow up in *te reo Māori* but it was my passion, I loved it hard [. . .]. My mother, from mother's family [. . .] yeah like you said before *whaea* you need the white man's papers to get a job and that so they were more into that. My father's family, they were ministers and pastors, so the only time I had *te reo Māori* was on the *marae*. I quit school when I was fourteen so as much as I wanted to learn *te reo Māori at kura* (learn the *Māori* language at school) [but] I never got to. I think it was when I had my children that - when I got to get my passion out 'cause of my kids [. . .] just me and my children in the home, we kept *te reo Māori* in the home, *i ngā wā katoa, ko tērā anake* (only at home), but [. . .] when we get *manuhiri* (visitors) or other family [members] that don't know the *te reo*, you gotta speak *Pākehā* for them [. . .]. I am very proud of my children. They are way

more advanced in *Māori* than I am. They are exactly where I wanted to be when I was younger [. . .] growing up.

6.4.1.9 Hehu

Hehu's great grandfather and his father were involved in rugby and in politics. He described himself as being very concerned about teaching values to the young. He deeply regrets that he does not speak *te reo Māori*. An extract from his introduction of himself is printed below:

I can start back from my great grandfather. He loved sport. He loved to play rugby. This is back in the early nineteen hundreds - and he wasn't allowed to play rugby so he joined up with that new code which was called *Rugby League* because no *Māori* were allowed to play rugby back in the day. So my great grandfather started the *Māori Rugby League* in 1911, and he went on to politics and worked inside the council in Auckland. His daughter married my grandfather who was from X, the X *whānau* - which is my father - he was from X and he was the first *Māori* to captain any New Zealand team in this country [. . .]. He then went on into politics and became an M.P. and he fought for our *Māori* land rights in the sixties [. . .] so politics is deep in my vein [. . .] I have this feeling for politics and I sit on different boards up and down the country representing students, so I help out that way. So through [. . .] my mother and my father, they opened doors for me. I think the breakdown in our country is with the family structure. I believe if we change one person you will change thousands [be] cause that one person will teach their kids what they learned so on and so on. So if we can change one, what happens if we change many, how would our future look like if we change many? And if we teach our youth to make a slight change I reckon fifty to sixty odd years down the track it be a different world, but it starts from us. Someone's got to start. My problem is - which is a big problem - I don't know the language and I know that I can't progress to that next level until I know the language and I believe if I know the language then I can stand up there and then. So that's what I am lacking in my life. My parents were strapped if they went to school and spoke *Māori* and so they never taught us. I used to hear my grandmother and grandfather talk quietly among

themselves but they wouldn't speak to us as young children so I know time is coming and I know I need to learn the language and I've shied away from it so long I suppose 'cause I can't sing. That keeps me awake too - to be able sing after you speak. Time will come maybe I be able to do something, make some changes in this world.

6.4.2 Responding to the questions

In this section, I report on the responses of each participant in turn to the questions, beginning each section with an overview.

6.4.2.1 Etera

Etera uses *te reo Māori* about fifty per cent of the time when speaking to his children. He switches to English when *whānau* (family) visit and when he finds things difficult to explain in *te reo Māori* and/or needs to discipline his children. His younger child (age five) tends to speak *te reo Māori* but his oldest one (aged nine and in a *rumaki* (full immersion *Māori*) class in a mainstream school) frequently uses English. However, both generally respond *in te reo Māori* when he himself uses the language. The two children tend to use English when speaking to each other or to their friends.

Etera wants the next generation to speak *te reo Māori* and understand the *kaupapa* (of being Māori) because he believes these things to be empowering. Knowing who they are and where they came from should, he believes, give them the confidence to achieve what they want to achieve - to fulfil their dreams. He also believes that experience on the *marae*, interacting in *te reo Māori* with their cousins and *kuia* (female elders), and observing people working together for the common good strengthens their *whānau* links and their sense of belonging. He would like to see some compulsory *reo* and *tikanga* (language and culture/ lore) in mainstream schools, especially for *Māori* pupils, and believes that teachers should model passion and commitment. An extract from **Etera**'s responses is printed below:

It's just me and my two kids at home [. . .] when *whānau* (family members) come over [. . .] for some reason I would just change over to *Pākehā* (English) and start speaking *Pākehā* to them. Otherwise [. . .] in a place like

this [. . .] when they come here [. . .] I would pick them up after *kura* (school) [. . .] come here I just speak hard out *te reo Māori* to them. [I speak *Pākehā*] especially when I'm trying to explain to them [. . .] and they just won't listen at the time and I get a little bit - I just take the easy option sometimes. Sometimes I find it a little bit hard to explain to them, . . . if I say something short and sharp in *Pākehā* and they just go 'Oh' and they will go do it [. . .] mum speaks [. . .] she will ring me or something, she tries [to] *korero Māori* (speak the *Māori* language) to me as well. She can speak *Māori* as well. That's probably about the only time [. . .] she'll speak *Māori* herself. My younger ones tend to speak *Māori*. The older one tends to go back to *Pākehā* a lot. She's at a mainstream school. They have got a *rumaki* class (a class taught completely in *te reo Māori*). Last year they [were] speaking full *te reo* and when they go to lunch automatically they just go into mainstream (English) - my kids as well - they're speaking fluent *Pākehā* (English) again [. . .] but yeah soon as I turn up [. . .] then I speak *te reo Māori* to them, most of the time I react in *Māori*, it's a bit of a fifty, fifty but if I do speak *te reo Māori* to them in most cases they'll speak *te reo Māori* back [. . .] what it's done for me is amazing [in] becoming a better person [and] knowing who you are [and] where you come from and I honestly think if I wanted to pursue anything, I will because of my *Māoritanga* (being *Māori*) and my *reo*, [I] never thought I would get into *Waka Huia* (*Māori* performance group) That was another dream for me. *Te reo Māori* has taken me to another domain of learning, so at least I have that for my babies [but] at the [same] time I am not trying to push it on to them [. . .] what I will be doing though is do what my mum done, [what] we do at the moment; any *tangihanga* (funeral) any *marae* [. . .] three days hard out playing with their cousins, getting to know their cousins and I think that plays a big part of it too. A lot of our *tamariki* today; they don't even know how to go on to a *marae*. I make sure that they go to their *kuis*: '*Haere kei te hararu*' (female elders: come and say hello). This is your nana, [this is your] first cousin etc and I explain [to them] their *whakapapa* (family genealogical connection). A lot of the *whānau* they just go: 'Wow your kids haven't even met us before and they are cuddling us like they have known us all their lives', so I have just made that second nature, *mā te reo Māori*, (its due to the *Māori*

language). The biggest one for me too is don't tell me, show me [. . .] 'yeah you can go play' . . . I got a *mahi* (job) to do. I have got to feed our people that come to the *tangi* (funeral). I would like them to take that as a foundation in whatever they pursue [. . .] always be there to inspire them and feed them with the right *wairua* and the right *kōrero* to help them to pursue [and] strive for success. I would like to see our *kaupapa Māori* (*Māori* language and culture) incorporated in mainstream a bit more to enlighten [the] mainstream kids. It would be good if they could incorporate something compulsory [. . .] components like *te reo* within schools especially for our *Māori* kids [. . .] just to give them that option [. . .] sometimes they don't even get the option [and] I think a lot of it has got to do with the actual people teaching as well [. . .] there's a saying - there are teachers and then there are teachers. What I see in the *kura* (schools), that is where the *wairua* (spiritual side) is missing. It's just about [. . .] for me [. . .] having the right teachers there [. . .] people who are really going to do the *mahi* (job).

6.4.2.2 Awa

Awa sent her youngest child to *kōhanga reo* but she then went into mainstream schooling before transferring to an immersion unit. She feels that her children, lacking the continuation, missed out. Her two grandchildren attended *kōhanga reo* at her insistence. **Awa's** two daughters both speak mainly English although one of them has some *Māori* having attended a course (*Te Ātaarangi*) and does try to speak *te reo*. **Awa** has made a commitment to lead the family by using *te reo* but finds that she keeps slipping back into English, especially when she needs to correct the children or when she is unable to formulate sentences in *Māori* quickly enough. When she speaks *te reo Māori*, her oldest grandchild generally replies in *te reo Māori* unless she is excited or has been away for a while. Also, the grandchildren speak *te reo Māori* to each other. **Awa** has a preference for her grandchildren to speak *te reo Māori* so that they know who they are. She is also aware of the advantages, in terms of learning other languages, that come with speaking *te reo Māori*. An extract from **Awa's** responses is included below:

I did with the youngest one put her through *kōhanga* but they didn't guide me to, or push me to put her into *kura kaupapa*, so then I took her out and put her in mainstream and so she didn't have the continuation, but later I put her into an immersion unit. So they haven't really had anything that's been quite constant so I feel like they've missed out [. . .] my daughters and my two *mokos* (grandchildren) - they got one child each, both of the girls speak English [. . .] although X can speak *Māori* because she has done a year with *Te Ātaarangi*. I think she finds it a bit difficult but she will try if I sort of have a little bit of a *kōrero* about this is what we need to do. Myself I decided, I'm the one that pushed to have the kids in *kōhanga* because they won't do it, the parents won't do it, so they just do it to please me; I tried to make a commitment to just be that *reo Māori pou* (role model) in the *whānau* (family) [. . .] when I started that it was very hard, I kept finding myself slipping back into English, or if the kids went to sleep and then they woke up my first instinct I'd default to English. The more I do it, the easier it gets but I still do quite often default back to English when I need to growl or if I can't get things out quick enough. I think most of the time the oldest *moko* (grandchild) pretty *kaha* (committed), if I speak to her in *Māori*, she will stay in *Māori*. Sometimes she forgets. She gets excited and she will speak English but then I will just say to her: '*Korero Māori mai*' (speak *Māori* to me) and she's just quick to switch back. But I notice, like she been away for three weeks and there was nobody there and that to carry on the *reo* and so coming back been really, really hard for her to get out of English. They [the grandchildren] do speak *Māori* to each other. That's one of the very few times I hear the youngest one actually speaking 'cause a lot of the time he doesn't have a lot to say [. . .] I have a preference for my *mokos* to speak *Māori* because when you see the kids that have the *reo* they know who they are [and] they have that confidence. What you want for your *mokos* yeah, so that it's a natural thing, they don't have to learn it like I had to and they don't miss out and they value it.

I don't care how many languages they learn and I'm hoping that them learning their *Māori* language is actually going to be something they want to go on learn another language if they can because it be easier for them [. . .]

.] you work that language side of the brain so to get other languages it must be, you know really easy for them.

6.4.2.3 Hahana

Hahana, her husband and her eldest daughter all attended a *Māori* language course (*Te Ātaarangi*) together but only the eldest daughter is confident in the language, which she tries to use as often as possible. The others, including the three youngest children, try to use the language but become frustrated and give up. The parents are now at a point where they leave interaction in *te reo Māori* with their three youngest children largely to the eldest daughter. **Hahana** prefers her children to learn *te reo Māori* first, attending *kōhanga reo*, and then make their own decisions. She does not believe that people need to speak the language in order to understand who they are.

An extract from **Hahana**'s contribution to the discussion is printed below:

Now in our *whānau* it's a bit of both; my oldest daughter is very good, she will try speak *Māori* as much as can to all of us, but with my other three, they get frustrated because they get lost along the way how to *whakautu* (answer) to her or to me and her father 'cause there is three of us who all gone through *Te Ātaarangi* together but we are all *rerekē* (different) - the whole three of us, all our *whakaaro*, *tinu rerekē* (point of view, very different), so sometimes it's like [a] debate between the three of us. We end up looking at our oldest daughter [be] cause *kei te mōhio ia ngā rerenga pai* (she knows the correct sentence structures) and then we go 'Oh', and me and her father kind of like chill out. She has to kind of put a handle on the both of us but the other three get really frustrated and they try, it's when they can't answer so they get really wound up and frustrated that they just give up and they lose that confidence and or just give up altogether and go: 'Oh nah, too hard' and then they might think and go back to *X ka pai* (all good).

So we kind of leave our three with our oldest daughter because she can relate to them. Maybe it's her age. I don't know but it works for our oldest daughter. I [would] like for my *mokos* to learn *Māori* first because that is

who they are, *Māori* first [. . .] what interest [them] after that [it's] their decision but I make sure that I *tautoko their taha Māori tuatahi* (I support their *Māori* side first and foremost) and that they *ako tērā* (learn that) and that *ākuanei* (later on) they can do whatever, but that first preference for me and the *kāinga* (home) and me and my *tāne* (husband) [is to] make sure of that because that is what we all talked about anyway in our *whare* (house) [. . .] 'when you fellas start having your *mokopuna* (grandchildren) *haere ki te kōhanga reo* [. . .] *i te taha ahau hoki* (send them to *kōhanga reo* and to me as well) because I will be following them too right through. That's best. As for who they are, I think I don't really have a too much of an issue with that because *whakapapa* (*Māori* genealogy) is important first and you don't have to *kōrero Māori* (speak *Māori*) to teach them who they are, where they from. Then they can relate back to who they are [. . .] *ako te reo* (learn the *Māori* language) [and] that all comes with that, aye! That's *tōku nei whakaaro* (that's what I think) because I think that even though I didn't have *te reo* I knew who I am, where I'm from. That's always been something that we were instilled with.

6.4.2.4 Hakeke

Hakeke has recently begun to dream in *te reo Māori* and thinks this is a good sign that her *reo* is improving. She lived for five years in X when she was a child and has recently also found that the *Māori* language is coming back to her. She uses *te reo Māori* when speaking to her children if they are not listening to her. Her partner, a fluent speaker, 'lapses into it' quite often. They have sent their eldest child to a school with a bilingual unit. She is learning *te reo Māori*, *Japanese* and *French*. She is, however, reluctant to speak *te reo Māori* although she understands it. **Hakeke's** sister-in-law learned *te reo Māori* at a *wānanga* (*Māori* focused university) but her in-laws (fluent speakers) have difficulty understanding her. **Hakeke** herself can understand the language used by older people but has difficulty in understanding those who learned the language at university. **Hakeke** believes that children who speak the language are brimming with confidence. She is very proud of the achievements in *te reo* of her *moko*, especially one of them. She has a niece (in her twenties) who attended *kōhanga reo* but was removed from it and later reconnected with the culture at university.

An extract from **Hakeke**'s contribution is provided below:

Well with me, if the kids are not listening I'll break into *te reo Māori*. My partner speaks the old *reo* so he lapses into *te reo* quite often with the kids. Then we've got my oldest one. I didn't follow through with *kura kaupapa* (*Māori* immersion schools), I went bi-lingual but I should have followed through with *kura kaupapa* she gets *whakamā* (shy) to speak it but she understands it and I think it helped bringing her into *kōhanga* during the holidays with her being growled to speak *te reo*. The other sister [partner's sister] she went to the *wānanga* to become a teacher so she learned *te reo* there, but I noticed with my sister-in-law; my in-laws became quite frustrated with her *reo* 'cause they can't understand it. I'm the same too, I can like - if I am listening to old people, even like on TV or listening to them on a *marae*, I can understand it but you get someone who's been on a higher level like up in the university, it gets quiet confusing otherwise the old people, you just, I don't know what [but] it just seems to flow and you just seem to understand them. You notice how cheeky and confident the kids are, the fluent ones are. I would say X [one of her children?] is *tūturu* (fluent) but her grandparents picked it up since she was little. The mother in-law commented [that] she's quite proud because there are no other *mokos* like her [at] least I know that I have got *moko* (grandchildren) that are fluent, that are *tūturu* (genuine) and then they would make X do items, *kapa haka* (*Māori* performance) items they actually make her stand up do her *poi* ('A light ball with a short (or longer) string attached to it, which was swung and twirled rhythmically to a accompaniment of a song the so-called **poi** song' (Williams, 2000, p. 288) and *waiata* (*Māori* songs) and encourage it. I have got a niece, she started in a *kōhanga*. She was there for two years but my father pulled her out because there was *raru* (problems) in the *kōhanga* but she has regrets because after that she wasn't exposed to anything *Māori*, then she went off to varsity [and] she got really involved [in] things like *Māori* leadership courses and she really enjoyed it. With my oldest one, she just started high school but I've put her into languages. I put her in *Māori* first, but then also after that *Japanese* and *French*. When she was at X, she

like won prize giving in *French* and a white girl won it in *Māori*, I tend [to lean] towards languages with my oldest girl as well [. . .] that's what I've always been told, [that] languages would get you jobs all over the world - specific languages. Even the new one would be *Chinese* now aye? *Chinese* would be a language to learn in the future for our children. *Matua X* said to me: '*Whaea, do you dream in - Pākehā or Māori?*' and I said: 'Nah [I am] dreaming in *Pākehā*', but lately I have been dreaming in *Māori* so I thought: 'Well that means the next door's opening up which means my *reo* so is *kei te pai*' (all good). We spent five years in *X* when I was from six to eleven and my whole *X* language is coming back as well [. . .] must be my brain opening up or something.

6.4.2.5 Hine

None of **Hine**'s immediate family can speak *te reo Māori* and she feels that they missed out. She also wishes that she could help her children more with their *reo*. Two (?) of her children have been attending *kōhanga reo* for approximately two years and she is proud of them because she feels that they are inspiring everyone. Her sister and one of her cousins are going to start *reo* classes so that they can understand the children when they speak the language. She loves to take her children to her *marae* where most are fluent, and that is what she wants for her children.

Her young son seems to dream in both languages. Her oldest two children did not attend *kōhanga reo*. They were sent to a bilingual unit at intermediate school and picked up from there. One (daughter) was learning *Spanish* but dropped it and is thinking of taking *te reo Māori*. The other (son) has just started in a bilingual unit at intermediate school and learning *te reo Māori* has given him confidence. The older children say a few things in *te reo Māori* to the youngest one (age three). **Hine** tries to use the little *reo* she has when talking to her children.

They understand but generally use English to respond although she sometimes hears them talking to each other in *te reo Māori*. She hopes that in the future the children will represent the rest of the family on the *marae*. She appreciates the fact that her children are exposed to the language at school. A few people have told her that it is

a waste of time her children learning *te reo Māori* but she believes that children learn languages easily and can be exposed to English later, especially as they hear it used by the immediate family. An extract from her introduction of herself is printed below:

For me, my immediate family, none of them can talk *Māori* like my first husband [. . .] aunties, uncles, nobody. So that's where I am real proud of my kids because I feel like they're inspiring everybody [. . .] my sister and one of my cousins, they're going to start classes so they can understand the kids when they talk. My *whānau* is in X, that's where our *marae* is [and] most of them [there] are fluent, and it's cool when we go back to the *marae* and that's what I want for my kids 'cause we know nothing you know, and it's really sad for my family 'cause I feel like we missed out on that. Everyone loves watching *kapa haka* and all that kind of thing but no one knows it so, yeah, just relying on my kids I suppose for our family. When listening to my son speak [when] sleep talking [. . .] one scenario was in English and the next scenario was in *te reo*, so it's good he is dreaming in both languages [and] I would like all my kids to learn it. My oldest two never went to *kōhanga* or anything like that [one is] in the bi-lingual unit at intermediate and she picked it up from there. She was taking *Spanish* last year, which she thought it was no use so she dropped it and now she is looking at *Māori* in her class, and my son he is real shy but since he has been in a bilingual unit too [he] just started intermediate and he just came out of his shell learning *Māori* and with the baby, you know [she just] hard out talk's *Māori* at home. They'll say a few things here and there and X, he's three [and] he sings *waiata* a lot at home; it's really cool. And I am not completely clueless myself. I know a few things and I try talk to them and they, most of the time [they] won't talk back to me in *Māori* but they understand what I'm saying; I do hear them sometimes, the two boys talking to each other. I am really happy that the kids are getting into it and hopefully one day they will be representing our family like standing up at the *marae*, doing what the rest of my family can't and its good learning from them [. . .] it's not just a nice [language]; [its a] beautiful language. I think it gives them confidence [. . .] it's really good at school because they're doing it all

the time. A few people have tried to put me off saying [you] 'Can't get anywhere learning *Māori*, they need English', but they (children) are like a sponge [and] they can learn faster and easier and they bring in the English later. English is easy to pick up. They get it enough around my family and that so I think it's really good they're getting it now while they're young. Looking at the two older ones, they have missed out really 'cause they have to learn it at school.

6.4.2.6 Ihapera

Many of **Ihapera's** *whānau* speak *te reo Māori* and so her children have regular exposure to the language. She has tried to speak the language to her children but lacks confidence. Because her children were not responsive to her efforts to speak the language, she has reverted to using mainly English when talking to them. However, her children are confident in the language and she believes that they speak *te reo Māori* to each other most of the time except when they are with people who speak only English.

Her three oldest children were not sent to *kōhanga reo*. They did not thrive in a bilingual unit but did much better when they were transferred to a *kura kaupapa Māori*. A son (aged 18) speaks *Māori* to his sisters but not much to his friends. Another son, who has a partner who speaks *Māori* and a daughter who attended *kōhanga reo*, can understand the language but has difficulty speaking it.

Ihapera believes that being involved in *kapa haka* and sport opens doors for her children, allowing them, among other things, to travel and experience other ways of living. **Ihapera** spent money she could ill afford on attending classes in *Māori* language but now finds that sending her youngest child to *kōhanga reo* provides her with an opportunity to maintain her language. An extract from **Ihapera's** contribution to the discussion is provided below:

In my family [. . .] not so much, my aunts, my mum's sisters, but their husbands, they all speak *Māori i ngā wā katoa* (all the time) and I've got an uncle - him and his wife, they play a big part in my *whānau* and they only speak *Māori* . . . to their children; and so the kids were brought up around it

and I find at home I speak more *Māori* than the kids but they get *hōhā* with me and that frustrates me so I end up speaking English 'cause they go 'Mum, what are you trying to say? *Whaka-rā-popoto tō rerenga kōrero*' (shorten your sentences). I am trying to use what I learned so that frustrates me, so then we're talking English now. I found that my kids are really confident to *kōrero Māori*. It's me that's not, because a lot of my *whānau* speak *Māori* so I think: 'I don't want to say anything, what if I say it wrong?' So I will speak English. I think mine [my kids] speak *Māori* to each other the majority of the time when we are at home but it's when we are at my mum's they don't because they know that nana can't understand them. And even at the shop I hear them talk *Māori* to each other [and if] they want to include me, they might speak a bit more *Pākehā* . . . because they are waiting for me to jump on whichever *waka* (*Māori* or English language) - you know what I mean but [. . .] yeah they speak *Māori* to me where ever they want, whenever they want. It's just the majority of the time I notice when we are at my mum's, [they] pretty much don't speak any *Māori* but whenever we are with nanas and that they do, like my aunties and uncles they will. I think our kid's generation, like most of my cousins and that, are learning, *Māori* too so the majority of their kids or their *mokos* are speaking *Māori*, that's why our kids all speak a lot more *Māori*. My son; I said to him '*Kōrero Māori*' and he said to me 'I am *hōhā* [fed up] with speaking *Māori*' and I just said 'Pardon me?' And so [I say] 'Oh, come on, let's sit down'. So we sat at the table and I did this big lecture about how our world is just about lost and these people fought for our *reo* and: 'Do you know how much money mummy had to spend to study how to speak our *reo*? And here you are . . . tell[ing] me you are *hōhā* with it?' And he would just go: 'Ah true, *aroha mai* mum': 'But you know if you don't want to speak *Māori* that's all right' and then I said: 'When you have children are they going to speak English?' And he said: 'Oh hell no, they are going speak *Māori* only!' and I said: 'Well that sounds silly, you don't want to speak *Māori* but you want your kids to?' I've got an eighteen year old, he went to *kura kaupapa* [. . .] he started at bilingual and I found it did nothing for my older two, well, my older three, one of them did not do too bad [. . .] they didn't do well at English or *Māori* and they were in the bilingual unit and so I started to look for *kura kaupapa* and they thrived

there. I thought they [would find] it hard because [they] pretty much did not have any [*reo*]. They didn't go to *kōhanga* but they didn't have too much *reo* and I thought they were going to struggle at first so by their second week it was like they have been there for ever. My eighteen year old speaks a lot of *Māori* to his sisters but he a bit shy to speak to other people. I think at this stage his friends are into doing other things anyway, so they don't so much converse in *Māori*. My oldest one can understand I'd say but he can't speak too much but he got his daughter at a *kōhanga* and he wants her to speak *Māori* and his partner speaks *Māori* too. I always tell them do *kapa haka* and sports [. . .] that's where you get to travel a lot 'cause we can't afford to do that stuff as a family. My two older ones, one went to *Hawaii* and *Vanuatu* and the other one went to *Fiji* with *kapa haka* at school and they said to me when they were there: 'Do you know those *fellas* can speak three languages mum, some can speak four'. And I said: 'That does not mean you can't'. And they said: 'Really?' They really thought we only could speak English and *Māori* because that's all you speak in New Zealand kind of thing and my thirteen year old, he said that this year when he goes to school he wants to learn a lot of languages. I did [*Te*] *Ātaarangi* and then I did nothing for a couple of years, and then I realized I was losing my *reo*, and I spent all this money to learn this *reo* that I was losing, and that's why I jumped on the *kōhanga reo waka* just to help keep my *reo*.

6.4.2.7 Kiri

Kiri sat quietly listening to the others during the discussion but did not make any further contribution after her initial short introduction of herself.

6.4.2.8 Kaitaka

Kaitaka attended a course in *te reo Māori (Te Ātaarangi)* and used to work in a *kōhanga reo* but has suffered language attrition since she began to work in an English environment. She has recently moved to a new area where there are few family members. Except for her and her children, none of her immediate family who live close to her uses *te reo Māori* although her niece and nephew, whose mother is *Rarotongan*, are fluent in the language and attend *kapa haka*. Although her brothers attended a *kura kaupapa Māori* when they were young, they suffered

when they went to intermediate school because they had not learned English and so **Kaitaka** teaches her children English as well as *Māori*. She and her friend speak *Māori* to her children for most of the time at home and the children respond in *Māori*. Her children are proving to be an inspiration to the rest of the family so far as *Māori* language is concerned.

An extract from **Kaitaka**'s contribution to the discussion is printed below:

I was born in X then moved to Y - lived there all my life, and then we just moved here so it's only my brother and sister here and my father. No one in my family knows *te reo Māori* but, yep, my children did inspire them [. . .] me and my friend we speak *te reo Māori* to them all the time, eighty percent, ninety percent in the home . . . for example, like my partner or family, we all break down into English [and] my kids always respond in *te reo Māori*. My daughter, she has actually spent all her years in *kura kaupapa* (*Māori* immersion schools). She has gotten a *taonga* (certificate) at the end of the year for being 'student of the year' or 'student of the *rōpū*' (group) so I'm really proud of her [. . .] along with my other kids. I also teach *Pākehā* to them at home because they go to school and they come home to *te reo Māori* I love our *tikanga* (culture). I love our *kaupapa* (being *Māori*) and I do want that for my children and for me, hard. I definitely do want that [. . .] you know I just wish there was more qualifications for us *Māori*. My brothers went to *kura kaupapa* (*Māori* immersion schools) when they were younger and they were in there right through to intermediate and then when they went to intermediate they dropped back because they knew no *Pākehā* at all [. . .] but that's where I look at it is if you don't teach them in the home oh well that's where they fall. I used to work in the *kōhanga reo*. That's where I was more stronger in it because I was in it every day. I was going home and doing it on my kids [. . .] now that I got too much kids [and] they are all in *te reo Māori* so I am out in the white man's world getting a job so I've lost that *reo* but my kids carry that on. I did a X course around like um X campus. That's where they had *Te Ātaarangi*. They had all those around us so we all like kind of things in together you know every day for that whole year. My niece and nephew . . . my brother married a *Rarotongan*, she is

hundred percent *Rarotongan*, but they know more *Raro[tongan]* [. . .] they love it, they love the *Māori* [language and] they love the fact [that] their aunties and their cousin are always speaking the *reo*. Now my niece, she's in *kapa haka*, so you can see where the influence is going with the cousins.

6.5 Discussion

6.5.1 Introduction

Nine people took part in the focus group discussion, all of them directly associated with a particular *kōhanga reo* in which the researcher is a *kaiāwhina*. Of these nine, five (**Etera; Hahana; Hakeke; Kiri; Ihapera**) were brought up in a context in which one or more parents or grandparents were speakers of *te reo Māori* but only one (**Etera**: the *kaiako*) was brought up as a speaker of the language (although he suffered from language attrition later in life and attended classes in *te reo Māori* in order to recover and further develop his competence in the language). Four of them (**Etera; Awa; Hahana; Hakeke**) have attended classes in *te reo Māori* taught through *Te Ātaarangi* and one, **Hakeke**, also studied the language at university for a year.

Four (**Etera; Kiri; Ihapera; Hine**) had some exposure to the learning of *te reo Māori* at school. Some of them stated clearly that they did not regard themselves as being fluent in the language (**Hahana; Hakeke; Hine; Ihapera**) and the ways in which they describe their exposure to the language and/or their use of the language suggests that three others (**Kiri Kaitaka** and **Awa**) are not fluent. The only one, however, who has never had any exposure to learning the *Māori* language is **Hehu**. Two of the participants, **Hehu** and **Kiri** (who studied *te reo Māori* at secondary school), made no direct contribution to the focus group discussion after their initial introduction of themselves but listened carefully to the others.

6.5.2 Critical awareness

6.5.2.1 Attitudes towards *te reo Māori*

One of the participants (**Kiri**) said so little that it was impossible to gauge her attitude to *te reo Māori*. All of the others expressed very positive attitudes to the language, often stressing that they found it to be affirming and uplifting, with some

referring specifically to the spiritual dimension (often within the context of references too of *Te Ātaarangi*). Thus, for example:

I really love the language. (**Hine**)

I didn't really grow up in *te reo Māori* but it was my passion. (**Kaitaka**)

My problem is I don't know the language and I know that I can't progress to that next level until I know the language and I believe if I know the language then I can stand up there. (**Hehu**)

Te reo Māori, I love it to death and I am really pretty passionate 'bout it. (**Etera**)

[*Te*] *Ātaarangi*, It catered for all of me, my spiritual side of me, yeah. It's - you weren't put down. (**Awa**)

Te Ātaarangi and that's where I learned. It was everything it was the *wairua* (feeling) in it, the way they did the *rākau*. They made you hungry for it [. . .] just [the] *whakaaro* (way of thinking) and it was a beautiful *whakaaro* which made me want to learn more. (**Hahana**)

I also did *Te Ātaarangi* and loved it, loved everything about it. (**Ihaperā**)

6.5.2.2 Association of language and culture with identity formation and wellbeing

Several of the participants made a direct and explicit connection between understanding of *te reo Māori* and identity formation, confidence and wellbeing as in the case of the following examples:

Anyway, learned *te reo* [. . .] just the *wairua* (spiritual aspect) - it really uplifted me as a person. (**Etera**)

I have a preference for my *mokos* to speak *Māori* because when you see the kids that have the *reo* they know who they are. (**Awa**)

I like for my *mokos* to learn *Māori* first because that is who they are. (**Hahana**)

You notice how cheeky and confident the kids are, the fluent ones are. (**Hakeke**)

[My] son, he is real shy, but since he has been in a bilingual unit too [he] just started intermediate and he just came out of his shell it's not just a nice [language its a] beautiful language, I think it gives them confidence (**Hine**)

Only one of the participants, only one - **Hahana** - expressed the view that language and identity are not necessarily intimately related: As for who they are I think I don't really have a too much of an issue with that because *whakapapa* (*Māori* genealogy) is important first and you don't have to *kōrero Māori* to teach them who they are, where they from [. . .] *whakapapa*. (**Hahana**)

6.5.2.3 Attitudes towards standardization

Although none of the participants in the focus group discussion referred specifically to issues associated with standardization, many of their comments appeared to relate to it in an indirect way, particularly repeated comments about the importance of their own exposure, and that of their *tamariki* to *marae-based* functions. In addition, **Hakeke** referred specifically to difficulties associated with understanding the language of college educated speakers (something that may, however, in part at least, have related in the case of the second extract to a low level of proficiency):

The other sister [partner's sister] she went to the *wānanga* (a *Māori* immersion university) to become a teacher so she learned *te reo* there, but I noticed with my sister-in-law [. . .] my in-laws became quite frustrated with her *reo* 'cause they can't understand. I'm the same too. I can like - if I am listening to old people, even like on TV or listening to them on a *marae*, I

can understand it but you get someone who's been on a higher level like up in the university, it gets quiet confusing. **(Hakeke)**

[So] I went to polytech and then I ended up working for *iwi* social services. I also did *te reo* papers. I did X and Y - but trying to use it with my grandmother I got slung back 'cause she couldn't understand what I was saying - so they came up with that term *pukapuka reo*. 'Don't understand what you're talking about girl'. **(Hakeke)**

6.5.2.4 Awareness of language endangerment

Although no specific references were made to language endangerment, awareness of it was evident in many references to the negative experiences that parents and grandparents (and sometimes often the participants themselves) had had in connection with use of the language and the impact of this. For example:

I always remember my mum saying that it's a *Pākehā* world and you need to get on in this world. You need to just worry about things *Pākehā*. [All] those people that knocked me when I was learning, like: 'You'll never get a job. The *reo* won't get you anything [. . .] what [do] you want to do that for? You're mad. **(Awa)**

My granddad was fluent and my grandmother was fluent in *te reo Māori*, but he never [. . .] not much did they speak *Māori* to us because he - my granddad - said it's better to get [a] *tohu o ngā Pākehā* (English qualifications) so you can get *mahi* [work]. But half my *whānau* speak *Māori*. My dad's fluent in *te reo* but [it had] been drummed into them that they couldn't share with us the same knowledge that they had. [But] my nan really wanted me to learn *Māori*, but she just had that problem of trying to give it, and then granddad telling her, oh no cause that girl won't get anywhere, same issue. **(Hahana)**

My mother come from a generation where she was given the strap for talking *te reo* at school so even today she understands it but she won't actually speak it. **(Hakeke)**

I know that my grandfather when he was younger he could speak *Māori*, but they weren't allowed, at school and stuff, so he sort of shied away from that, and [. . .] my parents never talked *Māori*. (**Hine**)

My mother, from mother's family [. . .] yeah like you said before *whaea* you need the white man's papers to get a job and that so they were more into that. (**Kaitaka**)

6.5.2.5 Attitudes towards the inclusion of *te reo Māori* in the school curriculum

All of the participants appeared to believe that *te reo Māori* should have an important place in the school curriculum and **Etera** was emphatic about the need to include *te reo Māori* in the mainstream school curriculum:

I would like to see our *kaupapa Māori* incorporated in[to] mainstream a bit more to enlighten [the] mainstream kids. It would be good if they could incorporate something compulsory components like *te reo* within schools, especially for our *Māori* kids, just to give them that option [. . .] sometimes they don't even get the option. (**Etera**)

6.5.3 Attitudes and approaches to intergenerational transmission of *te reo Māori* in homes and communities (Research Question 1)

All seven of those who had some proficiency in *te reo Māori* and contributed to the discussion seemed to be conscious of the importance of inter-generational transmission of the language in homes and communities. Thus, for example:

[We] kept *te reo Māori* in the home, *i ngā wā katoa, ko tērā anake*. (**Kaitaka**)

Of the seven participants who made contributions to the discussion after the initial section in which the focus was on providing participants with an opportunity to introduce themselves, at least two use *te reo Māori* often when speaking to their children and/or grandchildren: **Kaitaka** uses it most of the time and **Etera** uses it for approximately fifty per cent of the time. **Awa** and **Hahana** try to use it as much

as possible but find that they slip back into English. The other three (**Hakeke**; **Hine** and **Ihaperā**) generally speak English to their children.

Among those who do use *te reo Māori* in speaking to their children and/or grandchildren, the occasions when they are most likely to use English are:

- when they need to discipline their children (**Etera**; **Awa**);
- when they find things difficult to explain in *te reo Māori* (**Etera**);
- when they experience difficulty in expressing themselves in *te reo Māori* (**Awa**; **Hahana**);
- when *whānau* visit (**Etera**; **Kaitaka**).

In spite of the fact that **Etera**'s children (aged six and eight) would appear to live in a *Māori*-language rich environment, they tend to speak English when interacting with one another (although they generally reply in *te reo Māori* when addressed in *te reo Māori*), and the eldest, who is attending a *rumaki* (a class taught totally in the *Māori* language) class in a mainstream school, reverts to English frequently.

On the other hand, **Awa**'s grandchildren, who attend *kōhanga reo* but whose mothers speak English to them, generally speak *te reo Māori* to one another when with their grandmother and the eldest generally replies in *te reo Māori* when addressed in the language by her grandmother. Similarly, although **Ihaperā** speaks mainly in English to her children, who attended a *kura kaupapa Māori*, they generally address one another in *te reo Māori* except when they are with monolingual English speakers. It may therefore be that, except for very young children, the language choices of their peers and the context in which they are educated sometimes play at least as important a role in determining the extent to which young people use *te reo Māori* as does the language in which their parents or immediate caregivers interact with them. In fact, in some cases, attempts by parents/ caregivers who are not highly proficient in *te reo Māori* to use the language may sometimes act as a disincentive, causing awkwardness, embarrassment and communication breakdown. Thus, for example, **Hine**'s older children do not respond in *te reo Māori* when she uses the language in addressing them and **Ihaperā**

made the following observation: “[T]he kids . . . get *hōhā* (annoyed) with me and that frustrates me so I end up speaking English ’cause they go ‘Mum, what are you trying to say?’”

6.5.4 Factors facilitating or inhibiting inter-generational transmission (Research Question 2)

Where the participants encountered problems in relation to speaking *te reo Māori* to their children and/or grandchildren, these were generally related to the fact that they did not have a level of oral proficiency in the language adequate to the demands of day-to-day interaction on a range of topics. Where they did have a high level of oral competence, their attempts to interact in *te reo Māori* were generally met with a positive response. Where they did not, the older children tended to respond in English and/or to display signs of frustration.

6.5.4.1 Facilitating factors

Emerging clearly from this focus group discussion as important facilitating factors in effective inter-generational transmission are:

- the extent to which parents and caregivers have a level of fluency in the language that is adequate to the task of maintaining conversational interaction in a wide range of contexts, and
- that there is a sufficiently large group of family, friends and peers with the competence, confidence and willingness to communicate as much as possible in the language.

6.5.4.2 Inhibiting factors

The main inhibiting factors emerged as:

- the fact that some *whānau* and friends were monolingual in English (leading to code switching);
- low levels of proficiency in the language of parents, caregivers and *whānau*;
- the resistance of some children to using the language as they grew older, particularly in cases where parents and caregivers had low levels of

proficiency and/or where friends were either monolingual in English or preferred to speak English in response to the pressures of society at large.

6.5.5 Strategies used to encourage, support and reward children's developing linguistic competence and use of the language (Research Question 3)

Not all of these participants were in a position to make a direct contribution to the linguistic development of their children and/or grandchildren by using the language fluently in the home. However, most of them signalled that they used a range of strategies to support, encourage and reward language development. These included:

- ensuring that the children attend *marae* functions, including *tangihanga* (funeral) (**Etera; Hine**);
- providing opportunities for them to interact with other young people who speak the language (**Etera**);
- providing opportunities for them to spend time with older *Māori-speaking* children or adults (**Hahana; Ihapera**);
- encouraging and supporting parents (in the case of grandparents) to send their children *kōhanga reo* (**Awa**);
- encouraging the children with praise and invitations to demonstrate their competence with *waiata*, etc. (**Hakeke**);
- raising the children's awareness of the sacrifices made to ensure that opportunities to learn the language were available to them and the responsibility associated with these opportunities (**Ihapera**);
- encouraging the children to become involved in activities, such as kapa haka, that promote language development (**Ihapera**).

6.6 A final comment

For all of these participants, sending their children and/or grandchildren to *kōhanga reo* is seen as an important aspect of their linguistic and cultural initiation into *te Ao Māori*. For some, *kōhanga reo* clearly plays an important role in their own language maintenance and development as well as that of their children/grandchildren. Although not all of them are able to support the language

development of their children and/or grandchildren directly by modelling effective use of the language in the home, all of those who contributed to the discussion employ a range of strategies whose function is to support, encourage and reward children's language development.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

My primary aim in this thesis has been to gather as much information as possible about how the parents and caregivers of young people who are learning the *Māori* language encourage, support and reward their children's developing linguistic competence, including the extent to which, and the ways in which they interact in the language with them and the strategies they use in order to promote their use of the language. Using a combination of semi-structured interviews, focus group discussion and questionnaires (designed to elicit as many comments as possible). This research project has explored, through their own voices, the attitudes and practices of a group of people, mainly *Māori* but including a few *Pākehā*, who are attempting to reclaim the *Māori* language for themselves, their families and, above all, their children and grandchildren. This chapter provides, in the context of a consideration of issues relating to critical awareness and, in particular, the research questions with which the research programme began, an overview of the main findings (7.2) and an indication of the perceived limitations of the research and the nature of its contribution (7.3 and 7.4). It ends with some final observations (7.5).

7.2 Overview and discussion of the research findings

As the research progressed, from questionnaire responses through interviews to focus group discussion, and as the data collected became more multi-faceted, many of the issues that emerged in the early stages were developed and elaborated on as the insights into the day-to-day engagement with the revitalization of the *Māori* language provided by the participants became increasingly rich.

7.2.1 Critical awareness

As indicated in *Chapter 3*, Shohamy (2006, pp. 23, 24 & 167) has noted that any attempt to revitalize a language is a politically charged activity and Edwards and Edwards and Ratima (2010) have stressed the importance of critical awareness which, they argue, is not only about "knowing what to do" in terms of language revitalization and community development but also about "understanding the root

causes of language loss". There is currently considerable reliance on educational institutions to provide both adults and children with exposure to *te reo Māori* and Edwards and Ratima (2010) have observed that *Māori* language programmes can provide access to speaker communities that may continue beyond the lifetime of a particular course, while Cooper, (1989, p. 67) and Dorian (1981, p. 64) have noted that schools can play an important role by providing a context in which the use of the language is the norm.

Nevertheless, several commentators have noted that tutored language learning, to be effective, requires highly skilled, culturally embedded teaching and good resources (see, for example, Baldauf, 2005, p.22; Cooper, 1989, pp. 99 & 120; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 87; and Lo Bianco, 2005, pp. 258-262). Fishman (2007) has stressed that among the potential disadvantages of learning ancestral languages in formal educational contexts is the negative impact on tribal dialects where a standardized version of the language divorced from local cultural norms is promoted, and Mutu (2005) has expressed concerns about the accuracy of the language being transmitted (largely by second language learners) in educational settings and has highlighted the importance of the link between language, location and identity (and, thus, of exposure to language specific to one's specific ancestry).

Furthermore, so far as the tertiary education sector is concerned, it was noted in the *Taranaki Trust Language Revitalization* strategy report (Edwards & Ratima, 2010, p. 31) that among the disadvantages of tutored language learning in institutional contexts are a focus on 'private good' as opposed to 'public good' (with emphasis on the individual rather than the *whānau* as a whole), an outcomes- rather than a process-based orientation, and that fact that specific timeframes are involved, timeframes which may not suit some people.

So far as the *questionnaire participants* are concerned, a high level of critical awareness characterized most of their contributions with, for example, over half of them selecting as one reason for wishing to learn the language the fact that they wanted to raise awareness about *Māori* issues, including political and language issues.

Their commitment to their own linguistic development was evident in the fact that 81% of them were currently involved in learning the language in an educational setting or had been involved in doing so in the past, with 36% currently studying for a Certificate, Diploma or Degree that included papers in *te reo Māori* (of whom only 5 referred specifically to the financial sacrifices involved).

Notwithstanding the emphasis in much of the literature on the potentially negative impact of over-reliance on tutored language learning in educational institutions, of those who were, or had been involved in learning the language in such contexts, the majority reported that they were largely satisfied with what was provided and that their teachers either taught the local variety of the language or combined aspects of standardization with instruction in a variety of dialects.

In addition to many attending classes in the language in educational institutions, questionnaire participants reported using a range of strategies to extend their linguistic and cultural competence, including visiting marae to listen to speakers of the language, reading *Māori* language materials and/or watching *Māori* television or listening to *Māori* radio. Of the 92% of the 111 questionnaire participants who indicated a speaking preference, almost all indicated that they preferred to speak *te reo Māori* rather than English for all (33/30%) most (22/20%) or some of the time (47/42%), and over half (58%) of the 114 who estimated the number of hours during which they spoke the language each day indicated that they did so for 10 hours or more. Furthermore, 65% of the respondents noted that they always or usually used *te reo Māori* when speaking with their *tamariki*.

Critical awareness was something that emerged particularly strongly in the case of the *interviewees*. With only two exceptions (one of whom was educated overseas, the other a recent school leaver), all of them were well aware of the fact that *te reo Māori* continues to be an endangered language and all of them were conscious of the importance of using the language as much as possible and of the critical resource provided by native speaker.

All of them expressed very positive attitudes towards *te reo Māori* and those who had the capacity to do indicated that they preferred to use it rather than English and

emphasized the fact that its use contributed towards their sense of identity, spiritual connection and wellbeing, the establishment of positive relationships with other *Māori* and/or the enjoyment of social occasions.

While, in general, accepting that some degree of standardization was inevitable, particularly in view of the extent of dialect losses in some areas, six of the nine interviewees stressed the importance and significance of dialect in relation to identity, something that echoes the arguments forwarded by Margaret Mutu (2005) (see *Chapter 3*) who notes that “[for] *Māori*, the correct answer to 'Who are you?' for any individual lies in the formulaic sayings of each of his or her own extended family and tribal groupings whose ancestral lands and waterways are located throughout *Aotearoa/New Zealand*” (p. 117).

All except one of the interviewees believed that *Māori* should be a compulsory component of the school curriculum, something that was associated with respect and inter-ethnic understanding as well as being seen as a fundamental right in the case of *Māori*. While there was a general sense that the survival of the language and culture must, inevitably, rest largely with *Māori*, being central to *Māori* identity and wellbeing, there was no evidence among these participants of that increasing tendency to exclude non *Māori* from access to the language which Lourie (2011) has detected in some recent official documents (see *Chapter 3*).

Although it was agreed that there were some positive signs, relating largely to revitalization efforts by *Māori*, it was seen as being unlikely, though nevertheless desirable, that the country would become truly bilingual at some point in the future. While all of the interviewees believed that decisions relating to *Māori* language and culture must rest with *Māori*, it was felt that the Crown had a duty to provide support - but it was also stressed that any support that was forthcoming would almost certainly continue to be minimal and potentially dangerous.

Fernando, Goldstein and Valijarvi (2010, p. 48), Hinton and Hale (2001, pp. 3 & 4) and Kulick (1992, pp. 8 & 9), among others, have stressed the fact that insensitive and/or hostile government policies can cause people to re-evaluate themselves and their beliefs, something that can have a profoundly negative impact on language

maintenance (see *Chapter 3*). There was much evidence among the interviewees of awareness of the negative impact of national policies and practices on the linguistic and cultural competences and attitudes of many of their parents and grandparents.

However, the participants themselves had very positive attitudes towards the language which, in combination with engagement with *Māori* culture, was reported to be affirming, uplifting and confidence building. While some of the participants had largely negative memories of mainstream schooling and reported that they had gained little from any exposure to the language they had had in that context, and while some were suspicious of and/or concerned about the quality of language being imparted in higher education contexts, experiences of *Te Ātaarangi* were reported as being (or having been) highly rewarding, particularly in relation to their sense of acceptance and affirmation.

In addition, involvement in culturally embedded activities, such as *kapa haka*, was often seen as having provided the impetus for language learning. Interestingly, even in cases where their own ability to use *te reo Māori* was limited, the participants frequently used *Māori* words and expressions when speaking English, something that seemed to be a signal of their desire to express their strong sense of their identity as *Māori*. An example is provided below:

[For] my *tamarikis*, I should have done that *mōhio ana ināiane* (I know that now). I make sure my *mokopuna* go through because now I learned so I can *awhi* (help) them. That's it aye. **(Hahana)**

7.2.2 Revisiting the research questions: An overview of the findings

1. *What are the attitudes and approaches of a sample of adults (mainly fluent speakers or learners of the language) to the intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori in homes and communities?*
2. *What factors that facilitate or inhibit inter-generational transmission of the language do these adults identify?*
3. *What strategies do they use to encourage, support and reward their children's developing linguistic competence and use of the language?*

In relation to the research questions, it is relevant to note that while the connection between language and identity formation is a complex one which can be fraught with problems, especially for the young for whom “the drive to adopt a global identity creates tension (often negative) between old and new cultural values and practices” (Johnson, 2008, p. 68), it is nevertheless very often the aim of reclaiming a sense of indigenous identity that motivates language activists (Combs & Penfield, 2012, p.462).

Thus, as Fishman (2001, p. 452) has observed, language revitalization involves the recovery, recreation and retention of a complete way of life, including non-linguistic as well as linguistic features (Fishman, 2001, p. 452). Central aspects of this are role modelling (Cooper, 1989, p. 70; Crystal, 2000, p. 154), individual commitment to using *te reo Māori*, particularly in home and family settings (which, as Fishman (1991, p.91) notes, are, critically, not subject to external controls), and building alliances at grass roots level (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, pp. 113 & 114) since “[*gemeinschaft*] (the intimate community whose members are related to one another via bonds of kinship, affection and community of interest and purpose) is the real secret weapon of RLS [reversing language shift]” (Fishman, 2001, p. 458) (see *Chapter 3*).

All of this requires not only a large, vibrant and expanding pool of speakers who are willing to pass on the language, but also opportunities for the language to be used in a variety of domains and to serve key communicative functions (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, pp. 273 & 308). Thus, for example, Lewis (2007, p. 51, note 43) notes the potential value of “cluster[ing] domains around the out of school lives of children who attend *kura kaupapa Māori*” by focusing on, for example, “*kapa haka*, summer and winter sports [and] after school Oscar programmes all run in *te reo*” and providing affirmation and reward for language-related achievements in the form, for example, of “celebrating . . . those who have taken the time to learn the language by going as a *whānau* to their graduation or including feature stories about language achievers and language learners in *whānau* newsletters and websites” (p.8). One thing that emerged very powerfully from the questionnaire and interview responses and the focus group discussion was the high level of dedication and

commitment to the survival of *te reo Māori* that appears to characterize the day-to-day lives of almost all of the participants.

So far as *questionnaire respondents* are concerned, the vast majority (95%) believe that it is essential, very important or important for their children to speak *te reo Māori*. Almost all of them (96%) believe that all *Māori* children should have an opportunity to learn the language at school, with the vast majority (80%) believing that it should be compulsory for them to do so. Many of them had sent, did send or would send their children or grandchildren to *kōhanga reo* (99/ 78%) and/or to primary/ intermediate (89/ 70%) or secondary schools (83/ 65%) that teach mainly through the medium of *te reo Māori*.

Almost all of them (97%) believe that it is essential, very important or important to use *te reo Māori* when interacting with other speakers of the language. Of those with children or grandchildren who responded to a question about the amount of time they used the language when speaking to them, only a few indicated that they did so only occasionally (30%) or never (4%).

In view of the fact that 36% of the total questionnaire cohort judged their own proficiency in the language to be relatively low (3 or lower on a 6 point scale) and that there may sometimes be considerable difficulties associated with use of the language in the home (e.g. the fact that other family members may be monolingual in English), these percentages are surprisingly low.

Bearing in mind the inevitable resentment that some feel at having to pay for courses in a language that should have been their birthright and the high number who report that they have experienced feelings of awkwardness or embarrassment when learning the language, it is interesting to note just how positive they are overall about their experiences of *learning te reo Māori* in educational settings.

Thus, for example, the vast majority reported that they believed that their teachers' language was excellent (86%), their lessons were generally stimulating (83%), and they had lots of opportunities to speak the language in class (81.5%).

Those who participated in *the semi-structured interviews* were given an opportunity to elaborate on aspects of their questionnaire responses. Once again, there was an overwhelming sense of commitment and determination in relation to the revitalization of the language, with one of the interviewees noting that she had already spent thirty thousand dollars “to learn something that was rightfully [hers] from the start”.

Among those things that emerged most powerfully from the interviews were the following:

- All of the interviewees said that they preferred to speak *Māori* rather than English even where there were difficulties in doing so and all but one made a point of stressing that they used, or generally used *te reo Māori* when speaking to children who were users of the language, with some associating use of the language with a more respectful attitude. However, four of the nine said that that they did so less frequently as the children grew older because of a strong tendency towards preference for English among older children. Furthermore, some indicated that young people who use *te reo Māori* at school tended to revert to English at home.
- All of them indicated that they spoke *te reo Māori* on the *marae* whenever possible and five indicated that they did so on social occasions, in the context of *Māori* verbal arts, and at work, with one noting the importance of becoming immersed in the language as much as possible in order to “get into a rhythm”. Whether colleagues at work spoke the language was a major determinant of the amount of time each day the interviewees spoke *te reo Māori*, with employment at *kōhanga reo* providing an important opportunity for some to maximize their use of the language. Where English was used all of the time or part of the time at home, the main reason was that other members of the immediate *whānau* were not speakers of the language.
- Interacting in *te reo Māori* with other speakers of the language was seen as providing a basis for establishing a genuine connection with them and a way of helping those who were less proficient to increase their confidence. Some

stressed the importance of choosing friends who were speakers of the language, with one observing that she chose to “hang out with” speakers of *te reo Māori* because she was “*pro Māori*”.

- All of them said they believed that it was very important to ensure that their children or grandchildren spoke *te reo Māori* in order to ensure survival of the language and also in order to ensure that these children had a secure connection with their roots and developed a genuine sense of belonging and identity. However, although all except one of the interviewees were in favour, in principle, of *Māori-medium* education for their children and grandchildren, some had reservations relating to the standard of the language they were picking up in these contexts, lack of emphasis on the development English language skills and/or limited subject or sporting opportunities.
- Six of the nine interviewees stressed the importance of retaining local dialects, with one observing that she experienced “the *wairua* in their *kōrero*” when interacting with speakers of her dialect.
- The youngest interviewee, who had attended *kōhanga reo*, *kura-kaupapa Māori* and *wharekura*, was one of only two (the other having been educated overseas) who believed that *Māori* was **not** in danger of extinction, the only one who no longer generally spoke *te reo Māori* at home and who, if she had children now, “would probably have to send them to mainstream”. She, too, was the only one who seemed unprepared to make concessions in relation to the attempts of others to speak the language: “I don’t want to have to listen to *Indian Māori*”.
- Although all of the interviewees believed that *Māori* had to take ultimate responsibility for the preservation of their language, most believed that government assistance in the form, largely, of financial support and facilitation, was something that ought, in terms of accountability, to be provided so long as it was not accompanied by attempts to intervene and control.

In common with most of the other participants in the research, most of those involved in *the focus group discussion* are strongly committed to attempting to ensure that their children and/ or grandchildren should grow up as speakers of *te reo Māori*, with those who could have chosen to have their older children educated in a *Māori-immersion* context and did not do so regretting the choice they had made. Only one of the nine people involved appeared to have near-native proficiency in the language, with one describing himself as having no capacity in the language at all.

Of the remaining seven, four indicated explicitly that they did not regard themselves as being fluent speakers. In common with the questionnaire respondents and semi-structured interview participants, those who had taken courses in *Māori* language were generally very positive about the experience. However, of the seven who participated actively in the discussion, only two indicated that they used the *Māori* language *often* when speaking to their children and/or grandchildren, although a further two said that they did *so as much as possible*.

Some of the children and/or grandchildren of participants who are *Māori* language speakers generally use *te reo Māori* when interacting with one another; others appear to prefer to use English. Most of the younger children respond in *te reo Māori* when addressed in the language although some of the older ones reject use of the language by their parents, particularly where these parents are inexperienced users. So far as factors that have *the potential to inhibit the intergenerational transmission* of *te reo Māori* are concerned, those to which specific reference were made were:

- concerns about various aspects of *Māori-medium* education (e.g. quality of the *Māori* language; absence of development of skills in English; limited subject and sporting opportunities), concerns that could lead some to select mainstream schooling for their children and grandchildren and, therefore, effectively reinforce the impact of the dominant language and undermine efforts to transmit the language in the home;
- the time and/or cost involved in attempting to improve adult *Māori* language proficiency in the context of educational institutions which, where they

proved prohibitive, could impact in a negative way on proficiency development in the case of those with limited access to *Māori-speaking* communities;

- lack a high level of oral proficiency in the case of many of those who are attempting to communicate with *tamariki* in *te reo Māori*, resulting in to awkwardness and embarrassment and, in some cases, communication breakdowns;
- defaulting to English where friends and visitors, including *whānau*, could not speak the language;
- the general absence of *te reo Māori* in the country's linguistic landscape and the small number of domains in which it can be used naturally outside of the home were clearly having a negative impact on the willingness of some *tamariki* to use the language on some of those occasions when it could be used in interacting with peers and *whānau*;
- young people, particularly teenagers, who had ready access to the language, were sometimes found to be unaware of the sacrifices made to ensure that that access was available and of the dangers associated with any failure on their part to use the language, sometimes simply reverting to English after speaking *Māori* all day at school or use the language infrequently because they felt that it was not relevant to their interests and concerns.

Those things that were seen as encouraging and supporting children's development and use of *te reo Māori* were also those that were seen as having the potential to facilitate intergenerational transmission. Among these were:

- making a conscious choice to send children/ grandchildren to *kōhanga reo*; *kura kaupapa Māori* and *whare kura* and/or encouraging others to do so;
- using the language as much as possible and, in particular, when interacting with *tamariki*;
- providing opportunities for the young to interact with other young people who speak the language and for them to spend time with older *Māori-speaking* children or adults;

- taking every opportunity for community engagement and/or language proficiency development provided by, for example, marae functions and *Māori* radio and television, and, in some cases, seeking out certain types of employment (e.g. in *kōhanga reo*) in order to improve personal proficiency development;
- making young people more aware of the history of this country and, in this way, helping them to understand why it is important that everyone who is able to use the language (even if inexpertly) does so as much as possible.

So far as *rewarding* children's development and use of *te reo Māori* is concerned, three major strategies were in evidence:

- responding in a generally positive way when young people use *te reo Māori* rather than English
- ensuring that *te reo Māori* is associated by them with enjoyable and culturally significant activities, such as *kapa haka*;
- attempting to link use of *te reo Māori* directly with their particular interests, concerns and preoccupations;
- praising their linguistic achievements and inviting them to demonstrate their competence through the performance of *waiata*, *kapa haka*, etc.

7.3 Limitations of the research

When I began this research project, my intention was to observe at first hand the ways in which a sample of parents/ caregivers interacted linguistically with their children in their homes. Unfortunately, this proved impossible. All of those I approached, even though some were close friends and/or *whānau*, were resistant to the idea of having an observer present in their homes even for a relatively short period of time. Although this is completely understandable, it is nevertheless unfortunate as it would, I believe, have added an important dimension to the research.

Another limitation relates to the fact that the focus group discussion did not engage in a direct way with some of the issues addressed in the interviews and questionnaire

responses. This was partly a result of the limited time available to cover a wide range of topics if everyone was to be given an opportunity to contribute to each. Nevertheless, it might have been possible to arrange for a further focus group discussion if I had managed the time available to me more effectively.

7.4 Research contribution

I believe that this research project has contributed to a growing understanding of some of the issues involved in the revitalization of *te reo Māori* by providing a relatively large number of adults who are involved at *flax root* level with an opportunity to share their experiences, both negative and positive, and, in particular, to indicate what strategies they have found to be effective in encouraging the young to develop and use their linguistic skills. Although there has been some prior research of a similar type (see *Chapter 3*), representation of the voices of participants has tended to be selective. In this case, all of the comments provided by questionnaire participants as well as detailed interview and focus group transcripts have been included in appendices in order to ensure that none of the observations made by those people who have given up their time to contribute are lost, and in the hope that this will provide other researchers with a resource that may be of use to them.

7.5 Some final observations

Overall, the findings of this research project indicate that conditions may now be ripe for a major effort to encourage and support intergenerational transmission in home and community settings (that is, stage 6 of Fishman's (1991, pp. 87-107) eight point scale for reversing language shift), with the participants demonstrating a high level of critical awareness in relation to the current situation of *te reo Māori* accompanied by a love of the language and a personal commitment to its survival. However, what is also indicated is that there may be a disconnect between the experiences and beliefs of those at *flax root* level who are committed to promoting intergenerational transmission of *te reo Māori* and the recommendations of some influential *Māori* leaders and elders. Lourie (2011) has observed that there appears, in recent years, to have been "a fundamental ideological shift" (p.208), with the revitalization of the *Māori* language being increasingly enmeshed with issues of tribal sovereignty (see, for example, *Te Reo Mauriora* (Te Paepae Motuhake, 2011)

and with the question of whether it is desirable that *non-Māori* in general (not simply those in positions of power in national and local government) should be encouraged and supported in learning the language being increasingly sidelined. While there has been an increasing focus in recent years on providing localized community-based, dialect-centred language support, along with considerable promotion of the methodology used in *Te Ātaarangi* courses (see, for example, Raureti & Hohepa-Watene, 2010), this has not been accompanied by any detailed analysis of the type of support that could/ should be provided and is demonstrably effective, research on the comparative effectiveness of different approaches to teaching and learning *te reo Māori*, or any widespread discussion of (a) the specific issues that need to be addressed where local varieties of the language have fallen into disuse, (b) those which arise in connection with the difficulties of motivating older children to use the language, (c) how children's cognitive development is to be fully supported in cases where parents/ caregivers who are attempting intergenerational transmission cannot provide them with rich and varied linguistic input, and (d) how schools and communities should approach the vexed issue of ensuring that children's competence in English is adequate to the demands that may be made on them in adult life.

While there was widespread suspicion among the participants in this research project of the Crown's attitude and approach to the survival of the language, there was little, if any evidence of resistance to the notion that non *Māori* should be encouraged to learn the language, something that would inevitably decrease the impact of the dominance of English in the wider New Zealand landscape and increase the number of domains in which the language could be used. Furthermore, while the majority of the participants in this study stressed the significance of *Māori* dialects, and while some of them reported that the language being passed on in educational contexts is not of a high standard (in common with, for example, Mutu (2005)), there was widespread acceptance of the fact that educational institutions are currently playing an important role in *Māori* language revitalization and an overall appreciation of the courses in *te reo Māori* to which participants' had been exposed. However, while those who had attended *Ātaarangi* courses were highly appreciative of their cultural and spiritual value, they had considerably less to say about them in proficiency development terms. In terms of policy development,

much could be gained from paying careful attention to listening to the plea for open-mindedness by the authors of *Ko Aotearoa Tēnei* (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011, p. 468) as well as heeding the voices of those at the flax roots levels of society.

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Appendices

Please note:

The Appendices are included as a PDF file on the accompanying compact disk.

Appendix 1: Ethics Application

Appendix 2: Questionnaire

**THE REVITALIZATION OF TE REO MĀORI:
QUESTIONNAIRE ABOUT THE LEARNING OF TE REO MĀORI**

Ko Moehau te maunga; Ko Waihou te awa; Ko Tikapa te moana; Ko Marutūahu te tangata; Ko Pare Hauraki te whenua taketake. Ko Ngāti Kiriwera te hapū, ko Ngāti Tama-te-rā te iwi, ko Tamaterā te tupuna koia, koia; Ko Te Pai-o-Hauraki te marae, ko Taraia-Ngākuti-Te-Tumuhua rāua ko Tukukino-Te-Ahiatawea ngā tūpuna, ā, i heke mai nei i ngā uri whakaheke, heoiti, kua ea; Ko Tainui te waka. Ko Hoturoa te tangata, arā, ka puta mai ko Pare Hauraki, ko Pare Waikato ki te Kaokaoroa o Pātetere; Koia te tūhononga-wairua e tuitui ai e tātau anō te waka o Tainui; Otiia, ko Murray Hamaka Peters te ingoa, me kii, ko tēnei te mihi nui nāku noa ki a koutou katoa kia pānui mai nei, kia āwhina mai nei kei roto i tēnei pukapuka uiui nei; Pai Marire!

This questionnaire is one component of a PhD research project relating to the revitalization of the Māori language and tikanga. The research project is being conducted through Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao (School of Māori and Pacific Development) at Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato (The University of Waikato).

The overall aim of this study is to explore different approaches to the revitalization of the Māori language and tikanga, with a view to determining which are most likely to contribute in a positive way to its inter-generational transmission. This questionnaire seeks to collect data which will assist in creating a more complete understanding of backgrounds, beliefs and practices of speakers and learners of te reo Māori.

Your contribution to the research through completion of the questionnaire would be greatly appreciated. However, you are under no obligation to participate. If you do participate, and if you do supply your name (which you need not do), it will NOT be revealed to anyone except my research supervisors. The identity of participants will remain strictly confidential in the writing up and presentation of the research.

A summary of the data derived from this questionnaire will be made available as soon as possible after all of the questionnaires have been collected and analysed.

If you wish to contact me to learn more about the research, please use the email address and/or telephone number below. Please send completed questionnaires to me using the pre-paid envelope attached.

Whether or not you decide to participate in the research, I would like to thank you very much for taking the time to read this message.

Researcher: Murray Hamaka Peters, PhD Candidate, University of Waikato

Mobile: 0211230175

Email: mp69@waikato.ac.nz

INSTRUCTIONS/INFORMATION

1. Please place a tick in the appropriate boxes and/or provide a written response (in English and/or Māori).
2. If you wish to participate in follow-up interviews, please provide your name and contact details at the end of the questionnaire. No personal information will be revealed in the writing up or dissemination of the research findings.
3. In the context of this questionnaire, the term ‘native speaker’ refers to someone who has been raised from birth (i.e. nativity) or from shortly after birth by speakers of a particular language who were themselves raised by speakers of that language and who use that language in everyday interactions. In terms of this definition, it is possible to be a native speaker of more than one language.

PART 1: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1.1 WHAT IS YOUR GENDER?

Male

Female

1.2 WHAT IS YOUR AGE?

16 – 20

21-30

31-40

41-60

60+

1.3 WHAT IS YOUR ETHNIC BACKGROUND?

Māori (someone who has at least one Māori ancestor)

Other than Māori (someone who has no Māori ancestors) (Please go to Question 1.5)

1.4 IF MĀORI; ARE YOU ABLE TO GIVE THE NAME/S OF YOUR:

Maunga _____

Awa _____

Moana _____

Hapū _____

Iwi _____

Waka _____

Marae _____

1.5 WHAT LANGUAGE/S WERE YOU RAISED WITH FROM BIRTH (I.E. THE LANGUAGE/S USED BY YOUR PARENTS/CAREGIVERS TO COMMUNICATE WHOLE/COMPLETE THOUGHTS, NOT JUST INDIVIDUAL WORDS TO YOU)? PLEASE TICK ALL THAT APPLY.

Māori	<input type="checkbox"/>
English	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (please specify):	

1.6 HOW MUCH EXPERIENCE HAVE YOU HAD OF EACH OF THE FOLLOWING?

EXPERIENCES	A LOT	A LITTLE	A BIT/ NOTHING
<i>Kai moana</i> (fishing/bird/food and resource collecting from oceanic water sources).	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>Kai kiore</i> (fishing/bird/food and resource collecting from the bush lands, forests wetlands, rivers and lakes).	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>Kai māra</i> (traditional Māori farming and/or gardening).	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>Toi Whakaari</i> (arts).	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

<i>Toi Harakeke</i> (weaving from flax and related resources).	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>Toi Whakairo</i> (wood carving/carpentry/waka building etc).	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>Taa Moko</i> (traditional Māori tattooing).	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>Whakapono Māori</i> (Māori Religion/karakia/whakapapa).	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>Mau Rākau</i> (traditional Māori offensive and defensive martial arts/ strategies).	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>Rongoa Māori</i> (Māori medicine and healing).	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Other, (please specify):

1.7 WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS IS TRUE IN YOUR CASE? PLEASE TICK ALL THAT APPLY.

STATEMENT	TRUE IN MY CASE	NOT TRUE IN MY CASE
At least one of my parents/caregivers spoke te reo Māori to me and taught me tikanga Māori since I was born and they were also raised in the same way.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I learned to speak te reo Māori by being raised by at least one parent/caregiver who learned to speak te reo Māori as a second language.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

I learned to speak te reo Māori at Kōhanga Reo (Kindergarten level).

I learned to speak te reo Māori in a bilingual unit of a 'mainstream' primary/ intermediate school (e.g. in a bilingual unit)

I learned to speak te reo Māori in a bilingual unit of a 'mainstream' secondary school (e.g. in a bilingual unit).

I learned to speak te reo Māori by taking it as a subject in a 'mainstream' primary/ intermediate school.

I learned to speak te reo Māori by taking it as a subject in a 'mainstream' secondary school.

I learned to speak te reo Māori at a primary/ intermediate school where Māori was the main or only medium of instruction for the school as a whole.

I learned to speak te reo Māori at a secondary school where Māori was the main or only medium of instruction for the school as a whole.

Other (Please specify):

1.8 ARE YOU STUDYING TOWARDS A QUALIFICATION THAT INCLUDES TE REO MĀORI?

QUALIFICATION	YES	NO
NCEA Level 1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
NCEA Level 2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
NCEA Level 3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

A certificate, diploma or degree majoring in te reo Māori (Please specify below):

A certificate, diploma or degree that includes papers in te reo Māori (Please specify below):

Other qualifications in te reo Māori (Please specify):

1.9 IN WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING CONTEXTS ARE YOU CURRENTLY STUDYING TE REO MĀORI OR HAVE YOU STUDIED TE REO MĀORI IN THE PAST?

CONTEXTS	CURRENTLY LEARNING	HAVE LEARNED	NEITHER
A programme at an educational institution (school, university, polytechnic, etc.) in which only te reo Māori was used for at least four hours each day in term time for a minimum of a year.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A programme at an educational institution (school, university, polytechnic, etc.) in which I attended a course or courses in te reo Māori several times a week and in which English was never or almost never used but where I almost always understood because the teacher/s was/were very effective at conveying meanings using a range of resources.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A programme at an educational institution (school, university, polytechnic, etc.) in which I attended a course or courses in te reo Māori several times a week and in which English was never or almost never used and where I often didn't understand.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

A programme at an educational institution (school, university, polytechnic, etc.) in which I attended a course or courses in te reo Māori several times a week and in which English was used for at least 30% of the time (to give instructions etc.).

1.10 WHICH DIALECT/VERSION OF MĀORI DOES/ DID YOUR TEACHER USE IN CLASS?

Your dialect

Local dialect

Standardised version

A combination

Don't know

Comment if any:

1.11 FOR HOW MUCH FOR THE TIME EACH DAY ON AVERAGE DO YOU SPEAK TE REO MĀORI?

Approx 20 hrs a day or more

Approx 15-20 hrs a day

Approx 10-15 hrs a day

Approx 5-10 hrs a day

Approx 0-5 hrs a day

Comment if any:

1.12 PROFICIENCY IN TE REO MĀORI: PLEASE USE THE FOLLOWING 6-POINT SCALE 1 BEING LEAST CAPABLE AND 6 BEING MOST CAPABLE

- 1 I can understand and use some familiar everyday words, expressions and greetings.
- 2 I can understand and use familiar words, expressions and sentences that relate to information about myself and my family and everyday routine matters (e.g. where things are located).
- 3 I can express, in simple terms, most of the things that I need to communicate about on a day-to-day basis and can understand what others say to me about everyday routine matters so long as the language they use is relatively straightforward.
- 4 I can understand most of what is said by native speakers of te reo Māori when they are speaking to me or others and can communicate most of what I want or need to communicate but I do not have the range or subtlety of expression that is associated with highly competent native speakers.
- 5 I can understand without difficulty almost anything that is said to me in te reo Māori and can adapt my language to meet the different requirements of a wide range of differing contexts of use (e.g. to speak on the paepae, or to kāranga, karakia, waiata, whakataukī etc) but I occasionally have difficulty in understanding or using the language, particularly in complex cultural contexts.
- 6 I believe that I can use the language as well as any, or almost any, highly competent native speaker.

1.13 BASED ON THE SCALE PROVIDED, HOW DO YOU RATE YOUR LEVEL OF PROFICIENCY IN MĀORI? PLEASE CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE NUMBER:

<i>Least</i>				<i>Most</i>	
<i>Capable</i>				<i>Capable</i>	
1	2	3	4	5	6

Comment, if any:

PART 2: ATTITUDES, BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

2.1 DO YOU BELIEVE THAT TE REO MĀORI SHOULD BE A COMPULSORY SUBJECT AT SCHOOL FOR ALL MĀORI STUDENTS?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>
I don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>
Comment if any:	

2.2 DO YOU BELIEVE THAT TE REO MĀORI SHOULD BE A COMPULSORY SUBJECT AT SCHOOL FOR ALL STUDENTS, WHATEVER THEIR BACKGROUND?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>
I don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>
Comment if any:	

2.3 DO YOU BELIEVE THAT ALL MĀORI STUDENTS SHOULD HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO LEARN TE REO MĀORI AT SCHOOL?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>
I don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>
Comment if any:	

2.4 DO YOU BELIEVE THAT ALL STUDENTS SHOULD HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO LEARN TE REO MĀORI AT SCHOOL?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>
I don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>
Comment if any:	

2.5 IF YOU HAVE EVER CHOSEN TO LEARN TE REO MĀORI, WHAT ARE/WERE YOUR REASONS? PLEASE TICK ALL OF THE STATEMENTS BELOW THAT APPLY IN YOUR CASE

I am Māori and I believe that it is important for me to understand the language and culture of my ancestors.	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am not Māori, but I want/wanted to help preserve the Māori language and culture.	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am not Māori but I have/ had a Māori partner.	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am not Māori but I have Māori friends.	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am not Māori but I was raised in a Māori environment.	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am not Māori but I have Māori children.	<input type="checkbox"/>
I want/wanted to be able to raise my children to speak te reo Māori and understand tikanga.	<input type="checkbox"/>
I want/wanted to be able to interact with native speakers of te reo Māori in te reo Māori.	<input type="checkbox"/>

I want/ wanted to be able to interact with other learners of te reo Māori in te reo Māori.	<input type="checkbox"/>
I want/wanted to be able to read historical documents written in te reo Māori (e.g. Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Te Paipera Tapu etc).	<input type="checkbox"/>
I want/ wanted to become a teacher of te reo Māori and tikanga.	<input type="checkbox"/>
I want/ wanted to try to understand how my Māori ancestors viewed their world.	<input type="checkbox"/>
I want/ wanted to raise awareness about Māori issues, including political and language issues.	<input type="checkbox"/>
I enjoy/enjoyed learning te reo Māori and tikanga.	<input type="checkbox"/>
I want/ wanted to understand myself better.	<input type="checkbox"/>
I want/ wanted to reconnect with my Māori side.	<input type="checkbox"/>
I want/wanted to contribute to the paepae (e.g. whaikōrero).	<input type="checkbox"/>
I want/ wanted to contribute to the mahau (e.g. kāranga).	<input type="checkbox"/>
I want/ wanted to contribute to the marae as a whole.	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other reason/s (please specify below).	

2.6 IF YOU ARE OR HAVE EVER BEEN A LEARNER OF TE REO MĀORI, WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS IS/WAS USUALLY OR OFTEN TRUE IN YOUR CASE? PLEASE ADD ANY COMMENTS YOU WISH.

STATEMENT	<u>YES</u> USUALLY OFTEN OR TRUE IN MY CASE	<u>NO</u> NOT USUALLY OFTEN OR TRUE IN MY CASE
I get/ got lots of opportunities to speak te reo Māori in class. Comment if any:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
My teacher's Māori is/ was excellent. Comment if any:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am/was never afraid of making mistakes. Comment if any:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am/was never too embarrassed to speak unless I absolutely had to. Comment if any:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The lessons are/ were very stimulating. Comment if any:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There are/ were lots of opportunities to use the language outside of class. Comment if any:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I always get/ got support from home. Comment if any:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am/ was never too busy with other duties to do my homework. Comment if any:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
My teacher explained things clearly. Comment if any:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
My teacher made sure that I had opportunities to speak to native speakers. Comment if any:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
My teacher translated new words and expressions into English to explain their meaning. Comment if any:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

At the end of lessons, I was clear about exactly what I had achieved during that lesson.

Comment if any:

2.7 HOW IMPORTANT DO YOU THINK IT IS FOR LEARNERS OF TE REO MĀORI TO INTERACT WITH NATIVE SPEAKERS (I.E. WITH THOSE WHO WERE BROUGHT UP FROM BIRTH TO SPEAK THE LANGUAGE) IN ORDER TO BECOME EFFECTIVE USERS OF THE LANGUAGE?

Essential.

Very important.

Important.

Not important.

Comment, if any:

2.8 WHAT HAVE YOU DONE IN THE PAST AND WHAT DO YOU DO THESE DAYS TO HELP YOU BECOME A MORE EFFECTIVE SPEAKER OF TE REO MĀORI? PLEASE TICK ALL THAT APPLY.

ACTIVITIES THAT HELPED/HELPS ME TO BECOME A MORE EFFECTIVE SPEAKER OF TE REO MĀORI

PAST

PRESENT

I sometimes went/ go to my marae/s and listen to speakers of te reo Māori.

I regularly went/go to my marae/s and listen to speakers of te reo Māori.

I sometimes went/go to other marae and listen to speakers of te reo Māori.

I regularly went/go to other marae and listen to speakers of te reo Māori.

I sometimes listened/listen to recordings of native speakers of te reo Māori.

I regularly listened/listen to recordings of native speakers of te reo Māori.

I sometimes engaged in/engage in conversations in Māori with native speakers of te reo Māori.

I regularly engaged in/engage in conversations in Māori with native speakers of te reo Māori.

I sometimes read/read Māori language material (e.g. newspapers, books, websites, etc.).

I regularly read/read Māori language material (e.g. newspapers, books, websites, etc.).

I sometimes watched/watch Māori Television or listen to Māori Radio.

I regularly watched/watch Māori Television or listen to Māori Radio.

2.9 IS IT DIFFICULT FOR YOU TO GET TOGETHER WITH NATIVE SPEAKERS TO ENGAGE IN CONVERSATIONS IN MĀORI?

Yes

No (Go to question 2.11)

2.10 IF YOU ANSWERED ‘YES’, WHAT IS/ARE THE PROBLEM/S? PLEASE TICK ALL THAT APPLY.

I don't know any native speakers of te reo Māori that I can meet and converse with in te reo Māori.	<input type="checkbox"/>
I know native speakers of te reo Māori that I can carry on conversations with in te reo Māori, but not well enough to feel comfortable outside controlled environments.	<input type="checkbox"/>
I don't have the time to meet and carry on conversations with native speakers of te reo Māori.	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am embarrassed to engage in conversations with native speakers of te reo Māori because I am afraid of making mistakes when I speak the language.	<input type="checkbox"/>
Conversation is limited to topics I am not very interested in.	<input type="checkbox"/>
The native speakers of te reo Māori I know live far from me.	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other problem/s (please specify):	

2.11 HOW IMPORTANT DO YOU THINK IT IS TO USE TE REO MĀORI WHEN SPEAKING TO OTHER SPEAKERS OF THE LANGUAGE?

- Essential
- Very important
- Important
- Not important

Comment, if any:

**2.12 DO YOU SPEAK THE DIALECT PARTICULAR TO YOUR, IWI/ HAPŪ/
WHĀNAU?**

Yes (Please go to question 2.13)

No (Please go to question 2.14)

**2.13 IF YOU ANSWERED 'YES' TO QUESTION 2.12 COULD YOU PLEASE,
EXPLAIN WHY?**

**2.14 IF YOU ANSWERED 'NO' TO QUESTION 2.12 COULD YOU PLEASE,
EXPLAIN WHY?**

**2.15.1 DO YOU THINK IT MATTERS WHICH DIALECT /VERSION OF MĀORI YOU
SPEAK?**

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>

No	<input type="checkbox"/>
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>
Comment if any:	

2.16 HOW IMPORTANT DO YOU THINK IT IS TO INCLUDE TIKANGA IN MĀORI LANGUAGE COURSES?

Essential	<input type="checkbox"/>
Very important	<input type="checkbox"/>
Important	<input type="checkbox"/>
Not important	<input type="checkbox"/>
Comment, if any:	

2.17 WHAT HAVE BEEN YOUR BEST EXPERIENCES OF LEARNING TE REO MĀORI TO DATE?

**2.18 WHAT HAVE BEEN YOUR WORST EXPERIENCES OF LEARNING TE REO
MĀORI TO DATE?**

PART 3: WORDS, CONCEPTS, AND DOMAINS

3.1 IF YOU COME ACROSS A CONCEPT OR TERM THAT YOU DON'T KNOW HOW TO EXPRESS IN TE REO MĀORI, WHAT DO YOU USUALLY DO? PLEASE TICK ALL THAT APPLY.

Ask my teacher (if you are doing a course in te reo Māori)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ask a native speaker of te reo Māori	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ask a colleague/fellow student	<input type="checkbox"/>
Search the Māori language dictionaries	<input type="checkbox"/>
Use the English term	<input type="checkbox"/>
Create expressions/terms myself	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (please specify):	<input type="checkbox"/>

3.2 WHEN DO YOU USE TE REO MĀORI? PLEASE TICK ALL THAT APPLY.

	All the time	Most of the time	Sometimes	Never
on the Marae	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
at home	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
at work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
when in class	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
at student meetings	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
with other class mates and students	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
with other Māori language speakers on social occasions (e.g. at parties, church, etc.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

when phoning other Māori speakers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
when texting other Māori speakers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
with family members who are speakers of te reo Māori	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to compose waiata, (songs), pūrākau (stories), ruri (poems) etc	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
to read and write	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other occasion/s (please specify):				

3.3 WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING IS TRUE IN YOUR CASE?

	All the time	Most of the time	Sometimes	Never
I dream in Māori.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I think in Māori.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I prefer to speak in Māori rather than English.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I prefer to read and write in Māori rather than English.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I read more easily in Māori than in English.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I write more easily in Māori than in English.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

I read and write equally well in Māori and
in English.

PART 4: THE NEXT GENERATION

4.1 DO YOU HAVE CHILDREN OR GRANDCHILDREN (INCLUDING WHĀNGAI CHILDREN)?

Yes (Please go to question 4.2)

No (Please go to question 4.3)

4.2 IF YOU ANSWERED 'YES', APPROXIMATELY HOW MUCH OF THE TIME DO YOU SPEAK TE REO MĀORI TO THEM?

Always

Usually

Occasionally

Never

Comment if any:

4.3 DO YOU EVER EXPERIENCE ANY PROBLEMS IN USING TE REO MĀORI TO COMMUNICATE WITH YOUR OWN CHILDREN OR GRANDCHILDREN OR OTHER CHILDREN WITH WHOM YOU HAVE REGULAR CONTACT?

Yes

No

Sometimes

Comment if any:

4.4 IF YOU HAVE CHILDREN OR GRANDCHILDREN DID YOU, DO YOU OR WILL YOU SEND THEM TO TE KŌHANGA REO?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>
Comment if any:	

4.5 IF YOU HAVE CHILDREN OR GRANDCHILDREN DID YOU/ DO YOU/ WILL YOU SEND THEM TO PRIMARY/ INTERMEDIATE SCHOOLS THAT TEACH MAINLY THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF TE REO MĀORI?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>
Comment if any:	

4.6 IF YOU HAVE CHILDREN OR GRANDCHILDREN DID YOU/ DO YOU/ WILL YOU SEND THEM TO SECONDARY SCHOOLS THAT TEACH MAINLY THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF TE REO MĀORI?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>
Comment if any:	

4.7 HOW IMPORTANT DO YOU BELIEVE IT IS TO ENSURE THAT YOUR CHILDREN OR GRANDCHILDREN SPEAK TE REO MĀORI?

Essential	
Very important	
Important	
Not Important	
Comment	

4.8 HOW IMPORTANT DO YOU BELIEVE IT IS TO ENSURE THAT YOUR CHILDREN OR GRANDCHILDREN SPEAK TE REO MĀORI?

Essential	<input type="checkbox"/>
Very important	<input type="checkbox"/>
Important	<input type="checkbox"/>
Not important	<input type="checkbox"/>
Comment, if any:	

4.9 IS THERE ANYTHING YOU WOULD LIKE TO ADD TO THE RESPONSES YOU HAVE ALREADY SUPPLIED?

PLEASE LEAVE CONTACT DETAILS IF YOU WOULD LIKE TO PARTICIPATE IN POSSIBLE FOLLOW-UP INTERVIEWS.

Name:

Signature:

Date:

Contact email:

Name of kōhanga, school, polytechnic,
university etc:

Mailing address:

Landline:

PLEASE DETACH AND KEEP THIS PAGE FOR YOUR RECORDS.



Researcher: Murray Hamaka Peters

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Mobile: 0211230175

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Nā reira e hoa mā, he moana pukepuke e ekengia e te waka, ngā mihi nui, ngā mihi roa, ngā mihi aroha ki a koutou ngā rangatira i whakaoti ai e koutou te mahi nei, anā, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā rā koutou katoa.

Nāku noa

Ko Murray Hamaka Peters

Appendix 3: Comments made by questionnaire participants

Question 1.6

- "I te wā i tupu au, i kitea au, i rongoa au i ēnei momo momo mahi, waenganui i tōku whānau whānui" (Whilst I growing up I saw and heard about these distinct skills within my family and extended families)
- "Tino kaha taku whānau ki te whai atu ngā rongoa Māori (eg tohunga)" (My family are fiercely passionate about, and practice traditional Māori healing/medicines (eg expert)
- "Karanga, waiata tawhito, kapa haka" (One who calls visitors on to a marae (Māori village) or a place where a meeting, function, congregation etc in accordance with the Māori culture is to be held; old traditional Māori songs; Māori cultural performance group).
- "We lived in town so I didn't have the experience to do kai moana, kai kiore, kai mara" (see table 4.3.3)
- "Kaupapa waka" (All aspects of traditional waka)
- "Waka Taua - a little" (Māori war vessel (waka))
- "Kapa Haka, Mau Rakau, Tioa Waiata Māori" (Māori performance group; wielding Māori weapons of war; composing Māori songs).
- "Kapa Haka is instrumental to the increase of experience & comprehension of 'Reo' for non speakers. More and more people are involved with Kapa haka. Thousands attend regional and national competitions"
- "In the process of attending tikanga Māori classes"
- "Raised by koro"
- "Koraha Māori – Whakapapa" (Māori geneology)
- "If applicable, hei whiwhi taonga māku, he moko kauae nō tōku hoarangatira, me te iwi o Ngāti Apakura – Hiretu" (If applicable, I shall have an adornment, a moko on my chin applied by my husband, and the tribe of Ngāti Apakura – Hiretu)

Question 1.7

- "I noho au i te kainga ki te mahi tae atu i tōku tau 13" (I stayed at home to work until I turned 13)
- "Kaimahi i te Kōhanga Reo" (As a worker at kōhanga reo)
- "Learnt Māori in secondary school - Compulsory (Boarding School)"
- "After my tupuna died I paid to go back to kura to learn. Died when I was 14 years old"
- "Home school till I was eleven"
- "I learnt to speak te reo in a Kōhanga Reo as an adult alongside my children"
- "Rangitahi College is a Māori school and they're aiming to increase the language"
- "I learnt (Māori) te reo growing up with my nana and going to kōhanga furthered it"
- "Te wā i whānau mai te pōtiki o aku tamariki" (When my youngest child was born)
- "I attended Te Ara Rima" (He Kura Kaupapa Māori; A full emersion Māori focused primary school. Te Ara Rima; based in Kirikiriroa/Hamilton, Aotearoa/NZ)

Question 1.11

- "who was around"
- "Depends on the setting/environment"
- "20 hrs at marae/5-10 hrs at tari (Office) Depends on the environment e.g. attending tangi/marae function ka kōrero te reo anake" (Converse in te reo Māori only)
- "3 hours every Tuesday during class time"

- "I would only use te reo during a kindy session which is predominately English speaking & I would use te reo perhaps up to **5 hours** a week"
- "Would love to speak Māori for **more hours** in the day"
- "I speak as much Māori as I can at Kōhanga and at home"
- "As much as I can speak the reo I will"
- "Ko te nuinga o aku hoa e whai pātanga ana ki ahau horekau e mōhio ana ki te korero Māori" (Most of my friends can't speak Māori)
- "Ia rā ka kōrero Māori engari i ētahi wā ka āhua mangere hoki" (I speak everyday but sometimes I can be lazy as well)
- "I don't speak it every day mainly just English"
- "Hardly ever"
- "When I do I'm not sure"
- "I lost a lot of what I learned when I studied years ago"
- "I feel when I left Te Ara Rima and went college they taught me everything I already knew lost interest"
- "I kōrero au i ngā wā katoa ki taku mokopuna. E noho ia ki taku taha" (I speak [Māori] all the time to my grandchild. He/she lives with me)
- "Our youngest is 6 yrs old therefore he is spoken to only in Te Reo. Once English is introduced all our other children converse mainly in English"
- "mainly to the kids"
- "E tū atu i aku tamariki me ētehi atu ko te nuinga o ngā tangata i tau mai ki taku whare. Ko te reo Pākehā anake e mōhio rātou" (My children and others say that most of the people who come to my house, they only know how to speak Pākehā)

Question 1.12

- "Kei te ako tonu" (Still learning)
- "Ki ahau nei, he taonga te reo, ahakoa he iti he pounamu" (To me te reo is a treasure, find correct translation for whakataukī)
- "He akonga tonu" (Still learning)
- "Still learning"
- "Moved to Darwin (Northern Territory) when I finished primary so stopped learning Te Reo Māori then. However due to start reo classes in term 2 at Wintec or Whare Wānanga waiting to hear back"
- "Kei Te Panikiretanga ahau e ako ana" (I am learning at Te Panikiretanga)
- "Ki ōku whakaaro e tamariki tonu ana au, nā reira i kaumātua rānō ahau kua 6"
- "Kua ako ahau i roto i ngā akoranga Māori katoa. Te Kōhanga Reo, Te Kura kaupapa me te Whare Kura" (I have been a student of Māori from Te Kōhanga Reo, Te Kura Kaupapa and the Whare Kura)
- "I am confident in my reo but could always learn more and always wanting to"
- "I can understand Te Reo Māori and put words into sentences"
- "I have trouble using the correct words in sentences"
- "Understanding is high however the ability & confidence to speak at that level is different"
- "I have such a long way to go"
- "I can understand (sic) Reo"
- "I tupu ake au i roto i te reo mai aku tupuna" (I was raised in te reo from my grand parents)
- "Kāore he raru kia hikina tōku ake reo" (Not a problem my reo is up there)
- "Ko te raru, te iti rawa o aku hoa mahi, kāore hei kōrero te reo" (The problem is that very few of my work mates converse in te reo)

Question 2.1

- "He mea nui ki au ko te hiahia ki te ako" (I think it's important to want to learn)
- "Why not we are the tangata whenua"
- "Not compulsory but learn some values of Māori e.g. karakia, waiata, pōhiri" (e.g. prayer, song, welcome ceremony)
- "Me tikanga, me te Tiriti" (And tikanga, and the Tiriti)
- "Yes because it is the native language of Aotearoa"
- "Ae nā te mea āhua 10-20 paihēneti te nui o ngā tangata Māori e mōhio ki te kōrero" (Yes because only about 10-20 percent of Māori know how to speak it)
- "Ae mā ngā tamariki Māori kei te haere mai. He taonga tuku iho te reo Māori me ōna tikanga" (Yes for our Māori children yet to be born. The Māori language and its associated lore/culture is an inherited treasure)
- "Nā te mea, he taonga tuku iho ki a rātou nā kui mā/koro mā" (Because to our elders it is an inherited treasure)
- "Absolutely"
- "Birth Right/Tangata Whenua" (/People of the land)
- "Up to their parents"
- "Compulsory for all not just Māori"
- "Yes then you don't have to go to kura & pay to learn"
- "Definitely!"
- "I believe that each individual should have an option to learn Te Reo Māori. You have to want to learn te reo to be able to learn it efficiently"
- "Because we are tangata whenua"
- "Horekau he mate o tēnei ki tāku titiro" (As far as I'm concerned this is not a problem)
- "English is, so why then is our native language not. Te Reo is important just the same as English"
- "I strongly believe that Māori should be compulsory for all Māori students, it is a part of them and can give them a sense of understanding"
- "I believe it should be optional and available to every Māori student"
- "Hell yeah, I mean yes, if Māori tv, if Māori radio, if schools teaching Māori do not raise the point YES!"
- "If Māori is compulsory at school students will understand why Māori language is unique"
- "However home support is also required"
- "Like anything in life it's good to make your own mind about what you want to do"
- "But to a point we need English to live in today world"
- "Nō ngāi tātou te iwi Māori tēnei whenua, ko te reo Māori te reo tuatahi" (This is Māori land, and it's first language is Māori)
- "To be competent in their own language and have their own identity"
- "It should be made compulsory-my parents didn't let me do Māori at school & now I feel ripped off because I had a right"
- "It's up to the individual"
- "I reckon for everyone"
- "Not sure"
- "Official language of Aotearoa"
- "Kia mau ki tō tātou reo rangatira te mea nui" (To hold on to our noble language is paramount)
- "I believe it should be if Māori students want to speak"
- "Students need the desire to learn a skill before they will succeed. It should remain optional"

- "I believe they have a choice to take Māori if they want to or not. (it's their choice)"
- "I feel as a Pākehā I couldn't comment on how others would learn their own ways or culture"

Question 2.2

- "Mother tongue of this whenua"
- "Absolutely"
- "For all background if they choose"
- "Not compulsory, but should implement some kind of reo Māori, values in class such as karakia, taking shoes off, sitting on tables, etc"
- "At least the basics"
- "Kei a rātou te tikanga"
- "Why not English was compulsory so why not Māori"
- "Nā te mea, koinei te reo o te tangata whenua"
- "Absolutely"
- "Absolutely"
- "Definitely!"
- "We had no choice but to learn Pākehā"
- "It is the language of the land"
- "I believe that all students should be taught the very basic Te Reo and Māori protocols but should not have to be made to learn Te Reo if they or their families don't want to"
- "It's up to them"
- "So all New Zealanders understand & learn our beautiful language"
- "That's a hard call I think of all the Māori people who were forced to learn Pākehā language and education after the treaty and I think would we be oppressing them like they did us"
- "I believe every student in Aotearoa should have the option at school to study te reo Māori"
- "Māori, however other Polynesians cultures, yes Pākehā by invitation only"
- "Especially if they are foreigners"
- "It should be compulsory up to intermediate level & optional after that"
- "So all students will have some understanding of Te Reo Māori in NZ"
- "I think everyone should at least know how to pronounce words as even Pākehā have to say Māori as there towns and streets can be Māori"
- "Absolutely Māori is the indigenous language of this country"
- "Nō reira, kia mōhio pai i ngā tauhiwi ki ngā āhuatanga Māori ā ka taea e rātou te ako tuturu nei ki ngāi tātou" (Consequently Pākehā know about things Māori and are more than able to truly learn about us)
- "To be complete as Māori"
- "Wouldn't want people to hate our reo or culture by being forced to learn it. It's up to the individual"
- "Not sure"
- "However, NZ history of the Treaty, colonization, assimilation should be taught compulsory at high school level"
- "Gives all ethnic people a chance to learn our language"
- "Again they have their own choice"
- "At this point in our society and country this topic at an educational institution should be optional"

Question 2.3

- "Absolutely"
- "Always at any school"
- "I think that it is a little bit whakamā (embarrassing) when Māori can't speak their own reo because of lack of awahi" (support)
- "Ae, kia mōhio ai rātou ko wai rātou, nō hea rātou!" (Yes, so they know who they are and where they are from)
- "Absolutely"
- "Most definitely"
- "All students"
- "Absolutely"
- "Definitely"
- "The language is the key to our culture"
- "YES"
- "Reo & Tikanga. As well as research of individual whanaungatanga" (family ties)
- "Titiro ki muri" (look to the past)
- "To have their identity"
- "Strongly agree - there is a need for it in schools [sic] from students/parents"
- "Ae tika, ko rātou i ngā uri whakatupuranga mō āpōpō" (Yes absolutely, for they are the future)
- *"It is important for Māori to rediscover where they are from (heritage, Māori culture) before they will ever know where they are going to"*

Question 2.4

- "At any school"
- "He tangata whenua te iwi Māori nō reira, nā mātou te reo rangatira" (Māori are the people of the land [Aotearoa] therefore, it is our noble language)
- "Absolutely"
- "Marae - hoki ki te marae ako tonu i te reo" (Marae – as well at the marae learning te reo)
- "Ae" (Yes)
- "Definitely"
- Looking at it from a monetary point of view. First we get abused for our reo - Then we get abused again & have to pay approx. \$30,000 to learn what was rightfully ours"
- "Having the choice to learn is totally different to making it compulsory"
- "That's at all levels"
- "Absolutely, The problem is inadequate resourcing & providing proficient teachers"
- "To get a better understanding about tangata whenua, our values & beliefs"
- "Titiro ki muri" (Look to the past)
- "To learn the native language of the land"
- "Operative word is have an opportunity"
- "As above"
- "Ae, tika tēnā, ko te reo Māori te ake reo o te iwi Māori mai rāno" (Yes absolutely the Māori language is the language of Māori since time memorial)
- "It is part of our national identity [sic] promotes kotahitanga"

Question 2.5

- "My grandmothers wishes"

- "Nā tōku whaea (koka)" (From my mother)
- "I am who I am. This is the land of our tupuna"
- "I am enrolled in kura for next semester. My papers are level 1-2 reo Māori Papers"
- "E kore koe e ngaro te kakano i ruia mai i Rangiatea" (You will never be lost for the seed was sown in Rangiatea (Raiatea, Tahiti))
- "Was taught to me by grandparents"
- "He Māori ahau kāore au i ako i tōku reo. Nā te whakarongo, me te korero o aku mātua, tīpuna te reo i tuku ki ahau" (I'm Māori I never learned it was from listening to my parents who gifted it to me)
- I wanted to be able to identify myself in this rapidly changing world. I wanted to also be able to help our children and mokopuna also to learn their ancestral background which is very important. There are a lot of young Māori that have headed down a pathway of self destruction & I believe it is due to them not knowing who they are as Māori"
- "I puta mai au i te ao Māori me te ao Pākehā" (I was born in the Māori world and the Pākehā world)
- "Help me grow"
- "I am lucky enough to speak Māori, am Māori and live and was raised around a Māori community around our marae"
- "I love everything I do with Māori and I am proud to be Māori being able to korero and identify with the whenua and the people around me is even better"
- "From the age of nine I was hearing voices say to me, "Remember your Māori" At 55 I am now learning Te reo"
- "To properly understand the deeper aspects of the culture Identity"
- "My parents wanted me to learn te reo"
- "I tupu aku mokopuna katoa i roto i te reo" (All my grandchildren grew up in te reo)
- "To help ensure the survival of te reo"
- "I want to learn to korero Māori again as well and love doing my tikanga Māori classes"
- "Learning the rongo haere of my marae" (rongo haere - karanga, whaikōrero, formal and informal discourse etc)
- "I know most of these but lost some of my teaching after being brought back to the city. Lack speaking the reo properly"
- "It's just the right thing to do"
- "I te wa e tamariki ana, ko ngā wāriu, ngā kawa ngā tikanga me ngā āhuetanga katoa e akongia i te taha o ōku kuia, koinā anake te mea nui kia mau ki te reo rangatira, kāore e ngaro ai" (When I was a child I learnt, values, culture, lore everything I know from my female elders, that is the only reason why I retain and will never lose my noble language)
- "I love being Māori and portraying that through Māori Performing Arts"
- "I felt it was a good way to learn about myself and where I was from"
- "Good examples for my tamariki"
- "I want/wanted to contribute to our country becoming whole and have less separatism or intolerance, & prejudice"

Question 2.7

- "Keep up their Māori"
- "Can learn from fluent speakers"
- "Me pēhea te ako kia tika mena kāore ngā kaumātua i reira" (How can one learn correctly if there are no kaumātua there)
- "Above all else, get with speakers"

- “Cool but scary when they know more I’m scared to make a mistake”
- “Native speakers have the full nuance of the language-if they are not used the language risks dumbing down”
- “There are very few native speakers”
- “I feel I would be to whakamā (ashamed/embarrassed/shy) to talk to experts in te reo”
- “He rerekē te reo Māori i ako tātou ki te reo o te kainga te reo tuturu” (The Māori language we learn from home the true language is different)
- “It is essential for the depth understanding & pronunciation”
- “Te Ararima was fully Māori so I was very fluent, that changed when I got to college now I want to learn again”
- “Never attended reo classes have attended kura reo with Timoti Karetu”
- “Correct mita etc – kīwaha” (dialect etc – colloquial sayings)
- “Kia korero i ngā wā katoa kia kaha rawa tātou kia mau ki te reo rangatira o tō tātou tūpuna” (Converse all the time may we hold fast to the language of our ancestors)
- “The more you hear te reo, the more you begin to understand”

Question 2.10

- "I can regularly engage in conversations with proficient levels of te reo but they are not native speakers"
- "I seek companionship with other Reo pupils. Hit hard at post subjects.....grammar etc"
- “Not many native speakers left in our rohe”
- “I knew some people in Tuhoe”
- “They are not a lot of native speakers here in the Hauraki”
- “Kei Kirikiriroa au e noho ana he maha ngā tai tama he reo tuturu engari ko ngā Pakeke he iti iho” (I live in Hamilton where there are many young adults who speak our language[Māori] but very few adults do)
- “Not confident, want to learn more”
- “I’m not very good at speaking and I don’t really understand”
- “My personal family commitments are such that I don’t have much time to give to my extra”

Question 2.11

- "Depends on one’s self"
- "He mea hei āwhina i a koe ki te whakapakari tō reo" (It helps one enhance ones language)
- "Kia mōhio ai tātou nō hea ia, ko wai ia" (So we know where one is from, who one is)
- "It is my personal goal to build confidence & skill in Te Reo"
- “It depends on how important the message is that I need to convey. If it’s important, I’ll speak English”
- “To help develop one’s own reo”
- “Ka rongoa te reo” (Listen to the language)

Question 2.13

- "It’s my language from my tupuna"
- "Nō te tai rāwhiti ahau. Koinā te take" (I am from the East Coast. That’s why)

- "Nā te mea ka taea ētehi atu iwi nō hea ahau nā taku reo" (Because other iwi know from my reo where i am from)
- "Nā te mea nō Waikato ahau ehara au i te hiahia te kōrero pērā ki te tangata nō Tuhoe nā te mea ehara au nō Tuhoe" (Because I am from waikato I don't want speak like those from Tūhoe because I am not from Tūhoe)
- "So that other iwi can identify your area by your mita your dialect"
- "Identify which area I belong to"
- "Nō tōku iwi kē tōku reo" (My language is specifically from my tribe)
- "I speak Ngapuhi and try and speak Tainui"
- "Helps identify where I am from Iwi, hapū, moana"
- "Explains your area of where you originate from"
- "That is who I am and I am very proud of my tupuna"
- "It's the only one I know - and hear everyday"
- "Cause I do"
- "Akona te reo ki tō iwi ā te pai ake tō reo ka kōrero atu koe ki ngā iwi anō me adapt ki a rātou" (Learn the language of your iwi be confident in your reo then speak to other iwi and adapt to them)
- "Taku puna reo" (My source language)
- "Nā te mea i tipu ake au i waenganui i te reo o aku tūpuna, hapū, iwi" (Because I was nurtured within the language of my grandparents/ancestors, hapū, iwi)
- "Because that's the dialect I was brought up with I'm also from Whanganui but because I wasn't brought up there I don't feel comfortable to use that dialect"
- "Ko te tikanga o tāku ūnga ki taku Waikatotanga a mita nei, kia kore ai e ngaro atu taku Waikatotanga, he mana motuhake kei tēnā iwi, me tēnā kua tuku iho mai rānei" (The reason I hold fast to my dialect of Waikato, is so that I may never lose my Waikatotanga, unique to that iwi or to those that I descend from)
- "For it is essential to hear the dialect of your iwi, hapū just to give more insight in to te reo Māori o ngā tūpuna" (language of our ancestors)
- "Nō reira ka taea ētahi atu iwi nō hea au ko wai au hoki" (Therefore other iwi will know where I am from as well as who I am)
- "Ka marama whēnei ana ahau" (To understand where I am from)
- "Whakapapa-genealogy tangihanga Hura kōhatu/celebrations-birthdays etc special occasions etc....." (Genealogy, funerals, unveilings)
- "Ētahi reo kāore i rite ki te reo Tuhoe" (Some languages [dialect] are not like Tūhoe dialect)
- "Kia mōhio ai au me ētahi atu nō tēwhea iwi au, nō tēwhea iwi rātou, ā, ka taea te rongoi i te mita o tō ake iwi" (So I and others know which iwi I am from, from which iwi they are from, and being able to hear the dialect of your iwi)
- "Nō kora ahau" (I am from there)
- "It is part of my role as a kaimahi in Waikato to ako (teach) the mokopuna in the reo of Waikato rohe"
- "Whakamana - Iwi, Hapū, Whānau, me tōku ira tangata" (To enhance status – tribal, clan, and my genealogical bloodlines)
- "It's my tongue"
- "Did not learn my own dialect at secondary school. When learning Te Reo in my own rōpu our tutor encouraged us to revitalize our own dialect"
- "It's what I feel comfortable using. It's what I know"
- "Mother is Tainui, I am learning Tainui dialect"
- "It's me"
- "That's who I am, and where I am from"
- "Because it's part of my identity of my particular iwi"
- "Ae protocol here in all Tainui kura Tainui dialect"

- "Nā tōku iwi, "Nā tōku hapū, "Nā tōku mana e mauri!" (From my iwi, from my clan, from my mana I shall live)
- "Ko tōku Reo nō Tūhoe nō reira i tipu ai au i roto i tōku ake reo, nō ōku mātua tūpuna me ōku mātua tōku reo i whāngai mai ki au" (My language is from Tūhoe, therefore, I grew up in my language, from my ancestors and my parents who nurtured me in it)
- "Because this is what I know. This is the reo I was brought up in"
- "I learnt most of my Reo from Tuhoe and my father said I had to go back home to learn my own. At the time I was angry & didn't understand but now I know the importance"
- "I tupu ki te hau kāinga ko te reo anake te rangona ki reira ko te reo o Ngāpuhi" (I grew up on my land, where only te reo was heard there, the language of Ngāpuhi)
- "Because I can adapt to the dialect or the reo spoken around me and so on. I can also go back to what I was brought up doing"
- "Ngāti Kahungunu tōku iwi" (Ngāti Kahungunu is my iwi)
- "Nā te mea koia te reo i kōrerohia ki ahau e waku kārani" (Because that was the language spoken to me by my grandmothers)
- "Ko tērā te reo i whakatipu mai wau i te wa tamariki ana. Ko tērā te hononga ki ōku tūpuna inā kōrero wāu i te reo o te kāenga ka rongu wāu i te wairua o ōku tūpuna" (That is the language I was raised in since birth. That is the connection to my ancestors if I speak the language from home I feel the spiritual essence of my ancestors)
- "I live in the Waikato area and that is the dialect I have learnt"
- "I speak Tainui dialect because it helps the people I'm talking to know where I'm from"
- "My pouako taught me to learn my dialect and use it now" (Pouako-teacher)
- "Ko tōku ake rangatiratanga ki tōku reo" (It is my autonomy, my language)
- "Nā ōku mātua tupuna me ngā kaiako i ako taku mita tuturu ki ahau" (My parents and teachers taught me my dialect)
- "Actually it's a bit of other dialects as well"
- "Because it's the dialect spoken at my school/marae Because it's how my tupuna spoke, Because it's how people can identify what iwi I'm from"
- "That was the dialect I was brought up with"
- "I am proactive in researching our particular mita from Pare Hauraki. A cousin of mine is doing his PhD on reo revitalization of Pare Hauraki. I have sourced many kupu too that specifically from Pare Hauraki so it is vitally important"
- "It was the first dialect I learnt"
- "I speak what I was taught"
- "When we go home to monthly reo wānanga"
- "It's the only dialect that I'm comfortable with as it identifies who I am and where I come from. i.e. you can tell if someone is from Taranaki, Whanganui or Te Waipounamu as their language is a clear marker for that"
- "Because that's how I was raised"
- "Because it precisely identifies your hapū/iwi affiliations it makes me unique it is the language of my ancestors"
- "I don't live in the area I was born or in the area in where I come from"
- "Because I live in Tainui. Have learnt Tainui dialect"
- "Korero to my koroua. But very difficult to korero new version Māori"
- "Raised on it"
- "Kei konei tonu au e noho ana" (I am still living here)
- "My grandparents spoke te reo anake when we went to stay with them which was not too often" (Te reo anake - the Māori language)
- "Because you need to learn your own before venturing out to others"

- “That’s the dialect my grand mother always spoke”
- “Because it natural when your around people that talk the same as you”
- “Because it’s our dialect DAH!”
- “To strengthen my ability in te reo - so people understand where I am from”
- “There are ways of how Māori word are spoken in different tribe so I stay with my own iwi because that how I was taught”
- “Because it important to me, it gives me a good sense of where I come from”
- “This is really the only dialect I know personally”

Question 2.14

- "I was brought up at KKM in Te Arawa but my mother spoke Ngāti Porou dialect and my teacher at university spoke Tainui"
- "Kei te ako tonu ahau" (I'm still learning)
- "Kei te ako au i te rohe o Tainui" (I'm learning in the Tainui area)
- "Kātahi anō tōku hapū kia tīmata te aro ki ō mātou ake reo ā hapū. Tīmata kē au te ako i mua tonu (20 - 25 tau i mua)" (My hapū have only just begun to research the language of our hapū. I started to learn my reo 20-25 years ago)
- "Not familiar with it have to learn Māori fluent to be able to."
- "Because the situation where I learnt te reo spoke the standardized dialect for Wānanga or their own dialect, and learning te reo in Tainui rohe"
- "I haven't learnt Tainui dialect I am too shy to try in case I get it wrong. I need to learn the correct way or I won't do it"
- "Ehara i te mea kare mōhio, kare hiahia rānei, ko te mea kē, ehara i te mea i kauhau mai ki au kia whaia nō reira kare tino rongo atu i te manako kia pēra" (It's not as if I don't know or want to know, that is, it's not as if its calling to me to follow, therefore, I don't really feel that the desire to learn is there)
- "Not too familiar with it & I live in another area"
- "Father is Ngāpuhi, I am not learning Ngāpuhi dialect"
- "Not sure what it is"
- "Not familiar with it"
- "I haven't grown up in my area to be able to learn my own dialect and when I started learning Te Reo Māori I was living in another area. I hope to one day be able to speak Te reo Māori fluently and learn the dialect from both Te Arawa and Te Aitanga a Māhaki"
- "Kei noho au i tētehi wāhi e ono ngā iwi kei te ako mai ia iwi, ia iwi" (I live in an area where six 6 iwi are learning from each other)
- "I was raised with kaiako whom were from Ngāti Porou, Ngāi Tuhoe, Tainui. So there's dialects I speak too. But in saying that I do know my iwi dialect but not speak in that dialect"
- "My Teachers were from other hapū/iwi"
- "I akona e au tōku reo i Hauraki kātahi ka hunuku au ki Kirikiriroa nei. Ahakoa hoki atu ai au ki te kāinga ki te Tai Tokerau te nuinga o te wā kei Waikato kē au e noho ana, e kuraina tonu ana i tōku reo" (I learnt my reo in Hauraki then I moved here to Hamilton. Although I go back to my land in Northland most of the time I'm living in Waikato, I am still learning my language)
- "By and large it is that Te Reo hou is being taught due in part to new ideologies, technical advancements where Te Reo must evolve to keep up with the Pākehā world"
- “We were taught from Tainui”
- “I’m Pākehā”
- “I speak what I was taught”

- “Because it is better to speak all dialects including slang so you have a better understanding”
- “I wasn’t taught it”
- “Have not yet had the opportunity to identify what the Hauraki dialect is due to very few speakers”
- “It’s the 21st century what is the true dialect of the different iwi most people mix dialect”
- “I te mea i tipu ake au ki wāhi kē a i rangona whānuitia kē te reo o tāua iwi. He hiahia hoki te ako i te reo o tōku ake iwi, arā, ko ngā iwi o Te Waiariki tērā Ngāti Porou etc ā tōna wā pea ka ako” (Because I grew up else-where, I mainly heard the language of those iwi there. I also want to learn the language of my iwi, that is, the iwi of Te Waiariki, Ngāti Porou etc later on perhaps I’ll learn)
- “Torutoru noa iho ngā tāngata o Hauraki e mōhio ana i te reo Māori ā ko ērā tangata ko te nuinga o rātou nō wahi kē atu arā Tuhoe, Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Pukenga, kua mate katoa ngā tūpuna e mōhio ana te mita o Hauraki” (Indeed very few people from Hauraki know te reo Māori, most of those who do are from other places such as Tuhoe, Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Pukenga, all the ancestors who knew the dialect of Hauraki have now passed on)
- “What I am taught/I would love to but new ever I am in the Waikato and that’s ok my mum is from Maniapoto so he ka pai”
- “Institutionalized (school)”
- “Whānau are to spread out”
- “Learnt from teacher”
- “I have learnt new kupu from everywhere else”
- “I don’t know much about it”
- “Nā taku kore mōhio ki te mita o tōku reo iwi” (Because I don’t know the dialect of my own iwi)
- “Have moved away from hau kainga use a mixture of the reo I am surrounded by”
- “Kia kōrerohia e au i te reo nō tēnā iwi, nō tēnā iwi, kia whakamanahia tō rātou ake reo” (I speak the language of different iwi and enhance their language)
- “Used the standardized version”
- “Because I’m afraid of saying the wrong thing”

Question 2.15

- "Ki au nei, waimarie ake mehemea motuhake kē tō reo heoi, ko te mea nui, kei te kōrero, kei te rere te reo rangatira" (This is my view, one is fortunate if you speak your dialect, however, the most important thing is to speak and hear te reo rangatira)
- "Identity"
- "It is important that we remain humble, and believe that a Māori is a Māori no matter where we are from, and to be proud Ko Tahī Tanga"
- "Coz there is sensitivity between iwi"
- "It all ends up meaning the same"
- "Waikato (Puna Waikato)"
- "Engari he pai mena ka paku mōhio koe ki ētahi atu reo" (But its ok if you sort of know other languages)
- "It matters that its correct"
- "No because different iwi have different ways of speaking, and in a way you are representing where you are from"
- "He mea motuhake nō tēnā iwi, me tēnā iwi" (It is unique from tribe to tribe)
- "Pērā ki ōku kōrero ki runga kia hono ngā tāngata ki tō rātou iwi, hapū etc" (Like I was saying before it identifies the person to their tribe, clan etc)

- "It acknowledges your Tipuna, your reo tawhito tōu rohe"
- "Although using one's own dialect represents where you are from"
- "Identifies your area iwi, hapū, moana, awa, marae etc"
- "Kia mōhio ngā tāngata nōhea au, ā, kia ora tonu hoki tōku ake reo" (The people know where I am from, my language lives on)
- "Connects you back to your own tūpuna their traditions etc"
- "I believe that in order to know yourself and your ancestors that you should know their dialect from which you are from but if you have learned a different dialect that you should still be proud"
- "Dialect, a person,/persons can identify from which iwi you are from"
- "I think that as long as the language is being spoken and heard the dialect doesn't matter"
- "Taku tino hiahia, ka hoki ahau ki te Tai Tokerau mō ētahi kura reo, ki te mahi rānei mō te rūnanga o reira" (I really want to go back to Northland for some Māori language schools, or to work for the local rūnanga)
- "No, not at all"
- "Although I think if you want te reo you don't care which dialect you are taught but it means you need your own dialect the end of the day"
- "When I am in my father's rohe I switch to their dialect same with my mother's people from Parehauraki"
- "Yes, different areas speak in different dialect/No, if you only know one dialect of te reo Māori it shouldn't matter I think it matters that the dialect not be lost"
- "Your dialect shows where you are from"
- "Would prefer to learn my own dialect"
- "I believe all Māori are related so we all whakapapa to the same source of reo. Speaking other dialects wont effect this"
- "Nā runga i te mea he reo tuturu o te hau kainga ko tērā a ka mōhio katoa te ao Māori nō hea koe i ahu mai koe i hea" (Because it's the true dialect of that area, that is, that all Māori will know where you are from)
- "The dialect depicts what area you come from"
- "It is important we preserve the (sic) [Māori/many] dialects"
- "Depends on who your speaking to"
- "Koinei te reo tuku iho ngō āku mātua tūpuna" (That is the language handed down from my ancestors)
- "It would be good to learn your own however it is not always possible"
- "Not these days as the (sic) is different dialect being taught"
- "I want to know my own first - be recognized by others being speaker from that rohe"
- "Te mea nui, kia kōrero te reo te tuatahi"
- "Because I am fluent in Waikato Maniapoto dialect it is hard for me to understand my Kai Tahu reo"
- "Tribal affiliations"
- "Not sure, but imagine that each dialect has its own particular 'fables'"

Question 2.16

- "Can't have one without the other"
- "You need Both"
- "Coz its part & parcel"
- "It's what the reo is based upon, taku whakaaro" (what I think)
- "You cannot split the two"
- "Can't have one without the other"
- "Me te reo e kawē ngā tikanga" (It is only right that the language carries its culture)

- "Without tikanga where is our reo. For me tikanga is within our reo"
- "Without tikanga you can't do the other. You need both"
- "He tikanga anō tō te Reo Māori nā reira, he tika kia ako i tērā taha hoki!" (Culture is in the language therefore it is correct to learn that part as well)
- "You need both can't have one without the other"
- "Simply for me, you can't have one without the other"
- "Mā te reo e kawē te tikanga Māori" (The language cradles the Māori culture)
- "Without it, Te Reo Māori is not one component. It is te reo me ōna tikanga" (The language and its culture)
- "If you don't know the tikanga then how are you going to pass on that knowledge to your tamariki"
- "Ki te kore koe e marama ki ngā tikanga kua kore take tō reo" (If you don't understand it's culture your language is without substance)
- "Kāre te reo e hōhonu whai tikanga mena kāre kē e paku mārama ki ngā tikanga he reo anake- he reo e whakawehe nei i ngā tikanga o ō tātou tūpuna" (If the language is without culture, if culture is not understood, it's just words, it's a language that separates from the culture of our ancestors)
- "Very essential"
- "Tikanga is very important it is a stepping stone to everything Māori"
- "E kore e taea te kī he mōhio koe te reo Māori ki te kore koe i te mōhio ki ngā tikanga. He mea whīwhiwhi katoa aua mea e rua" (You will not learn the language if you do not know its culture. It is just two completely different things)
- "Tikanga and no reo, means the language is dead. Tikanga is language"
- "Ka taea te wehewehe ēnei mea e Maa" (Are we able to separate these things, Murray)
- "So everyone knows the different tikanga in Māori language and culture are intertwined"
- "Reo and Tikanga should be taught together"
- "Learning te reo Māori is merely one aspect of being Māori. Tikanga is another aspect that heightens the way you use te reo. It adds beauty to your kōrero"
- "Kāore taea te ako te reo Māori me te waiho i ngā tikanga ki te taha kāhore" (Can't learn te reo Māori and put its culture to the side, no)
- "To keep our Māori language customs and values alive"
- "They go hand in hand - that's what it is being Māori - korero, our way of doing things"
- "Absolutely/Essential"
- "Kāre tae ako i te reo mena kāre ngā tikanga marae" (Can't learn te reo if there is no marae culture)
- "Te Reo me ōna tikanga/You cannot separate otherwise you lose the essence of our culture"
- "They are one in the same"
- "Kia urua te kaupapa o te tikanga i ngā wā katoa, nā te mea, kia tika te huarahi kei mua i a tātou" (Always enhance the purpose of culture, because, it will correct the path [revitalization of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga] ahead for us)

Question 2.17

- "Modern kupu for modern things or terms"
- "Ka mōhio au, ko wai au" (I know who I am)
- "Mahia i te kōhanga whakaako ki ngā tamariki" (Working at the kōhanga and teaching children)
- "E mōhio ana au te kōrero tōku reo" (I know how to speak my language)
- "Te Karere being interviewed"

- "Speaking on the marae learning under Pou Temara"
- "Meeting other akonga"
- "Māori T.V"
- "Kua pai i runga anō te āhua o te kaiwhakaako i ētahi wā - ngā kuia o ngā kura reo - (Ngāhina Turae) kaha poipoi, ataahua ā wairua. Miharo katoa au, hakoakoa au ki te kite i ngā huarahi maha ka taea e te tauira te whai, te kowhiri - Te Ātaarangi Te Wānanga o Aotearoa (Pinakitanga)" (Sometimes the teachers are ok – the kuia (Knowledgeable female elder) of the language schools – (Ngahina Turae) is an excellent teacher, spiritually beautiful. I am truly amazed and overjoyed to see diverse pathways a student has to choose from – Te Ātaarangi, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa (Pinakitanga))
- "History/Whakapapa. Tikanga"
- "Being on marae back home"
- "Knowing I have the support of the Whānau"
- "Kōhanga Reo"
- "Just learning more than what I already knew..."
- "Te mātauranga maha o ā tātou tupuna" (The wealth of knowledge of our ancestors)
- "Ngā mahi a Rehia (Kapa haka)"
- "On the paepae, whaikōrero"
- "Kura reo-awesome total immersion for a full week!!"
- "Doing Te Tohu Paetahi, and learning about Te reo Māori at Primary school"
- "He maha noa atu ngā wheako. I te nohonga ki waenganui i te rumakitanga o te reo i te kura i ngā wā katoa" (Boundless experiences. From being fully immersed in te reo at kura all the time)
- "Working with tamariki mokopuna -Kura Reo"
- "Staring in a Māori learning show on te reo channel/Māori Television"
- "Ka mōhio ahau ki taku tikanga, whakapapa hoki" (I know my culture as well as my genealogy)
- "Going to a lot of educational hui's meetings sport-Ra hākinakina with different kura kaupapa Māori schools"
- "I te ako hoki ōku tamariki me ōku mokopuna, i te reo" (My children and grandchildren are learning the language)
- "Being able to karanga onto any marae & be supportive to the kaiwhaikōrero with waiata"
- "Te whakawhanaungatanga te reo Māori learning ngā kupu tawhito, ngā taonga tuku iho" (Family ties, the Māori language, learning ancient words, treasured inheritances)
- "I love my job"
- "Kōrero ki āku tamariki" (Conversing with my children)
- "Brought up with te reo a tikanga" (Tikanga within language)
- "Learning as a child the first language being Māori re - learning te reo as an adult"
- "Tikanga & wairua aspects"
- "Going back home. Being around family and relations and the pā"
- "Wānanga and meeting Whānau"
- "None"
- "Te tūtakitaki tangata. Te ako i ngā mita. Te ako i ngā huarahi o te mātauranga" (Meeting people. To learn all dialect. Te learn all the pathways of knowledge)
- "I waimarie au, nō ōku mātua ahau i whakaako mai te reo ki au kāore au i haere ki te kura ako ai" (I'm lucky my parents taught me te reo, as far as I'm concerned I never learnt at school)
- "Whakapapa, waiata" (Genealogy, songs)
- "Wintec"

- "Being with whānau"
- "I tēnei wā - Now I enjoy working at a kōhanga reo where all my four children are with me. The Reo Māori is something I want my tamariki to learn & know"
- "Whanaungatanga, tikanga"
- "TTP Honours papers at Waikato Uni Te Panekiretanga"
- "Modern, up to date language. It's interesting and cool. But sometimes changes mean that the reo and meaning changes"
- "The people I've met and who are now teaching my son. Being able to understand more and say more in te reo Māori. Learning waiata and toi harakeke are especially wonderful because I love working with my hands and creating things and singing makes me feel happy and proud of being a Māori wahine"
- "Te Whare Wānanga o Aotearoa"
- "Kōrero ki wērā e mōhio ana. Mōhio ki ngā kōrero e kōrero ana i ngā marae" (Conversing with those who know. Understanding the language spoken on the marae)
- "Te kōrero ki wāku nei tamariki - te kaha wau ki te kōrero ki te kōhanga - Te haerere ki ngā kura Reo o Te Taurawhiri - rumaki ana i te reo" (Conversing with my children – I am persevering to always converse at kōhanga – Going to Te Taurawhiri language schools – immersed in te reo)
- "How and which Te Whare Wananga o Atāurangi deliver their courses"
- "Ataarangi class"
- "Being at the marae and listening to the old koro and kuia speaking its heaps of fun listening to all their stories"
- "Ko Te Tohu Paetahi i te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao ngā Kura reo Te Ataarangi. He mea rumakina katoatia ngā akonga i roto i ēnei momo kura" (Te Tohu Paetahi at the School of Māori and Pacific Development (UOW), Te Ataarangi. The student is fully immersed in these types of schools)
- "Actually writing meaningful songs in Māori/Pākehā going more than 3 minutes speaking unbroken Māori without frightme up when I actually apply ngā kupu hou in correct format"
- "Learning stories of my region and learning more of myself, learning to communicate in Māori"
- "Everyday conversation"
- "Whaikōrero"
- "Learning to understand and speak te reo, making sense of old waiata, finding a hunger within myself to grasp our language"
- "Te Ataarangi"
- "Living with both my grandparents, mums and dads"
- "Whakawhanaungatanga/whakahoahoa" (Family ties/making friends)
- "Besides Te Ataarangi programme being able to understand fully the depth of knowledge used by a native speaker & being able to participate as well. Conversing with my father who is a native speaker was also a highlight"
- "Learning more words and sentences and being able to speak to the tamariki and listening to the tamariki speak back"
- "Learning at kōhanga reo/The programme "Kōrero mai"
- "Learning at kōhanga and course"
- "Te Wananga o Raukawa to the poupou mātauranga whakakoanga"
- "I have a fair understanding of what's happening around me"
- "Learning with whānau & tamariki. Learning Te Reo is the best thing I've ever done we chose to have Reo as the first language for our children because we never had that opportunity"
- "After spending 5yrs at college trying to learn te reo, I left knowing very little or next to nothing"

I went to Waikato Uni for a year. Learned a lot about tikanga. I was inspired to go to Auckland college of Education where I did Rumaki I Te Reo it was total immersion. I had no idea what was going on. I stuck it out for the year. Put that on the shelf for the next 9yrs. I decided to go back to Waikato Uni where I was able to cement what I learned 9yrs earlier. What I was being taught at Uni. This was amazing revitalization. Excelled in all my classes”

- “Manu korero”
- “Learning about my people”
- “Joining the Māori performance arts course”
- “Kāore taea e au te ki atu ko tērā, ko tērā ki a au nei. Ko te katoa o ngā āhuatanga akoranga Māori koinei” (As far as I’m concerned I can’t say do that and that. Every aspect learned is Māori and that’s, that)
- “High school, Ataarangi, marae-paepae succession kaumatua-conversations-expression through art”
- “Learning how to whistle in Māori”
- “Learning with my tamariki at kōhanga and kurakaupapa/watching my tamariki & mokopuna embrace the reo & becomes bi-lingual/Learning in a group with others in a Māori environment with great Kaiako”
- “Primary school/ I found it very easy to learn to speak Māori back then but now there’s so many new words”
- “Kapa haka”
- “Waiata”
- “Interacting and whānau & other Māori”
- “Something I’m able to pass on to my children
- “Kei te ako tonu i ngā kupu o te taurawhiri i te reo” (To keep learning the words from the Māori Language Commission)
- “I liked learning through Ataarangi however I could not complete my first year”
- “Actually being able to converse i tō tātou reo rangatira”
- “The kotahitanga of all whānau”
- “Can’t remember”
- “I like the waiata and I like whaikōrero”
- “I roto marae” (At the marae)
- “Being on marae with whānau and elders”
- “Translating English to Māori then putting it to waiata”
- “Kia awhi i ngā koroua, kuia i ā rātou taenga mai ki te hōhipera. Ko rātou kāore i te mōhio i ngā kōrero o ngā tākuta kia whakatakoto ā rātou korero kei ED. Mena, ko te reo Māori te reo tuatahi o ētehi o ēnei koroua, kuia. Ahakoa te aha, kāore i te mōhio, ka tikina atu he kaitakawaenga hinengaro ko tāku whakaaro, he kaikōrero mō rātou” (Taking care of the elderly when they arrive at the hospital. Those who do not understand the language of the doctor they can voice their concerns at ED. If te reo is their first language. Or for whatever reason why they cannot understand, I think a mediator should appointed as a moderator for them)
- “Growing up with my grandparents and uncle we had no choice but to learn te reo Māori and if we didn’t understand a kupu we had to find its meaning and use it in a song”
- “That I can understand some Māori and I have gained more knowledge of Māoridom. I will feel complete once I have fluently spoken te reo Māori”
- “Going to kōhanga with my tamariki”
- “Performing kapahaka and knowing what to do”
- “Through kapa haka it was good experience and learning the reo through kapa haka”
- “Singing Waiata”
- “Waiata!! & simple games”

Question 2.18

- "Being growled from my own people [for] using another dialect"
- "Kore" (Nothing)
- "Kore"
- "Student loan what a joke!"
- "Kua hoha i ētahi wā i runga anō i te āhua o ngā kaiako - (tere hoha, takariri) - ko tētahi kaiako o ngā kura reo - kaha whakaiti tangata" (Sometimes I get annoyed at the attitude of the teachers – (fast to get annoyed and angry) – one teacher at the language school is always putting people down)
- "Being told it's a dirty language"
- "Having to speak in front of people"
- "I don't have one"
- "Having to cram assessments into my head to Pass"
- "None really only I thought my class this year was advanced for me but I now know that it is good and it is all a part of learning"
- "Some kaumatua"
- "Nobody correcting me, or critical make me not want to speak"
- "None"
- "Ētehi o ngā wā kāore au i whakarite, ā, whakamā katoa au i taku whakaaturanga i te whakapuaki" (Sometimes I don't prepare, and become very embarrassed when undertaking my dissertation,
- "Kore" (Nothing)
- "Too many to name haha!"
- "None"
- "Being able to understand ētehi kōrero. Having to use te reo in a Pākehā institution"
- "An experience is learning"
- "Pressure on standing in front of people and not being confident in what I'm delivering"
- "Being told that what I know is wrong"
- "None"
- "Having to pay for it. Student loan"
- "Being to slow at learning!!!"
- "Paying for it, it should be compulsory"
- "Kore" (Nothing)
- "None yet"
- "That I was brought up in the reo and then when I got to high school there were no kura kaupapa where I lived. My parents brought me up in the reo me ōna tikanga then went to a state school I felt like I was dumb and had to learn all over again"
- "Paying too much putea to learn the reo"
- "Te ako i te reo pukapuka Māori" (Learning from books written in Māori)
- "Being shot down in Tuhoe for saying something from Tainui dialect which has different meaning"
- "Being a bit lazy when I was studying te reo and not completing some of my work and therefore not accomplishing as much as I could have. Other than that there hasn't been anything else"
- University in the 90s!!! Ka aro tōtika ki te wetewete reo"
- "Being in class and being told I was wrong sort of put me off wanting to speak for a while. Wrong according to who"
- "Karekau. He ūni hoki ngā ara kia piki ai te akonga ki te panekiretanga o te reo" (Nothing. There are many pathways for the student to climb to reach the pinnacle of te reo)

- "Actually slipping Samoan words into Māori conversation & writing. Hearing myself stutter"
- "Haven't had any bad experiences to date"
- "Not having kaiako & kaiāwhina present, learning new things without completing relevant tasks first"
- "School where I had a Ngāti Porou Teacher telling me my dialect was wrong"
- "Being asked to conduct a karakia & doing a very bad job of it. Ka pā te whakamā ki runga ki a au" (I felt very embarrassed)
- "Not being able to understand one sentence when I was learning"
- "I'm not sure at this moment"
- "Student loan - Big Debt!!"
- "I can't recall any"
- "Kare kau" (Nothing)
- "none"
- "Nil"
- "Would be now learning new words (example) tv - Pouaka whakaata I mean there weren't no TVs back then kupu Māori for computer, but in saying that we are living in the now"
- "No"
- "Standing in front of class"
- "Being told the tikanga of my Māori by a manuhiri who was not of my marae"
- "The hidings/discipline"
- "When I was at school"
- "Not understanding written and spoken"
- "The gossip and drama"
- "Being shown up by excellent speakers - trying to embarrass me instead of helping"
- "Getting up in front of people and speaking the reo"
- "Kia āwhina e rātou i ngā tētehi kuia, koroua, arā, ko taku kitenga he kanohi Māori, ki ahau nei pai ake ki te kōrero te reo. E kao, kāore rātou i te mōhio, kāore e kōrero ana, ki a mātou he ahūa"
- "kāore mātou (assume) i pēnei au kia whakaae"
- "Not having my grandfather around teaching me"
- "I hate it when people around me can speak it fluently and I can't understand properly"
- "Being put on the spot and not being able to participate"
- "Memorizing waiata"
- "Being the only one who can't create a "mihimihi". My family came from all over the world and only recently had "mihimihi" explained to me so I could form my own ancestral path"

Question 3.1

- "Pending on the question depends on whom I go to"
- "My partner, reo Māori teacher"
- "Get as much awahi as possible"
- "Ask my Nan"
- "Ask mum and dad"
- "Find out somehow somewhere"
- "I also search for other similar words to improve my vocab"
- "I try not to speak English so I just use my hands or use a dictionary"
- "Ask my Mama"

- "Ask my dad"
- "Transliterations"
- "Ask my Tāne"
- "Ask a whānau member"

Question 3.2

- "Tangihanga" (Funeral)
- "Tangihanga"
- "At kapa haka"
- "I find it more comfortable to speak with my friends in Te Reo Māori"
- "Ko te tino mate ētehi wā korekau he tangata ki te whakawhiti kōrero" (The biggest problem is that sometimes there's no one to talk to)
- "Tangihanga"
- "I ngā wā katoa" (All the time)
- "With my tamariki"
- "Learning to write it now"
- "I try to speak as much as possible"
- "When I'm drunk a lot!"
- "Kei te kura e mahi ana taku pepi i roto i te reo tauwiwi" (My baby is at school learning English)

Question 4.2

- "Better way to learn"
- "I speak Te Reo Māori all the time to my nieces and nephews"
- "Because my tamariki and moko speak the reo whāngai friends etc are embraced too"
- "They learn better that way"
- "I try to speak to my son in Māori when I know how to say it in Māori"
- "All the time at kōhanga, and often at home"
- "I have nephews - I speak Māori to them a lot"
- "I ngā wā o mua i ngā wā katoa engari he taiohi rātou ināianei nō reira he rerekē i tēnei rangi" (In the past, all the time, but they're teenagers now, therefore, its different these days)
- "Without the help of grandparents to speak Māori to will our language survive"
- "They now in kōhanga"
- "He Pākehā taku hoa tāne tokotoru ā māua tamariki" (My husband is Pākehā, we have three children)
- "Be engrossed to Māori culture, he uses Māori words to communicate - 18 months"
- "Ko te reo tauwiwi ā rātou ake reo. Kei Tamaki Makaurau e noho ana" (They speak English. They live in Auckland)

Question 4.3

- "Shopping centre, we get weird looks from Pākehā around us"
- "At kōhanga they don't really use Te reo Māori but at home with my nieces and nephews they know and can hold a conversation in Māori"
- "Ētahi wā kāore rāua i te mōhio ki aku kōrero" (Sometimes my two children don't understand what I'm saying)
- "My mokopuna unable to understand"
- "I used body language as well"
- "I only speak to tamariki at kōhanga"

- “They don’t speak Māori so I have to explain what it means”
- “You don’t use it you lose it kei te pera aku tamariki ināianei”
- “Not to the younger mokos but the older mokos Māori exceeds mine”
- “My tamariki are far more advanced”
- “It’s a learning process for us we learn together learn new words we share it”
- “Nō te mea e he te whakatakoto i ngā kupu e.g. "he āporo mō koe” (Because the wording is grammatically incorrect e.g. “he āporo mō koe”) is incorrect it should be (he āporo mau) (An apple for you)
- “Ae, ko tā rātou reo, te reo tauwiwi kē” (Yes because they only speak English)
- “Don’t have any children or grandchildren”

Question 4.4

- "We don't have a kura in our area"
- "Ko te hiahia te tūmanako, ka haere āku mokopuna ki te kōhanga, heoi, kei ngā mātua te tikanga" (The desire and hope is that my grandchildren will go to kōhanga reo, however, it's up to their parents)
- "Up to their parents"
- "I go with them"
- "2 out of the 4 have been or are at kōhanga other 2 can't get in yet. I will never get in due to waiting list"
- "My nieces & nephews attend Kōhanga Reo my own i will send them to Kōhanga"
- "Tōku reo, tōku ohooho, tōku reo, tōku māpihi maurea, tōku reo tōku whakakai marihi" (This is a whakataukī see Mead 'Ngā pepeha ā ngā Tūpuna')
- All been"
- "Kao kua haere kē rātou ki te kura auraki" (No, they already going to (find out what auraki is) school)
- "No grandchildren yet"
- "Because I wouldn't want them to be like me"
- "My son already goes to a kōhanga and then hopefully to Te Ara Rima"
- "Definitely"
- "Home School"
- "Definitely"
- "Kua mahia" (Done it)
- "Not with the Māori language in the home. The mokopuna their reo will be more advanced than the kōhanga reo"
- "Both tamariki went through kōhanga/kura and wharekura & my moko has started kōhanga"
- "I feel we need to learn English 1st for it is an everyday language in saying that I want to learn my kids want to learn so kōhanga could be an option"
- "Essential for their wairua"
- "I sent all my children to kōhanga and kura kaupapa and forgot about myself"
- "They have been"
- "Our two oldest daughters went to te kōhanga reo in Huntly. Kaitumutumu"
- "Want him to be surrounded by te reo esp- learning and participate/interact with children own age"
- "I kuraina ai i aku tamariki kei te kura tuatahi i akongia i te reo tauwiwi kē i ngā rā o mua 1970s" (My children were schooled at primary school and just learned English, back in the day 1970s)
- "Don't have any"
- "Didn't send my own children but will encourage them to send my grandchildren"

Question 4.5

- "Have 5 tamariki 3 oldest went through main stream youngest two went through kōhanga kura kaupapa & are both now at Ngataiatea Wharekura"
- "Kōrero te reo i ngā wā katoa, i ngā wāhi katoa" (Speak Māori everywhere; all the time)
- "Nā ngā mātua i whakaritea tō rātou kura" (It's up to their parents)
- "Children have left school"
- "If places are available"
- "Kura kaupapa Māori anake" (Only Māori schools)
- "Kāre e kore, koinei tētahi huarahi hai whakaora ai i tō tātou reo!" (Without a doubt this is one pathway that will keep our language alive)
- "My tāne can't understand the language yet"
- "We are a home schooling family"
- "I will send them too"
- "Kua mahia" (Done it)
- "They will go to kura kaupapa Māori schools"
- "This is the only way to preserve te reo & the only places that will treasure our tamariki, moko - & believe in them"
- "Tautoko au i ngā hiahia o ngā mātua o āku mokopuna" (I support the wishes of my grandchildren's parents)
- "No they will learn Māori at school"
- "They are too old to start learning in a total emersion school"
- "We may trail this to a certain age"
- "I feel English is the language that the world is speaking and wish my children to be proficient in that first"

Question 4.6

- "Tama tu, tama ora tama moe tama mate" (See Mead)
- "I uru tētahi o aku mokopuna ki tētahi kōhi Māori i tōna kura"
- "i.e. Waipounamu not many"
- "The choice of secondary school will be his as long as he is taking Māori as a subject"
- "They will be learning one day"
- "Kura kaupapa"
- "Kua mahia" (Done it)
- "They are at whare kura continue learning in the media of te reo"
- "I don't think our kura kaupapa is up to the standard it should be"
- "Trail - depends on whether the kura can offer same opportunities as mainstream"

Question 4.7

- "Ka ora tonu tō tātou reo Māori mō ake tonu atu" (May our language live forever)
- "Now I realize it is who we are, we can't leave it behind and live without it"
- "Because that is who they are and it is a beautiful language why not"
- "Ko te reo te poutawha, e whakairi ai ngā taonga katoa a ngā tūpuna"
- "Kia mōhio ai rātou ko wai rātou nō hea rātou, ā, me ō rātou tikanga, whakapapa, pepeha, whānau" (So that they know who they are, where they are from, their culture, whakapapa, sayings and family)
- "Their right to be exposed to both"
- "That way the language that was taught to me will not be lost"

- "If our children do not learn their own language then it will be lost. That's why I want to be able to speak it fluently myself and for my children to speak it as well"
- "Mā tēnei ka taea e rātou te tu kaha, te tū mana, ai hai tamaiti Māori i roto i tō rātou ake whenua" (This will enable them to stand strong, stand proud as young Māori on their own land)
- "Ko te reo Māori tō rātou reo tuatahi tae atu ki te tau ngahuru (10 yrs) kātahi ka ako i te reo Pākehā" (The Māori language was their first language until they reached the age of ten then they learnt English)
- "They are our future repositories of knowledge. They will pass on the reo"
- "You need English to work in today world but don't lose your heritage our were your come from"
- "Kia mōhio pai rātou nō hea rātou i ahu mai rātou i hea me tērā me te Māori titiro" (So they know where they originate from and to have a Māori view/perspective)
- "To grow from birth to adulthood speaking and thinking in our Māori language"
- "Because I didn't have te reo as a child & adult it is extremely important to me that my tamariki do"
- "I think schools should teach tikanga Māori"
- "Ma te whakapono ki te reo hei ārahi ngā mokopuna ki te ako" (Being true to te reo will inspire children to learn)
- "Be better speaker than us"
- "Engari, ko ā rātou reo tuatahi, te reo tauwiwi, te reo tuarua i te reo ināianei" (That is their first language is English and their second is now Māori)
- "I want to keep my child in the environment of Māoridom so hopefully he learns tikanga"
- "The future generation must continue the legacy of our ancestors"
- "NIL, But will say important but not really that important"

Question 4.8

- "Maku e waea atu kia koe" (I will ring you)
- "He roa tōku whai i tēnei huarahi ko te ako i tō tātou nei reo. Heoi, maumahara au, koia tōku wawata nui mai i te wā e 7 ōku pakeke. Hoki au ki te kainga me tāku ki tōku whaea "Mum I want to learn Māori", ahakoa kare he reo i te kainga, Pākehā kē tōku ao kura. Nā reira, ki au nei, he wawata tuku iho" (For awhile now I have been following this path, to learn our language. However, I remember wanting this since I was 7 seven years old. I went home and stated to my mother "Mum I want to learn Māori", that is the language was not spoken at home, and I experienced Pākehā schooling. Therefore, in my view, it is an inherent desire)
- "I have 3 - children - 17 - 25, 26 all have been through mainstream all my values have changed (things that are important to me now) goals for my kids. Career, money, status have change doesn't mean a thing. Ngā tamariki me ahau to acknowledge to learn the Reo a shift in my desire for my mokopuna"
- "Ka whai atu tamariki i te mātauranga ki a rātou tau pakeke me whāngai atu ki ngā pepe o te wa o mua"
- "The reason I don't go back to the marae to learn is because dad was a whāngai and now that he has past on we/ his kids don't feel welcome at either marae. Plus whānau fighting first cousins my dad's generation not getting on and can't agree or decisions re: Marae decisions. This flows down to us kids and we just leave it. Ka aroha mō rātou!"
- "Ko te reo Māori he reo tino ataahua he reo motuhake, ā, he reo o ngā tīpuna" (The Māori language is a beautiful language, an autonomous language, a language of the ancients)

- "I feel it is a right for all Māori to learn Te Reo free. We are the first peoples of Aotearoa. Only in learning te reo and our history, are we able to move forward.
- Mehemea he tangata whakapono ai ki te reo - Ā, kia rere atu i ngā wā katoa" (If one is dedicated to te reo – one will speak it all the time)
- "Kao" (E pai ana)" (Nah, (it's alright)
- "Children must be bilingual as well if not trilingual, depending on their whakapapa"
- "He kaupapa matua tēnei mōku anake. He take nui, he ako i aku tamariki. He taonga tuku iho te reo Māori me ōna tikanga" (This is the main focus for me. It is extremely important my children learn. The Māori language is a treasured inheritance)
- "I love kids and kids love me"
- "I believe revitalizing Te Reo Māori language is courageous and overdue! Would be great to hear more Māori language spoken out on the streets in general day to day conversation"
- "I started this quest i te wananga nei i te huarahi, ka whakatakotoria toru tōku kaupapa nei ki roto i te kaupapa o te tohu paetahi"
- "I live in Otaki and Thames but mostly in Otaki"
- "Ae rā kāore he mea tu atu i te reo Māori mō ngāi tātou te iwi Māori nā te mea ka ngaro tō tātou reo ka ngaro ko tātou pērā ki te ngaro o te moa, tā Apirana Ngata ka ngaro tō tātou reo ka ngaro te iwi Māori a ka tū hei Pākehā parauri arā Brown European" (Of course, nothing else compares to the Māori language for Māori, because if our language dies, we die like the moa, Apirana Ngata said if our language dies we become brown Pākehā)
- "Ko te reo te hā o to Māoritanga" (The language is the essence of Māoritanga)
- "In adult hood continuing to speak Māori, also embarrassing the marae & learning tikanga/kawa/ mōteatea/ pātere/ kapa haka. Māori history, whakapapa and ongoing learning until death"
- "I would be very interested in learning the outcome of this survey"
- "Education - if the school can provide for our child's learning needs than we will send them to kura kaupapa. We also go back to marae frequently"
- "I love being Māori and want to be able to share it with my son"
- "I believe te reo and tikanga Māori are essential for this country's learning to become unified. One culture or the other should not be above the rest but it is important that New Zealand becomes stronger in a world & global situation. This is why the United Nations all translates to English and NZ has a predominantly English speaking population"

Appendix 4: Additional qualifications recorded by questionnaire respondents in response to Question 1.8

- *Whakapakari i te reo Māori*
- *Kōhanga Degree*
- *Whakapakari o te Kōhanga Reo*
- *Whakapakari (Kōhanga Reo o Aramiro)*
- *Whakapakari*
- *Tohu Mātauranga, Degree Bilingual (ED) Kei au ēnei tohu*
- *Whakapakari*
- *Te Ātaarangi*
- *Kaiawhina - Kōhanga*
- *Diploma in Te Tohu Mātauranga te reo me ōna tikanga*
- *Teaching*
- *Certificate, Diploma in Te reo Māori, Bachelor of Applied Social Science in Te Reo Māori Development*
- *"Working towards a Bachelor of Arts, majoring in Te reo Māori"*
- *"Excellence in writing Te reo Māori/Merit in speaking Te Reo*
- *"BA Māori Pacific Development"*
- *"Te tohu whakapakari o te Kōhanga Reo"*
- *Whakapakari*
- *"Kāore au e whakaaro pai mō te tohu reo Māori kei roto i tēnā mā te kōrero, mā te whakarongo ka ako" (I don't agree with certificates for te reo Māori I learn from listening)*
- *"I have completed a bachelor of Arts degree with Te Reo Māori me ōna tikanga as my major"*
- *"Te tohu whakapakari o te Kohanga Reo"*
- *"Te tohu kōhungahunga - whai ana i te tohu o te whakapakari "*
- *"Te Tohu Rangatira o te Whakapakari"*
- *"Te tohu mātauranga whakapakari tino rangatiratanga"*
- *"SC"*
- *"Te Tohu Paetahi"*
- *"Bachelor of Teaching"*
- *"Certificate Te Wānanga o Aotearoa"*
- *"1995 - Waikato University Degree in Māori"*
- *"Māori laws & Philosophy includes Te Reo. Currently completing Masters"*
- *"Master of Arts majoring in Te Reo Māori"*
- *"Wahakapakari i te reo Māori. Kōhanga Reo"*
- *"I have already studied 1 year of Te Reo Māori. I got a certificate in Te Reo Rangatira"*
- *"Whakapakari"*
- *"Te Tohu Paerua e aruhia ana ināiane mahi thesis ana ahau 5 years ahau e ako ana i konei, ā, ko te katoa o aku pepa i roto i te reo"*
- *"Whakapakari"*
- *"2 years at te huarahi Māori, Bachelor of Teaching, Certificate in Māori Mental Health"*

- *"BA, Masters, attained in te reo Māori and Te Tītohu Whakamāoritanga currently enrolled in PHD in Te Reo Māori"*
- *Te Ataarangi, Te Kopura ki te tonga o Tamaki*
- *Primary Teaching (Bachelor of Teaching)*
- *BBd*
- *BA Māori/BA Hons Māori/Certificate Te Hiranga Māori*
- *I plan on completing NCEA level 2 and 3*
- *5th form Certificate, 6th Form Certificate*
- *BA (Māori) BA - major in Māori at Waikato University*
- *Bursary Māori & University Māori*
- *Ko te tūmanako ka hoki au ki te whakaoti i taku tohu pae tahi a tona wa*
- *No, am thinking about doing korero Māori at Te Wananga*
- *Te Wananga o Aotearoa*
- *Currently enrolled at Te Wananga te reo*
- *I am doing a Masters Degree in indigenous information (sic) which includes āhua Māori and mātauranga Māori*
- *6 months a Te Ataarangi*
- *Mātauranga Māori - Dip T - Bilingual Māori*
- *Te Reo rangatira L4 te Pokairua o Te Reo Rangatira - Tautuatahi - Tautuarua*
- *Te Tohu Paerua - Te tautuatahi 2010*
- *Māori Performing Arts*
- *Māori Performing Arts*
- *NZPF ECE Level 5 Dip*

Appendix 5: Semi structured interview transcripts

Notes

Normal orthographic conventions are followed.

Researcher's translations – into English or *te reo Māori* - are in bracketed italic script.

Only pseudonyms are used.

Where names or possible identifiers were included, they have been replaced by a capital letter (e.g. X; Y) accompanied by a footnote indication of the type of material that has been replaced.

. . . = inaudible section of recording.

IHU

Interviewer: Do you believe that *Māori* is an endangered language?

Ihu: Yes, *koia nā anake, or kei te pīrangī koe ki te mōhio e aha ai?* (Is that it or do you want to know or why?)

Interviewer: *Hei a koe te mana.* (Your choice)

Ihu: *Kei ahau e whakapono ai he reo tata ngaro te reo Māori?* (Do I believe that *Māori* is an endangered language?) ... *Māori* is an endangered language because the most fluent speakers ... are the elderly, rapidly disappearing, passing away ... the range of the main places you can speak it, is still, really, really restricted ... most importantly, it still ... hasn't really got a status in New Zealand ... of where it should be to sort of sustain it, so yes, it is an endangered language.

Interviewer: For how much for the time each day on average do you speak *Māori*?

Ihu: On average, how much of the time, on average each day do I speak *Māori*? So, I speak *Māori* with our kids, so, um, but then I come, I come in and I work in English and I'll speak *Māori* for some conversations up here, so sort of about, I don't know, two hours, a day, only around with the kids but we have English conversations at home with the adults but with the kids we tend to speak *Māori*.

Interviewer: How important do you think it is for learners of the *Māori* language to interact with native speakers (i.e. with those who were brought up from birth to speak the language) in order to become effective users of the language?

Ihu: Critical. Yep, I notice even this with being with my wife's aunty for half an hour. I will learn a new word I've never learnt before and if I was interacting with native speakers, it wouldn't be too long before I will have near-native ability ... so ... yeah ... so absolutely critical.

Interviewer: *Kia ora.* Using this scale (below), how difficult it is for you (or not) to get together with native speakers of the *Māori* language to engage in conversations in *Māori*? Please explain your answer? Why is it easy or difficult?

Easy 1	Slightly difficult 2	Difficult 3	Very difficult 4	Impossible 5
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Ihu: Um, if I didn't work at the X here, it would be very difficult but I'm just going to say difficult because there's a few native speakers here. We, we rarely get back, go back to see my wife's, um, aunty.

Interviewer: Ok.

Ihu: And, mind you, it's partly because of our work at the moment. If we went back to the marae more, we might catch more 'cause there's really good speakers there. So, difficult, that's three.

Interviewer: Three.

Ihu: Ok, *kia ora.*

Interviewer: Using this scale (below), rank how difficult (or not) it is for you to get together with speakers of the *Māori* language (other than native speakers) to engage in conversations in *Māori*? Please explain your answer? Why is it easy or difficult?

Easy 1	Slightly difficult 2	Difficult 3	Very difficult 4	Impossible 5
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Ihu: Ah easy and I'll say that because our kids go to *kura kaupapa Māori* (Māori immersion schools) and whenever I drop them off every day there's a conversation in *Māori*. I'll have the adults there or even - and also the staff here at the *whare wānanga* (university) the core conversation in *Māori*. So, yeah, and um, and I can

include the kids in that - that we have conversations in *Māori*, in their amateur *Māori* that is effectively there but so, yeah, I think it's easy, maybe slightly difficult but, yeah.

Interviewer: Somewhere around one, two?

Ihu: One, maybe one, but yeah, two possibly, yep.

Interviewer: *Kia ora*. How important do you think it is to use the *Māori* language whenever you interact with other people who speak the language?

Ihu: Um, yeah, so well I'm a little bit conflicted here because um, oh yes, I think it is really important, um, to use, to speak with other speakers and um, and you think I would do it all the time but sometimes you're just blinkin tired or, you know, um, and there's some people who you just naturally *kōrero Māori*, um, sometimes um, people who I wouldn't, you know like, um, there's some bad habits with your own partner, my wife. We probably speak *Pākehā*. We speak *Māori* sometimes when we're in the presence of other people who speak *Māori*, um, or people who are really poor speakers, I just speak *Pākehā*. Hard to say ... it just makes it easier you know, yeah.

Interviewer: When and where do you use the *Māori* language - on the marae; at home; at work, with other *Māori* language speakers; on social occasions (e.g. at parties, church, etc.); with family members who are speakers of the *Māori* language; to compose *waiata*, songs, stories, poems etc.; to read and write?

Ihu: Yes, at home, yes, at work, yes, social occasions, um, if it was, um, well these social occasions are particular to us but you know whenever, where there's old people, people who can speak or speak *Māori* there, we have a *karakia* which is only in *Māori*, um, with family members, yes, to compose *waiata*, songs, stories and poems, um, we try and like give our kids, um, *waiata Māori* (*Māori* songs) ... for when we have *manuwhiri* (visitors) come, you know, when we have *manuwhiri* coming to our *karakia*. So we taught our kids *waiata Māori* ... and then we would create ... *pūrākau tamariki* (children's stories) from the *Paipera Tapu* (Bible) just

kia mama ki a rātou (make it easy for them) and that was sort of, so, and read and write, yeah, although it's much easier for me to read in *Pākehā*, *ka pai*. (English)

Interviewer: *Ka pai*.

Interviewer: Which of the following is true in your case? I dream in *Māori*?

Ihu: I have dreamt in *Māori* but ended up thinking *Pākehā* all the time ever since I started my P.h.D. And there were times when I was really learning and like if I go to one of those *kura reo* (*Māori* language schools), you know, and I'm there for three or four days, by the time I get to the fourth day, it's really hard for me to get out of *Māori* but you sort of get into a;

Interviewer: Rhythm?

Ihu: Rhythm or a mindset, or you know;

Interviewer: psyche ay.

Ihu: Um, so for you to come out of that and have to talk *Pākehā*, you go oh it's just much easier to talk *Māori*, well that sort of about after three or four days. Yeah, I found that in *Te Ātaarangi*, ah, I did dream in *Māori* sometimes, I found that. Yeah, I can daydream in *Māori* but I'm usually thinking about *Māori* situations or I'll just think about me, think about me speaking. What would I say, sort of like I'll imagine myself saying something like it's pre-operational.

Interviewer: Think in *Māori*?

Ihu: Yeah, ah, I prefer to speak *Māori* rather than English, to sort of answer that. I would have to ... I would have to be in a full immersion *Māori* situation for about three or four days before I'd prefer to speak *Māori* than English.

Interviewer: *Ka pai*.

Ihu: Um, reading and writing in *Māori*. I still prefer reading and writing, well, nah, I like writing in *Māori* when I'm writing to other people or government departments, particularly, um, but for my thesis it's easier for me to do it in English. I always read more easily in English than *Māori*.

Interviewer: *Ka pai*.

Ihu: Um, but sometimes I do write more easily in *Māori*, particularly when I'm greeting people, but, I probably write more easily in English.

Interviewer: Ok.

Ihu: Ok, I don't, that, so it's not equally well.

Interviewer: Yeah, ok *kia ora*. I think in *Māori*; I prefer to speak *Māori* rather than English; I prefer to read and write in *Māori* rather than English; I read more easily in *Māori* than in English; I write more easily in *Māori* than in English; I read and write equally well in both *Māori* and English.

Ihu: None of these are true in my case.

Interviewer: Do you have children or grandchildren (including *whāngai* (adopted) children)?

Ihu: Yes, and I have, not grandchildren, but *mokopuna*;

Interviewer: Ok.

Ihu: So I have grand-nieces and nephews and stuff like that who live with us.

Interviewer: Ah, *ka pai, ka pai*, ah ok. How important do you believe it is to ensure that your children speak the *Māori* language?

Ihu: *Ae, yeah, he mea nui, mea nui, mea nui* (very important x 3). So ... we, how we flesh that out is we try and, so firstly we try and speak *Māori* to them, and grammar, anyway, and we send them to *kōhanga*, and we send them to *kura* (school) and we try and finish off in time to get them to a *whare-kura* (high-school). So that's enough to give them a good grounding in *Māori*. So that doesn't matter whenever they come back, and they've had good experience with it, they can always come back to it. So we've, so that's our *whakapono* (philosophy), that, *ko whakatinanahia e mātou*, (that we've incorporated) yeah.

Interviewer: *Kia ora*. Approximately how much of the time when you interact with them do you speak the *Māori* language to your children or grandchildren? (*mokopuna*)

Ihu: Would be 80 to 90 per cent.

Interviewer: *Ka pai*.

Ihu: Um, when - I really, try to see, my oldest one, she, um, it takes ages to get her to speak *Māori* and she'll speak *Pākehā*, I'll speak *Māori*, she'll speak *Pākehā*, I'll speak *Māori*, she'll speak *Pākehā*, and I'll tell her: "Speak *Māori*" - and she'll, and she'll want something and she'll go "No. I want this" - and speak *Pākehā* and I go: "Ok, you're not getting it until you speak . . . ask me in *Māori*, so, yeah, 80 to 90 per cent of the time.

Interviewer: Do you ever experience any problems in using the *Māori* language to communicate with your own children or grandchildren or other children with whom you have regular contact?

Ihu: Um, (chuckle), *kia ora, taku mōhio* (to my knowledge), *ko*, um, X ah, X ah, *kua wareware i te ingoa* (I've forgotten the name), anyway *te tama, te tama a Y* (the son of Y), ah, yeah do I have any problems? so, um, couple of, couple of problems, one! Their grammar's really, bad, its like, "*Ka taea au ki te*" (It should be ... *Ka taea e au te* ... (am I allowed to)), you see and all our kids know what the correct thing is and I won't ... so if they and I say "*He aha? He aha te papa tika?*"

(What? What's the correct sentence structure?), and they go "*Oh, papa! Tukua ahau kia haere ki mea*" (Oh, Dad! Take me to, wherever) or "*homai tērā mea*" (give me that thing) or whatever ... the correct past question is, but they, their fault one is '*ka taea au*' (It should be ... *ka taea e au te...*) 'cause that's how all their mates talk, that's ... so there's a lot of, a lot of mistakes, a lot of *Pākehā whakaaro* (English way of thinking (in terms of sentence structure when speaking *Māori*)) that you, you sort of understand because you know the kids but, um, secondly as the kids get older, they get more and more in love with *Pākehā*, and, um, and that's got a - but there's certain times that they do feel really proud being *Māori*, but;

Interviewer: That's really a phase, ay.

Ihu: Um, yeah so it is hard to get, um, hard to ... so like ... but the young ones, the five and six year olds, they'll spend a lot of time talking in *Māori*, a lot of time in *Māori*. The older ones will play in *Pākehā*. Its like, how do they do that? Because we speak in, we speak in *Māori* to them mostly ... *kōhanga*, and the only thing is, that I would have to guess with the amount of *Pākehā* that my wife and I talk so they sort of figured well the adult language is *Pākehā*, yeah, incumbent too is that the people who you meet, when you meet them in *Māori*, you tend to speak *Māori* to them, when you, when you offend, and your *Pākehā* as a communication ... medium of communication, it's really hard to break out of that and change.

Interviewer: Yeah, ok.

Ihu: So, yeah, that's what let us down there I think.

Interviewer: Did you, do you or will you send your children or grandchildren/*mokopuna* to *Kōhanga Reo*; (*Māori* immersion kindergarden), a *Kura Kaupapa Māori*; (*Māori* immersion primary/ intermediate school), a *Whare Kura*? (*Māori* immersion high school?)

Ihu: Yep.

Interviewer: I think you've already answered this question.

Ihu: Yep, yeah, mainly because we believe that um, that twelve is the minimum, I reckon twelve to me is the minimum age that you've got to send your kids to immersion school, but if you send them to one where they're fifteen - till fifteen or sixteen, then there've got it for life. You know like, um, and that's not based on any, like, well I mean, some of it is based on research this, I think that twelve is but, um, but I just looked at X and he said, you know, they were in their house, you know till they were fifteen, sixteen where *Māori* was the main thing and then they moved out, and you know his reo is just primo, you know, eighty years later so ... yeah, yeah, perfect example ... yeah.

Interviewer: *Kua mutu tēnā.* (All done?)

Ihu: Yeah.

Interviewer: Do you think *Māori* should be compulsory for *all Māori school students* in this country?

Ihu: Ah yes, and a qualification, though, um, you know the politics around getting that, is go, would be, quite ... would be difficult ... and I really believe that, the ... status of *Māori* is ... like - the places you can use it ... you know the linguistic landscape, the ... bilingual signage, you know, the whole status of *Māori* has to be lifted before it happens but ... fundamentally it just answered the question. Yes ... it must be compulsory for all *Māori* and it should be ... compulsory for all students, but ... the second qualification is I read something that, you know ... *Māori*, I know it's from the scholars that were, that were up here, you know ... kids' cognitive learning doesn't - they're not that good at cognitive learning until they're about 11, 12, 13, 14, you know, sort of teenagers, they start to get better at learning languages, so [that's where] they need to be, and that's, yeah ... learning earlier, then that needs to be managed well but it would have to be in a, in a, in immersive environment and also a really helpful, really well taught environment if they were like, non, you know if they were like *Pākehā*. You ask me the second I'll tell you the second part. For *Māori* school students - yeah, and the other problem too, the third, the third issue is ... it's hard to maintain your language skills if you don't know anybody who speaks it. You've got to, you've got to find communicative networks, you got

to find people who you can speak to ... once you have a skill, you got to say it to two or three, you know ... to different people which would come out a really good language teaching, but ... that would be my qualifications on, saying yes. It should be compulsory, apart from the obvious one that we haven't got enough teachers and teachers who are really good speakers as well as good teachers as well so 'course it should be compulsory when they get those things sorted out.

Interviewer: Do you think that *Māori* should be compulsory for *all school students* in this country?

Ihu: Um, and, I think I've answered a lot of this in that previous of things that ... I would say ... if its going to survive, of course it has to be compulsory because ... once ... everybody has a working knowledge of the language you all of a sudden think away that fear of being left out or fear, you know, which is your primary motivation for your backlash, so your *Pākehā* backlash, because ... who wants to be around in your own country where everyone speaks a language you can't understand? So ... once everyone understands it, they'll be a whole lot more supportive of it, which is fantastic but before that ... so, but at the moment ... 'no' it shouldn't be compulsory because you're going to get a backlash before you're ready for it. So ... yes it should compulsory, but not yet.

Interviewer: *Ka pai*, ok. Do you have an opinion as to why *Māori* is not compulsory in all schools in this country?

Ihu: Yes I do and that opinion is ... because of, well you could say, I could say racism, I mean that's probably a bit too controversial but that's what it is, people um, just um, probably fear, fear of;

Interviewer: The unknown?

Ihu: Yeah and dislike of, you know, *Māori* language, um, you know, having everything in English is

Interviewer: Nice and comfortable.

Ihu: Is much more comfortable situation for monolingual speakers of the English ... and so, you know, that fear of change and having to change and having change forced upon them ... is a reason but there's other practical reasons like they don't have, ah, the teachers to teach them ... they don't have, you know, the training colleges for teachers aren't set up, to teach, the teachers to teach them and the government hasn't put in the resources to create ... or to improve or upgrade the training - teacher training colleges so that those teachers can get up there and teach them, you know, so, I mean, there are a whole lot of practical policy issues that would have to be sorted out ... before it could become compulsory in all schools, and, at, at the present time ... because resources are limited and this is, let's get real, government's not giving out any cookies at the moment ... it would, I would, invest more in the students who had, ah, fluent knowledge of it, you know, in immersion schools. I mean, what they should, what should be happen is, and you see it didn't come out in any of the reports, but what they should be focusing on is those kids that come out of *wharekura* ... concentrating on them, bringing up their kids in *Māori* 'cause once they start doing that then you got ... intergenerational transmission. Get their *reo*, get the *reo* of those kids up to a real good level because they are going to be the next teachers, They are going to be the ones who are going to provide the - for expanding [of] it but at the moment, if you expand it too quickly, you will (a) get a backlash, (b) you'll just not accomplish it and look stupid because you've wasted all the tax payers' money which comes back to racism.

Interviewer: Do you think that today's modern marae can help revitalize the *Māori* language and tikanga?

Ihu: Yes, ah, yes, in many ways, in, and it has always had a traditional role in being the, the perfect place for tikanga and language ... but, you know that - just the physical assets of marae are fantastic for *wānanga* (a gathering of like-minded people who meet at a specified place e.g. a marae for a day or 2 or 3 etc whose primary aim and focus is to concentrate on a particular subject matter (*kaupapa*) in this case *ko te reo Māori me ōna tikanga* (the *Māori* language and *tikanga* (*Māori* knowledge, culture, philosophies, principles, practices and world view)) ... in fact, you can actually - it's much easier to set up your *marae* as a learning institution

than a marae 'cause it sort of gets around RMA (Resource Management Act) or something like that so, so, yeah, that's a - that's a fantastic, fantastic place and also because its - it provides a, a network of people, and usually with a legal ... covering so it's good for getting funding, for your, for your *wānanga* so fantastic places, and, and also they're connected to ... the *iwi*, and so you have sort of that, sort of identity as well as your *hapū* identity that ... so you can use, so you can pull your resources. So you might not have any *kaumātua* that can speak but other *hapū* might ... that can bring, that you can get people to bring in, so ... that's at a really practical level. Other than ... but in terms of revitaliz[ation] and [the] *Māori* language ... it also, you know, because of those things I've just said you know, there - there's always the opportunity to have *kōhanga reo* on your marae and many marae have *kōhanga reo* ... so don't just *wānanga* for your adults, *kōhanga reo* for your kids ... yeah that - so that - that particularly for rather than, you know, I - I'd love to see ... *kura kaupapa* ... my wife teaches out ... X which is a *kura kaupapa* based on *hapū* lines, mainly *Ngāti Te Oro*, off *Ngāti Haua* (name of tribal clan of *Ngāti Haua* a tribe descended from the *Tainui waka* (the *Tainui waka* was a Polynesian (*Tahitian*) built large ocean voyaging vessel)) and *whare kura* (house of learning), and *kōhanga*, so, yeah their really investing in their kids, bringing them up in te reo (*Māori* language) and ah, by the time those *wharekura* kids get to year 13 which is the 7th Form, they've already finished their degree some of them.

Interviewer: My cousins ... girl was doing fifth form *Māori* when she was in third form.

Ihu: Yeah.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Ihu: That's what they should be doing and so, you know, they're seventeen, they've done their B.A. They can go straight into teaching. Do a year's teaching or whatever it is, and, you know, they're out, they're out teaching or they can go into a Masters [degree], have their Master's finished by the time they're twenty and go teaching, so

Interviewer: Yep.

Ihu: That's, that's the sort of thing that *Māori* really have to take on where they're getting a competitive edge. They're not just doing something because of just doing it but they're doing it in a way that makes that pathway better than doing it in the *Pākehā* pathway ... that's an ambition ... you know.

Interviewer: *Ka pai*. Do you think that *Māori* really need the support from the Crown to fully revitalize the *Māori* language and tikanga?

Ihu: Do *Māori* need support? I ... think ... they do need the support of the Crown ... and that support ... but, but here's a thing, support, not - the Crown shouldn't lead it. *Māori* have got to lead it ... and *mā te karauna e tautoko* (with government support) ... so ... and that's obviously in terms of funds ... and so whenever the Crown, you know ... gives out funds, they, they like to have a, you know ... accountability, and that's not - that's not a problem but accountability is different from leadership. *Māori* have got to lead it. They've got to set the agendas ... they've got to do the research, they've got to have the, you know, the control over the process ... secondly, the Crown needs to become *Māori* language speaking and *Māori* language friendly, which is why I would like, whenever I write to the [sic] Police, ah, for a number of things, ah, or - or government departments I write in *Māori*, and I, and often when they write back they only write in *Pākehā* ... or, like the Police who clearly didn't have a clue what I actually wrote, but didn't ... didn't pay attention to what I wrote either.

Interviewer: Did they not have *Māori* liaison officers?

Ihu: Who can write back in *Māori*?

Interviewer: Mmm,

Ihu: None of them, have written back in *Māori*, to me except for, ah, *Te Taura Whiri o Te Reo Māori*, The *Māori* Language Commission, and *Te Puni Kōkiri* was, ah, no they also wrote in *Pākehā* (English), but *Te Taura Whiri [o Te Reo Māori]* wrote back to me in *Māori*, their the only ones ... there was one other place who,

who wrote back in Māori which was, I think when this lady, gave a little *Māori* greeting and she sez excuse me my [only] language is, thing (English), but I am the *Māori* liaison officer, blah, blah, blah, so they'd obviously found out what it, what I meant, but they couldn't (reply in *Māori*), so ... in terms of do we need Crown support, yeah [sic], the Crown is going to make, its not the only thing that, needs to happen, but, ah, Parliament needs to, they've already started doing that ay, you can speak *Māori* in Parliament, and it'll be translated, in your question time, *Māori* ... you can write, ask a *Māori* question it'll be translated and they'll answer the English ... so, you know, in terms of that, that's great, [sic], a great start, we're going to need ... ministers who are, you know like a ... every *Māori* politician, you know, if you had good 30 percent of a, of the pop ... parliament who were *Māori*, fluent ... you know you could just imagine the backwards and forwards, going on, it'd be fantastic, so, ah the Crown has to be seen to be supporting the *Māori* language in its performance, as well as Crown agencies, need to have policies and plans for *Māori*, so yeah ... do *Māori* need support from Crown? Yes!

Interviewer: *Ka Pai*, ah, and that's the main *kupu* (word) 'support' ay?

Ihu: Yep. A lot of People, that, might not like that though ... you know its, what is it Crown? But yeah its, [sic] its got to be ... led by *Māori*, and *Māori* have yet to find, a, a vehicle, that could lead, ah, in, in a way that, gives them power as *Māori*, and I think my own thing is *Te Taura Whiri*, a revamped *Te Taura Whiri* where ... *iwi* (tribal), or, which ever the *iwi* leaders forum, or FOMA or who knows what ... compilation of a, of a *iwi* electoral college or something like that, which is [sic] *Wai 262* ((contested), they, what they need to do is they need to have 5 *iwi* ... nominated board, on the board of *Te Taura Whiri*, and 5 from the government, because even though there are Māori on the board, their awesome people too ... like ah what's his name? From *Taranaki X* ... a couple of other really good [sic] too, so ... even though their *Māori* their still government nominated, so, so there needs to be an *iwi* ... half of *iwi*, half of government on the board so it's, so it's like that, um -

Interviewer: Balanced.

Ihu: So it's balanced, the people that the government nominate need to be the face for the government and the *Pākehā*, alright! The people that are on there from the *iwi* need to be the face for *Māori*, so ... they need to have *Pākehā*, that's, that's only my opinion, and that's not for any other reason, it's just, it makes it look safer to our racists brethren,

Interviewer: *Ka pai.*

Ihu: Do you understand?

Interviewer: Yeah

Interviewer: Ok. What factors do you believe are essential in the revitalization of the *Māori* language and tikanga?

Ihu: Wow! ... I think I've already said one a couple of times ay! And, that, that one is status! And I just said that's so important like, I know ... its intergenerational transmission, is also really, really important ... and, and is an incredibly important factor, but if I had to rank the two, I'd put the status ... because, you know like if you can lift the value of a language, people are going to learn it, people are going to pass it on ... and, to me, you know, *Māori* have already shown, you know in the fifties and the forties ... they already had the language and ... but yeah they chose not to pass it to their kids! Why? Because the language had no status! So ... so status is really important, intergenerational transmission is really, really important because that's just a natural, that shows it's like getting ... the life blood, going,

Interviewer: Natural process.

Ihu: But to me, yeah, yeah, but to me the status is like the '*tuara*' (backbone) of the, is the, you know is your, is your '*tūara*' is your ... '*ngā*' (a connecting word used for plural meanings) the *kōiwi* (bones (crux)) *o te, o te reo* (of the (*Māori*) language), you put it up there, '*ka tū te reo* (the status of the *Māori* language rises), intergenerational transmission is like the blood, because ... either way, you don't have a *kōiwi* 'your dead', but if you don't have blood your dead as well, so their both, their both really highly critical to the life of the, of the language there's also

other area, other factors that are important which ... I will just mention but I won't go on like ... promotion and I ... really think the other thing too, *Māori* need to have a, a organisation that's separate from the government ... that is a '*whakakotahitanga*, ... *ō ngā iwi*' (tribal unification) and ... '*ngā rōpū Māori*' (*Māori* groups) *ngā 'rōpū reo Māori*' (*Māori* language groups) ... you know including from ... teaching, to *Te Ātaarangi* (*Māori language school* for adults) to ... *iwi* incorporation's ... you know those land incorporations [sic] so there's something like the, the '*Welsh Language Society*' that, that brings everybody that's like really the forum and that drives ... that's politically motivated, for '*te reo*' (the (*Māori*) language), right so it can bring in a ... whole lot of people, because at the moment ... the *Taura Whiri* and our ... I've sent some of this stuff, that stuff that's on your desk now, you know ... if something comes out, they have to ask permission, or you know they have to justify why their allowed to comment on it, this is the '*Māori Language Commission*' ... the *Wai* [sic] 262 and other things that come out for '*te reo*' [sic] '*Te Taura Whiri*' has to justify to the *Māori* ... '*Minister of Māori Affairs*' why their allowed to justify, and they have big arguments, over, so to me it's like, that's not ... that's still under the, the '*maru*' (protection) or *mana* of the '*kāwanatanga*' (government) you need something separate, so when something comes out, you know, some person that sez you know, 'oh we don't think' you know, the, the school principal [sic] you know, said, said look if school, *Māori* schools, ah schools, *Māori* was compulsory in schools it'll put to much pressure on the teachers', right! And then you need, but you need a ... *Māori* organisation that goes that's complete rubbish, here's our research that [sic] sez, their already, wasting their time on all sorts of other rubbish, this is the most important heading, you know what I mean, so it becomes a [sic] lobby group ... because at the end of the day, its [about] convincing, you know, the sixty members of parliament who belong to the government of the day ... to get, to get [sic] policy they decide who gets the money, how much money they get ... what supported and what's not supported, so, *Māori*' [are] really missing out, [sic] so that's threatening status, intergenerational transmission and a body that would, is, would fight for *Māori*, and ... you know like, even, [sic] *Māori* have got soft as well, you know, like Welsh, they just, fought, fought, fought, fought, there was a policy put out, you know that said, you know we're going to have *Welsh* signposts ... and, then all the local councils said that's cool we'll replace them over the next twenty years, [sic]

and then they woke up next morning and all their signposts were knocked down you know, so, they had to replace them in bilingual. So ... you know, that's sort of stuff, I mean a few of them have been in prison ... because ... you know, they, they were given like a minor infringement notice, and they said 'No! If your going to send an infringement notice to us, we want it in *Welsh*', and they said 'if, when your not getting it in *Welsh*, if you don't reply or if you don't do this, don't turn up at your court hearing, your going to go to prison' so they went to prison, so, you know, that, that come in under the [sic] of the Welsh society, so, language society, so, *Māori* need something like that because government will never do, on it's own back, never, never, anyway -

Interviewer: Tax payer's money?

Ihu: Yeah, I just really like -

Interviewer: That'll be their excuse.

Ihu: Twenty, twenty minutes for that, that's, course, and as well as, teaching, you know, *ako* (learn), you know all of those things and fishermen's rings ay, you know ... *te ako i te reo*, (teaching the (*Māori*) language), archiving, you've got to do all those sort of things, their all factors as well but, to me, those three things that I said, that is intergenerational transmission, and a political lobby group body that represents *Māori*, are your three most important, to me!

Interviewer: *Ka pai*. Do you believe that in this day and age it matters which dialect or (e.g. standardized) version of *Māori* people speak?

Ihu: Yes and no ... yes it does matter ... there's your first choice, I would love to hear people speaking ... dialectal versions of *Māori*, ah, particularly those that aren't normally spoken, you know, which is obviously not, *Tūhoe* or *Ngāti Porou*, I love you know like *Whanganui* love hearing that, love hearing ... up north, although you get a few people like that, love hearing *Tainui* dialect because you know you don't hear it that often ... and ah, *Ngāi Tahu* and those ones, so yeah that's cool, so yes it does matter. However, if your *iwi* has got to the stage where

you got no more native speakers left who can speak in that dialectal thing ... you, just do the best you can, and if your dialect ends up with a bit of *Tūhoe* and a bit of *Ngāti Porou* (tribal identities from Aotearoa/ New Zealand) then so be it, because its still *te reo Māori* (the *Māori* language) and you just have to reconfigure your own version, image of your own identity to ... handle it ... and you know with, with this archiving and stuff like that, it is possible to get there, you know, like I know in America and stuff like that, somebody's language is at a death, but ... they've , the, the younger generation have gone back to the recordings made by, you know, linguists and stuff like that of their older people, and they've just, gone over them, and over them, and over them, and over them, until they got their own [sic], got that twang back, you know that, dialect, and then they passed it to the kids, so yes, it is important, um, but it should not, whether, if you've lost your dialect it shouldn't stop you trying to learn whatever *Māori* you can and pass that on to your *iwi*.

Interviewer: *Ka pai*. Do you believe that this country will ever be truly bilingual (in *Māori* and English)?

Ihu: Yep, yeah I do, I believe it ... in fact, when, NZ becomes truly bilingual ... or *diglossic* or whatever we are going to call it ... I think it will be multilingual because ... it will force, if the *Pākehā* take notice of *Māori* ... as the two most ... widely spoken languages, because ... you know signing (sign-language) which is only going to have a few, you know, relatively few people requiring it ... but it will allow some of those other ... minor languages, like, [sic] that are also come under NZ like Cook Island, *Tokelau* ... *Niue* ... their all NZ protectorates ... so they also have a right to, to be outspoken ... and it will foster some of those other languages in a much more real way than what, cause people are saying 'oh you know never mind speaking *Māori* we all should speak *Chinese*' what they mean is, what they really mean is, we're not interested in speaking any language, but we'll just say, we should speak *Chinese*, so you can stop talking about speaking *Māori*, yeah, but yes it will be truly bilingual but ... bilingual how is it, is an interesting question, so that's what I said, you know whether its *diglossic*, cause there maybe some places where you only speak *Pākehā*, there maybe some places you only speak *Māori*, but it'll have to be with an agreement with everybody, and then in some places you can use, either languages.

Interviewer: Do you have any further views in relation to the *Māori* language and tikanga that you would like to add?

Ihu: Um, I think the ... television media and new media are going to be really, really important ... that, you know that new generation of *whare-kura* (high school) kids that are coming out, I think ... that's the area we need to be pushing with those kids, those who don't become teachers, should become geeks, or something like that ... because you can create, an image for your language, that is far greater than what the numbers of speakers would suggest that it has, you could, what, what I mean is you could create a internet image, a web, a web profile for your language ... which is again comes back to status, the status of your language, a new media for your younger generation that are [sic] those younger generation that you got to focus on, you know ... so, kids don't really read newspapers, I wouldn't worry about newspapers too much, what, what are the kids into? That's where you got to focus, because you got to create a world where they can grow up in *te reo Māori*, as you know at least 80% of the time, it doesn't mean we're going to give away *te reo Pākehā*! We want our kids to be bilingual but, at some stage when the government turns around and sez 'ok yeah, *te reo Māori* important, there will be jobs for people with *Māori* language skills, and ... if *Māori* get on the band wagon, you know, if *Māori* can teach their kids *Māori*, they will be the first in these jobs, what scares me is that, many *Māori* go nah, nah, nah, we're, we're ok to learn *Pākehā*, but when, when the status improves and the value of that language improves the first people getting those jobs will be *Chinese*, because they'll go and learn it. However, that's enough of that, in terms of tikanga I have concerns here but I won't go in there now but yeah, there's ... teaching ... tikanga *Māori* would be really important ... its even like a basic thing of ... not sitting on tables and stuff. *Māori* sit on tables now and its like 'oh my gosh! In our *whare-karakia* (house of worship (church)) ... my wife ... tells off the *Tongans*, you know, the *Tongan* ladies, who should know better, because that's also ... in their *tikanga* (culture) as well, and ... *Samoans* and stuff like that, she'll tell them off and say don't sit on those food tables ... they'll be sitting, there and next minute, 'look over there there's a *Māori*' ... So, that's just an example of yeah ... *ka memeha noa iho ngā tikanga* eh! *I roto i te iwi* (tribal culture is steadily eroding eh!),

Interviewer: Mmmm

Ihu: Yeah

Interviewer: *Ka pai,*

Ihu: *Ka pai noa iho, koia rā noa iho.* (All good finished now)

Interviewer: *Koia rā noa iho.*

KĀKAHU

Interviewer: *Ki a koe, he reo tata ngaro te reo Māori?* (Do you believe that Māori is an endangered language?)

Kākahu: In ... certain circumstances, I do believe that Māori could possibly be endangered but personally, because of my past experiences and growing up ... in *kura-kaupapa Māori, kōhanga, wharekura* ... I ... **strongly believe that it is not!** An endangered language, just because I was, and have been for so many years submerged in its fullness. It wasn't until this year when I ... came out of *kaupapa Māori* full immersion ... and went into full-time tertiary study at a *Pākehā* institute that I realized how ... not abandoned the *reo* is, but how ... it is pushed away to the side by those who do not understand its fullness ... when I mean that I'm talking about *Pākehā* who are aware of the language and do ... have a brief understanding of it but are ignorant towards it ... I feel that their ignorance ... they are surrounded by Māori in tertiary study who don't really understand *te reo* but ... want to understand it, see, they seem to be ashamed of it because of the *Pākehā* ignorance towards it, so I think that ... plays an important role in affecting the status of our *reo* (language) in *Pākehā* institutions ... in which it causes it to be endangered in those circumstances. *Ka Pai.*

Interviewer: *I te nuinga o ngā rangi, pēhea te roa o te wā e korero Māori ana koe?* (For how much for the time each day on average do you speak Māori?)

Kākahu: Well, *he tangata tino kai ngakau ana au ki te rongoi i te reo, ki te whakarongo atu ki te tangata e kōrero ana i te reo me ... te wairua, me te ihi ka puta mai i tōna reo ... he tino rawe tērā ki ahau. ... Kua piki ake te taumata o te reo ki tōku kāinga, i te mea ... i a au e ... tupu ake ana i te kura kāore mātou i tino kōrero i te kāinga, nā te mea ... kōrero ki te kura i a rā, i a rā, engari ... i te wā kua mutu au te kura ... tino mokemoke au ki te rangona i te reo, nā reira, naku anō i whakaora ai i roto i te kāinga. Nā taua mokemoke ... mehemea ka kōrero atu au ki aku teina, e kore rātou pīrangī te kōrero Māori ki au, i te mea, kua hōhā kē rātou ki te kōrero i a rā, i a wā ... Pīrangī noa iho ... rātou te kōrero mai ki au ... kia tere*

nei te kōrero, kua rātou e tino whakaaro, nā reira ... koirā te take ka huri rātou ki te reo Pākehā ... aku tuakana, mātua, poua, aha rānei, ka kaha kōrero Māori mātou katoa. Nā reira, ki te kāinga he tino pai ... anō nei, ki te mahi, well, ko te kaupapa o te kōhanga, ko te kaupapa Māori, nā reira e tika ana kia kōrero i te reo i ngā wā katoa.

(Well, I am very passionate in hearing the language spoken, to listen to those who are conversing in the *te reo* ... its soul and its power when spoken ... that's very pertinent to me.... The standard of the *Māori* language at home has improved because ... when I was... going to school we rarely spoke it (*Māori*) at home since ... every day it was spoken at school. However... when I finished school... I yearned to hear the language. Consequently, I revitalized it in our home... it was from that desire.... If I spoke to my younger siblings, they would not want to speak *Māori* to me as they were absolutely fed up speaking it every day, everywhere. They just wanted to get it over and done with. When they were speaking to me, they never put much thought into it. Subsequently ... that's the reason why they would turn around and speak *Pākehā* ... My elder siblings, parents, grandparents, and the like, we were all staunch when speaking *Māori* ... consequently, it went very well at home. As far as work is concerned, well, the policy of the *kōhanga* is *Māori-focused*. Therefore it is only right that *Māori* be spoken all the time).

Interviewer: *He mea nui ki a koe, kia korero ngā ākonga ki ngā tāngata tino matatau ki te reo (pēnei i ngā mea i tupu i te reo) kia pakari ai te reo o te ākonga? (How important do you think it is for learners of the *Māori* language to interact with native speakers (i.e. with those who were brought up from birth to speak the language) in order to become effective users of the language?)*

Kākahu: *Ae, e tika ana tēnei kōrero ... ki au nei, mehemea e taea ana te tangata te akonga nei, te whakapā ki tētahi tangata e matatau ana ki te reo, arā, kua tipu ake, me te tino mātātorutanga o te reo, ka taea e ia te ... rakuraku i te mātātanga i te hirikapo o tēnei tangata kia tino ... whakaū i a ia anō ki te āhuatanga o te ao Māori, nā reira, ko te kupu Māori ... te reo Māori. Ehara i te mea, ka taea noa iho koe whakawhiti mai te reo Pākehā ki te reo Māori.*

(Yes, this saying is correct ... I think, if the person, this student, is able relate to someone who is proficient in the *Māori* language, that is, was nurtured, and exceptionally dexterous in the language, that student is able to ... ask questions to the retentive insight of this person indigenous to the *Māori* world, therefore, the *Māori* word ... the *Māori* language. It is not as if you are just able to have a literal translation from English to the *Māori* language)

Kākahu: So ... you can't have a literal translation of the *Māori* language because if you have literal translations, it loses its essence so ... as an *akonga* (student) you tend to ... without someone who has been ... immersed in the *reo*, you tend to focus more on being able to ... understand and learn the language through books and dictionaries and ... a lot of those books and dictionaries are just ... transliterations and they don't actually have the full meaning of the *kupu* (word) whereas ... a native speaker ... they use *reo* that is more submerged into the ... ways of our ancestors so it's not trans-literal it's just ... well it's the way it should be really and ... yeah so I think ... it's very important.

Interviewer: *He uaua māu rānei te rapu huarahi kia korero tahi ai koutou ko ngā tāngata tino matatau ki te reo? Me whakamārama mai koa i tō ake whakautu? He māmā, he uaua rānei.* (Using the scale - 1, being easy, 5 being impossible, - rank how difficult it is for you (or not) to get together with native speakers of the *Māori* language to engage in conversations in *Māori*. Please explain your answer? Why is it easy or difficult?)

Easy 1	Slightly difficult 2	Difficult 3	Very difficult 4	Impossible 5
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Kākahu: Once again this is ... just dependent on your circumstances. Personally I don't find it hard at all, just because I brought up with many native speakers, but ... if I was put in a classroom full of tertiary students, I would say that there would be a two out of ten chance of me finding someone who can speak *te reo*, let alone speak it fluently.

Interviewer: *He uaua māu rānei te rapu huarahi kia kōrero tahi ai koutou ko ētehi o ngā tāngata reo Māori? Me whakamārama mai koa i tō ake whakautu? He māmā, he uaua rānei. (Using the scale - 1, being easy, 5 being impossible, - rank how difficult (or not) it is for you to get together with speakers of the Māori language (other than native speakers) to engage in conversations in Māori? Please explain your answer? Why is it easy or difficult?)*

Easy 1	Slightly difficult 2	Difficult 3	Very difficult 4	Impossible 5
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Kākahu: *Kao ... kāore i tino uaua maku, tērā pea, ko te rima tēnei pātai, i te mea ... mōhio ana au i ngā tāngata maha e kōrero ana i te reo ... mōhio au ētahi tāngata e ako ana i te reo i tēnei wā, kāore rātou e matau ana, engari e ako ana, ae.*

(No ... it's not very hard for me, perhaps five for this question because ... I know many people who speak the language ... I know some who are learning the language now. They aren't proficient but still learning, yep)

Interviewer: *He mea nui rānei ki a koe te kōrero i te reo Māori inā tūtaki ai koe ki ētehi atu tāngata reo Māori? (How important do you think it is to use the Māori language whenever you interact with other people who speak the language?)*

Kākahu: *Pīrangī koe he honest opinion? ... i te mea ... tino pai ki au te rango mai i te reo ... me te mea hoki i a au ... e kuraina ana ki te kura ... ko au tētahi tangata ... tino rawe ki au ngā mahi manu-kōrero, whai-kōrero ... ko au tērā haere ki ngā whakataetae i a tau, i a tau ... me te mea hoki, he tangata āhua rakuraku i te hinengaro o te tangata, nā reira, mehemea e mōhio ana ahau, ka taea e rātou te kōrero i te reo, ka ngana au ki te ... whakarongo ki a rātou e kōrero ana, i te mea ... pīrangī au te mōhio ... pēwhea tō rātou taumata, ae ... ko au tērā tangata.*

(Do you want an honest opinion? Because ... I enjoy hearing *te reo* ... and for me ... when I was going to school ... I was one person ... passionate about participating in speech competitions, oratory ... I went to the competitions every year ... also, I

scrutinized people. Consequently, if I know they are able to converse in *te reo*, I try to ... listen to them while they are speaking, because ... I want to know ... how proficient they are ... I'm that person)

Interviewer: *Nā, mehemea e pai ana tā rātou kōrero ka huri to kōrero ki te reo Māori. Mehemea he koretake tā rātou kōrero ka kōrero koe ki te reo Pākehā?*

(If they're proficient you'll speak *Māori*. If they're not you'll speak English?)

Kākahu: *Ae ... tika ... kāore au pīrangī i te rongō i te ... Indian-Māori, me kī.*

(Yes... exactly ... I don't want to have to listen to *Indian-Māori*, per se)

Interviewer: *He aha ngā wā, he aha hoki ngā wāhi ka whakaputaina e koe te reo Māori - marae; kāinga; wāhi mahi, me ētehi tāngata reo Māori; ngā whakahuihuinga tangata (whakangāhau, hāhi, he aha noa); ki ō ake whanaunga e mōhio ana ki te reo; hei tito waiata, pūrākau, ruri, te aha noa, hei pānui, hei tuhi rānei? (When and where do you use the *Māori* language - on the *marae*; at home; at work, with other *Māori* language speakers; on social occasions (e.g. at parties, church, etc.); with family members who are speakers of the *Māori* language; to compose *waiata*, songs, stories, poems etc.; to read and write?)*

Kākahu: *Mōku ake, ki ... ngā marae kua haere atu e au, ehara ēnei āku ake marae, engari ki ngā marae ... aha kē rānei. Mehemea kei ... te marae āku au ... koia rā noa iho te reo e rangona ana, mehemea kei te kauta, kāore au e rangona i te reo. Ae! Me kī ... ahakoa ... kei te marae rātou e mahi ana, ki au nei he koretake tō rātou whakamahi i te reo! Ae! Pono! Mehemea ka hoki atu koe ki te kāinga kei roto rā ngā ... kuia ka hanga rātou ki te kōrero i te reo, engari anō, mō ngā mātua, me ngā taitamariki kāore rātou e kōrero ana. Nā reira, tērā pea, nā te mea, kāore rātou e kōrero ana, kāore au e kōrero ana.*

(For me, the *marae* I went to, these were not my *marae*, but other *marae* ... if ... I was at my *marae* ... *Māori* was all that was heard, if I was in the kitchen, I didn't hear *Māori*. Yep! Similarly ... although ... they were working on the *marae*, I

thought their efforts to speak *te reo* was useless. Yep! Honest! If you go back to where you're from ... there are ... elderly women who to speak *te reo*, not so, for parents and young ones who don't speak it. As a result, perhaps, because they're not speaking, I don't speak)

Kākahu: *Ki te kāinga? Ae, tino kaha ki te kāinga ... ae, mōhio aku teina te kōrero, engari paku noa iho te kōrero ... a taku māmā ... me te mea kāore ia e tino... pai ana ki te whakahua tika i te kupu, nā reira ... he āhua raru tēnā ki a mātou, nā reira... ētehi wā e kore i a au pīrangī i te kōrero.*

(At home? Yes, it's (the *Māori* language) very strong at home ... yep. My younger siblings know how to speak but my mother rarely speaks ... because her pronunciation is poor ... so that's problematic for us ... consequently ... sometimes I don't want to speak)

Kākahu: *Ki te mahi, ae, ae, ka kōrero au ... i te reo ki ngā kaimahi, ki ngā tamariki o te kōhanga, rawe ki ā rātou te whakarongo ... ko ētahi o ngā tamariki kāore e mōhio ana pēwhea te kōrero Pākehā, nā reira, me kōrero Māori.*

At work, yes, yep, I speak *te reo* to my workmates, to the children of the *kōhanga*. They like to listen ... some of the children do not know how to speak *Pākehā*, therefore, speaking *Māori* compulsory)

Kākahu: *Social occasions, ae ... e tika ana tēnei mea ... i taku kitenga ake ki ngā pāti, tino, ki ngā wāhi whakangahau, mehemea kua inu rātou ... mehemea tino harikoa rānei, kua kite au e tino whakapau kaha nā rātou ki te kōrero Māori. Nā reira, ae, tērā pea, i te mea, karekau he whakamā.*

(Social occasions, yes ... this is spot on ... from what I've seen at parties absolutely, at social occasions, if they've had a drink, or if they're merry. I've seen people very boisterous when speaking *Māori*. Therefore, yep, perhaps, because, there's no inhibitions)

Kākahu: *Te whānau, ae, kua korero hia te reo me taku whānau ... Waiata, ae! Ko taku rōpū kapa haka ... koirā noa iho te reo ka kōrero ki te kapa haka ... ki aku kaiako te kapa haka kāore e tino taea te kōrero Pākehā, nā reira, me kōrero Māori. Pānui me te tuhituhi ... ae! Ka tuhi i roto i te reo, ka pānui i te reo ki te mahi, engari kāore au mahi ēnei i te kāinga.*

(Family, yes, my family speaks *te reo* ... Songs, yes! My *Māori* performance group ... *te reo* only is spoken at *kapa haka* ... My *kapa haka* teachers rarely speak *Pākehā*. Consequently, speaking *Māori* is a must. Reading and writing... yes! Reading and writing yes! At work I write in *Māori*, I read in *Māori*, but I don't do these at home.)

Interviewer: *Ko ēwhea o ēnei kōrero ngā mea e hāngai ana ki a koe - Moemoeā ai ahau i te reo Māori; Whakaaro ai ahau i te reo Māori; He pai ake mōku te kōrero ki te reo Māori i te reo Pākehā; He pai ake mōku te pānui ki te reo Māori i te pānui ki te reo Pākehā; He mama ake ki ahau te pānui ki te reo Māori i te pānui ki te reo Pākehā; He mama ake ki ahau te tuhituhi ki te reo Māori i te tuhituhi ki te reo Pākehā; He ōrite te pakari o taku tuhituhi me taku pānui i roto i ngā reo e rua, arā, ko te reo Māori me te reo Pākehā; Kāore tētehi o ēnei kōrero o runga ake nei e hāngai ana ki ahau? (Which of the following is true in your case - I dream in *Māori*; I think in *Māori*; I prefer to speak *Māori* rather than English; I prefer to read and write in *Māori* rather than English; I read more easily in *Māori* than in English; I write more easily in *Māori* than in English; I read and write equally well in both *Māori* and English; None of these are true in my case?)*

Kākahu: *Ki au nei, he tangata tino rata nei ki te āhuetanga me te wairua o te ... ao Māori me ōna āhuetanga katoa. Nā reira, tino whakaae au ki te ... mea tuarua, arā, ko tērā te mea whakaaro ai ahau i roto i te reo Māori, ae, tino kaha ahau ki te mahi tērā. Ki ahau nei he ātaahua ake ngā mahi mehemea ka whakaaro ai au i roto i te reo Māori. Ko te mea tuatoru hoki ... e hāngai ana ki au, arā, pai ake ki au ki te kōrero i roto i te reo Māori, i te mea, he ... pai ake te wairua i roto i te reo Māori ... he ōrite taku pakari ō ... ēnei reo e rua, nā reira... kāore he tino aha ki au, engari, mehemea, me kōwhiri au i tētahi ō ēnei reo, ka kōwhiri au i te reo Māori.*

(I'm a person who's very comfortable with the indigenous and spiritual aspects of the ... *Māori* world and all it encompasses. Therefore, I very much agree with the ... second bullet point, that is, that I think in the *Māori* language. Yes, absolutely. I'm very acute in that aspect. To me, it's beautiful. On reflection, if I think in the *Māori* language. The third bullet point is also ... relevant to me, that is, that I prefer to speak in the *Māori* language because ... the *Māori* language is spiritually virtuous ... I am equally proficient in both these languages. Therefore ... it's not an issue for me but if I had to choose out of one of these languages, I would pick the *Māori* language)

Interviewer: *He tamariki, he mokopuna rānei āu (tae noa ki āu tamariki atawhai)?*
(Do you have children or grandchildren (including adopted children)?)

Kākahu: Kao (No) [Went to question 12]

Interviewer: *Kua kite, kua rongō rānei koe i ētehi raru i roto i te whakawhitiwhiti kōrero i waenganui i a koe me te hunga tamariki?* (Do you ever experience any problems in using the *Māori* language to communicate with children with whom you have regular contact?)

Kākahu: *Mehemea e mōhio ana rātou i te reo, ā, kāore he raru, arā, ko ngā tamariki o te kōhanga, ngā tamariki e mōhio ana ... nā ō rātou mātua rānei, engari mō aku whanaunga kāore rātou e tino whakatipu i roto i te reo ... kāore rātou e tino mōhio ana ... he aha aku kōrero mehemea e kōrero ana ahau ki a rātou, engari ... ki taku nei kitenga, nā tā ana rātou ki te ... rongō i te reo, ā, mehemea ka kōrero au ki a rātou i roto i te reo ... ka pīrangī rātou kia whakamārama atu ahau he aha te tikanga o aku kōrero kia pai ai rātou te kōrero i taua kōrero ki a rātou ake hoa ... karekau he tino raru, engari mehemea e pīrangī ana au te kōrero noa iho ki a rātou, kāore i taea ... mehemea pīrangī rātou te whakaako, e pai ana.*

(If they know the [*Māori*] language then there's not a problem, such as, the children of the *kōhanga*, children who know ... or from their parents, but, for my extended family, they weren't really raised in the *Māori* language ... they don't really know, but ... from what I've seen, when they ... listen to the *Māori* language, that is, if I talk to them in the *Māori* language ... they want me to explain to them the meaning

of what I said which enables them to communicate that explanation to their friends ... It's not an issue but if I just want to have a casual conversation with them, it's not possible ... [but] if they want to learn, that's great)

Interviewer: *I tukuna, e tukuna ana rānei, ka tukuna rānei e koe, āu tamariki me āu mokopuna ki te: Kōhanga reo; Kura Kaupapa Māori; Whare Kura? (Did you, do you or will you send your children or grandchildren to: Kōhanga Reo; a Kura Kaupapa Māori School; a Whare Kura?*

Kākahu: This is a hard one. I think this depends on the social circumstances ... when I do have children I think it will depend on what our society is like ... if ... I was to have a ... *tamariki* now and if I had to send them to *kura kaupapa* or mainstream at this time, I would probably have to send them to mainstream just because of ... the way that ... our government and society is being led at the moment ... is unjust. While I would want them to have a fair... advantage, but ... that's just because ... the ... way that our society is heading at the moment these ... institutions are at a big disadvantage and I feel like this is putting our *tamariki* at a big disadvantage and I wouldn't want that for my *tamariki*.

Interviewer: *E whakaae ana koe, me ako te katoa o ngā tamariki Māori i te reo Māori?*

(Do you think *Māori* should be compulsory for *all Māori school students* in this country?)

Kākahu: On a political level, yes, because *Māori* is the ... official language of New Zealand and *Pākehā* is not ... *Māori* and sign language is actually the official languages of this country. So I think yes, but on a personal level, I still think yes, just because... I think that it is respectable ... for all students *Māori, Pākehā, Asian* alike to learn the language whether or not they want to, only because they need to recognise and understand that *Māori* are the indigenous people of this country and that ... if ... they expect to stay and live here ... with equal rights then ... they should treat ... *Māori* and our language with the same equal rights as their own. [Kākahu answered both questions 14 and 15 in her answer above so we went straight to question 16]

Interviewer: *Kei a koe rānei he whakaaro, mō te take, ā, kāore anō i whakatūria te reo Māori hei kaupapa ako mā ngā kura katoa puta noa i te motu?* (Do you have an opinion as to why Māori is not compulsory in all schools in this country?)

Kākahu: Once again ... this comes back to the way this country has been ... led at the moment ... and over the last couple of years, last century, really, is that ... the idea behind *Māori* not being compulsory in all schools comes back to way ages ago from colonisation but in terms of it not being ... in the *kura* (schools) at this point in time I think ... it's a big lack of ... consideration towards ... the status between *Māori* and *Pākehā* at this time. I think that ... those ... who's ... decisions ... that are based on ... this *whakaaro* (point of view) ... I think that ... there has been a bit of an ... ignorance towards whether or not it is as important at this time for students to learn it and as I said, I think ... it is important. Personally I think that they think it may not benefit financially which is why it's not being brought into the academic systems and that most of the subjects that are brought into *kura* are pretty much there to serve the purpose of being able to ... well financially benefit students in the future and I think that by them not including *Māori* ... it makes me assume that they think its not a benefit.

Interviewer: *Ki a koe, ka taea rānei ngā marae o ēnei rā hei whakaora i te reo Māori me ōna tikanga?* (Do you think that today's modern marae can help revitalize the Māori language and tikanga?)

Kākahu: With this question when you refer to modern marae, do you refer to modern marae, do you refer to the way marae are run these days or just - ? -

Interviewer: The marae today.

Kākahu: I actually ... don't think that ... our modern marae can revitalize the *reo* (*Māori* language) only because of my own experience when I go back there, not even being used. So ... how can we say that we're going to revive it if we don't use it? ... And I find there's ... a big generation gap between those who ... can't speak *te reo* and who can and at the moment *kaumātua* (elders) are the ones who can't. I

found that ... going back to my own *marae* ... with my *koro* ... who is the head of our family and he must speak on our behalf ... He was a part of the generation ... who were whacked at *kura* for speaking so they never spoke and so he does not know anything about the *reo* and it's sad because we get there to the *marae* and I've had to write his *whaikōrero* and he's had to learn it in the car on the way to the *marae* and he's done it that way so I think that ... it's not that we don't want to ... right now the generation ... who would be in charge of heading the ... revitalization are just not capable of it. The way I was taught and all my personal experiences, I have never in my years actually seen that happen where a young person has come over the top of ... an elder a *tuakana* only because ... the way ... the core values that I was taught ... at the *kura* that I went to ... we have core values in the *kura* that ... you applied to every situation and so ... everything we did, and everything we ... went to ... from 3rd form, right through to ... 7th form, they become really instilled in you and it just becomes habit. So ... I found when we went away to *haerenga* (outing) or ... to *marae kaupapa aha rānei* (to a *marae* or for whatever reason) ... we knew our place ... we know where our place is and ... I think it's just because ... the generation for the teachers that we have at the moment ... they were just under the generation who brought forth the *reo* and ... because of them, they have really ... big respect for the ones who don't actually have the *reo* (the *Māori* language) but ... as you said, are the ones who brought it back and ... I think it's all due to them that we know our place and... I found I do understand what you're saying with that because ... there's been a couple of times when I've gone to ... like for instance *kapa haka* (*Māori* performance group) nationals last year and ... we had our *kura* (school) and about forty other *kura kaupapa* (schools) from around the country come and ... you really ... can tell the difference - those who are being taught the right *kaupapa* (subject matter) and those who have no ... *kaupapa* (idea) at all and just making it up on the way. You see that they ... don't know where their place is and that they are just.

Interviewer: *Takahi te mana i ā rātou kuia koroua* (Disrespect their elders)

Kākahu: *Yep, e tino pērā ana, ki te manu kōrero i tēnei tau i kite au tēnei tama kāore ia i e kuraina ana ki te wharekura i tēnei wā, engari kua haere kē ki te kura auraki engari... i tipu ake ia i roto i te reo ... nā te mea ... kura auraki ia e kuraina*

ana me tōna reo, whakaaro i ia koia te mea me koia te tangata, nā te mea e mōhio ana ia ki te reo, nā reira, ka haere mai ia ki te manu kōrero ... koia rā tāna āhuatanga ki ngā tamariki o te wharekura and ko taku ki a ia ... “ko wai koe ki te kōrero atu ki a rātou? Taumata ... kē atu koe i a rātou, nā te mea ... kura auraki koe me te reo? Kei hea te tino ngako o tēnā whakaaro?” And yeah! *Ko te tino ngako o tēnā kōrero*, I think its just the way that ... we... are being taught and... I think it comes down to ... the *kaiako* (teacher) and it comes down to *whānau* family as well.

(Yep, very much like that. At the *manu-kōrero* (High school *Māori* speech competitions), this year, I saw a young guy who never went to high-school at this time but went to mainstream school ... he grew up in the *Māori* language ... because ... whilst going to a mainstream school, he had his *reo*. He thought he was just it! He’s the man! Because he could speak *te reo*. Well, he came to the *manu kōrero* ... that was his demeanour towards the children of the *wharekura* (primary schools). I said to him: “Who are you to talk to them like that? You’re much bigger than them ... just because you went to a mainstream school? Where’s the considered relevance in that discourse?” And, yeah, the relevance of that communication ... I think it comes down to ... the teachers and it comes down to the family as well)

Interviewer: Yeah, he’s just doing what he’s been taught.

Kākahu: Yeah, he’s just doing what he’s been taught and I think, um, yeah.

Interviewer: *Ka pai, so, i te mutunga o te rā ā, ki a koe e kore e taea ngā marae o ēnei rā te awahi hei whakaora i te reo Māori me ōna tikanga?* (Very good, so, at the end of the day ... your opinion is that contemporary marae are not able to help revitalize *te reo Māori* and culture?)

Kākahu: *He mahi tino nui tā ngā marae ... nā te mea o te mimiti haere o te reo o roto ... o tēnā marae, o tēnā marae.*

(Marae have much work to do ... because the language is diminishing on marae)

Kākahu: *Ae tika, nā te mimiti haere ... engari, tērā pea nā to mātou ka huri ... tuara noa iho mātou ki taua āhukatanga kāore mātou e tino pīrangī ana te ... he aha tēnā kupu? Te tino acknowledge that, that's happening so ... we tend to turn a blind eye, pretend it's not happening, when, we actually know it is, and I think it's up to everybody.*

(Yes, correct, because it's declining ... but, perhaps we just turn our back to that predicament, we don't really want to ... what's that word? To really acknowledge, we do not want to acknowledge that, that's happening so ... we tend to turn a blind eye, pretend it's not happening, when, we actually know it is, and I think it's up to everybody).

Interviewer: *Nā tō rourou nā taku rourou kia ora ae te reo.* (With your basket of knowledge, and my basket of knowledge our language will thrive or 'Many hands make light work')

Kākahu: Yeah! It's up to everybody ... If we are going to say it's our language, than it's our language ... and we all need to take responsibility ... we shouldn't be putting it on everybody else.

Interviewer: *Ki a koe, mā te Māori anake rānei tōna reo Māori me ōna tikanga e whakaora, me whai tautoko rānei i te karauna?* (Do you think that Māori really need the support from the Crown to fully revitalize the Māori language and tikanga?)

Kākahu: *Mehemea e pīrangī ana tātou te tino eke ki te taumata o te reo ki tōna tiketikenga ... he pai, ka tino rawe mehemea ka whakaetia ... te Karauna ki te tautoko, engari ... i taku kitenga atu ngā āhukatanga ... i ngā kaupapa Māori kua whakatū i ēnei rā ... te reo irirangi Māori ... whakaatā Māori, te teihana Māori, ngā wānanga ... ki ahau nei ... e tino ora ana te reo i roto i ā tātou, engari mehemea e pīrangī ana tātou kia ora te reo ki te motu whānui e tika ana kia tautoko nā te Karauna.*

(If we really want to aspire to the very heights of *te reo* - to its zenith ... that's fine. Absolutely, if the Crown agrees to help but from what I've seen of *Māori* organisations these days that have been established ... *Māori* radio ... *Māori* television, *Māori* stations, *wananga* ... I think ... *te reo* is flourishing inside of us all but if we want to revitalise the *Māori* language to all of New Zealand, support from the Crown is essential)

Interviewer: Anyway, it's their responsibility... in accordance with Article 2 of the treaty.

Kākahu: *Ae e tika ana.* (Yes, correct)

Interviewer: I feel if you don't get support from the Crown, it can really impact on how the *Māori* language ... can be revitalized in that if the Crown *tautoko* (supports) it, you'll find that perhaps the majority might as well ... if they don't, which they don't, I believe then the *reo* won't be fully revitalized but at the end of the day ... like you say ... *mā tātou te reo Māori e whakaora nē.* (We [*Māori*] will revitalize the *Māori* language, ay)

Kākahu: *Ae tika.* (Yes, correct)

Interviewer: We can do it.

Kākahu: We can! We can do it alone but it would be absolutely vital for them to help.

Interviewer: Yep! *Kia ora. Ki a koe, he aha ngā mahi me matua tūtuki hei whakaora i te reo Māori me ōna tikanga?* (What factors do you believe are essential in the revitalization of the *Māori* language and *tikanga*?)

Kākahu: *Kua rite ana tēnei ki ... [te] kōrero o te marae ... ki ahau nei ... ko tētahi tino ... take o tēnei ko te tē whakaako, mehemea e whakaako tika ana ... ngā kaiako, ngā tāngata ... e pīrangī ana kia whakaora ai ... i ēnei āhuatanga ... kei runga i ā rātou te ... mahi tika nē.*

(This is like what was said of the *marae* ... to me ... one absolute cause ... for this is that it's not taught appropriately, if it's taught properly ... by teachers, people ... who want to revitalise ... these attributes ... the responsibility is theirs to ... get it right)

Interviewer: *Ki a koe, he take nui tonu i ēnei rā, te mita, te momo reo rānei - arā reo ā-iwi, reo ā-motu rānei?* (Do you believe that in this day and age it matters which dialect or (e.g. standardized) version of *Māori* people speak?)

Kākahu: *Tērā pea* (Perhaps) ... I think ... because ... I am not from *Waikato*, but I am being brought up here ... my *mita* (dialect) ... because of all these years I've been ... emerged in *Waikato* ... I've picked up ... *Waikato mita* and ... some time when I go home back to my *marae* ... I kind of feel ashamed that I'm speaking another *mita* ... and I don't want to speak to my *kaumātua* (learned elders) 'cause ... yeah! I will get a growling ... I think it actually does matter and I think personally ... when I am speaking *Māori* ... I feel a bond, a connection to the *iwi, nō konei* (tribe from here), and ... I would like to feel that with my own *iwi* as well so I think it does matter.

Interviewer: To you it does matter which dialect -

Kākahu: It does matter, because I feel that it creates a more emotional connection.

Interviewer: *E whakapono ana ka noho tūturu te reoruatanga (Māori me te Pākehā) i Aotearoa whānui?* (Do you believe that this country will ever be truly bilingual (in *Māori* and English) in Aotearoa/ NZ)?

Kākahu: That's a hard one! Truly bilingual? Well, the way we are going now ... no I don't think we will ... truly [be] bilingual where we have equal rights.

Interviewer: In every aspect?

Kākahu: In every aspect? No, no I don't, but ... I like to hope that we will one day, but at the moment I don't think so.

Interviewer: *He whakaaro anō ōu e pā ana ki te reo Māori me ōna tikanga? (Do you have any further views in relation to the Māori language and tikanga that you would like to add?)*

Kākahu: *Karekau... he tino kōrero e pā ana ki tēnei, engari... he tangata e tino kaingākau ana au ki te reo, ko taku tino whakaaro mō te reo me ōna tikanga ... me ... whakaputa anō au i tērā kōrero nā Timoti Karetū pea “Ko te reo Māori kia tika, ko te reo Māori kia rere, ko te reo Māori kia Māori” He rawe tērā kōrero ki au ... kei roto rā ... kei roto i taua kōrero paku, te tino whānuitanga o tōna māramatanga ne ... tino rawe tērā ... ae koinā noa iho.*

(No ... this subject has been well discussed but ... I am very passionate about the Māori language, my primary philosophy for the Māori language and culture ... best I quote that saying from Timoti Karetu: Let the Māori language be correct, let the Māori language be fly, let the Māori language be Māori. That saying is inspires me ... within this important saying is an explanation of immense proportions, ay ... that's fantastic... Yep, that will do).

ATA

Interviewer: Do you believe that *Māori* is an endangered language? (*Ki a koe, he reo tata ngaro te reo Māori?*)

Ata: Ae, mēnā e hiahia ana āu, kia whakawhānui ... taku whakautu ki a koe ... kua mōhiotia, whānuitia e tātou ... ngāi tātou te iwi Māori ... kei te mimiti haere ... te reanga o ā tātou pākeke, kaumātua, e matatau ana ki te reo Māori. Ahakoa ngā kōhanga reo ... kua whakatūria i ngā kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa, wharekura huri noa i te motu, tū atu i tērā, kei te mimiti tonu i te reo Māori. Tēnā pea e mōhio ana koe ... te nuinga o ngā ... rangatahi, ngā tamariki e ako ana i te reo Māori ... i roto i ngā kōhanga reo, ngā kura kaupapa, ngā wharekura ... ko te mate kē, ka hoki mai ki te kāinga, te nuinga o rātou ... ka huri te reo... nā ka kōrero i roto i te reo Pākehā koianā oku ake, ā, tirohanga atu.

(Yes, if you want me to expand on my answer to you it is known throughout *Māoridom* that the generation of our learned elders fluent in the *Māori* language is becoming scarce. Although there are *kōhanga reo*, (full immersion *Māori* kindergarten), full immersion *Māori* primary schools and full immersion *Māori* high schools already established throughout this country, the *Māori* language is diminishing. Perhaps, you know ... most teenagers, children learning the *Māori* language in *kōhanga reo*, primary and high schools ... the sad thing is when most of them return home ... the language is switched ... English is spoken ... that's what I've witnessed)

Interviewer: *I te nuinga o ngā rangi, pēhea te roa o te wā e korero Māori ana koe?* (For how much for the time each day on average do you speak *Māori*?)

Ata: *Āhua ono, whitu haora ... i a rā, i a rā, tā te mea ... ka kōrero te nuinga hoki ki aku ... tamariki, nā te mea tokowhiti aku tamariki i tēnei wā... kotahi te mokopuna, nā ... kua tipu te katoa i roto i te reo Māori. Ka kōrero ngātahi māua ko taku mokopuna i roto i te reo Māori i ngā wā katoa. Engari ... tua atu i tērā ... ka kōrero Pākehā tō nā te mea i tipu ake au ... i tipu ake tāua i roto i te reo Pākehā.*

Nā, i tua atu i tērā, ka ... ngana tēnei kia ... whāngai ... i tō tātou reo rangatira ki taku mokopuna, ki aku tamariki anō hoki.

(Around six, seven hours every day, to my children, I have seven children and one grandchild and they have all grown up in the *Māori* language. I always converse in the *Māori* language to my grandchild. But apart from that, I speak English because I grew up, you and I grew up in the English language. In addition, I try to instill our noble language to my grandchild and to my children as well)

Interviewer: *He mea nui ki a koe, kia korero ngā ākona ki ngā tāngata tino matatau ki te reo (pēnei i ngā mea i tupu i te reo) kia pakari ai te reo o te ākona? (How important do you think it is for learners of the *Māori* language to interact with native speakers (i.e. with those who were brought up from birth to speak the language) in order to become effective users of the language?)*

Ata: *Ki ōku ake whakaaro karekau he mea i tua atu i tērā ... tuku atu i ... ā tātou tamariki e ... tipu ake i roto i te reo i ēnei rā tonu. Mehemea ka tipu ake rātou ... taua reanga ki te taha o te hunga ... teretere pūmāhara te hunga ... whakamireirei o te marae ... rātou e matatau ki te reo *Māori* ... he tino rongoa tērā ki te whakapiki ki te whakaora anō i te reo *Māori*. Karekau he mea i tua atu i tērā.*

(In my view, there is no substitute for that, these days we continue to send our children to be raised in the *Māori* language. If that generation are raised beside those who are learned, those who are central to their *marae*, those who are fluent in the *Māori* language, that would be very advantageous in the revival, in the revitalization of the *Māori* language. Nothing is more important than that)

Ata: I will say it in English; you can't, even though our kids have been brought up with a ... second language ... teachers that are ... fluent in the language and ... *Māori* ... to teach ... our children in the medium of *Māori* ... it's still ... the language ... it's still not [at] a ... standard that ... it's going to cause ... a difference, or create the difference, that's my own [opinion] ... that's a problem because ... I see our children when they come back ... their language structure ... and I am not ... an expert but ... there's something missing and I think the missing part there is

that they aren't been grounded by having *matatau* (competent) people, native speakers that have been born, been brought up ... I am talking about my father's generation that they ... there's a disconnect and it needs to be ... a reconnection, a revitalization and that ... there are different models around the country that I, that we both know of, that are trying to address it but I am not sure if ... that's actually ... making ... a ... great enough ... difference to ... make a difference, yeah you know ... it's a real problem.

Interviewer: *He uaua māu rānei te rapu huarahi kia korero tahi ai koutou ko ngā tāngata tino matatau ki te reo? Me whakamārama mai koa i tō ake whakautu? (He māmā, he uaua rānei).* (Using the scale below i.e. 1, being easy, 5 being impossible, rank how difficult it is for you (or not) to get together with native speakers of the Māori language to engage in conversations in Māori. Please explain your answer? (Why is it easy or difficult?))

Easy 1	Slightly difficult 2	Difficult 3	Very difficult 4	Impossible 5
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Ata: Between one and two ... it can be easy sometimes and slightly difficult ... *he rerekē te mita o tēnā, o tēnā, tō tēnā, tō tēnā o ngā tāngata ... uaua wētehi, engari, he āhua ... māmā. Mehemea... ka kōrero ngātahi au ki tētehi nō Mataatua waka āhua waea wāku tāringa ki ... ā rātou. Ngāti Porou ... nā pai rawa atu a Ngāti Porou ahakoa te matatau o te tangata ... ā X mā, tino [pai] ... ehara i te tino uaua ... he māmā, āhua māmā ki ahau, ahakoa nā te matatau o te tangata ka āhei ia ki te whaka-mārama ... ki te tangata ahakoa te tangata, ahakoa te matatau o te tangata i te reo Māori, kia tino mārama ki wāna kupu ... ae.*

(Between one and two ... it can be easy sometimes and slightly difficult ... Everyone has their own dialect, some are hard, but mostly easy. If I converse with someone from the *Mataatua waka* I sort of need to strain to listen to them. *Ngāti Porou* [dialect] it's all good where *Ngāti Porou* is concerned, no matter how fluent the person is X and the like, absolutely [fantastic], it's not that hard, it's reasonably easy for me, no matter how fluent one is, they are able to communicate ... to me,

no matter whom it is, no matter how fluent the person is in the *Māori* language I can understand what they are saying)

Interviewer: *He uaua māu rānei te rapu huarahi kia kōrero tahi ai koutou ko ētehi o ngā tāngata reo Māori? Me whakamārama mai koa i tō ake whakautu? (He māāmā, he uaua rānei).* (Using the scale below i.e. 1, being easy, 5 being impossible, rank how difficult (or not) it is for you to get together with speakers of the *Māori* language (Other than native speakers) to engage in conversations in *Māori*?)

Easy 1	Slightly difficult 2	Difficult 3	Very difficult 4	Impossible 5
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Ata: *Arohamai ... tuakana ... ka hoki au ... ki te mea ... te pātai o mua ... āhua,*

(Sorry cuz, I'll go back to the previous question, well), -

Yeah it's still one, two (on the scale above) ... it is still relatively easy for me ... to mix with native speakers of *te reo Māori* ... that are native speakers ... of *te reo Māori* ... it's more or less the same it's pretty easy but ... I would say one, -

tā te mea ... tāngata ngākau nui ... tēnei ... māua ko taku hoa ... te nuinga o mātou nei hoa matatau ... te nuinga o rātou ... i roto ... i te reo Māori ... a X mā, Y ... koia taku whanaunga ... tērā momo reanga, he maha ngā tāngata, Karaitiana.

(Because I am a passionate person my wife and I most of our friends are fluent in the *Māori* language like X and the like, Y, he's my relation, and many Christians)

And we mix in that world anyway.

Interviewer: *He mea nui rānei ki a koe te kōrero i te reo Māori inā tutaki ai koe ki ētehi atu tāngata reo Māori?* (How important do you think it is to use the *Māori* language whenever you interact with other people who speak the language?)

Ata: He mea nui tonu, ahakoa ... te matatau o te tangata ... e te kōrero i te reo Māori, engari ... wēnei oku ake whakaaro, mehemea e wetiweti ana ki te tangata ... ki wētehi ō ngā tāngata ka wetiweti, he mana tō te tangata ... ka ... noho wahangū te nuinga o te wā ... ka tiaki au waku kupu ka rea, nā te mea ... ko au tētehi o taua reanga, me kī... ka mea mai ... ōku pākeke i taua wā rā, ā, me noho wahangū koe i ngā wā katoa, nā te mea he rangatahi tonu koe ... you know you got to be seen and not heard. Engari, tua atu i tērā, ka tino waea au ki... taua tangata ... kia rere ai i te reo Māori ... he raru kore ki au nei)

(Very important, no matter how articulate the person when speaking the *Māori* language, however, in my view, if one is apprehensive towards another, apprehensive to those of prestige, [they] sit tight-lipped most times. I would watch what I would say until competent, because, I am from that generation, where my parents told me back then to sit down and shut up because you are just a boy you know you got to be seen and not heard. Despite that, I would concentrate on that person speaking the *Māori* language it wasn't a problem to me)

*Interviewer: He aha ngā wā, he aha hoki ngā wāhi ka whakaputaina e koe te reo Māori - marae; kāinga; wāhi mahi, me ētehi tāngata reo Māori; ngā whakahuihuinga tangata (whakangāhau, hāhi, he aha noa); ki ō ake whanaunga e mōhio ana ki te reo; hei tito waiata, pūrākau, ruri, te aha noa; hei pānui, hei tuhi rānei? (When and where do you use the *Māori* language - on the marae; at home; at work, with other *Māori* language speakers; on social occasions (e.g. at parties, church, etc.); with family members who are speakers of the *Māori* language; to compose, songs, stories, poems etc; to read and write?)*

Ata: All of those, the whole lot ... te katoa e hoa.

Interviewer: Ko ēwhea o ēnei kōrero ngā mea e hāngai ana ki a koe - Moemoeā ai ahau i te reo Māori; Whakaaro ai ahau i te reo Māori; He pai ake mōku te kōrero ki te reo Māori i te reo Pākehā; He pai ake mōku te pānui ki te reo Māori i te pānui ki te reo Pākehā; He mama ake ki ahau te pānui ki te reo Māori i te pānui ki te reo Pākehā; He mama ake ki ahau te tuhituhi ki te reo Māori i te tuhituhi ki te reo Pākehā; He ōrite te pakari o taku tuhituhi me taku pānui i roto i ngā reo e rua

(Arā, ko te reo Māori me te reo Pākehā); Kāore tētehi o ēnei kōrero o runga ake nei e hāngai ana ki ahau? (Which of the following is true in your case - I dream in Māori; I think in Māori; I prefer to speak Māori rather than English; I prefer to read and write in Māori rather than English; I read more easily in Māori than in English; I write more easily in Māori than in English; I read and write equally well in both Māori and English; None of these are true in my case?)

Ata: Te mea tuatahi, te mea tuarua - (The first, the second)

Interviewer: I think in Māori?

Ata: Yep ... I read and write equally well in both Māori and English -

Interviewer: He tamariki, he mokopuna rānei āu (tae noa ki āu tamariki atawhai)? (Do you have children or grandchildren (including adopted children)?)

Ata: Ae ... i mea atu ki a ko e.. i te tīmatanga o tēnei uiuitanga e hoa ... tokowhitu aku tamariki, engari tipu ake ... [ta te mea] tēnei pōtiki hei tungane ki taku hoa ... a X ... nō reira ... tokowaru ngā tamariki i tipu ake ... i roto i tōku whānau ... tō mātou whānau, kōtahi te mokopuna ... ko Y tērā.

(Yes, I told you at the beginning of this interview bro, I have seven children, but my wife's youngest brother X grew up with us, hence, we raised eight children and have one grandchild, X)

Interviewer: Mehemea āe, he mea nui rānei ki a koe kia matua mōhio ai rātou te kōrero i te reo Māori? (If so, how important do you believe it is to ensure that your children or grandchildren speak the Māori language?)

Ata: Korekau he mea i tua atu i tērā, tā te mea ... ki te kore waku tamariki katoa, mokopuna mai ... tamariki mai, mokopuna mai ... e mōhio ana, e matatau ana ki te reo Māori, he tino mate tērā, ki ahau, tino mate! Ā, koinā te take i hūnuku ... māua ko taku hoa ... māua tamariki hoki ki kōnei ki X, ko tā te mea i mua i ... tō ... mātou nohonga i kōnei, i ... noho māua ... i runga i ... te ... papakāinga ... tō tāua nei papakainga i Y ae. Ahakoa he ititi noa iho ngā kupu i taua wā rā ... ahakoa he

hurirapa tonu te reo i taua wā, nā te mea kāore i te tino mōhio ki te reo Māori, engari tua atu i tērā ... i ... kōrero Māori māua ko taku hoa ... aua kupu itiiti nei ... ki ā rāua ... ki a XX rāua ko YY. Ae, ahakoa kāore i te tino mōhio ... ki te kōrero Māori i taua wā ... mōhio ana waku tamariki.. he aha te hā, ngā tomatoma, he aha ngā tohutohu i ā pāpā māua ko māmā, rāua ko māmā nē. Nā reira, mōhio ana māua ko taku hoa, mehemea ... ka tipu ā māua tamariki i roto i te reo Māori, tuatahi me whakatikatika, me whakapakari hok I ... tō māua reo. Nō reira, koinā te take e hīnuku mai, ki X nei, ki te whai i ... taua kaupapa whakahirahira, 'Te Ātaarangi'.

(There is nothing more important than that, because, if my children and grandchildren did not know, or speak the *Māori* language, I would be absolutely devastated. That is why my wife, children and I moved to X because before that we were living at Y on our tribal lands. Despite knowing only a few words at that time and despite the errors we made when speaking at that time and although we did not know how to speak the *Māori* language we did speak those few words we did know to Z and A. Yes, despite not really knowing how to speak *Māori* at that time my children understood what their father and mother were trying to convey to them. Therefore, my wife and I knew that if our children grew up in the *Māori* language then our *reo* would in turn flourish. That is why we moved to X to attend *Te Ātaarangi*)

Interviewer: *He pēhea te roa e reo Māori ana koe ki āu tamariki, ki āu mokopuna tahi, i ā koutou e noho tahitanga? (Approximately how much of the time when you interact with them do you speak the *Māori* language to your children or grandchildren?)*

Ata: He āhua uaua tēnā ko ngā mea pākeke ... I am going to say this in English. We were very staunch tino ... ngākau nui ana ā ... māua ko taku hoa ... ki te kōrero Māori ki ā māua tamariki i ngā wā katoa ... i ā rāua e ... pīpīpao ana, kōhungahunga ana ka kōrero Māori anahe ... engari ... te wā ... ka pākeke haere, ka haere ki ... te wharekura.

(That's a hard one ... I am going to say this in English. We were very staunch ... we were very passionate my wife and I when speaking *Māori* to our children when

they (two) were very young children we only spoke *Māori* to them. However, they got older and attended high school) - That's when things changed, because we found that ... because their mastery of English was really, really bad, it was so bad that ... my kids ... refused, refused, absolutely refused, to learn how to read and write in ... [English], in actual fact ... nearly all my kids refused to go to the classes in English at *wharekura* (*Māori* immersion high school). The other thing is ... they got so pissed off because some of the exams that they had, and this was for their *Māori* exam was in ... *Pākehā* (English) and ... they threw it down in disgust and said 'what's the hell's this we are going to a *wharekura* and here we are ... being tested for *Māori* but it's in bloody English' and they threw it down in disgust ... they didn't even attempt to do it. Even though their English is quite passable '*a waha nei*' (when speaking), ... they're pretty staunch against that ... to me just being a ... I thought it was a bit of a cop-out ... we had to rethink and said well you know maybe we need ... research so that you know ... it is actually possible for the kids to be ... multilingual ... at least bilingual, but that to be multilingual and have no problems about reading and writing in whatever language as well but ... because we've ... led so busy lives, it's really hard for us to spend ... a lot of ... quality time trying to ensure that our children ... don't have problems in that area so ... that is a problem ... we are not just an isolated case that a lot of our *kura-kaupapa* (*Māori* immersion schools) kids are actually struggling with their English ... that needs to be ... addressed because ... there's a movement throughout *Aotearoa* ... in the last twenty two years trying to revitalize *te reo Māori* ... all our kids going to *kōhanga reo* ... *kura-kaupapa*, *wharekura* (*Māori* immersion kindergarten, primary, and high schools). The thing is ... that unfortunately to ... have the best opportunities not just in the *Māori* world but in ... the wider world, they need to have ... at least the basic competencies in reading and writing ... and ... conversing ... in ... a high level of English as well. And there's the balance ... and ... I would love it if ... the ideal world is that this world would just be *Māori* speaking and we would be reading and writing ... and ... that would be the media [medium] ... of conversing but it's not. That's just the way it is, until it changes but ... it's not like that right now. It's our kids that ... don't have the same opportunities like mainstream students. That's my perspective and I know ... my kids ... they find it really hard trying to even fill out forms and stuff, because of ... us being staunch with our children and then having a; not a hatred for it but they can't be bothered with it whatsoever. I ... know

I have sort of gone off the track from this *pātai* (question) ... but the time like ... when they were kids it was 24/7 ... when they went from the transition period between *kura-kaupapa* and *wharekura* we found out quite quickly that our kids were ... disadvantaged because we were so strong in *te reo Māori*. So we were trying ... to ... help them and encourage them ... as much as we could to improve their *taha Pākehā*, *te reo Pākehā* (proficiency in the English language) so that they were ... able to ... with some sort of confidence, be able to ... answer the questions in the exams. *Engari* (However) ... I have just addressed some of the ... ones that have gone to *wharekura* ... and that probably hasn't gone away either, because I ... have got my son X, he's the second youngest ... he starts *wharekura* this year, and I worry about him too because his English isn't very good either. I know he is going to struggle but we know that there is a definite problem and we are trying [address] ... to ... put in some sort of ... processes in place to ensure that, well to hope that ... he's able to address ... his short comings -

Engari, i tua atu i tērā ... ka kōrero i ngā wā katoa ki ... nga mea nohinohi nei ... tā māua mokopuna ... tā mātou mokopuna, ā, ka kōrero Māori anahe ki a ia ... ka kōrero Māori anahe ki a Y ... te mea pōtiki i ngā wā katoa.

(But apart from that *Māori* only is spoken to our grandchild and our youngest Y is only spoken to in *Māori*)

Interviewer: *Kua kite, kua rongo rānei koe i ētehi raru i roto i te whakawhitiwhiti kōrero i waenganui i a koe me te hunga tamariki? (Do you ever experience any problems in using the *Māori* language to communicate with children with whom you have regular contact?)*

Ata: *He pātai pai tēnā, nā te mea ... e ngana ana ahau ki te kōrero ki aku tamariki, te katoa, i roto i te reo Māori, engari wētehi wā ... ka katakata ... ka huri te kanohi ki wāhi kē te wā ka kōrero au ki ngā tuakana, ki ngā mea pākeke, ngā mea koroua i ahau e kōrero Māori ana ki ā rātou ... kāore i te kī ... ka whakahāwea i te reo Māori, engari ... tā te mea te nuīnga o te wā ka kōrero ... Pākehā rātou ināianei, ngā mea pakeke ... ahakoa i tipu ake rātou i roto i te reo Māori, e hia kē ... ngā tau ko pai hoki muri. Ko te tūmanako, a tōna wā ka pūpū ake ... te aroha anō mō*

te reo Māori, nā te mea ... he rangatahi rātou, kāore anō kia whai uri ... he mea nui ērā atu ... ngā mea ... o te ao ki ā rātou.

(That's a good question because when I try to speak to my children in the *Māori* language sometimes they snigger and look elsewhere that's when I speak to the older ones. I am not saying that they are the *Māori* language down, but most times these days the older ones speak English and although they grew up in the *Māori* language, they want to leave it behind. I am hopeful that the time will come when they will again embrace the *Māori* language, because they are still young and without issue they are more interested in other things that the world has to offer them) -

They're ... in a discovering phase of their lives ... they're got girlfriends and they're starting to have children and so their energies are more focused around the world that they live in, and it's not the *Māori* world really.

Engari i tua atu i tērā, kātahi anō ka hoki mai a X ... Y korekau he tangata e ... mōhio ana ki te reo Māori, nō reira korekau he ... tangata ... nō taua wāhi ake e mōhio ana ki te ... e tiaki ana ki te pae-tapu, i tono mai ki ahau tēnei tangata touhou ... kia tiaki ai i te pae-tapu mā rātou. Nō reira, kei muri ahau, taku wahine, waku tama, tamariki katoa, ka mutu taku kōrero ka tū rātou ki te haka, ki te ngeri ērā atu āhuatanga katoa. Tino waea, tino mōhio matatau waku tamariki mehemea ka haere ki te marae, kia mōhio ki ngā tikanga ... e mōhio ana rātou ngā mea ... i roto i te kāuta, te wharekai, ngā mahi hoki i roto i te ... marae ... te wharetupuna ... te marae ātea hoki. Ka noho wahangū ... nā ka tautoko i te ... tangata ka tū ki te kōrero ... ae.

(However, on another subject, X and Y had just been returned, and no one there knew how to speak the *Māori* language, therefore there is no one manning the *paepae* (a scared place where learned elders sit to represent and speak for their people, families, clan and tribe) and they asked that I man the *paepae*. Therefore, with me were my wife and children when I finished my speech they stood and did a *haka*. My children are adept on the *marae*; they know its protocol from the front to the back. They will sit quietly listen and support those who are speaking)

So even though there ... are times where they don't respect *Māori* and stuff like that, when we're in the *Māori* world they apply themselves in a *Māori* way, when they're in this world that we're living here in town, they're just like everybody else ... and their friends and everything, facebook ... they've got all the technology and stuff. They're not too bad at talking *Māori* and then sometimes they would, but mainly at times that talk yeah in that real cowboy *Pākehā* (English) ... it's like ... actually ... sounds like ... the way my father used to speak there was the 'F' word every second word. It's [a] very different way that I ... have been brought up really to speak in *Pākehā*, *kia ora*.

Interviewer: *I tukuna, e tukuna ana rānei, ka tukuna rānei e koe, āu tamariki me āu mokopuna ki te: Kōhanga reo; Kura Kaupapa Māori; Whare Kura?* (Did you do you or will you send your children or grandchildren/mokopuna to: *Kōhanga Reo*; a *Kura Kaupapa Māori School*; a *Whare Kura*?)

Ata: *Kua whakautua ... kē ahau ... taua pātai rā kia tika ana te kōrero, engari ...* (I've already answered that question, what was said is correct) depending on my child ... *ngā pūmanawa a roto ...* if I see that ... there's something in my child that ... the ... *wharekura* especially cannot provide them, I would seriously consider it (sending that child to a another school mainstream or not who could provide for that child) I think ... *he whakaaro anō tā taku hoa ...* (my wife thinks otherwise) but at this point in time all my children will be going there (*kura-kaupapa Māori*), I don't know it might change it when our youngest, but ... I know my youngest daughter X she's got a very sharp mind, she is wanting to be a lawyer and of course that stuff not really fostered at the *wharekura* ... no disrespect to X but ... even though they're very supportive of children in whatever they want to follow and they sort of get around it and that sort of thing but they don't have the ... capacity or the infrastructure to do ... stuff that's not part of ... their course -

Interviewer: Curriculum -

Ata: Yeah, they got to bring in other people and stuff to do that -

Interviewer: They should think about expanding then perhaps?

Ata: Well it's one of the only *wharekura* besides X in ... the area so ... but I mean ... you know it's not well resourced ... I know a lot of our kids are into sports, so what do they do? They don't go to Y they end up going to ... Z because of the rugby! And I think that ... these are people that ... [are] parents [who] are *matatau i roto i te reo Māori ... ka haere ki te A, engari, ko te mate kē, kei te haere ... ā rāua tamariki ki Z* (Parents [who] are fluent in the *Māori* language who attend A and the sad thing is their children go to Z) or ... some other ... girls' school and stuff. Why? Because they ... don't think that ... [the] *wharekura* has got that ... capacity to ... take their children where they want to be, they had the same opportunities ... But besides that ... when I had my ... sons' eighteenth birthday, I had all his mates here there were nearly two hundred of them here, and ... no there would have been about a hundred and something, but I had all my brothers here ... they all jumped up and this is without any prompting they did it ... it was very impromptu ... as in impromptu ... different members the ... more senior ones and that, they all turned around and *mihi* (acknowledged) to my boy, and at the end of it they did a ... mass haka, '*He Oranga Mai*' two o'clock in the morning ... and all of it ... was pretty full on and I will tell you what, I was so proud and I thought ... if that's what it is to be *Māori* ... and ... going to a *wharekura*, then I don't know what is, and ... I saw ... the pride in my brothers; they jumped up and joined in because they knew ... those haka as well but they just got so proud of ... everybody all the mates there and that we had an awesome time.

Interviewer: *E whakaae ana koe, me ako te katoa o ngā tamariki Māori i te reo Māori?* (Do you think *Māori* should be compulsory for **all Māori school students** in this country?)

Ata: Ae ... we're ... talking about like a birthright ... it's part of who we are ... and I don't need a Treaty of Waitangi to ... legitimize or rationalize ... the fact that, that should be the case it's not about that ... it's part of our legacy, it's part of our inheritance sort of thing ... it's just the right way of doing it ... there should be at least the opportunity ... that ... *Māori* is provided in all schools.

Interviewer: *E whakaae ana koe, me ako te katoa o ngā tamariki kura o te motu i te reo Māori?* (Do you think that *Māori* should be compulsory for **all school students** in this country?)

Ata: I think that *Māori* should be compulsory for everybody up until Fifth Form ... everybody!

Interviewer: *Kei a koe rānei he whakaaro, mō te take, ā, kāore anō i whakatūria te reo Māori hei kaupapa ako mā ngā kura katoa puta noa i te motu?* (Do you have an opinion as to why *Māori* is not compulsory in all schools in this country?)

Ata: This ... will be just a generic response the fact ... it's about how ... Joe Public views ... *Māori*, the language, the culture ... they see it as a commodity ... something ... of value. The only value they see in it is ... as a commodity, not a something like a *taonga tuku iho*, (a treasured gift) something that's handed down and that's precious and unique they ... look at it how I could make ... money from it they don't see it, they don't see it in the same ... light as how a *Māori* person would. It's not just about communication and its uniqueness -

Interviewer: Attitudes, ay.

Ata: I think it's all that ... but ... If you were a ... problem child at school, at college, nine times out of ten if you had a *Māori* language ... class you were banished to that class. I know because ... this is what happened ... I have heard it from other ... schools as well that did have *Māori*, if you failed *French* or *German* or *Japanese* ... the worst students were sent to *Māori* classes. The H.o.D for *Māori*, it was X, Y ... had to deal with all these problem children who used to muck around ... in all the other language classes and stuff like that, and so we ... used to ... have a lot of fun ... it wouldn't take him long to sort them out, because he was just one of those type of guys ... no nonsense type of guy and ... just reminded me of my dad, so I got on really fabulously with him, but I know the other ones, they got a ... short shift pretty fast and sorted them out. There probably would have been ... the stuff the sort of approaches he took ... those days are totally unacceptable these days and I'm no going to ... talk about that ... but ... he ... soon sorted them out

... and there was a lot of mutual respect after that. He did not chuck them on the pile ... like they did, like the *Pākehā* teachers and staff did, he actually tried to turn them around and ... you know. While they were under ... his pastoral care, he used to look after them and try and ... at least give them some sort of basic understanding about *te reo me ōna tikanga* (the *Māori* language and culture/ lore). Did I answer the question?

Interviewer: *Ki a koe, ka taea rānei ngā marae o ēnei rā hei whakaora i te reo Māori me ōna tikanga?* (Do you think that today's modern *marae* can help revitalize the *Māori* language and tikanga?)

Ata: So if we look at modern *marae*, it's not so much the modern *marae*, it could be any type of space, it doesn't matter what, but the *marae* ... is the bastion of all things *Māori*, and so of course it does, it just goes without saying. It's a space, it's the space that's created ... for any of that type of dialogue to take place and ... hence the reason why most ... modern *marae* that are ... urban *marae* that are found within ... the cities and stuff, not that in towns ... well patronized by many, many groups. And a lot of it, not just for like ... ok this is a cheap place where we can have their conferences or what-not, and cheap accommodation ... but ... it's also ... an area for people to get a better understanding about *Māori* culture about language basically in which pronunciation, proper pronunciation ... improve their understanding about of how *Māori* tick ... what ... are some of the key issues why *Māori* are jumping up and down around the *motu* (country) and ... all those types of things. Yeah ... that's the beauty of ... *marae* whether it's modern or not, does not matter, it creates a space ... for those sort of things to happen ... and we are talking about the language in this case. Bearing in mind that ... it's not just the language ... the ability to communicate but it's the ... culture, it's the ways, the do's, the don'ts, the acceptable behaviour, the reasons, the values, the *Māori* values that ... are attached ... intrinsically those are all ... inextricably linked together. So it's not just language, it's *reo and tikanga, tikanga* (culture/ lore) being ... what guides us ... in our lives ... and the values that are based around that, *manaakitanga* (kindness) ... is a fundamental part, how we look after our dead ... how we think during ... those times ... those ... important significant events ... in the *Māori* world, it's all of that.

Interviewer: *Ki a koe, mā te Māori anake rānei tōna reo Māori me ōna tikanga e whakaora, me whai tautoko rānei i te karauna? (Do you think that Māori really need the support from the Crown to fully revitalize the Māori language and tikanga?)*

Ata: Yes and no! Yes because there is an obligation by the Crown to fulfill their ... Treaty obligations to *Māori* in regard to ... the *reo* as a *taonga* (treasure) and all that type of stuff about preservation. There's a preservation clause ... in the treaty. But 'no' because ultimately at the end of the day ... we need to as *Māori*, need to take responsibility ... for our own ... you know if it is a *taonga-tuku-iho*, (a treasured heirloom) then we ... should be the agents of our own destiny ... and I honestly believe that ... we've got to move from that victim mode ... and move out of that phase and ... looking after ourselves not relying on ... everything else, and I'm not just talking about money. I think the Crown can help, get rid of the bureaucratic bullshit, if ... they can park that to the side and make easier for *Māori* to implement programmes to ensure that *Māori* is ... that the language is ... uptake ... is easy ... and I don't have the answers ... that's just not my area ... but I think that ... no matter how many billions of dollars you throw at these sort of things ay it's not going to help. It's not the money, it's the people ... the ... main thing is our people ... it's ... putting it into these areas where it makes it really, really ... we have to try and change the people's behaviour for things to happen and ... it's not just incentives ... it's a whole ... range of things ... I know there are other people out there that have got a better idea about how that can help ... how that can work, than X ... but ... to get back to the basics ... in regards ... in support for the Crown ... I ... can't remember that exactly ... if ... I'm saying the right thing, but the *Māori Party* ... one of their major ... their key *kaupapa* (venture) ... that they were driving last year was ... '*Whānau Ora*' (*Māori* focused medical and health center) ... And to me you can't ... the thing is that the *reo* should be a fundamental part of that ... fundamental! And ... what I'm saying is, it's ... got to be in ... the home ... I believe our people understood ... the *reo* and the *tikanga* ... and like '*Te Aho Matua*' for instance ... they understood ... those ... philosophies around '*Te Aho Matua*' about how ... our people didn't use to use our kids ... in the day. Our kids were brought up ... not being spoilt but ... they were brought up in a way where

they were empowered, not to be hidden in the side in the f----- corner of the house! They were actually looked after ... our old people used to look for certain characteristics and qualities and they would look after those kids ... they would encourage them to go ... 'Oh uncle this or oh aunty that' and ... that ... they were more hands on people, they were tracked into that aunty or uncle, and it wasn't usually the parents. As you know ... kids ... they switch their hearing off ... for their parents because they hear it every day 24/7, but ... when you add an uncle to that mix ... with a child they go 'oh *kia ora* uncle, yep, ok, yes'. And then what does a parent do when they see their child doing something for someone else? 'Ohhhh, get you! Yeah, going over there and mowing their lawns, you never do our lawns back at home, no matter what! I try to kick you up the bum and the rest but you never listen' see! Know what I mean! But they do it for everybody else! See, the old people knew about those different models of ... getting *rangatahi* (teenage to young adults), the ones ... that lower generation ... they shape and mould them, and they got different experts in different fields, to identify ... firstly, to identify the characteristics of certain children, and then everyone's got a skill, and they would talk, so that the communication would ... sink in ... and stay, in different children, yeah. (0.47.29 min)

Interviewer: *Ki a koe, he take nui tonu i ēnei rā, te mita, te momo reo rānei (arā reo ā-iwi, reo ā-motu rānei)?* (Do you believe that in this day and age it matters which dialect or (e.g. standardized) version of *Māori* people speak?)

Ata: *Kao ... kāore ... taua take ... i te take nui rawa atu ... ta te mea ... mehemea ka ... ako koe i te reo Māori, ahakoa te mita, ahakoa nō whea te mita, tōna tikanga ka hoki koe ki to ake rohe, to ake iwi, hapū rānei, whānau rānei ... nā waiho mā ngā ... pakeke e whakatikatika i to reo. Ko te mea nui, ka mōhio koe i te kōrero i te reo Māori. Engari, mōhio ana taua he reo i roto i tēnā, he reo i roto i tēnā, to tēnā, ā, he reo anō i runga i te marae ... ne! Ka hōhonu rawa ... te reo, te reo anō he reo, he ōkawa, he ōpaki. Ko taku atu ki a koe e hoa, kua huri rapa taku mita ... taku reo, kei roto i taku reo, he kupu nō Tūhoe ... he kupu nō Ngāti Porou, he kupu anō nō Te Tai Tokereu ... Kai Tahu hoki ... engari ... te mutunga iho ka mōhio au ki te kōrero. Te Whakarongorongo ki ngā pakeke, anā, ka mōhio e aha te ... tino kaupapa ... te ngako o te tangata, ahakoa te tangata ... te nuinga o te wā.*

(No, it does not really matter, because, if you learn the *Māori* language, whatever the dialect, where ever the dialect is from you can always go back to your area, to your tribe or clan or family and let your elders teach you your dialect. The main thing is that you can speak the *Māori* language. But we both know that there is differentiating dialect and there is dialect again on the *marae* ok! The *Māori* language is in-depth such as formal and informal. What I'm saying to you bro is that my dialect is all over the place, I speak words from *Tūhoe*, words from *Ngāti Porou*, words from the far north, the South Island as well but the bottom line is that I am able to converse. To listen to the elders and know what is being said no matter what the subject no matter whom the person is, well, most of the time.

Interviewer: E whakapono ana ka noho tūturu te reoruatanga (Māori me te Pākehā) i Aotearoa whānui? (Do you believe that this country will ever be truly bilingual (in Māori and English)?

Ata: Ae, whakapono au ki tērā, engari he ... wero kei roto, kia tika ai te reo, kia tika ai te ... mōmō reo e rere ana, nō reira, he wero tēnei ki ... te hunga ... e whakaako ana ... ngā kaiako e whakaako i te reo Māori, kia tika te kōrero, kia tika te ako, te whakaako i te tauira, i te pia, kia.

(Yes, I truly believe that, but that will be a challenge, get the language right, the language structure right, therefore that will be a challenge to those who will be teaching it, the teachers who will be teaching the *Māori* language, the correct pronunciation, the correct teaching methodology and pedagogy to students to) -

The quality of the teaching ... has to be robust ... but ... I ... do believe ... that is ... something that ... I hold to because ... if we were to follow the New Zealand census projections that ... between '2050, 2100 ... the *Māori* population will overtake the ... *Pākehā* (white New Zealanders) population' and then you've got the *Chinese* and *Polynesian* ... [are] not far off from us. So if that's the case then -

Interviewer: Yeah we're browning up eh.

Ata: It's the browning of ... *Aotearoa*, but it's not that, it's happening already, but in saying that ... hopefully ... *Māori* and *Pākehā* no matter who they are, their living here in *Aotearoa*, you saw it during the [rugby] 'World Cup' ... the pride ... that people have of the (sounds like) in-di-ge-nay-i-tee [sic] of NZ, of being *Māori* ... of doing *haka*, and I'm hoping that ... translates into people wanting to learn saying: "Oh ... I think I should ... you know ... there's an opportunity there for me to learn *Māori*". The ... *Māori* economy ... I think between thirty, sixty, thirty odd billion dollars ... at present that's how much ... is going there at the moment, and that's just going to go through the roof, once we get ... improved capacity and that ... and of course the *reo* and *tikanga* it's going to be ... a major part of that. That's going to be the ... part, that's going to be a bit of the spin off that comes from those sorts of things, because that's ... the in-di-ge-nay-i-tee, the uniqueness of our culture ... sets us apart from everybody in the world, and I'll tell you what, everyone wants a piece of it. You know ... a good example is the 'All Black' brand is one of the most ... out of all the other ... rugby union countries in the world, nations in the world; our brand is the most well known ... sought after in the whole world, and that's got to say something, we've got a clean green image here, even though it's a bit of a fallacy, but the thing is that ... what does it mean for *Māori* ... their craving for those sort of things about wanting to know more about our culture, wanting to know more about our language. You know X is ... definitely a good example ... of ... the coming together of our people between ... him and his partner and ... you can't get it ... any better than that mate. I'm not saying that we should go and marry *Pākehā*, but the thing is ... it's a beautiful ... thing ... he's the kind of person ... who is ... passionate about the language as well. I have the utmost respect for people like X that's gone out and ... done it! And he's a good example for other people that you know three years of life is not ... a huge [sacrifice] ... in the [bigger] scheme of things three years is nothing ... and yet you open a huge world ... in that short time ... knowing about ... the land, the country, I'll tell you what ... if I was in ... America or Australia and that I want to learn the language, in *Japan*, I want to learn the language, *Germany* ... I want to learn the language, not because everyone speaks that language but because ... I would want to learn it anyway. A lot of ... our people don't do that, just get a basic understanding come home and that's it! But ... I would actually like to learn about it and also the culture it's just the way I am.

Interviewer: He whakaaro anō ōu e pā ana ki te reo Māori me ōna tikanga? (Do you have any further views in relation to the Māori language and tikanga that you would like to add?)

Ata: No, not really ... I know that ... just to reiterate that ... it does start in the home. There's ... no other ... way ... of really addressing ... the short comings ... about the decline, the tracking, because it's tracking downwards, even though we got all these different things happening ... what ... my ears are hearing ... is that ... speakers of *te reo Māori* it's still tracking down, and ... I think ... that it's a real ... challenge ... to everybody our whole *Māori* nation and everybody here in *Aotearoa* ... that we should be really ... concerned about that and there needs to be something done pretty smartly, but it's a capacity issue. I would like to see as I said, see the language ... made compulsory at school up to fifth form, but for that to happen, there needs to be a major investment into ensuring that we do have... teachers in *te reo Māori* and I don't really care if they're not *Māori*. I ... think ideally it should be *Māori* but I don't think it's important that's it's not as long as their pronunciation and their ... ability to communicate in *te reo Māori* and teach it in *te reo Māori* is at a high level, of an acceptable level, so that they're able to pass it down and ... an acceptable level so that everyone can converse and understand fully in *te reo Māori*. Then I wouldn't feel funny about us trying to speak *te reo* ... it supports us ones that ... have invested in quite a bit of money, I've invested well over fifty to sixty thousand dollars in *te reo Māori*; probably way more than that. That's just the fees but ... I'm not one of these ones that go out X and ... want to ... burn the ... Pākehā language on ... a pole or something like that and big flames, no! Because at the end of the day ... I grew up in English and *Pākehā* I think in *Pākehā*, but the thing is, is that ... now I feel I have ... got the key, I've been given this key and it's like the key that should be given to every *Māori* in ... New Zealand ... from *Aotearoa* to be able to ... give them this key, which is *te reo Māori* and *tikanga* I'm talking metaphorically here, going to ... the *tupuna whare* (a traditional *Māori* meeting house) open the door and walk through and into this beautiful world, and that's really how I see it. My kids don't see it right now I am a carver, I am a traditional carver ... that ... gift being passed down to me by my dad, and you know he didn't do it ... actively, he did it passively, but it's in my blood and it's ... found

fruit ... it's ... equipped me you know. So what am I saying ... everything's around the *reo* ... and *tikanga*, and it's about ... the way we ... look at our world, and ... yeah just like that.

ATAWHAI

Interviewer: *Ki a koe, he reo tata ngaro te reo Māori?* (Do you believe that Māori is an endangered language?)

Atawhai: *Oh ae, ki te kore mātou e kōrero ki ā ... tātou tamariki, mokopuna, ka ngaro. Ki ... ahau nei ki te kāinga o Hauraki, kei te tino ngaro te reo ... kātahi anō ka hoki mai te rā nei; mai i tētehi tangihanga ... te nuinga o ngā pakeke karekau he reo ... ruarua noa iho ... ka taea te whakahaere i runga i te marae, nō reira, kei te kite. Ki te kore e mahi i ērā āhuatanga, ka ngaro tō tātou reo.*

(Oh yes, if we do not converse with our children, grandchildren it will be lost. In my view the Māori language in Hauraki is virtually non-existent. We have only just arrived back today; from a funeral most adults there could not speak the language and very few know how to manage a marae, hence, is what we witnessed. If those qualities are not employed our language will cease to exist.)

Interviewer: *I te nuinga o ngā rangi, pēhea te roa o te wā e korero Māori ana koe?* (For how much for the time each day on average do you speak Māori?)

Atawhai: *Te nuinga o te wā ka kōrero Pākehā ... ki taku mahi, ki te kāinga, engari ... ki taku mokopuna me aku tamariki ... ka kōrero Māori. Engari, ko ngā pakeke o aku tamariki kāore i rata ki te reo Māori i tēnei wā, pai atu ki ā rātou te reo Pākehā, nō reira, kāore i te tino kaha ki te kōrero Māori i a rā.*

(Most times English is spoken, at my job, at home, but to my grandchild and my children I speak Māori. However, my grown up children are not comfortable with the Māori language at this time, they prefer the English language, consequently, and they hardly ever speak Māori)

Interviewer: *He mea nui ki a koe, kia korero ngā ākonga ki ngā tāngata tino matatau ki te reo (pēnei i ngā mea i tupu i te reo) kia pakari ai te reo o te ākonga?* (How important do you think it is for learners of the Māori language to interact with native

speakers (i.e. with those who were brought up from birth to speak the language) in order to become effective users of the language?)

Atawhai: He kaupapa tino nui, it's critical ... ki ahau. Engari, he uaua hoki, nā te mea ... nā tō rātou mātauranga matatau ki te reo; mō ētehi ... ka whakamā ki te kōrero ki a rātou. Etehi wā, kāore i ... te tino mārama inā kāore e pakeke ake tū ake i tō reo ... he uaua hoki ... ki te mārama ki a rātou kōrero. Ki ahau nei ... me ngana ki te haere ... ki ā rātou e matatau ana ki te reo, kia whakapakari tō ake reo.

(It's a very important principal, It's critical in my view. However, it is also difficult, because of their knowledge and fluency of the *Māori* language; for some it is with trepidation to converse with them. Sometimes little will be understood if your language fluency is not proficient, it will also be very problematic to actually understand what they are articulating. In my view one must try and approach those who are learned in the language, to enhance your own language)

Interviewer: He uaua māu rānei te rapu huarahi kia korero tahi ai koutou ko ngā tāngata tino matatau ki te reo? Me whakamārama mai koa i tō ake whakautu? He māmā, he uaua rānei. (Using the scale - 1, being easy, 5 being impossible, - rank how difficult it is for you (or not) to get together with native speakers of the *Māori* language to engage in conversations in *Māori*. Please explain your answer? Why is it easy or difficult?)

Easy 1	Slightly difficult 2	Difficult 3	Very difficult 4	Impossible 5
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Atawhai: Te mea tuatahi ki ahau, he māmā noa, nā te mea mahi au ki te taha o ... ētehi tino matatau ... ko taku matua tētahi ... me kī, he tūturu tōna reo ... ko te reo *Māori* tōna reo tuatahi ... kei taku mahi hoki. Nō reira, māmā.

(Number 1 for me, very easy, because I work beside very knowledgeable people my dad is one that is, he is a native speaker, *Māori* is his first language, as well as my job. Subsequently, it's easy)

Interviewer: *He uaua māu rānei te rapu huarahi kia kōrero tahi ai koutou ko ētehi o ngā tāngata reo Māori? Me whakamārama mai koa i tō ake whakautu? He māmā, he uaua rānei. (Using the scale - 1, being easy, 5 being impossible, - rank how difficult (or not) it is for you to get together with speakers of the Māori language (other than native speakers) to engage in conversations in Māori? Please explain your answer? Why is it easy or difficult?)*

Easy 1	Slightly difficult 2	Difficult 3	Very difficult 4	Impossible 5
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Atawhai: *Anō nei he māmā noa, nā te mea mahi au ki X ... ki te taha o ... ngā kaimahi o Y me Z ... kaha rātou ki te kōrero Māori i a rā, i ngā wā katoa. Nā reira, inā ka haere au ki tō rātou taha ... kia māmā ki te huri taku reo ki te kōrero Māori.*

(Once again it's easy because I work at X besides my colleagues at Y and Z they all speak Māori every day, ubiquitously. Consequently if I am with them it is easy for me to switch to the Māori language)

Interviewer: *He mea nui rānei ki a koe te kōrero i te reo Māori inā tutaki ai koe ki ētehi atu tāngata reo Māori? (How important do you think it is to use the Māori language whenever you interact with other people who speak the language?)*

Atawhai: *Me kōrero Māori ... he maha o ōku hoa o mua i te wā i ... ako au i te reo o Te Ātaarangi, ki te Whare Wānanga hoki, e kaha ana rātou ki te kōrero Māori, ahakoa te aha. Nō reira, inā ka pērā ... te reo, me kōrero i roto i te reo Māori. Inā ka ngaro au ... ki ngā kupu ... ā ētehi wā ka reo rua. So I will go in English, I will jump into English ... kia māhia ... te kōrero, kia mōhio he aha ōku ake whakaaro mō te kaupapa. Engari, ko ... te reo Māori te rere o te kōrero, e ngana au ki te kōrero i roto i te reo.*

(Speaking Māori is a must many of my friends when I was learning the Māori language at Te Ātaarangi as well as at the university were consistently speaking

Māori regardless of circumstance, therefore, if it's like that then one should speak the *Māori* language. If I did not know the words, sometimes I would code switch. So I will go in English, I will jump into English to clarify my point of view in relation to the subject matter. Hence, the *Māori* language, when it was being used I would try to converse in the *Māori* language)

Interviewer: *He aha ngā wā, he aha hoki ngā wāhi ka whakaputaina e koe te reo Māori - marae; kāinga; wāhi mahi, me ētehi tāngata reo Māori; ngā whakahuihuinga tangata (whakangāhau, hāhi, he aha noa); ki ō ake whanaunga e mōhio ana ki te reo; hei tito waiata, pūrākau, ruri, te aha noa, hei pānui, hei tuhi rānei? (When and where do you use the *Māori* language - on the marae; at home; at work, with other *Māori* language speakers; on social occasions (e.g. at parties, church, etc.); with family members who are speakers of the *Māori* language; to compose waiata, songs, stories, poems etc; to read and write?)*

Atawhai: *Ki au nei ... inā, ka kōrero te tangata, ēhara ngā wāhi, nā te mea i runga ... ō mātou marae te nuinga kāore e kōrero Māori. Ko ētehi i runga i te pae ka noho wahangū, ahakoa kei te noho i runga i te pae, karekau i matatau ... ki te kōrero ... i te reo Māori. Pērā hoki ētehi ō mātou koroua, kuia. Nō reira, ki au nei ... ki ngā wāhi e kaha ana ngā tāngata ki te kōrero Māori ... ētehi wā ki te kāinga ... inā kei kōnā aku irāmutu, ōku mātua ... aku tamariki, ka kōrero ... mātou katoa i te reo, māmā noa. Ki te mahi; ētehi ō aku hoa mahi ... kaha nei ki te kōrero Māori, ētehi karekau he reo. Nō reira, inā e kaha ana ngā tāngata, pai ake ... ki te whakapakari a tātou reo, ka kōrero i te reo.*

(In my view if, one is conversing, then the place is irrelevant, because on our *marae* the majority cannot speak *Māori*. Some sit on the *pae* (a sacred place where learned elders (m) represent and speak for their families, clan and tribe) sit in silence, albeit to sitting on the *pae*, they are not able to speak in the *Māori* language. The same can be said for many of our elders. Therefore, I think the places where we consistently speak *Māori* are sometimes at home if my nephews/nieces, parents my children are there and we are all conversing in *Māori* then it's easy. At work; some of my colleagues consistently speak *Māori*, some have no *reo*. Therefore, if the

person tries, then it is beneficial for the advancement of our language when speaking the *Māori* language.)

Interviewer: *Ko ēwhea o ēnei kōrero ngā mea e hāngai ana ki a koe - Moemoeā ai ahau i te reo Māori; Whakaaro ai ahau i te reo Māori; He pai ake mōku te kōrero ki te reo Māori i te reo Pākehā; He pai ake mōku te pānui ki te reo Māori i te pānui ki te reo Pākehā; He mama ake ki ahau te pānui ki te reo Māori i te pānui ki te reo Pākehā; He mama ake ki ahau te tuhituhi ki te reo Māori i te tuhituhi ki te reo Pākehā; He ōrite te pakari o taku tuhituhi me taku pānui i roto i ngā reo e rua (Arā, ko te reo Māori me te reo Pākehā); Kāore tētehi o ēnei kōrero o runga ake nei e hāngai ana ki ahau? (Which of the following is true in your case - I dream in *Māori*; I think in *Māori*; I prefer to speak *Māori* rather than English; I prefer to read and write in *Māori* rather than English; I read more easily in *Māori* than in English; I write more easily in *Māori* than in English; I read and write equally well in both *Māori* and English; None of these are true in my case?)*

Atawhai: I dream in *Māori*, I think in *Māori* ... *pai te tuhi i te reo Māori ki te reo [Pākehā]* ... I write more easily in the *reo* than I do in English ... even though ... I think I speak English ... easier than *Māori*, because ... the main thing for me is that I am not ... immersed myself in *te reo* all the time now, but we used to back, say five years ago, when all I can remember we were staunch on our kids ... you know, *māmā noa ki te kōrero Māori*, (very easy to speak *Māori*) but if we do not use it just becomes a little bit difficult yeah ... I will say something and think “Oh! That did not sound right” ... but ... writing in *te reo* I find it easier than writing in English, I am hopeless at writing English.

Interviewer: *He tamariki, he mokopuna rānei āu (tae noa ki āu tamariki atawhai)?*
(Do you have children or grandchildren (including adopted children?)

Atawhai: Ae ... e whitu aku tamariki, kotahi anakē te mokopuna.

(Yes ... seven children, one grandchild)

Interviewer: *Mehemea āe, he mea nui rānei ki a koe kia matua mōhio ai rātou te kōrero i te reo Māori?* (If so, how important do you believe it is to ensure that your children or grandchildren speak the Māori language?)

Atawhai: *He mea tino nui rawa atu ... i whāngai aku tamariki katoa i roto i te reo, ko te reo Māori ... te reo tuatahi mō aku tamariki katoa me taku mokopuna. Tino waimarie ... ka pērā mō tērā reanga i roto i taku whānau-*

(It is extremely important I nurture all my children in the language, the Māori language it is the first language for all my children and grandchild. They are very fortunate that it is like that for that generation of my family)

So all that generation in our family are all ... *reo* speaking ... *Māori* is their first language and same with our *mokopuna* (grandchild). Whereas in my generation ... I have got ... seven ... in my *whānau* (family) and none of us were brought up in the *reo*, we have all had to go to *Ātaarangi* or *Whare Wānanga* (university) to learn the *reo*. So we all made a decision as my brothers and sister that ... with our children the *reo* is their first language and what they do with that is totally up to them and we are ... I am wrapped that ... so far all our *mokopuna* (grandchildren) the next generation, that our children have chosen also to ... give them the *reo* as their first language -

Interviewer: *Ka pai*, so when your children were growing up ... like when you were making them breakfast or lunch or ... just ... the normal goings on during the day, in your house it was all in *te reo*?

Atawhai: *Yep ... we spoke the reo with all our children until actually we started 'karate' ... because the instructions were in English, so we were actually quite fortunate because we were totally immersed ourselves, we had kōhanga reo, kura-kaupapa, wharekura, X and I were in Te Ātaarangi ... all our friends and associates were all reo speakers so we actually did not have to speak English at any part of our day ... all our family were learning with us X's mum his brother ... my sister was doing the classes my brother, my parents, well my dad is a native speaker, so ... we were in a really good position where for the first ten years that we were*

actually here in Y we just totally immersed ourselves in *te reo*. I think what was detrimental to ... being immersed in the *reo* was when we did karate as a choice for physical ... with our kids. We did teach our instructors ... commands in the *reo* like *whana-ūpoko*, *whana-waewae*, *mekemeke*, *oma*, (head-kick, leg-kick, punch, run), so some basic words so that they could engage with our children. So it took about I would say five years ... even earlier ... probably about two to three years of allowing them and introducing English into their vocabulary that they just quickly turned it around and quickly soaked up the English language very fast and ... to me that was actually quite detrimental because as soon as we introduced English into their vocabulary it became easier for them to use English because it was around them all the time. And going to training ... they were training six days a week, at least ... every afternoon so that they were always immersed in, not only English but also *Japanese* and Spanish were those other languages they have been able to pick up ... '*pai ērā reo*, *ērā ... tūmomo reo*' ... (those languages are excellent, those unique languages) so now we are trying to be really staunch with making sure that we stay in the *reo* until at least ten years old. So with Z our *pōtiki* (youngest) who is seven, and A our *mokopuna*; we have decided that the English should not be introduced ... into their *reo* (vernacular) until they are ten. One of the issues we have had, that our kids have identified ... we have had B (*Atawhai's* younger brother) who is now 23... C (*Atawhai's* eldest and son) who is now 20 and Z (*Atawhai's* second eldest son) who is now 18 ... they were totally immersed in *te reo*. When they went to D they felt inadequate because they did not have English ... so they struggled in the curriculum where it required English and one of the most daunting area's was their first exam for NCEA, where even though it was a *reo Māori* exam ... the questions were written in English and '*kāore rātou i te paku mārama ki te reo Pākehā*' (they didn't understand English language at all). So, *ko tō rātou ki ā māua ko X "me whakaako ki te reo Pākehā, nā te mea, ka haere ki ngā kura-tuarua"*, *me mōhio... matatau rātou ki te reo Ingarangi* (So they said to [my husband] and I "it would be best if you taught us English, because we are at high school now", that way they would be well proficient in the English language). So that was quite an eye opener for us and we are still struggling with when and where and ... how can we keep our kids totally immersed in the *reo*; introduce English so they have good competency in both without it being ... jeopardizing [to] their *reo Māori*.

Interviewer: A question just popped into my head so I will just make this sort of like a bullet point for question 10 another one *aroha-mai*: Do you ever think that ... any of your children will tri or multilingual?

Atawhai: Absolutely! Easy if ... they are passionate and want to learn other languages they will pick it up really easy. They picked up *Japanese* so easy they have learnt ... they can actually take a whole karate class all in *Japanese* and they know all the instructions in *Japanese*. The phonetics are the same 'A, E, I, O, U'. And they picked up *Spanish* because they did X and then Y did ... a high school intern in *Spanish* as well and so '*māmā noa mā rātou ki te hopu ētahi atu reo.* (so it was easy for them to learn other languages')

Interviewer: Do you think that was all down to ... raising your children bilingually ... *te reo Māori* first and then English?

Atawhai: I think it was more the *te reo Māori*, because English is a really hard language to speak, and even now we all struggle even myself and I have been raised in *reo* all my life ... English all my life. And it is a hard language to speak but some of the more indigenous languages are probably easier for them to pick up than it is for the English language and also to get their tongues around it because ... they were very 'fobby' ... when they were younger. When they first started speaking English I think ... X would have been about; when we introduced him to English he would have been about 12 years old and Y would have been about 11 and Z (*Atawhai's* eldest girl and third born) was a bit younger ... and that was just through 'karate' and they ... sound so fobby ... and even now A who is seven is just starting to speak English and we are trying to cut that from his vocabulary.

Interviewer: They sound like they just got off the *waka* (canoe) from *Hawaiki* or something.

Atawhai: Yeah ... yes I think that they could pick up any language that they wished to.

Interviewer: I remember dad saying when he went to *Japan* (J Force) ... he was on a peace keeping ... after (WWII) ... he was in *Hiroshima* and ... he was saying after six months those who were fluent in *Māori* were speaking *Japanese*.

Atawhai: Well I ... would have loved to have my kids speaking three languages, and the three that I would choose would of course be *Māori*, *Japanese* and ... *Spanish* ... would be the ones I would like them to learn, but I think especially ... doing business that it is actually ... integral that they learn Mandarin if they are looking at going into the business world. English would be actually my least, I would want them to learn, because it is around them all the time, so of the three languages I would pick any languages but English.

Interviewer: *He pēhea te roa e reo Māori ana koe ki āu tamariki, ki āu mokopuna tahi, i ā koutou noho tahitanga?* (Approximately how much of the time when you interact with them do you speak the *Māori* language to your children or grandchildren?)

Atawhai: I ngā wā katoa i te wā i tipu rātou (*all the time since they were born*) ... like I was saying earlier ... we have been... doing karate for nine years... and... that is when we kind of introduced ... English with them but ‘pai ake nā ka kōrero Māori ki a rātou i ngā wā katoa, i ngā wāhi katoa’ (*it’s all good because I spoke Māori to them all the time, everywhere*) ... yeah, I think like with the English language it is just ... the anger comes out as well because I am yelling, like if I am yelling at the kids to get in and do something you know all those other reo comes out as well but ... *te taha kangakanga kare e pai ki aku tāringa ki te rongō ki aku tamariki e kangakanga ana*, (the swearing I don’t like to hear my children swearing), whereas we did not have that when we totally immersed ourselves in the *reo* and I think the tone in the *whare* (house) was a bit more calmer, because we did not have ... abusive type of language but that’s easily incorporated in your day to day, lives ... when you have English around you know ... just yelling at the kids to go and do the washing, go and do their chores and go and do this that and the other, whereas when we used to *kōrero Māori* ... you just give the instructions and then you leave it at that. Yep! Your time can vary but yeah ... absolutely I think ‘pai ake nā ka kōrero Māori ki ā rātou ... yep, i pērā hoki rātou i te wā i tipu rātou, koia rā

te reo tuatahi i roto te whare (it was beneficial to speak *Māori* to them ... yep, when they were growing up *Māori* was the principle language in our home).

Interviewer: *Kua kite, kua rongo rānei koe i ētehi raru i roto i te whakawhitiwhiti kōrero i waenganui i a koe me te hunga tamariki?* (Do you ever experience any problems in using the *Māori* language to communicate with your own children or grandchildren or other children with whom you have regular contact?)

Atawhai: *No, ka taea te kōrero Māori ki ā rātou ... i ngā wā katoa i a rā, i a rā. Ko tō rātou e kaha ake ... rātou ki te kōrero Pākehā ki te whakautu i te reo Pākehā ināianei. Engari kua pakeke rātou kei te mōhio rātou ki te reo, kei te mōhio rātou inā ka haere ki tētehi wāhi ko te reo, te reo anake i roto i te whare i roto i taua wāhi ka taea rātou ... te huri ... ki te kōrero Māori i ngā wā katoa.*

(No, we are able to speak *Māori* to them ... all the time, every day. They consistently speak English, answer back in English now. However, they are adults now, they know the language, they know if they go to a place where only the *Māori* language is used in the house, at that place they are able ... to switch ... and speak *Māori* consistently)

Interviewer: *I tukuna, e tukuna ana rānei, ka tukuna rānei e koe, āu tamariki me āu mokopuna ki te: Kōhanga reo; Kura Kaupapa Māori; Whare Kura?* (Did you, do you or will you send your children or grandchildren/mokopuna to: Kōhanga Reo; a Kura Kaupapa Māori School; a Whare Kura?)

Atawhai: *I haere aku tamariki katoa ki ... te kōhanga reo ... i kī mai au e whitu aku tamariki. I haere ... a X i timata ia ki te kōhanga reo ki Y, i te wā i tamaiti ia. Tōna waimarie ia, i tipu ake ia i roto i te reo. I whāngai māua ko Z i a ia i te wā iwa ana tau, ā, ka haere ia ki te kura kaupapa Māori i A. Haere aku tamariki pakeke ki te kōhanga reo me te kura kaupapa o A, ā, haere rātou katoa ki te wharekura o B. Kāore anō rātou kia haere ki tētehi... kura Pākehā atu i a X, nā te mea karekau he wharekura i konei i taua wā ... ko C anake, engari ... tawhiti atu a C. Nō reira i haere a D ki ... E ... uaua ki a ia ki te haere ki te kura Pākehā.*

(All my children went to ... *kōhanga reo* ... like I said I have seven children. X went; he started *kōhanga reo* in Y when he was a baby. He is very fortunate he was raised in the language. Z and I adopted him when he was 9 he went to the *Māori* focus school of A. My grown up children went to *kōhanga* and A and they all went to the secondary school of B. None of them have been to an English speaking school except for X because there were no *Māori* focus high school at that time ... only C and ... C was miles away. Consequently X went to D ... it was hard for him to go to a *Pākehā* school.)

Interviewer: So A was not around when X was -

Atawhai: No, no, and ... they did not have busses set for the kids to go to A. They would have had to catch a public bus and we were just a little bit concerned about just him being so distant away so we sent him to D, which did well for him because at D fortunately for him ... they had a lot of *South Africans* and ... *Asian* students so there were quite a few ... English second language learners ... speakers ... so X kind of ... sat into that category.

Interviewer: *E whakaae ana koe, me ako te katoa o ngā tamariki Māori i te reo Māori?* (Do you think *Māori* should be compulsory for all *Māori* school students in this country?)

Atawhai: Absolutely ... I have said it maybe in some of your other questions ... I think it should be compulsory for *Māori*, because we are *Māori* and we should learn our indigenous language if we were in... *Sweden* we would learn ... the *Swiss* language ... if you were in *Japan* you would learn *Japanese*, I you were in *China* you would learn *Chinese*, we are in *Aotearoa* it's our indigenous language. We should learn our own language. If you are in *Samoa*, *Samoan*, so absolutely!

Interviewer: *E whakaae ana koe, me ako te katoa o ngā tamariki kura o te motu i te reo Māori?* (Do you think that *Māori* should be compulsory for all school students in this country?)

Atawhai: Yep! Absolutely ... because we are in *Aotearoa*. I think it's more out of a courtesy and out of respect for the indigenous people of this land and ... being part of this country. I think like if I was in another country I would automatically ensure that I learn their culture and part of their culture comes with their language. So if you were to go to *India*, of course you are going to learn about their ways and if you were in a *Muslim* country they will have their ways and *tikanga* around that, it is not to say you have to believe in what they're beliefs are but out of due respect as *tangata-whenua* that everybody should learn the *Māori* language. And the way of doing that is making sure it is incorporated in all of our skills, and I think it's critical because ... purely for things like pronunciation ... being able to move across the whole of this country and people can say *Taupo* (pronounced; *tow-poor*) instead of 'towel-poe', *Matakana* ... you know all the ... *Te Kauwhata* instead of 'tear-car-wot-ah'. It's really grating hearing our language and names, important place names being mangalized in mainstream, and I think that the next generation will be more adverse to ... that type of ... instruction in *te reo*.

Interviewer: *Kei a koe rānei he whakaaro, mō te take, ā, kāore anō i whakatūria te reo Māori hei kaupapa ako mā ngā kura katoa puta noa i te motu?* (Do you have an opinion as to why *Māori* is not compulsory in all schools in this country?)

Atawhai: I think it is just ... another way of colonisation ... and to some extent on how racist we have been brought up in ... an environment where English has dominated ... our culture, and I think ... that has been quite detrimental to us as a ... *Māori* race ... and in part of doing that it was stamping out the language ... In my parents' day they were given a hiding for speaking the *reo*, my father would have been one of them he was eight before he learnt to speak English he was raised by his grandparents up north totally immersed in *te reo* came down and moved to *Hauraki* and got a hiding ... and I suppose; we have heard those stories all through our lives about our parents being beaten ... by the teachers for speaking their language, and so it is like a way of stamping out our own culture. So colonisation ... has had a huge impact on our *iwi* and on our language to the point where ... it has become ... an endangered ... language, and our *reo* I would say is not the same as what it would have been spoken and how it would have been spoken in the old days. So we have had to compromise ... in revitalizing the *reo* and the types of *reo*

that we are speaking because it is kind of transliterated *reo* ... because I have been raised in English all my life and ... learned to speak the *reo* when I was about in my late 20s early 30s that I am still thinking in English and then kind of switching and translating it in *te reo*. Whereas my children has been raised in the *reo* as their first language, can think straight off! Without even thinking about the English -

Interviewer: Would it be the other way for them - English ... if they were trying to speak English, they would think in *Māori* and then ... turn it into English and then ...?

Atawhai: Yeah, and sometimes they get all mixed up.

Interviewer: *Ki a koe, ka taea rānei ngā marae o ēnei rā hei whakaora i te reo Māori me ōna tikanga?* (Do you think that today's modern *marae* can help revitalize the *Māori* language and *tikanga*?)

Atawhai: I don't think it's the *marae* that actually ... itself, the *marae* is a communal area it is a place ... where the tribes and *iwi* ... can become a communal area ... our current *marae* situation is really poor when it comes ... to the revitalization of the *reo*, mainly because a lot of our people we lost the *reo* and the ones that are actually running the *marae* are our *pakeke* (elders) and ... they have been so caught up in ... drama's tribal politics and ... it's about who wants to be ... too many chiefs and not enough *Indians*, and people giving themselves *kaumātua* status and to me a *kaumātua* is a learned elder -

Interviewer: not someone who is over fifty?

Atawhai: No, and then you have got *koroua* (m) and *kuia* (f) who are just our elderly, (who in these days are not necessarily learned in the context of the *marae*). So I think that people have stigmatized themselves as being *kaumātua*, but they do not have the *reo*, and to me; if you do not have the *reo* ... you can't even ... look at being a *kaumātua*! That's critical in a *Māori* setting.

Interviewer: Hence the reason I suppose they have words like *kaumātua* (learned elder) and *koroua* (elder).

Atawhai: Yeah, and like ... *tohunga* (specialist) ... *tohunga* ... who had a specific [skill] ... and they were the person to go to for particular area it might have been *karakia* (prayer), so you will go to that *tohunga* for *karakia* ... go to another *tohunga* if you wanted ... to be immersed in some other *kaupapa* (subject matter). But these days everyone wants to be a *tohunga* everyone wants to be the leaders and that.

Interviewer: In your view ... could *wāhine* (female) be *tohunga*, like *tohunga-harakeke*? (*expert weaver*)

Atawhai: Absolutely ... there was no differentiation of men and women back in the day ... and that's where a lot my research comes in is ... '*Māori women and leadership*' and how ... colonisation impacted on ... women, because we were silenced ... through the comings of *Pākehā* ... English and the ways of the Englishmen, because Englishmen, when they came to ... these shores they treated their dogs better than they treated their women and women were there to be subservant to the male. So when they actually came to this country they found it really ironic and quite amused, that women were actually leaders, we have got X who led ... her tribe into battle, and won! She insisted on signing the *Treaty of Waitangi* because she had the same *mana* as any other male. And you look at *primogeniture* which is ... around the being the first born regardless of being male or female actually had that *rangatira* (chiefly) status, but women had been silenced through colonisation and ... we are still struggling today. And you look at the business environment; you look at ... all the different organisations that are dominantly run by men; you see that was detrimental to ... our culture.

Interviewer: Did you see on *Waitangi Day* ... the *kōrero* they had on *Māori* television, *wāhine* who signed ... the treaty and the ... attitude of the *Pākehā* towards these *wāhine*?

Atawhai: Yeah, they did not acknowledge ... that these women had the right to sign and they had to insist 'no, I am the chief of this tribe, and I want to sign it' ... I think it was X or one of them that actually just ... there was one there that allowed them to sign especially up north as well, but ... others just refused to acknowledge that they had *mana* (prestige). I think the ones who got colonised the most were our men because they took on those ... chauvinistic [ways]... they were the dominators and it also shows in our ... *karakia* where we have got a lot of women gods ... X, Y ... and goddesses and they were silenced as well, so Z ... A and all these other ... entities arose above our female beings -

Interviewer: Colonisation in your view?

Atawhai: Yep, absolutely ... detrimental not only to our *reo* but also to our *tikanga* -

Interviewer: I was watching something on *Māori Television* not so long ago and ... *i raro i a X* (the underworld of X) was likened to *Hades* which I disagreed with in my own view because I thought that was ... *te wā ka haere i ngā wairua ki Rarohenga ka haere rātou ki reira i te tuatahi, kātahi ka haere ki te taha o Io-Matua-Kore kua wheturangihia e rātou ngā wairua* (where the soul goes first before going to the Parentless One (God)) ... so I thought it was a passing through area (for the soul of a person) ... *haere atu rātou ki te karangaranga a X ki Y* (the soul is called by X to go to Y) but for it to be likened to *Hades* ... there was no *Hades*

Atawhai: There is no comparison ... X goes back into... Y ... and the relationship she had with ... Z and the ... abusiveness of what happened ... when a father ... slept with a daughter ... and how she went into [the underworld] -

Interviewer: Yeah! Well that's what got me too ... incest ... yeah ... I got to do a little bit more study on X but in my mind no way is it part of *Hades* or that area ... I think that's part of colonisation.

Atawhai: I think our children ... to me it's not just about the *reo* I think ... I am still ... disappointed in to some extent about the curriculum of our *kura* and *kōhanga* and *wharekura* that ... it's just a *Māori* language way of learning, so we are just learning in *te reo*. But it's the things that we are learning ... western[ized] ways of learning, western styles of learning ... but we are just learning it in the *Māori* language, which is brilliant, which is great but we should be learning about the treaty (*Te Tiriti o Waitangi 6th of February 1840*). Our kids should know about the treaty, our kids should know about the ways of the old, they should know all about our *atua Māori* (deity's), they should know about ... the *Māori* way of thinking of the universe and of ... those physical things, we hear a lot of *kōrero huahuatau* ... *whakataukī* and *whakataukī* (*Māori* colloquial sayings) there is actually more hidden messages within ... those ... discussions so ... the curriculum could be better where so that we become not only ... recent ... people in *te reo* but also knowing the history and our ... belief system. Christianity was ... probably another area that was detrimental to our language and the revitalization of our language. Yeah! And it's really sad like going to our *marae* and we have got our own people preaching about this one god and we have never ever been raised to have one god and it's ... through ... all our *kōrero* we had gods, and every god had it's own element that they had to take care of and we acknowledged all of that, but now they put it down to this supreme being ... and I just think it's ... we have a lot of ... good competent *reo* speaking people and then they start preaching Christianity and I think it's a conflict, it's a conflict of ... how can we take on another person's belief system ... you look at *Rome* they had ... all their goddesses, gods and ... every different race had their own belief system and *Māori* had our own belief system and yet we have taken on a European western way of doing things.

Interviewer: *Ki a koe, mā te Māori anake rānei tōna reo Māori me ōna tikanga e whakaora, me whai tautoko rānei i te karauna?* (Do you think that *Māori* really need the support from the Crown to fully revitalize the *Māori* language and tikanga?)

Atawhai: No, I think ... we have to be responsible for our own destiny, I mean ... support ... in regards to having our language more accessible and in the curriculum, yep! The Crown has the ability to do that but we can't be solely reliant on ... a

system bringing our *reo* back in it is up to us as a people and the only way you can do that is start with your children ... and *kōrero Māori i ngā wāhi katoa, i ngā wā katoa* (speaking *Māori* all the time). The Crown is just ... to me ... we are always trying to go for ... getting all the wrong being done corrected and the Crown acknowledging that ... and so forth but we can make a bigger effort as a people and just make that commitment it's not hard, just got to want it and if you want it that bad enough you can have it because ... we made an informed choice we left our home and from X and came to Y. And the only reason we came here was to learn the *reo* but then following the *reo* came education and we saw well actually there is a better education system here than there is back in *Hauraki* so ... that was more important for us to make sure our children were well educated as well, so they have that balance in life, it does not have to all be about *Māori* the language and the *reo* and *tikanga* because at the end of the day they have still got to put bread and butter on the table ... and if they can do that through the *reo pai, tino pai rawa* (that's fine) but if they want to be a builder a carpenter ... or ... have a different other form of career then they are going to have to ... expand their skill base -

Interviewer: These are just bullet point questions that have just popped into my head *arohamai mai* (sorry about that). Do you think if the Crown fully supported *Māori*, not only just ... financially but ... say they honoured the treaty and started speaking in a positive light towards *Māori* all the time, do you think that the 'majority' would eventually follow? Because a lot of the time when the Crown does ... negative views towards *Māori* ... then that impacts on the newspapers ... mainstream television, so if they stopped doing that do you think the mainstream would...?

Atawhai: No. I don't think so because it's just another form of colonisation ... when ... wanting them to conform into our ways ... you know to me we are *Māori*, we would like to be raised in a *Māori* environment with our '*reo*' ... and all those things that go with it and people come in to this country, out of respect for this country; like I said earlier, [*non-Māori*] should learn the *reo* but ... that's just not the total end of it all ... and I think you are never going to get, if you look at the makeup of this country and the different nationalities around this country people are not ... going to conform to -

Interviewer: Pretty entrenched eh!

Atawhai: Yeah, and ... of course it will jeopardise the Crown's positioning ... and government's positioning, if they were to ... that's pretty evident, the *Māori Party* is struggling to ... get their votes through and ... introduce the different things that they are doing, their ... front people would just tune out. One thing that I find interesting though is that ... you know we are a very European country and a very western[ized] country but ... you know because they came over and so called discovered New Zealand and settled here ... and colonised ... the *Māori* ... natives and savages and now we are who we are. But you know, like, at what time if we have an *Asian whānau* (family) that move here and live here for many generations, do they become *tangata whenua* as well? ... and all their beliefs and then we have got other cultures that have been coming in to *Aotearoa* with them and their beliefs so we become a very multicultural country. At the end of the day, none of them can ever say that they are the indigenous people so ... the Crown ... It would be lovely, it would be ... ideal ... if ... they could have them there to ... entrench all our *Māori* ... values and that into policy, to government policy ... and hopefully one day we could do that, because I think what is good for *Māori* is good for all.

Interviewer: *Ki a koe, he aha ngā mahi me matua tūtuki hei whakaora i te reo Māori me ōna tikanga?* (What factors do you believe are essential in the revitalization of the *Māori* language and tikanga?)

Atawhai: Live it, breathe it, to me ... you need to speak it, live it, be in an environment ... and it needs to be done *ā whānau, ā hapū, ā iwi* (within families, within clans, within tribes) so that it becomes ... just a part of life ... I look at my own immediate family, there's my father's a noted speaker, all my brothers and sister and there are seven of us ... one passed very early so there are six of us raised together. We were not raised in the *Māori* language because of how it was stamped out and we did not have it in school, yet our children and that whole generation, we have got nineteen I think in that generation of my children's generation, are all *reo* speakers and *ko te reo Māori tō rātou reo tuatahi* (*Māori* is their first language) and I think to have a whole generation ... my generation learned it ... my mother and

my father can speak it, my generation now can speak it, my children and our *mokopuna* (grandchildren). So we have actually turned it around, we have actually got four generations that are now immersed in *te reo* and have a high competency, fluency in the *reo* that's as a *whānau* ... we need more 'whānau' like that and then we connect ourselves together and there's your tribe, and then we are all engaging with the ... *reo*, different values, different *tikanga* but we can actually come together and live communally and that is where the *marae* comes in ... hand[dy] -

Interviewer: There is another bullet point I have just thought of ... Do you think for this to happen ... that *Māori* ... need to put what happened in the past to the side so we can revitalise the language i.e.... I am not going to talk to him because back in the day their people came along and did this to us and all that sort of thing?

Atawhai: Yeah I think like ... their already starting to ... because our children don't look at tribal warfare and what happened back in the day ... but you can't change history, so it's good to know how ... we evolved, how did we end up with this land, how did X end up ... being... the chief of the *Hauraki* rohe what was the relationship that ... Y ... because Y has another *kōrero* (account), about their ... coming into the *Hauraki* district, we have got Z, and ... we have got all these different tribal ... entities that have ... landed in '*Hauraki*' and then you have got the *Waikato* area and you have got A, and you have got B and that makes up the whole of *Tainui* as a *waka* (as one). So there are all those engagements that I think are really important that we should always know about and that's what makes us as our history ... that's what drives us into the future to us ... we add the value ... that can ... move our people forward and ... to me *reo* and *tikanga* is critical because that is who we are and that is what makes us up and that's ... what we feel comfortable with ... I have never felt comfortable ... in an English environment or ... setting, and just going to church and doing all these things and sit up straight and cross your legs and ... you had to conform to a particular way but when you're on a *marae* environment and setting you kind of just a little bit more relaxed about that, so ... yeah.

Interviewer: *Ki a koe, he take nui tonu i ēnei rā, te mita, te momo reo rānei (arā reo ā-iwi, reo ā-motu rānei)?* (Do you believe that in this day and age it matters which dialect or (e.g. standardized) version of *Māori* people speak?)

Atawhai: Yeah, I think it is important because that is what ... differentiates us between tribes ... you know in *Taranaki* they have their own *reo* (dialect), *Ngāpuhi* have their *reo*, whether they drop the 'H' at the 'H' ... and the different dialects ... and that is what makes them unique as that tribe ... and it is just like when you look at our indigenous peoples or ... going through the different islands, *Samoa, Tongan, Māori, Fijian* ... we have all got our own -

Interviewer: You could look at *Māori* as a dialect of the Pacific language?

Atawhai: Of the *Pacific*, yeah, I think that ... we don't want to conform to say ... we are all one. This is the standard because ... I like knowing that my *Haurakitanga* (who one is from a tribal point of view) is really important ... my relationship with you is another. At this *tangi* (funeral), we have just been to with *Whaea* (Mrs) X who is from *Hauraki*, Y on the *marae* from *Hauraki* so all the staff at Y that are from *Hauraki*; all *whānau* (family), why? Because we are from *Hauraki* how we connect, well, *aua* (I don't know) ... the actual *whakapapa* (genealogical) links, I know it is there so if you are from there you are related ... some way and that actually makes you feel of a bigger picture that ... as *whānau* ... you know anyone can walk through my door ... and we ... will make sure we feed them and nurture them ... and you can do that when you are overseas or you're around and that is even the more special if you connect with your own tribe. So I think it is still important to keep those dialectal differences, because in ways we have a different *reo* (dialect), we have different *tikanga* (culture/ lore) ... and that is shown when we go back to visit to the *marae* ... where the *paepae* (sacred place where learned elders sit, represent and speak for the tribe or clan or family as a whole) is placed, you have got two *kawa* (particular way of speaking on a *marae*) in this country *tautuutu* and ... *pāeke* so ... that differentiates us as a ... tribe and an *iwi* (tribe) as well. I think that's cool. It is good that we can still have that.

Interviewer: *E whakapono ana ka noho tūturu te reoruatanga (Māori me te Pākehā) i Aotearoa whānui?* (Do you believe that this country will ever be truly bilingual (in Māori and English)?)

Atawhai: *Ka tino whakapono tātou katoa ka taea. Ka taea e tātou* (If we are all committed, we can do it) ... maybe not in my life time, but I think that if we ... gather together as a culture across the country and we entrench those ... sort of things into our *tamariki* (children) and into our *mokopuna* (grandchildren) it is achievable, but maybe not in my life time because you have got ... the political arena to deal with but ... I think if you look ... from where we have come to where we are now ... who was ever to believe that we could go into a shopping mall and everything is bilingual where all the signs are in *te reo* and the 'Base' (shopping center at the old air force at *Te Rapa*; Kirikiriroa/ Hamilton; Aotearoa/ New Zealand) is one of the biggest shopping complexes in the country ... that we will have total immersion *kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa, whare-kura*. that would not even been heard or envisaged by our *tupuna* who were beaten to a pulp even for the whisper of their language. So I think it is definitely achievable and hopefully that if everybody ... puts a strong emphasis on the ... value of the *reo* for both *Māori* and English would be brilliant ... and I am also happy for our *Māori* culture to be totally immersed just in *Māori* - that English is not even like ... if we had communities in this country that anyone ... that walks into that community can only expect to have *Māori*, I think that would be great too. I would love to just go to *Pai-o-Hauraki* (a marae) and step onto my *marae* and everyone else that walks through that gate has to speak the *reo* and if they cannot speak it then they go and learn it and they come back, they go and learn it and then they come back ... It is like going into a *kōhanga reo* ... *ko te reo Māori anakē* (only the *Māori* language is to be spoken) ... and that is for the betterment of our children and you just learn if you ... cannot speak, you don't say nothing ... and then if you want to speak it ... the language is there for you to learn. So ... we can make those decisions [and] that is achievable. You just go in and become the chairperson of the *marae* committee and say right: "*Te reo anakē i... runga i tēnei papa, marae*" (Only *Māori* is to be spoken on this marae) and then you just incorporate that.

Interviewer: He whakaaro anō ōu e pā ana ki te reo Māori me ōna tikanga? (*Do you have any further views in relation to the Māori language and tikanga that you would like to add*)

Atawhai: Yes there is actually quite a few ... when it comes to *reo* and *tikanga* that is an ongoing conversation X and I have all the time in terms of challenging ourselves especially both of us coming from ... having no *reo*, learning the *reo*, feeding it to our children and our *mokopuna* (grandchildren) and then thinking ok where is this going to get us, where is this going to get our children and so forth and sometimes we ... get over it and we kind of like ... I couldn't give a stuff about it even going back to the *marae* because we might just go there and just get a headache ... But I think that ... we need to look as a people to be more strategic about ... how we place ourselves in the world and ... strategically look at the next fifty, hundred years to make this a reality when it comes to our *reo* and *tikanga* language and culture). *Reo* (the Māori language) is really important to me because it is an opening to an understanding of what's been said and why things are the way they are and by having the *reo* more doors have opened for myself so when I go to the *marae* and I listen ... to our *pākeke* (learned elders) talking I am like: "Wow, that is so beautiful" - the thought the whole ... process of what they say and how they say it, when they say and what they say is so beautiful it is poetic ... But I also, on the other hand... I get really *hoha* (annoyed) with going to *hui* and we just listen to our men and *karekau he kiko i roto i ā rātou kōrero*. (*no substance in what they are saying*)

Interviewer: *Kōrero kākā?*

Atawhai: *Whakanui i ā rātou āno* (putting themselves on a pedestal) so we have lost a lot of ... that teaching on ... you put the best up there and they are there for a purpose to say something of value to the *kaupapa* (subject matter) as well as to take our people forward and I think our ... men sold us out as ... a *iwi*, as a people because they conformed to the Western [ideology] and colonised [perspective] ... way of doing things and the man becomes the man of the house and the women becomes the servant in the kitchen ... they were there to do ... the kitchen thing ... like going to a *tangihanga* (funerals) and you are sitting there for ... two hours, three hours, four hours. Well! They are all sitting there and the *pae* (*men*) [are]

going blah, blah, blah, blah ... *karekau he kiko i roto i ā rātou kōrero ka whaka tuarua, tuatoru, tuawha i ngā kōrero ka tere hōhā* (there is no substance in what they say and men just repeat what the last guy said before them. It is very annoying) and our people, our kids do not want to sit there listening to that! When a person gets to stand, you stand because you ... actually bring value to the discussions that are on the *marae*, whereas our people because they know how to speak *Māori* and to me that is wrong ... I think that it is unfair that our women are unable to speak when they actually have more to contribute than our men so - and I think that ... this is some of our protocols and stuff like that ... needs revamping ... and there is too much ... like *tikanga* (restrictions) - you can't do this, you can't do that. The pressure that is put on our *tamariki* too - oh well, if I can't do that I don't want to be part of this ... thing because they can decide for their selves now. They don't want to be part of that ... society or part of that movement because you have to sit to be seen and not heard ... which is [wrong] ... Our children are a different generation now and they have been raised differently ... and we are actually giving them the *mana* (sway) to decide and determine their own future ... it is not for me to say exactly what my children are going to do. All I can do as a parent is feed them as much as I can in the *reo*, *tikanga*, skills and what they do with it... when they get out in the big world ... is up to them and I just hope that I've done a good job as a parent. But ... yeah, I think there is a lot of deterrents around our *tikanga* and protocols and to me it is ... all the ... can't do this and can't do that, but why? Why can't I get up and express my own feelings about what is happening? Why do I have to sit behind these people that ... just get up there and say the same old, same old and there is no *kiko* (*substance*) in the *kōrero*? I have ... full mutual respect for that ... to me let's just get through the process, let's get through the *tikanga* and protocols and then let's open it up so that we don't ... put our *tikanga* at ... we don't jeopardise that because there is a purpose for us women and I ... still support that there is a purpose for the men but put the right men up front ... to do that job and if they are not the right people, then don't put anybody up because they are not ready for it, because they end up with big heads and think that they can ... I see a lot of the ... works actually done behind the scenes, not by those people that are ... standing. It is not a male or female thing ... they are just the *māngai* (*mouthpiece*) ... but you will find that the people behind the scenes doing all the work but the

person who stands up the front takes all the credit for it and that sort of thing got to stop.

Interviewer: Actually those are the ones who should turn around and say ... “*Ehara taku toa i te toa taki tahi engari he toa taki tini*” (mine is not alone but from all, past, present, future) ... should say things like that.

Atawhai: Well your ... *mana* (prestige) is from your people and your people will put your there. You don't put yourself there but ... now ... people are putting themselves there, it's all self nominated but I look at where have our people gone, are they able to feed their families? No! Are they able to house their families? No! Are they able to provide for their future of their family? No! So how can ... what we are doing now on the *marae* and for all the protocols that we have put in that have been passed through be beneficial if that is the conditions of our people? We have more ... prisons. We have the highest crime rate ... *Māoridom* is so dysfunctional. It is just absolutely hideously dysfunctional ... yeah, we can't solve the world but we should be able to sort our own backdoor out. Sometimes we have to take one step back and think well actually ... to me ... *te reo* to us is critical but so is more importantly is having food on the table and my children knowing how to put food on their table as well ... and that comes with a bit of skill, so you got to kind of balance all that out.

APERA

Interviewer: Do you believe that *Māori* is an endangered language?

Apera: Yes, I do believe the *Māori* language is endangered?

Interviewer: For how much for the time each day on average do you speak *Māori*?

Apera: I speak *Māori* every day ... the time frames depend on who I am speaking to at that time.

Interviewer: How important do you think it is for learners of the *Māori* language to interact with native speakers (i.e. with those who were brought up from birth to speak the language) in order to become effective users of the language?

Apera: Yes I think it is very important ... that learners of the *Māori* language ... do interact with native speakers ... because they are the model ... and ... they are the support mechanism that is used to gauge fluency amongst ... *Māori* learners ... I should say speakers of *te reo Māori* (the *Māori* language).

Interviewer: *Kia ora*. Using this scale (below), how difficult it is for you (or not) to get together with native speakers of the *Māori* language to engage in conversations in *Māori*? Please explain your answer? Why is it easy or difficult?

Easy 1	Slightly difficult 2	Difficult 3	Very difficult 4	Impossible 5
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Apera: For myself ... I would say 1, very easy because of the type of work that I do.

Interviewer: Using this scale (below), rank how difficult (or not) it is for you to get together with speakers of the *Māori* language (other than native speakers) to engage in conversations in *Māori*? Please explain your answer? Why is it easy or difficult?

Easy 1	Slightly difficult 2	Difficult 3	Very difficult 4	Impossible 5
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Apera: I find that probably, maybe a little bit easier so 1 again.

Interviewer: For the same reason?

Apera: Yes.

Interviewer: How important do you think it is to use the *Māori* language whenever you interact with other people who speak the language?

Apera: Personally I feel that is very important ... because if the language is not used it just becomes redundant ... so I think it is important to use the *Māori* language whenever you can interact with other people who use the language.

Interviewer: When and where do you use the *Māori* language - on the *marae*; at home; at work, with other *Māori* language speakers; on social occasions (e.g. at parties, church, etc.); with family members who are speakers of the *Māori* language; to compose *waiata*, songs, stories, poems etc.; to read and write?

Apera: I try and use *Māori* everywhere ... with my kids I am more often than not ... speaking *Māori* to them all the time ... at home; definitely at work, with colleagues, different family members ... and, of course, on the *marae*.

Interviewer: Which of the following is true in your case - I dream in *Māori*; I think in *Māori*; I prefer to speak *Māori* rather than English; I prefer to read and write in *Māori* rather than English; I read more easily in *Māori* than in English; I write more

easily in *Māori* than in English; I read and write equally well in both *Māori* and English; None of these are true in my case?

Apera: I definitely have had dreams in *Māori* ... Sometimes I do think in *te reo Māori* (the Māori language). I do prefer to speak *Māori* rather than English ... I find it easier to ... put my thoughts down ... I prefer to read and write in *Māori* rather than English ... simply because ... my English is not the best in terms of ... spelling ... I read more easily in *Māori*. Yes, that is true ... I write more easily in *Māori* than in English ... yeah, definitely in terms of the dramatical. I write better in *Māori* ... yeah, so most of those, actually all of them.

Interviewer: Do you have children or grandchildren (including *whāngai* (adopted) children)? If so, how important do you believe it is to ensure that your children or grandchildren speak the *Māori* language?

Apera: Absolutely important.

Interviewer: Approximately how much of the time when you interact with them do you speak the *Māori* language to your children or grandchildren? (*He pēhea te roa e reo Māori ana koe ki āu tamariki, ki āu mokopuna tahi, i ā koutou noho tahitanga?*)

Apera: With my children ... when they were younger ... for example, my four year old ... I speak no other language but *Māori* ... and my older two which are now at high school ... I would say ... sixty/ forty depending on ... what ... environment we are in.

Interviewer: Do you ever experience any problems in using the *Māori* language to communicate with your own children or grandchildren or other children with whom you have regular contact?

Apera: Just some of the words that I use they sometimes, say: "*Pāpā he aha te tikanga o tērā kupu?*" (Dad, what does that word mean?). But ... no problems in terms of talking everyday conversational use of *te reo Māori* (the Māori language).

Interviewer: Did you do you or will you send your children or grandchildren/mokopuna to: *Kōhanga Reo*; a *Kura Kaupapa Māori School*; a *Whare Kura*? (*Māori* immersion kindergarten, primary and high schools)

Apera: Yes all my kids have been in *kōhanga reo*, in *kura kaupapa* school.

Interviewer: Do you think *Māori* should be compulsory for all *Māori* school students in this country?

Apera: Interesting question that! My *Māori ngakau* (*heart*) is saying yes, but then as someone that works . . . in education, I am a realist and at this point and time I don't think many of our teachers could do it justice in terms of providing good examples and have the fluency . . . to teach... different curriculum subjects . . . so this is a bit of a double edged answer here. I will say yes, providing *Māori* teachers have the resources.

Interviewer: Do you think that *Māori* should be compulsory for all school students in this country?

Apera: Once again, that is reflective on the answer that I have just given. So yes, providing the resources are available for our . . . teachers of *te reo Māori* (the *Māori* language).

Interviewer: Do you have an opinion as to why *Māori* is not compulsory in all schools in this country?

Apera: Simply because . . . *Māori* have been totally assimilated into the . . . *Pākehā* culture and... they are still very much coming to grips in terms of the value and significance of *te reo Māori*. That is what I think.

Interviewer: Do you think that today's modern *marae* can help revitalize the *Māori* language and *tikanga*?

Apearara: Most certainly!

Interviewer: Do you think that Māori really need the support from the Crown to fully revitalize the Māori language and *tikanga*?

Apearara: I guess ... in terms of obligation of the treaty (*Te Tiriti o Waitangi* 6th February 1840) ... yes. If Māori really want to learn *te reo*, if somebody really wants to learn *te reo*, they will do it regardless ... but ... to fully revitalise the language and *tikanga* I think that they [Māori] do need support from the Crown and they should have support from the Crown.

Interviewer: What factors do you believe are essential in the revitalization of the Māori language and *tikanga*?

Apera: I think there needs to be ... a quick development ... programmes that are similar to *te kura reo* (Māori language schools) ... that run ... throughout the *motu* (country). There needs to be adequate funding in teacher training colleges and also university institutions, but I also think one of the crucial ... factors is that it needs to be somehow brought into the homes. So perhaps we change the mindset of people where ... *te reo Māori* is taught at home as a first language, and to do that ... once again there are a whole lot of ... strategies ... and policies that need to be ... [advised/implemented] to do that.

Interviewer: Do you believe that in this day and age it matters which dialect or (e.g. standardized) version of Māori people speak?

Apera: Another interesting topic that we have had a lot of debate on at X, for example, I will give you ... I won't say the *iwi* (tribe) but ... another *iwi*, bit like our *rohe* (area) ... the *reo* is ... dormant is ... a *kō kō tata mate* (nearly dead) and ... they are not so hell bent on dialect at this point in time. They are hell bent on revising the language first and foremost and then, when they are at a time that they have a critical mass ... then perhaps ... from what I understand, that is a time that they will really look at ... the dialect of their own *iwi*.

Interviewer: Do you believe that this country will ever be truly bilingual (in *Māori* and English)?

Apera: I am really hoping so ... that's a big question that ... sometimes I am influenced by my heart ... I have to have faith in what I do, in what I teach so I have to say yes.

Interviewer: Do you have any further views in relation to the *Māori* language and *tikanga* (culture/ lore) that you would like to add?

Apera: It is said that *Māori* language is ... an endangered language and ... I really hope that ... the *Māori* people in the next generation ... can ultimately become passionate about ... their language to understand *te reo Māori* is to understand ... in-stringently the *Māori* culture and ... it is such an important language that ... from a spiritual connection, it is the language that was spoken by *Rangi* and *Papa* (*Ranginui and Papatūānuku* (Sky-Father and Mother-Earth)) and that has derived down ... to these our ... ancestors down to us and should we ever ... choose not to revitalise the language, I just think it is going to be a huge part of culture that will be lost forever and ... I am confident that won't happen as long as there are people like us that are around and ... have the vision and the foresight to keep the *reo* (language) going. Although, in saying that, it is a big job and ... I think it is an important job. *Kia ora*.

MIRIAMA

Interviewer: Do you believe that *Māori* is an endangered language?

Miriama: Yes I do. I do believe that. I just believe that there is not enough support ... Even though we have things like *Māori* television, to me that is a bit of tokenism that is just giving *Māori* a TV and expect them to learn *Māori* like that. So, yeah, I do agree that it is an endangered language.

Interviewer: For how much for the time each day on average do you speak *Māori*?

Miriama: I reckon, I try to speak as much as I can but ... to my *mokopuna* (grandchildren) that's constant ... especially when they are around I speak *Māori* then I ... usually do, like to my *tamariki* because even though they can *kōrero Māori* they are sort of at an age that they are not really interested in my *mokopuna* learning that even though they are fluent in the *reo* - my *tamariki*. So, I take that as my opportunity to do as much as I can as a *kuia* (grandmother) to my *mokopuna* and so I *kōrero* (speak the *Māori* language) as much as I can right down to my new *mokopuna* that are just born that's where I ... *ka timata au* (start) from there that's where I start.

Interviewer: How important do you think it is for learners of the *Māori* language to interact with native speakers (i.e. with those who were brought up from birth to speak the language) in order to become effective users of the language?

Miriama: I think it's important but I don't think it's essential ... and while I think it is important ... like when you are new and you are learning the *reo*, (language) if you go home and you see your native people, your own people speaking the native tongue you can hear the different *mita*, (dialect) you can feel the *wairua* (spiritual essence) ... and their *kōrero* ... that's how I feel when I go home to my own people and that's what I get from. Like you say, the native speakers and it's ... to me it's really *rekekē* (different) form of learning. Like if I went to a *kura* (school) ... and we were all learning in that environment, to me I am not saying there is no *wairua*

in the *reo*. I am not saying that at all but what I am saying, for me personally, it has a big effect on me when I am with native speakers.

Interviewer: *Kia ora*. Using this scale (below), how difficult it is for you (or not) to get together with native speakers of the *Māori* language to engage in conversations in *Māori*? Please explain your answer? Why is it easy or difficult?

Easy 1	Slightly difficult 2	Difficult 3	Very difficult 4	Impossible 5
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Miriama: I would like to put easy but I think I should write slightly difficult because I can only really get that when I go home to my home *kāinga* (ancestral lands) because I interact with my old people in the *reo* only and that's to my old people because they are the only actual ones that have it ... we don't have any *rangatahi* (young adults) back home that have the native tongue, just our old people. So, yeah' I would have to say slightly difficult because if I wanted that I would have to go back to my own people my own *marae*.

Interviewer: Using this scale (below), rank how difficult (or not) it is for you to get together with speakers of the *Māori* language (other than native speakers) to engage in conversations in *Māori*? Please explain your answer? Why is it easy or difficult?

Easy 1	Slightly difficult 2	Difficult 3	Very difficult 4	Impossible 5
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Miriama: I would have to say easy - that's for me because I am at an age ... I am 52, so I am at an age where I am able to interact with those people just about every day of my life because if they are not my *whānau*, they are people that they select to hang out with so yeah, so for me it would be easy -

Interviewer: Number one?

Miriama: Yeah, easy.

Interviewer: *Kia ora.*

Miriama: That's because I am pro-*Māori*, so.

Interviewer: You go out of your way to find people to?

Miriama: Yeah, yeah, and I am actually surrounded by them you know my whole household ... it goes from myself to my children, to my *mokopuna* (grandchildren) so I am actually surrounded with it, which I am very, you know, *waimarie au* (I am very fortunate).

Interviewer: How important do you think it is to use the *Māori* language whenever you interact with other people who speak the language?

Miriama: For me it is a respect thing X ... and I have learned that over the years ... when you come along people who can *kōrero Māori* (speak the *Māori* language) and ... you don't even know them from a bar of soap, but if you *kōrero Māori*, straight away, boom! There's a connection. So for me it's about connecting with those people so ... it's important. It's very important for me when I interact with my people. That's how I feel.

Interviewer: When and where do you use the *Māori* language - on the *marae*; at home; at work, with other *Māori* language speakers; on social occasions (e.g. at parties, church, etc.); with family members who are speakers of the *Māori* language; to compose, songs, stories, poems etc.; to read and write?

Miriama: I use it on the *marae*. I use it at home. I use it at work with other *Māori* language speakers if they can *kōrero*, on social occasions, yep, party, church, *ae* (yes) with family members who can speak, yep, with family members, to compose *waiata*, songs stories, yeah. Ah, this one here, that's my weakness, not reading it but writing it so, yeah, so I couldn't say that.

Interviewer: Which of the following is true in your case - I dream in *Māori*; I think in *Māori*; I prefer to speak *Māori* rather than English; I prefer to read and write in *Māori* rather than English; I read more easily in *Māori* than in English; I write more easily in *Māori* than in English; I read and write equally well in both *Māori* and English; None of these are true in my case?

Miriama: I think in *Māori*, definitely

Interviewer: So you don't dream in *Māori*?

Miriama: I don't know what that question means because if you ... talk about *matakite* (clairvoyant) things, I definitely do - like I know when people ... sometimes when people in my family are going to die ... I know those things. So I don't know ... *moemoeā tērā?* (dreams?) I suppose, *ae* (yes), would have to say *ae!* I do dream in *Māori* because -

Interviewer: I think it's just normal dreaming when you are having a dream, when you are having a dream about, whatever.

Miriama: *Kao* (no). I think in *Māori*, *ae*, and I prefer to speak *Māori* rather than English. I wish I could read and write well in *Māori* but I can't. I read more easily in *Māori* than in English? No. I read English better than *Māori*. I write more easily in *Māori*? No. *kao*. I read and write equally both? *No*.

Interviewer: Do you have children or grandchildren (including *whāngai* (adopted) children)? If so, how important do you believe it is to ensure that your children or grandchildren speak the *Māori* language?

Miriama: *Ae*

Interviewer: How important do you believe it is to ensure that your children or grandchildren speak the *Māori* language?

Miriama: *He mea nui tēnei ki au* (That's very important to me). This is a ... very, very important one to me and I guess, since the age of twenty when I had my first child ... that became important to me when I lost my grandparents because they were native speakers and even though I never spoke *Māori* back to my grandmother and grandfather, I understood *Māori* fluently and it wasn't until ... I put my kids through *kōhanga*, then through *kura kaupapa* and now the *wharekura*. So I would have to say for me that was really, really important, not just for my children but for myself as well because it was my connection back to my *tupuna* (ancestors) to my grandparents ... I want my *mokopuna* not to be lost ... and my children because ... through our *reo* we actually get our identity ... *he mea nui ki au* (that's important to me). It's who you are, yeah.

Interviewer: Approximately how much of the time when you interact with them do you speak the *Māori* language to your children or grandchildren?

Miriama: As often as I can.

Interviewer: Do you ever experience any problems in using the *Māori* language to communicate with your own children or grandchildren or other children with whom you have regular contact?

Miriama: No I don't ... and I can tell you that even my *whāngai tamariki* (adopted children) that haven't even been brought up with the *reo*, it's like when I *kōrero Māori* to them it's a different respect thing ... and I can tell you that, in terms of my own child, if I *kōrero* to him in *Pākehā* (English) he will say: "That's all crap"... but if I *kōrero* to him it becomes a deeper meaning for him. So you know *kei te rongoa ia ki au* (he listens to me) then he starts to listen to me so, yeah ... I don't have a problem with my *whāngai* children, my grandchildren all my children in communicating in *Māori*. Yeah, it's awesome.

Interviewer: Did you do you or will you send your children or grandchildren/*mokopuna* to: *Kōhanga Reo*; a *Kura Kaupapa Māori School*; a *Whare Kura*? (*Māori* immersion kindergarten, primary, high schools)

Miriama: I have, to all of the above ... my last baby, well he's finished *wharekura noa* (high school). He went up to seventh form but ... my *mokopuna* are there now. They are doing *kōhanga* ... X. My other five year old ... grandson, all my *mokopuna* are in *kōhanga* or *kura kaupapa*.

Interviewer: Do you think *Māori* should be compulsory for all *Māori* school students in this country?

Miriama: No. *Kao*.

Interviewer: Is there any reason why?

Miriama: I just believe that ... people have the right to choose whether they want to learn *Māori*, or not, even if they are *Māori*.

Interviewer: Do you think that *Māori* should be compulsory for all school students in this country?

Miriama: Yes, I do. Even though I said no to that, yes I do believe in that because ... this is not just about *Māori*, you know. This is about *Pākehā* learning about who we are as well ... So that's my answer to that problem. We had to learn who the *Pākehā* were. They tried to assimilate us. Nah, we fought that for years. So why can't they learn our *reo*? We had to learn *Pākehā* every day.

Interviewer: Do you have an opinion as to why *Māori* is not compulsory in all schools in this country?

Miriama: I think the *Pākehā* are actually frightened of losing too much power ... because ... if *Māori* become too, too well educated from the ... you know the top to the bottom, *Pākehā* are going to have no job ... I really think also that they do not honour the *treaty* because of that too, because you know when like our *rangatira* (ancestors) signed all those things over, we were looking for ... equality. We weren't looking for them supersede us and take over everything ... that we had as *Māori*. I am not saying we owned what we had as *Māori* but ... yeah I think that ...

I really do. I think that *Māori* will become too powerful and ... I think it is just a real bloody tokenism ... how they let us have *kōhanga reo* and then they let us have *kura kaupapa and wharekura* ... and an example of that is *Iraqis* can come over here for five minutes and get a school up. *Māori* have been here for how many years? And we have to wait five or six years to try and get a high school up. X is an example. You know, six years fighting against the ministry ... what's that about? What is the problem? So I think it's about politics. It's about greed. It's not giving *Māori* equality. That's what I believe.

Interviewer: Racism?

Miriama: Yep.

Interviewer: Do you think that today's modern marae can help revitalize the *Māori* language and *tikanga*?

Miriama: Yep, because it is not about the *marae* being modern, it's about the people who built that *marae* and what they have to offer.

Interviewer: Do you think that *Māori* really need the support from the Crown to fully revitalize the *Māori* language and *tikanga*?

Miriama: That's a bit of a difficult one for me ... I wouldn't like to depend on the Crown ... to revitalise our *reo* and our *tikanga*. I wouldn't but ... I actually look at it this way - they owe us. They should be - I will give you an example. I have paid thirty thousand dollars to go back to school and learn what was rightfully mine from the start so ... you know, what's up with that? Eh! Not good! So, yes, financially they should definitely.

Interviewer: What factors do you believe are essential in the revitalization of the *Māori* language and *tikanga*?

Miriama: *Tautoko* (support) from your *whānau*, your *hapū* and your *iwi* (family, clan, tribe) that would be a big one with me because ... when you talk about ... *iwi*

and *hapū* development, that's part of it ... so, yeah, that would be really good. Your own ... community ... yeah, wider community, but I always look at it in terms of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* support.

Interviewer: Do you believe that in this day and age it matters which dialect or (e.g. standardized) version of *Māori* people speak?

Miriama: I can tell you this, when I first was on my journey to *kōrero Māori* ... I didn't care where I learned it. I didn't care because most of my bros were from *Tūhoe* so that's where I learned it from. When I went home to my people and you hear the different *mita o te reo* (dialect) eh, and the dialect there, it wasn't important then, but now that I am older I can *kōrero Māori*, yes it is because it identifies where I come from ... and I also learned another thing about dialect from my journey too, and ... one of them was ... you know how when you go to a certain *iwi* and ... they might talk differently and you crack up laughing and you know my teacher said that you shouldn't do that because a lot ... of their *reo* also comes from *te hau kāinga* (home) ... and I said, you know when I heard my friend say, and I thought she was going *hari up mete* and I was going help *te 'hari up'* and she said ... and I didn't *katakata* (laugh) because she said: "*Oh met, that's how we talk here you know, 'hari up eh'*" ... so that one I knew don't *katakata* because *koinā te reo o ngā hau-kāinga* (that is the vernacular of the homestead) ... yes, for me starting out I didn't care but it wasn't until I was able to *kōrero Māori* that the dialect became an issue to me yeah... because I wanted people to know where I came from, not where I learned my *reo* from

Interviewer: Do you believe that this country will ever be truly bilingual (in *Māori* and English)?

Miriama: I wish, that's all I will say, *koina taku hiahia* (that is my wish).

Interviewer: Do you have any further views in relation to the *Māori* language and *tikanga* that you would like to add?

Miriama: *Kao.*

EPA

Interviewer: Do you believe that *Māori* is an endangered language?

Epa: In one sense I think it is ... and in another context I don't think it is.

Interviewer: For how much for the time each day on average do you speak *Māori*?

Epa: Probably about an hour a day ... probably combined ... just little smidgen of sentences here and ... yeah ... like when I am in *kōhanga* I try to converse especially around the children in *te reo* and ... with my children at home they tend to listen ... speaking in *te reo*.

Interviewer: How important do you think it is for learners of the *Māori* language to interact with native speakers (i.e. with those who were brought up from birth to speak the language) in order to become effective users of the language?

Epa: Very - very important.

Interviewer: *Kia ora*. Using this scale (below), how difficult it is for you (or not) to get together with native speakers of the *Māori* language to engage in conversations in *Māori*? Please explain your answer? Why is it easy or difficult?

Easy 1	Slightly difficult 2	Difficult 3	Very difficult 4	Impossible 5
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Epa: Very easy because my in-laws are both still alive so I am lucky to have them because... they are in their late 70s, early eighties so I am lucky in that sense and it doesn't take that much to pick up the phone and have a *kōrero* (chat) with them or visit them or visa-versa they visit us so very easy.

Interviewer: Using this scale (below), rank how difficult (or not) it is for you to get together with speakers of the *Māori* language (other than native speakers) to engage in conversations in *Māori*? Please explain your answer? Why is it easy or difficult?

Easy 1	Slightly difficult 2	Difficult 3	Very difficult 4	Impossible 5
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Epa: Easy because I work, environment I work in ... so, easy.

Interviewer: How important do you think it is to use the *Māori* language whenever you interact with other people who speak the language?

Epa: I think it is important especially ... with the *mita* (dialect) because the *mita* is dying ... they *kōrero* about that ... *Māori* ... has sort of like evolved but ... in the context of *mita* it has been snuffed out. It has not been allowed to evolve. What has come along is ... a grammatically correct *reo* that has been ... introduced ... colonised ... we have been forced fed ... a language ... I feel *te reo Māori* has been shaped to fit in with the *Pākehā* ... structure on how they would like it structured ... so that is how I think on ... in that way and because ... if you look at it with talking with native speakers they don't actually find it difficult to understand those who have learned the *reo* at institutions.

Interviewer: When and where do you use the *Māori* language - on the *marae*; at home; at work, with other *Māori* language speakers; on social occasions (e.g. at parties, church, etc.); with family members who are speakers of the *Māori* language; to compose *waiata*, songs, stories, poems etc.; to read and write?

Epa: Not so much, to read and write.

Interviewer: Which of the following is true in your case - I dream in *Māori*; I think in *Māori*; I prefer to speak *Māori* rather than English; I prefer to read and write in *Māori* rather than English; I read more easily in *Māori* than in English; I write more easily in *Māori* than in English; I read and write equally well in both *Māori* and English; None of these are true in my case?

Epa: I have dreamt in *Māori*. The one ‘Think in *Māori*’ ... that’s a hard one. I prefer to speak *Māori* rather than English, yep, depends probably on the *mita* (dialect) because ... that I find is a dying thing is the *mita*. I prefer to read and write in *Māori* ... yep, I would ... that would be good to read and write. No, I don’t read more easy in *Māori* than English. And no I don’t read and write equally well in both *Māori* and English. None of these is true in my case.

Interviewer: Do you have children or grandchildren (including *whāngai* (adopted) children)? If so, how important do you believe it is to ensure that your children or grandchildren speak the *Māori* language?

Epa: Yes, very important.

Interviewer: Approximately how much of the time when you interact with them do you speak the *Māori* language to your children or grandchildren?

Epa: Regularly I would say ... at home, in the car. Sometimes I would just ... break out in the *reo* sentences, because they tend to have ... selective hearing... but if it’s in the *reo* then they listen.

Interviewer: Do you ever experience any problems in using the *Māori* language to communicate with your own children or grandchildren or other children with whom you have regular contact?

Epa: No, because ... I usually break out in English to get things clarified, they will ask it again ... in English ... clarify the word I was using ... more or less it will be like pronunciation, yeah.

Interviewer: Did you do you or will you send your children or grandchildren/*mokopuna* to: *Kōhanga Reo*; a *Kura Kaupapa Māori School*; a *Whare Kura*? (*Māori* immersion kindergarten, primary, high schools)

Epa: Yep ... all three, yep

Interviewer: Do you think *Māori* should be compulsory for *all Māori school students* in this country?

Interviewer: Do you think that *Māori* should be compulsory for *all school students* in this country?

Epa: Yes.

Epa: Yes ... I think it's good to have a second language and proof of that is if you look at Europe. You look at England, the other language would be *French* and visa-versa with *France*, the other language would be English and in *Germany* the same. In *Italy*, *Switzerland*, that's the same while in *Switzerland* they have got like *Italian*, *French* and *German* ... as well as English ... but those other ones, those other languages would probably be more prominent than English ... the *Italian*, the *French* and the *German*.

Interviewer: Do you have an opinion as to why *Māori* is not compulsory in all schools in this country?

Epa: I think it's just a mindset and I think it's a mindset that under the ... use the language ... I think it's the older generation like probably those more in the fifties because e... from where I come from, you actually have *Pākehā* who spoke fluent *Māori* so I think it's those from the ... fifties, the '*whinging pom era*' and all those who immigrated ... feel threatened more than anything else ... and for those back home who learned the *reo*, they learned to live with their neighbours ... and yeah ... and they don't seem to have an issue with learning *Māori* at all.

Interviewer: Do you think that today's modern marae can help revitalize the *Māori* language and *tikanga*? (culture)

Epa: If it's in your own *takiwā* (area), yes because I know ... back at home they have been having *te reo wānanga* (discussions on the *Māori* language), *whakapapa wānanga* (discussions on *Māori* genealogy), all that, so, yeah, I think that is quite important in revitalizing it and it's good too because back in like on your own

marae, you still have native speakers so it's good to actually utilize the *Māori* that's still around.

Interviewer: Do you think that *Māori* really need the support from the Crown to fully revitalize the *Māori* language and *tikanga*?

Epa: To ... the Crown! - support from the Crown which will probably be funding wise, and the thing with the Crown is ... they try and fit you into their little box of ideals, not the other way around.

Interviewer: Do you think that if the Crown fully supported the revitalization of the *Māori* language that mainstream would follow?

Epa: I think it will only be realized if it actually ... started from the kids ... infants and at primary schools and things ... I think it would be a bit too hard to change the mindset of those older generations ... so I think that's why it needs to start in primary schools when they're young ... so that they have ... so they are not more or less indoctrinated in the stereotypes ... of their seniors, their elders, the grandparents and things they see a different ... like at varsity ... when ... I was doing geography papers and there where like one ... like probably ... brought up in the eighties they had a different mindset again to ones like in their forties which were probably ... born in the sixties ... they had a totally different mindset again.

Interviewer: I remember ... one story ... there were three generations of farmers and they were talking about ... the *Māori* influences on their farm ... I forget, it was on Country Calendar or something like that ... but eldest fulla goes: "No way, those *Māori* aren't going to come here" ... the next generation down he was going: "Oh, I don't really like it but ahh" ... and the earliest generation the youngest one, he was in about his twenties ... he was going: "nah, it's alright". So you can see the different mindsets.

Epa: From the different eras, from the different eras, yeah.

Interviewer: What factors do you believe are essential in the revitalization of the *Māori* language and *tikanga*?

Epa: Having the actual ... resources there ... as in people, and in money, support there ... yeah, so it's having all those resources there.

Interviewer: Do you believe that in this day and age it matters which dialect or (e.g. standardized) version of *Māori* people speak?

Epa: I think you need to retain your own *mita* (dialect) because that's important ... that's a dying language in its own self and I don't think we should have a standardised language anyway, which is what they are trying to do ... and if you look in other countries ... if you look in *Africa*, they've got all these different dialects ... and they've got a standardised language which is *Swahili* where they can converse with one another but the difference between them and with *Māori* - *Māori* can understand one another with their dialect because of similarity ... other places like *Africa* they are totally different ... They are not so much dialect, they're different languages and it's the same within *Asia*, like *Malaysia* and *Indonesia* you've got like '*Bahasar*' ... they are different languages again. They are not so much dialect. So they created that to converse with one another... in our sense, no, because we can still understand one another even though we had ... little differences like dropping the 'H' ... yeah, so I don't think that there should be a standardized language.

Interviewer: Do you believe that this country will ever be truly bilingual?

Epa: No, not unless they do something about it and that's not only to do with *te reo Māori* but it's also about teaching the right history too, not hiding it away ... until you get to tertiary institutions then you'll learn the correct history ... which is a shame because when you see young ones come up through school and it's not until they actually in a tertiary institution where they get to hear the actual true side of things, the actual correct written history ... and they're like ... they can't believe ... the injustices ... they're just like "Whoa ... are you for real?" So it goes ... down to what I would call propaganda ... mainstream propaganda ... its like: "Oh, is that what the *Māori* reserve land is about?" ... "Yes, we do own our land and, no, we were giving perpetual leases and, no, *Māori* didn't control their lands... No those

leases weren't given to *Māori*. They were given to *Pākehā* and then their kids could inherit it" ... So that was like an eye opening.

Interviewer: Do you have any further views in relation to the *Māori* language and *tikanga* that you would like to add?

Epa: I would just like to see that our *mita* (dialect) survives and that, like they say, *Māoridom* (the *Māori* nation) has evolved but in that sense in regards to *mita* it's just been snuffed out. It hasn't been allowed to evolve. It's been snuffed out and ... the language has been written into boundaries according to ... English ... grammatically correct and fitting in the English square the English box on how things should be done ... and their perception.

ARANA

Interviewer: Do you believe that *Māori* is an endangered language?

Arana: Ae (yes) ... our language is still in danger. I don't think its, *āhua, kei te mate-mate haere* (near death) *engari kei te ngoi kore tonu* (but it's not strong). It's like ... we've got lot more people speaking *Māori these days* ... than twenty or thirty years ago. *Mea pai, rawe, ko ngā āhuatanga pērā ki ngā kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa, whare kura te mutunga kē mai o te pai kei a tātou ērā momo kura ināianei, engari te tīni me te mano tonu nei e noho kūare ana, e ngaro ana, ā, pouri katoa tērā ki au nei.*

(Its okay, like *Māori* immersion kindergarten, primary, high schools are awesome ... we have those schools now - However, most can't speak and are unaware, and to me) [and] that's sad but we have still got a lot of work to do ... we have got a lot of work to do because ... there are still a lot of *Māori* out there ... who want to know who they are ... who they are, where they are from. Anything to do with *Māori* is still looked down upon and these are the sort of things we need to change. So, yeah, my thing is ... yes, the *Māori* language is endangered

Interviewer: For how much for the time each day on average do you speak *Māori*?

Arana: How much of the day? Unless I am around speakers, not much ... I talk to myself in *Māori* ... I talk to my *moko* (grandchild) in *Māori* ... when I talk to my kids in *Māori* I get *hōhā* and then I start yelling in English ... so, yeah, not much. I would say about an hour a day unless I am around speakers and then it goes up exponentially ... when you turn up, when people turn up that can understand I like to switch over.

Interviewer: How important do you think it is for learners of the *Māori* language to interact with native speakers (i.e. with those who were brought up from birth to speak the language) in order to become effective users of the language?

Arana: Very, very, very important ... as an example, if you like chess ... the only way you are going to get better is if you play masters ... if you play people who aren't as good as you ... you're never going to get any better. It's the same with speakers ... to get your language up to a standard then you need to be around people who know how to use it. If you want to get it to a certain *taumata* (level), then you need to be around people who know how to use it ... who know how to use all the different ... nuances of *te reo Māori* everything ... and the only way you're going to get better is to be around people who know how to use it ... we're talking about the Wharehuuia Milroys of the world, the Pou Temaras, the Timoti Karetus, and those types of ... people ... when you learn from people that are of that caliber then sure you are going to get better ... but if you are just going to be talking every day with your own kids and with people of your ... then you are going to be staying the same, eh! So it's very important.

Interviewer: *Kia ora.* Using this scale (below), how difficult it is for you (or not) to get together with native speakers of the *Māori* language to engage in conversations in *Māori*? Please explain your answer? Why is it easy or difficult?

Easy 1	Slightly difficult 2	Difficult 3	Very difficult 4	Impossible 5
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Arana: That's a hard question to answer because it depends on who you're talking to ... I believe, because ... if I am talking to people like ... for instance ... X , *matatau rawa a X* (X is very fluent) so if I'm talking to X, I've got no problems speaking to him because he knows where my level of *te reo Māori* is but when you're speaking to people who are very, very ... they have got beautiful *reo* and your *reo* is at a certain thing ... it can become harder so I would say on average ... most of the time ... I don't find it too hard but it can be difficult ... so I will tell you three (3). Yeah, it can be difficult it feels like you're watching your Ps and Qs. You want to make sure you get your *reo* right. You get a bit apprehensive.

Interviewer: Using this scale (below), rank how difficult (or not) it is for you to get together with speakers of the *Māori* language (other than native speakers) to engage in conversations in *Māori*? Please explain your answer? Why is it easy or difficult?

Easy 1	Slightly difficult 2	Difficult 3	Very difficult 4	Impossible 5
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Arana: Māmā (Easy) ... *tuatahi* (one) it's not hard

Interviewer: Why is it not hard?

Arana: Because I have got a lot of people around me, all of X's kids and his family have got, you've me and my kids ... you were saying not native speakers ... *te reo Māori*? Not hard! You know I mix with a lot of people from *Te Ātaarangi* and stuff like that. You know we used to go out every now and again. It's not hard to get on the phone with them and speak with them. So it's not hard.

Interviewer: How important do you think it is to use the *Māori* language whenever you interact with other people who speak the language?

Arana: I find it quite important because it's not one in five *Māori* that speak *Māori*, it's more like one in ten *Māori* who really speak *Māori* ... people are still going ok ... when you meet somebody and then you hear this big ... and then you say ... something in *Māori*, it's something you've got in common straight away ... connection there. It's like a connection straight away with that person ... you know other than "hey bro" ... it's like *tēnā koe, kei te pewehea* (hello, how are you) ... oh, you can speak, bang! You know, and so you've got a ... you've got that ... *hononga* (connection) straight away ... You've seen it ... I know you have seen it when you've come across people who can speak *Māori* and they hear that you can speak *Māori*, then they start blah, blah, blah, blah, blah straight away ... it's easy, important, yeah, very important.

Interviewer: When and where do you use the *Māori* language - on the marae; at home; at work, with other *Māori* language speakers; on social occasions (e.g. at parties, church, etc.); with family members who are speakers of the *Māori* language; to compose *waiata*, songs, stories, poems etc.; to read and write?

Arana: I runga i te marae, kei taku whare, kei taku kāinga ae, i ētahi kei te mahi, i te wā i roto i te kōhanga reo au ae i ngā wā katoa i ngā mahi, i te mahi, ae ngā pātī, kaore au i te tino haere ki ngā whare karakia, but, ki ngā pātī, mehemea he tangata ki reira e mōhio ana i te reo Māori ae rā, ā, ae yep i te taha o toku whānau ... taku tūara X me ana whānau, and yep ... of course tito waiata ko ērā mea, haka, ruri whatever waiata, ā, ko ērā mea katoa.

(On the marae, at home yep, sometimes at work. When I worked at kōhanga, yep, all the time, parties, yep. I don't go to church but at parties if someone's there who can speak Māori, yep, with my family. X and his family, yep, of course, composing songs, all those things haka, poems whatever, songs, all of them)

Interviewer: Which of the following is true in your case? - I dream in Māori?

Arana: Sometimes ētahi wā ehara i ngā wā katoa, engari ētahi wā yeah, i roto i aku moemoeā ko te reo Māori katoa ētahi wā, engari, ehara i ngā wā katoa.

(Sometimes, not all the time, but sometimes when I am dreaming, it's all in Māori but it's not all the time)

Interviewer: I think in Māori?

Arana: When I am in that mode. Do you know what I mean? When I am in that mode ... anei he tauira mehemea ka haere koe ki tētahi huihui reo, wānanga reo ... ko te tikanga nui kaua e kōrero Pākehā ... ko te reo Māori anake and ... māmā noa te tini ki ngā whakaaro Pākehā, ki ngā whakaaro Māori, ehara i te mea uaua, nāianeī.

(Here is an example if you go to a Māori language meeting, the rule is do not speak Pākehā (English), only Māori and it's easy to change from Pākehā to thinking Māori it's not hard, now)

Interviewer: I prefer to speak Māori rather than English?

Arana: Yes.

Interviewer: I prefer to read and write in *Māori* rather than English?

Arana: Yes.

Interviewer: I read more easily in *Māori* than in English?

Arana: I wouldn't say that ... I read more easily ... I just ... love the way it ... the reason why I love doing it like that is because it always touches me ... it always touches me in a very, very deep sort of a way ... I know it's something that's mine and because of that ... English is a language I learned first but *Māori*'s the language of my *wairua* (soul) ... it's the language of my people and it belongs to us so that's the reason I prefer to read in *Māori*. I prefer to speak in *Māori*. I prefer to do everything in *Māori* actually.

Interviewer: I write more easily in *Māori* than in English?

Arana: Sometimes, I can't say that on a ... because it depends on what the *kaupapa* (subject matter) is ... if it's a *kaupapa* to do with *Māori* things, then, yes but if it is something to do with *Pākehā*, then, no ... If you are talking about *Pākehā kaupapa* (English subject matter) in *Māori*, writing about it in *Māori*, that can be quite difficult sometimes.

Interviewer: I read and write equally well in both *Māori* and English?

Arana: No, I have got to say probably ... would be better, probably can be better in English, if I am being honest ... and probably write better in English too ... probably my skills are not equal on each side yet I am probably still more skilful in writing and reading English than what I am in *Māori*.

Interviewer: Do you have children or grandchildren, including *whāngai* (adopted) children? If so, how important do you believe it is to ensure that your children or grandchildren speak the *Māori* language?

Arana: Yes and yes and yes ... I have got four children of my own. I have got one *moko* (grandchild) by blood but I have also got eleven *moko* to my partner that belong to her but I have been around from day one ... *he whāngai* (adopted) ... yep ... *ae, ae* (yes, yes) ... *he mea nui rawa atu ... ehara i te mea, ka ako i te reo ... ko taku nei ki a rātou me ako, me whāngai i te reo Māori ... ki a tātou tamariki mokopuna, kia kore ai to tātou reo me ōna āhuatanga katoa e ngaro ki te pō pērā rawa ki te moa ... nui rawa, nui rawa ... ka mate to tātou reo ka mate tātou, ka mate tātou brown Europeans bro.*

(Yes, yes, it's very important ... it's not as though you just learn language ... for me they should learn, foster the language ... to our grandchildren, to ensure that our language and all its aspects don't become lost to the night like the *moa* (large extinct flightless bird native to *Aotearoa*/ NZ) ... to lose our language we are dead as well, and so are the brown Europeans bro)

Interviewer: Approximately how much of the time when you interact with them do you speak the *Māori* language to your children or grandchildren?

Arana: With my children not much now ... it used to be ... couldn't speak *Māori* in my house at all that was a big no, no. *Ko te tikanga nui i roto i taku whare me kōrero Māori i ngā wā katoa i ngā wāhi katoa ahakoa te aha... waiho te paroa ki te taha... nāianeī kei te taiohi haere kei a X rāua ko Y he pakeke ināianeī, ko Z me A anake e noho taiohi tonu... so when they need it you know ... kei a rātou te reo Māori... nuinga o te wā kia whakahoki Pākehā mai... kua tau mai tērā mangeretanga ki runga ia rātou... ki aku mokopuna i ngā wā katoa.*

(With my children not much now ... it used to be ... couldn't speak *Māori* in my house at all that was a big no, no. The rule in my house was to only speak *Māori* no matter where you were, never mind English. X and Y are adults now, Z and A still young ... so when they need it, you know ... they have the *Māori* language but most times they change back to English. Those lazy ways are stuck with them. I speak *Māori* to my grandchildren all the time)

Interviewer: *Kua kite, kua rongō rānei koe i ētehi raru i roto i te whakawhitiwhiti kōrero i waenganui i a koe me te hunga tamariki? (Do you ever experience any problems in using the Māori language to communicate with your own children or grandchildren or other children with whom you have regular contact?)*

Arana: *Kao! Nā te mea, kei te mōhio pai au ... ngā āhūatanga kia whakamāmā ai taku kōrero ... kia mōhio pai aku tamariki nā runga i ngā āhūatanga, ngā mahi-ā-ringa ... hei āwhina.*

(No! Because I know how to make what I am saying understood by my children. Things like body language help)

Interviewer: Did you, do you or will you send your children or grandchildren/mokopuna to: *Kōhanga Reo; a Kura Kaupapa Māori School; a Whare Kura?*

Arana: *Ae, ahakoa te aha, ae, ahakoa te kōrero o to rātou mama ae, ka haere ... rātou ki te kōhanga reo, ki ngā kōhanga reo, ae, he mea nui tērā.*

(Yes, whatever it takes, yes, in spite of what their mother says, yes, they will go to *kōhanga*, to all of them, yes. That's very important)

Interviewer: *E whakaae ana koe, me ake te katoa o ngā tamariki Māori i te reo Māori? (Do you think Māori should be compulsory for all Māori school students in this country?)*

Arana: *Ae (yes) ... compulsory. Yeah ... tika (correct) ... engari ko taku nei ka noho pērā mō ngā tamariki katoa ehara mō ngā tamariki Māori anake, nā runga i tērā ka āwhina... i ngā tauira kia ako rātou i ngā āhūatanga Māori kia mōhio pai rātou... ehara tātou pērā ana ki a Jake Heke mā (from *Once were Warriors*, starring Temuera Morrison) ... mehemea ka ako i tō tātou reo rātou mā ngā ... tauuiui-akona, kia ako rātou i ngā āhūatanga Māori kia mōhio pai rātou, ehara tātou i te pērā ki a Jake Heke mā ... ehara tātou i pērā haere ki ngā āhūatanga o te niu-pepa, me ērā mea ... because we are only rapists, and ... thieves and all that sort of things ...*

mehemea ka mōhio pai rātou katoa i te reo Māori, ko ngā tamariki katoa i te reo Māori me ōna āhuatanga, they will get a better understanding of who we are as Māori, so I believe we should take it a step further yeah ... compulsory Māori, it should be compulsory in all schools, because that is the first language of Aotearoa.

[Yes... compulsory, yeah ... *tika* (correct) ... but I think it should be for all students not just for Māori students. By doing that, they'll learn that we aren't like Jake Heke and them, if they learn our language, they'll learn that we are not like Jake Heke and them, that we are not like how we are portrayed in the news papers and things like that because we are only rapists, and thieves and all that sort of things ... if all students really learn the Māori language and culture, they will get a better understanding of who we are as Māori so I believe we should take it a step further, yeah ... compulsory Māori. It should be *compulsory in all schools* because that is the first language of Aotearoa.

Interviewer: Do you have an opinion as to why Māori is not compulsory in all schools in this country?

Arana: I think ... Pākehā think that our language is not really a viable language, it's not a relevant ... it's not a relevant language ... I actually really think Pākehā have a hard time learning any other language other than their own ... I have got a lot of opinions on that ... too lazy ... even to pronounce our names properly bro, too lazy.

Interviewer: Do you think that today's modern *marae* can help revitalize the Māori language and *tikanga*?

Arana: Ae (yes), I think they can ... as long as you've got the right people on the *marae* ... you need to have the right people on the *marae*. You go to a lot of *marae* ... *tētahi taurira* (one example) ... X you know, how many native speakers or how many speakers we have got that go to X that are not in our family bro? ... Not many, eh. You know you might have Z, A, B and uncle C but they're going a bit senile now. Uncle C's very sick. He's living up in Auckland with his daughter now. Can't stay there by himself ... how many other people? We've got D and his family. You

know, really we haven't got very many eh ... so ... you need the right people. *Ko te marae* (the *marae*) is the place ... it is the place. I believe it is the place but you need the right people there to do the job ... You've got a lot of people doing the work in the back but when it comes to teaching our kids or upholding *tikanga Māori* (*Māori* culture/ lore) ... yeah, it needs a lot of work bro ... I mean it's different down the coast but ... it needs a lot of work ... too many *marae* now they haven't got speakers. So we need to address that ... that's why our language is in the dumps.

Interviewer: Do you think that *Māori* really need the support from the Crown to fully revitalize the *Māori* language and *tikanga* (culture)?

Arana: I think we could do it on our own but I think to do our people justice ... and all that sort of thing, I think we do need the help of the Crown. I mean, look at us bro, we are getting help from the Crown now to get our *reo* ... through the loan system and that sort of thing because we can't do it on our own ... it's a pity that we've got to pay thousands of dollars to get what rightly belongs to us ... It belongs to us and we've got to pay through the nose for it. But that's ... the world today. I have got no doubt that we could do it on our own ... if we have *wānanga* (*Māori* language meetings) like how X ... and all that sort of stuff ... we can do it but that's taking the harder road. If we wanted to take an easier road then, yeah, we have to take the Crown's road ... [we should not] have to ... but... Crown equals funds ... you've got to pay your *kaiako* (teacher) or whatever it is that you are doing or even paying for a venue. To pay for these sorts of things and stuff like that so you need ... It's a hard one. I think we can do it without them but ... to make it easier on ourselves we need that ... having the Crown's help is like a two edged sword ... you know, you can get this with one hand and they take with the other hand sort of thing, you know.

Interviewer: What factors do you believe are essential in the revitalization of the *Māori* language and *tikanga*?

Arana: The dream, having the dream, you know, having that ... *koingo* bro, you know, that desire and having people that can instill that desire and that dream within our people because a lot of them don't realize ... this is a thing that they need in

their lives. It's not until we actually start learning that we realize that we've really been going without ... or when we are around a lot of speakers and you're the only non-speaker that you realize you're going without ... you know, but what most people do is that rather than get in that situation, they make sure they don't get in a situation where they are surrounded by *Māori* speakers ... it's down to the right people who can instil these desires in people who haven't got it to learn ... give it to them in a way that they know they feel like they are missing out on something ... that what am I missing out on ... I feel ... like an emptiness but having those right people that can show them that emptiness that they are feeling is for the loss of their *reo* ... so the factors ... I believe, that is essential is finding people who can instil desire and ... that dream of ... what it is to be *Māori* ... is more than just being able to do *kapa-haka*, it's more than just being able to row *waka* ... you know, those are steps and those are good steps but you know ... at the end of the day it's all about *te reo Māori*. It really is. it's all about *te reo Māori* because once you understand what you are saying, understand what you are doing right down to your *mahi-ā-ringa* (arm and hand expressions) ... when you understand what you are saying ... that, ching, ching, ching, ching you know ... it's ch-ching all the way you know ... I was thinking I never understood that before ... our people were clever but ... too many of us are ... being colonised would be the way ... they're so colonised ... they don't know that they're lost ... because it's the way they have lived ... the way their parents have lived ... so they're not missing out on nothing ... they don't realise that they're missing out in things. So we just need ... if you could get a person that could ... make them realise I am missing out on something. There is something missing in my life. We know that everybody comes to it in one point in their lives ... but some people decide ... to go the other way rather than go this way. Now all we need to do is to be able to put them all this way rather than wait until they get to be old men and then they want to learn ... can't really change shit when you're old ... yeah, so that's me bro.

Interviewer: Do you believe that in this day and age it matters which dialect or (e.g. standardized) version of *Māori* people speak?

Arana: Yes. Yes, it does matter because it's our way of identifying where you are from isn't it? ... *mehemea ka kōrero koe* (if you say) ... *ka hakarongo au ki ou*

kōrero (I am listening to what you are saying) ... you know you come from *Te Tai Tokerau* (Northland), *ka wakarongo au ki to kōrero* (I am listening to what you are saying), you know you come from *Taranaki*. You know, and when you hearing them say ... *e hika mā*, (*WTF*) (*Te Tai Rāwhiti*/ East Coast) right down to *tanata* ... (person/man) (*NgaiTūhoe*) ... you know *tanata* and all that sorts of things you know. They act like a X or Y, you know, and all that sort of thing, you know by their actual *kōrero* (nuance) who they are ... it gives you ... knowledge straight away ... this fulla's from that area you might not know their *hapū* (clan) but you'll know ... okay, *Tuhoe*... *Ngāti Awa*, *Taranaki*, *Kai Tahu*, you know *kanaunga* and all that sorts of things ... there was a *kōrero* that said: Do you think that we should we have a standardised *reo*? You know, like for in *India* ... they have got all their own languages but everybody knows how to speak *Hindi* ... it's not like that in *America*. They've all got their sort of languages so their language is their sign language they all understand their sign language ... I don't think it would be a bad idea to ... standardise the *reo* but ... I think ... on the whole we should just leave it the way it is ... because it's ... beautiful ... beautiful way of speaking ... like *Kai Tahu*, eh, they'll drop their *ngs* and put in the *ks*.

Interviewer: Do you believe that this country will ever be truly bilingual?

Arana: In my heart of hearts ... I would like to think so but in my heart of hearts I don't believe so ... unless ... *Māori* somehow gain power, then no. Beautiful dream.

Interviewer: Do you have any further views in relation to the *Māori* language and *tikanga* that you would like to add?

Arana: I just believe that ... we have got to fix up all of our own bullshit before we go anywhere else ... meaning that ... we talk about this thing all the time *kotahitanga* (a unified people). You hear it all the time, especially now with the ... elections coming up you're hearing a lot about *kotahitanga*, *kia kotahi ai tātou anō* (unification) but for me those *kupu* (words) are just lip service only ... I don't really believe we can actually be one or unified until we decolonise ... we need to decolonise because everyone have got their agendas these days ... so, yeah ... we

are united over the one front ... one people, one thing like that to ... you know it's us against them and that sort of thing and that's all well but until we get rid of all these other agendas ... our *Māori* people have got ... factually ... our *Māori* people are just as bad, if not worse, then our *Pākehā* people when it comes to their own agendas, lining their own pockets, doing stuff ... look at the Xs of the world ... these fullas that are, they say they are doing everything ... for their *iwi* (tribe) and yet they're lining their pockets hard while their doing it ... that's not the way to unite our people. It's got to be united ... I don't know the way to do it but it can't be this way ... we've got to decolonise first ... because as long as we look at things as mine, mine, mine, mine ... rather than ours ... or guardianship you know then we are never going to be one ... we are looking too much at the world now like a *Pākehā*. That's my land. This belongs to me. That's my land rather than the land owns us.

HAKÉ

Interviewer: *Ki a koe, he reo tata ngaro te reo Māori?* (Do you believe that Māori is an endangered language?)

Hake: *Ae, me kī, nā te mea, he maha te iwi Māori, nā, tae atu ki taku whānau kāore i tino mōhio ki te reo, heoi anō, ko te mahi nui mō tātou te iwi Māori, anō nei te kōrero ... kōrerotia ... ki te mutunga, ki te aha, ki te whakaora to tātou reo kia kore ai e ngaro, nō reira, koinā, tēnā taku whakautu mō tēnā.*

(Yes, because there are many Māori, including my family, who really do not know how to speak the language. However, the main thing for us Māori is to speak it. If we do it to the very end, if we do whatever it takes, if we keep our language alive it will never perish and that's my answer to that)

Interviewer: *I te nuinga o ngā rangi, pēhea te roa o te wā e korero Māori ana koe?* (For how much for the time each day on average do you speak Māori?)

Hake: *Me kī, i te nuinga o te wā, ko te nui o taku kōrerotanga i te reo, me kī, mehemea ka tirohia ki te paiheneti, ki tōku nei whakaaro ... ngā whitu tekau mā rima paiheneti te roa, ā, i te mea hoki ko au tēnā e mahi ana i roto i te kōhanga reo, anā taku hiahia hoki ki te kōrerotia i to tātou reo ... e ngakau nui ana ahau ki to tātou reo, nō reira, kei te tino whaka[kaha] ahau ki te kōrero i to tātou reo, i te nui o te wā, heoi anō i ētahi wā e kore e taea ... nā te āhutatanga o mātou ināinei ka huri mātou ki te reo Pākehā i ā mātou e kōrero ana i te kāinga ... kāore i tino kōrero i ngā wā katoa i te kāinga, i te mea he maha ngā whānau kāore ... rātou i te mōhio ki te reo, heoi anō ... kei te mahi ... katoa kaha ahau ki te ... kōrerotia to tātou reo ... koinā ngā tino wāhi ... ko taku hiahia ki te whakapiki ake hoki tēnā paiheneti, me kī, kia ... marama pai ake, aku tamariki, anā, ki to tātou reo.*

(Most of the time I speak Māori and if I was to put a percentage on it, I think ... 75 percent of the time, mainly because I work at a kōhanga reo. I really do like speaking our language. I love our language so I am staunch about always speaking

our language most of the time, however, sometimes I'm not able to because these days we revert back to English when at home. We hardly ever speak at home because heaps of family members can't speak the language. I am always staunch about speaking our language. It's like that most places. I would like to up that percentage, that is, so my children will have a comprehensive appreciation for our language.)

Interviewer: *He mea nui ki a koe, kia korero ngā ākona ki ngā tāngata tino matatau ki te reo (pēnei i ngā mea i tupu i te reo) kia pakari ai te reo o te ākona? (How important do you think it is for learners of the Māori language to interact with native speakers (i.e. with those who were brought up from birth to speak the language) in order to become effective users of the language?)*

Hake: *Ae ... he mea tino whakahirahira ki ahau ... nā te mea hoki, anā, mehemea he tangata kātahi anō ka timata ki te kōrero ... mā to kōrero atu, ki ngā mea i tipu ake i roto i ngā ahuatanga o te reo mai i ā rātou e pēpē ana ... me kī, i tipu ana ake rā i roto i tērā tūmomo āhuatanga, he maha hoki ngā akoranga ka akongia i roto i te kōrerotanga me ērā momo tangata ana he akoranga anō pērā ki to tātou reo mehemea ka ako te reo, e kore e mutu te akoranga ki roto i te reo ne! He mea hou ka akongia i a rā, koina tōku whakaaro hoki mō tēnā ... ka pērā anō hoki ... ngā kōrero ki ngā kaumātua, ki ngā kuia ki ngā whanaunga i tipu ake i roto i ngā āhuatanga, kai reira hoki ngā reo tino rawe ētahi wā, anā, ko to tātou reo a te kautā tēnā, anā, ko to tātou reo a te marae tēnā, nō reira ae, he mea hei akoranga ... nā reira koinā taku whakaaro mō tēnā.*

(Yes ... that's very important to me ... because if you were someone who had just started to learn the language ... when you spoke to those who had grown up in the language since babies ... who grew up in those surroundings, you [the student] would learn so much from what is being said by these people. It's learning again. Especially when it comes to the language, you never stop learning, eh. It's really different learning every day. That's what I think. It's like that as well with our learned elders, our matriarchs and extended family members who grew up that way. They have a beautiful language. We have language of the home, informal, and language of the *marae*, formal language, that needs to be learned)

Interviewer: *He uaua māu rānei te rapu huarahi kia korero tahi ai koutou ko ngā tāngata tino matatau ki te reo? Me whakamārama mai koa i tō ake whakautu? (He māmā, he uaua rānei). (Using the scale below i.e. 1, being easy, 5 being impossible, rank how difficult it is for you (or not) to get together with native speakers of the Māori language to engage in conversations in Māori?)*

Easy 1	Slightly difficult 2	Difficult 3	Very difficult 4	Impossible 5
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Hake: *Me kī, ā, ko te mea tuarua, ka tohua te mea tuarua... āhua uaua, nā te mea hoki, kāore ōku tino kaumatua, kuia, e neke te titiro au ki ērā momo tāngata e matatau ana ki te reo, kāore i te tino ... te kaumatua te kuia e noho tata mai ki ahau, nō reira kāore au i tino whai wā ki te kōrero ki a rātou ... ko ētahi hoki kua mene atu ki te pō ... heoi anō ko nga mea e ora ana ... me kī, ka pēnā ... āhua kāore i te tino noho tata mai ki ahau, nō reira, ka kite tonu au ... ētahi wā, i a rātou ki ngā tangihanga, i ngā hui ka haere ake nei au ki ... tētahi hui o to mātou iwi, anā, kia kite ake ēnei momo tangata e tino matatau ana ki to tātou reo.*

(Let's see - number two ... sort of difficult because I am not able to see my elders, those who are native speakers. My elders do not live close to me so I am not able to find time to speak to them ... some have passed on as well ... but the ones still living ... they don't live close to me so I see them sometimes, at funerals, at meetings I go to, tribal meetings, it is there I see those who are native speakers)

Interviewer: *He uaua māu rānei i te rapu huarahi kia kōrero tahi ai koutou ko ētehi o ngā tāngata reo Māori? He uaua māu rānei i te rapu huarahi kia kōrero tahi ai koutou ko ētehi o ngā tāngata reo Māori? (Using the scale below i.e. 1, being easy, 5 being impossible, rank how difficult (or not) it is for you to get together with speakers of the Māori language (Other than native speakers) to engage in conversations in Māori? Please explain your answer? Why is it easy or difficult?)*

Easy 1	Slightly difficult 2	Difficult 3	Very difficult 4	Impossible 5
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Hake: *Kao ... ko taku ko te tuatahi i roto i tēnei ko te tino, me kī, he tino māmā, nā te mea hoki e mahi ana ahau mō te kōhanga reo, nō reira, ko te kaupapa o te kōhanga reo kia tukuna to tātou reo kia rere kōrerotia te reo i ngā wā katoa, i a mātou i te kōhanga reo, nō reira, ko mātou tēnā e kōrero ana ki ngā tamariki, ki ngā mokopuna i te kōhanga reo tae atu ki ngā kaiāwhina, nō reira, me kī, he tino māmā ae ... i roto i aku mahi, tika tonu ... kei te kōrero to tātou reo, nā taku mahi i te kōhanga reo.*

(No - for me it's number one. This is very easy for me because I work at a *kōhanga reo* and the purpose of the *kōhanga reo* is to speak *Māori*, so that's us. We speak to the kids, grandchildren of the *kōhanga reo*, right through to the teacher's aid. So, yeah, it's easy. Due to my work we're able to converse in *Māori*, due to my work at the *kōhanga reo*)

Interviewer: *He mea nui rānei ki a koe te kōrero i te reo Māori inā tutaki ai koe ki ētehi atu tāngata reo Māori? (How important do you think it is to use the Māori language whenever you interact with other people who speak the language?)*

Hake: *He tino whakahirahira tērā, ki te kōrero ki ngā tangata e mōhio ana ki te reo Māori ... hei whakapakari hoki tā rātou reo, i to reo hoki ... hei whakakaha hoki ... i ngā tāngata e mōhio ana ki te reo, ki te kōrerotia te reo, nā te mea, i roto i ngā, me kī, ngā... tatauranga kei te mimiti haere ngā tāngata kaha nei ki te kōrero Māori, nō reira, taku hiahia ka tukuna te reo ki ōku hoa e mōhio ana ki te reo, kōrerotia ki a rātou, hei aha? Hei akiaki i ā rātou ki te kōrerohia ... hoki... ka taea ki te kōrero i ngā wā katoa koinā te hiahia, koinā taku hiahia hoki, ki te kōrero i ngā wā katoa i te reo Māori... nō reira ae, he mea nui.*

(That's very important, if you speak to people who know the *Māori* language your's their proficiency will improve which will raise the confidence of those who know how to speak the *Māori* language speak the *Māori* language ... according to the

statistics, the number of those who are proficient in the language is decreasing. So my wish is to converse with my friends who know the language. Why? To encourage my friends to speak the language so we are always conversing in the Māori language ... that's my wish - to speak *Māori* all the time. So that's important)

Interviewer: *He aha ngā wā, he aha hoki ngā wāhi ka whakaputaina e koe te reo Māori?* (When and where do you use the *Māori* language?)

Interviewer: *Marae?*

Hake: *Ae.* (Yes)

Interviewer: *Kāinga?* (At home?)

Hake: *Ae, tika tonu ae.* (Yes, indeed, yes)

Interviewer: *Wāhi mahi, me ētehi tāngata reo Māori?* (At work, with other *Māori* language speakers?)

Hake: *Ae, tautoko.* (Yes, of course)

Interviewer: *Ngā whakahuihuinga tangata, e.g. whakangāhau, hāhi, he aha noa?* (On social occasions, e.g. at parties, church, etc.?)

Hake: *Ae, ae, tika tonu* (Yes, yes, indeed)

Interviewer: *Ki ō ake whanaunga e mōhio ana ki te reo?* (With family members who are speakers of the *Māori* language?)

Hake: *Ae.* (Yes)

Interviewer: *Hei tito waiata, pūrākau, ruri, te aha noa?* (To compose *waiata*, songs, stories, poems etc.?)

Hake: *Ae, ae, tika.* (Yes, yes, of course)

Interviewer: *Hei pānui, hei tuhi rānei? (To read and write?)*

Hake: *Tika tonu, ae ... e tika ana te kōrero, mehemea kei reira ētahi tāngata e mōhiotia nei i a au, e kōrero ana i te reo ka haere au ki reira ... MORENA! KIA ORA E HOA! Totika ki to rātou reo i te mea hoki, mohiotia au e mōhio ake nei rātou ki te reo, nō reira ... ka mahia, koinā ... ko tērā taku tino hiahia i roto i taku oranga.*

(Of course, yes ... Like the story goes, if I see someone I know speaking Māori I just walk over and go: “Morning. Hello, my friend!” Straight to their language because I know they can speak Māori so I speak it. That’s the way it is ... that’s what I want to do while I’m around)

Interviewer: *Ko ēwhea o ēnei kōrero ngā mea e hāngai ana ki a koe?
(Which of the following is true in your case?)*

Interviewer: *Moemoeā ai ahau i te reo Māori? (I dream in Māori?)*

Hake: *Kao, me kī, kāore au i te tino ... tika i au e whakaaro ana ... āhua moemoea e pā ana ki ... ki te kaupapa o tō tātou māoritanga, tō tātou reo? Ae ... i te mea hoki ... mehemea ka moemoe au ka wareware ki ... ngā mea e moemoea.*

(No, I don’t really ... hang on ... sometimes dream in Māori? Yes ... but if I dream in Māori I forget what I’ve dreamt about.

Interviewer: *Whakaaro ai ahau i te reo Māori? (I think in Māori?)*

Hake: *Ae, i ngā wā katoa, me kī, ka titiro ... i a au e mahi ana i ōku mahi i roto i ... tēnei ao, mehemea ka puta mai tetahi o ngā wero ki au ... he kaha noa ki te hoki atu ki tetahi o ngā kōrero tūpuna ngā whakataukū, pērā i a “Tama tū, tama ora, tama moe, tama mate”, i ētahi wā ka tino pirangi au ki te tuku atu te manuka, me kī, kāore au i te pirangi ki te pūpuri tonu i tēnā manuka, te wero ... heoi anō, nā ōku whakaaro, me kī, nā taku whakaarotanga i roto i te ao Māori, i roto i te reo Māori, ka akongia ... i roto i taku oranga ... ka hoki au ki tēnā kōrero, mehemea,*

he uaua tetahi o ngā āhuatanga kei mua i a au, 'Tama tū, tama ora, tama moe tama mate', ērā momo kōrero ka tū ki a au, ka haere tonu au ahakoa i ngā peke me ngā heke, koinā taku whakaaro he mea hei oranga mōku ki te whakaaro Māori.

(Yes, all the time when I am at work. If I come across any challenges I can refer to colloquial sayings of my ancestors, such as if one is industrious, quality of life is guaranteed, if one sits around doing nothing, one can expect the same back. Sometimes I just want to let someone else do it, and don't want carry on this challenge. However, in my view, since I have been learning how to think *Māori* whilst learning the *Māori* language ... I always refer to those sayings if things get difficult for me: '*Tama tū, tama ora, tama moe, tama mate*' and I carry on these are my thoughts ... I think it's medicinal for me to think *Māori*)

Interviewer: *He pai ake mōku te kōrero ki te reo Māori i te reo Pākehā?* (I prefer to speak *Māori* rather than English?)

Hake: *Ae, tika tonu, me kī, mehemea ka hoki anō te wā ... kia hurihia ki taku reo ... ki taku reo Māori ... i taku reo tuatahi, me kī, i taku reo tangata whenua ... huri noa ki taku reo tuatahi ... ko te reo Pākehā tēnā ... ko taku ngakau e kī ana, ae, ka pirangi au ki te kōrero, pai ake te reo Māori, ki tā te reo Pākehā ki au.*

(Yes, absolutely ... if the time comes when I switch to *Māori* from my first language English ... in my heart of hearts, I prefer to speak *Māori* rather than English.)

Interviewer: *He pai ake mōku te pānui ki te reo Māori i te pānui ki te reo Pākehā?* (I prefer to read and write in *Māori* rather than English?)

Hake: *Ae, tika tonu ... me kī, tētahi o ngā whakaaro, ā, tētahi o ngā tikanga e pai ake, tēnā māku, māmā noa iho te reo Māori, me te pānui, māmā noa iho ki te tuhituhi hoki, ki tērā o ngā reo Pākehā, me kī, he maha ngā kupu ... me kī, he reo e huna ana, me kī, i roto i te reo Pākehā, pērā ki ngā silent 's' me ērā momo mea, ki roto i te reo Pākehā, nō reira, i roto i te reo Māori ko te āhuatanga o te kōrero, anā, ka pēnā hoki i te wā ka tuhi... e pai ana, he māmā hoki mōku.*

(Yes, that is correct ... firstly, it's a lot easier for me read and write in *Māori* than English but with English - there a many hidden letters in the English language, such as the silent 's' - things like that in the English language. So it's like that, when I write, I prefer *Māori* and it's easy for me as well.)

Interviewer: *He mama ake ki ahau te pānui ki te reo Māori i te pānui ki te reo Pākehā?*

(I read more easily in *Māori* than in English?)

Hake: *Ae, tika tonu, e pērā ana ki taku kōrero i mua rā, anā, he māmā noa iho ki te tuhi ... nā te mea, ka mea atu koe ko te āhuatanga o te kōrero, ka pērā ano ki te āhuatanga o te tuhi, nō reira, he māmā ake māku, he pai ake tēnā.*

(Yes, that's correct. Just as I was saying in answer to the previous question, it's easy to write because, like you said, the more oral proficiency you have - it can be the same for the written language. So, yeah, it's like that for the written language so it's easy for me)

Interviewer: *He mama ake ki ahau te tuhituhi ki te reo Māori i te tuhituhi ki te reo Pākehā? (I write more easily in *Māori* than in *English*?)*

Hake: *Ae, tika tonu ... tēnā he tino māmā ake pai tērā āhuatanga. (Yes, that is correct ... that's easy as for me)*

Interviewer: *He ōrite te pakari o taku tuhituhi me taku pānui i roto i ngā reo e rua arā, ko te reo Māori me te reo Pākehā? (I read and write equally well in both *Māori* and *English*?)*

Hake: *Me kī, kao ... taku tuhinga i roto i te reo Māori i tua atu ki tō te reo o te Pākehā ... ae ... ahakoa i tipu ake au i roto i te reo Pākehā, i tipu ake au i roto i ngā tuhinga Pākehā, kāore au i tino mau ki te ngako o ērā momo āhuatanga o te tuhi me te grammar me ērā mea katoa ... karekau he momo grammar me kī i roto i to tātou ngā reo ... nō reira, koinā tētahi o ngā mea tino nui māku ... nā reira ae ko taku reo Māori he māmā ake ki te tuhi ki tā te reo o te Pākehā...*

(No, my written *Māori* is better than my written English ... yep ... although I grew up in the English language, I grew up in the written language of the *Pākehā* I wasn't able to grasp the writing and the grammar - all those things. There is no grammar like that in *Māori*. So that is very important to me, yep ... *Māori* is easier to write than English)

Interviewer: *He tamariki, he mokopuna rānei āu (tae noa ki āu tamariki atawhai)? Mehemea āe, he mea nui rānei ki a koe kia matua mōhio ai rātou te kōrero i te reo Māori? (Do you have children or grandchildren (including whāngai children)? If so, how important do you believe it is to ensure that your children or grandchildren speak the Māori language?)*

Hake: *Ae ... tokorua aku kōtiro ko X, ko Y ... tika, tika rawa ... ki au nei ... ko taku, me kī, ko tēnei taku inoi, me matua mōhio aku tamariki ki te kōrero i te reo Māori, ki te mōhio ki ngā tikanga o tō tātou reo Māoritanga hei oranga mōna, i roto i tēnei ao tino hurihuri me kī, kei roto i ōku whikoitanga, i roto i tēnei ao ... he maha ngā painga kua akongia e au, i roto i ngā momo āhuatanga ... i ōku akoranga i te reo Māori me ngā tikanga, nō reira, ka whakaaro au ... he huarahi pai mō aku tamariki ki te akongia ko tātou reo me ngā tikanga, nā te mea, ki ahau nei ... i roto i ngā akoranga ka haere ... tika ki runga i te huarahi tika ... mā te reo e whakatōngia tērā kākano, anā, ki au nei ... i raro i ngā tikanga me whakatōngia tērā kākano ki aku tamariki, ā tōna wā kua rite ki te mahi ... tāna e hiahia ana ... hei oranga...*

(Yes ... two girls, X and Y ...yep, absolutely ... in my view ... my main desire is for my children to speak the *Māori* language, to know the *Māori* language so that they can have quality of life in this world. I have experienced so many positives on my journey ... whilst learning the *Māori* language and culture. So, I believe that it's a perfect path for my children to learn the *Māori* language and culture because, in my view, what they are going to learn will guide them to make the right decisions in life. The *Māori* language is key, so in my view, instilling these values into my children when they are ready means that they can be anything they want to be in life)

Interviewer: *He pēhea te roa e reo Māori ana koe ki āu tamariki, ki āu mokopuna tahi, i ā koutou noho tahitanga? (Approximately how much of the time when you interact with them do you speak the Māori language to your children or grandchildren?)*

Hake: *Me kī ... rima tekau paiheneti i roto i to mātou ... i te kāinga ētahi wā ka whakapau kaha, heoi anō, ētahi wā, ka kāore rātou i tino ... matua pai ētahi wā ki aku reo nō reira ... ka huri ... ki te reo Pākehā ... heoi anō, kei reira au e kōrero ana i te reo ... koinā te nui.*

(Let's see, about 50% ... sometimes it's all Māori, sometimes it's not, and we switch back to English. However, I speak Māori - that's what important)

Interviewer: *Kua kite, kua rongō rānei koe i ētehi raru i roto i te whakawhitiwhiti kōrero i waenganui i a koe me te hunga tamariki? (Do you ever experience any problems in using the Māori language to communicate with your own children or grandchildren or other children with whom you have regular contact?)*

Hake: *Me kī, ae ... tika tonu, pērā anō taku kōrero ētahi wā ... ka kōrero i te reo Māori ki a rātou, i te nui o te wā ka mōhio, heoi anō ētahi o ngā wā kāore rātou i te mōhio, kōrerotia anō, ki te noho rangi-rua tonu ana rā ngā tamariki, ā, nā wai rā, nā wai rā ka huri au ki te reo Pākehā kōrero ai ki a rātou, kātahi ... ka mārama pai rātou, heoi anō, kātahi ka hoki anō ki te reo ētahi wā ki te whakamārama koia nei te āhua ki tēnei pātai, nō reira, me matua mōhio koe ki tēnei pātai, akuanei, he akoranga kei roto.*

(Yes, I do. Sometimes when ... I speak Māori to them ... most times they understand but sometimes they don't ... so I speak to them again if they still don't understand I switch to English, so they understand ... then I will switch back to Māori sometimes I will explain to them the meaning of the question, you know, so they fully understand the question, the time will come when they will benefit from it)

Interviewer: *I tukuna, e tukuna ana rānei, ka tukuna rānei e koe, āu tamariki me āu mokopuna ki te: Kōhanga reo; Kura Kaupapa Māori; Whare Kura? (Did you, do you or will you send your children or grandchildren/mokopuna to: Kōhanga Reo; a Kura Kaupapa Māori School; a Whare Kura?)*

Hake: *Ko taku whakautu mo tēnā, ae, tino ae ... rawa atu ... mō te katoa, nā te mea, he Māori ahau, ko ngā akoranga i roto i ēnei momo kura he akoranga Māori, nō reira ka taea aku tamariki, ki te kai, me kī, i tērā kākano o te mātauranga Māori ki tērā kākano o te ao Māori, ki tērā kākano o te reo Māori i roto i ēnei momo kura ... koia taku moemoeā nō reira mehemea pīrangi aku tamariki ki te akongia ... i roto i te ao Māori kei reira ētahi huarahi mā rātou hei awahi au ki te poipoia i ā rātou ki te kōrero ... i tō tātou reo rangatira, nō reira ae ... tino ae ... rawa atu...*

(My answer to is yes, very much so, for all of them because, I am Māori. What is learned in these schools is Māori, so my children are able to learn all things Māori - the Māori world, the Māori language - in these schools. These are my aspirations. So if my children want to learn all things Māori these are some avenues for me to help teach my children to speak Māori, so yeah ... absolutely, yeah)

Interviewer: *E whakaae ana koe, me ako te katoa o ngā tamariki Māori i te reo Māori?*

(Do you think Māori should be compulsory for **all Māori school students** in this country?)

Hake: *Ae, tautoko au i tēnā ... me matua ako rātou ki te reo Māori, me kī, he maha ngā tāngata ... kāore i te mōhio ki tō rātou nā reo rangatira, me ngā tikanga, anā, nō reira, me kī, he pai noa ki ahau nei kia whakatōngia i tēnei kaupapa. me kī, ki roto i ngā tamariki kia kite ai rātou mehemea ... he ao mā rātou ... ko tōna hiahia, ko tōna tikanga ae, koia nā kē tō rātou ao, nō reira, ki ahau nei me matua ako i ngā tāngata Māori katoa, me kī, ae me kī, ngā tāngata katoa ... heoi anō ko te raruraru mō tēnā ko ērā o ngā tāngata ... kāore i te pīrangi, heoi anō, ki au nei me matua ako rātou.*

(Yes, I support that. It is imperative that they learn the *Māori* language. You know, there are not many people who know our language and culture so for me it would be fantastic to teach this to all *Māori* children, to see if it's right for them, their aspirations, their culture. Yes, that's their world so, in my view, all *Māori* should learn. Yes, everyone ... however, the problem with that is that not all want to learn but I still think they should all learn)

Interviewer: *E whakaae ana koe, me ako te katoa o ngā tamariki kura o te motu i te reo Māori?* (Do you think that *Māori* should be compulsory for **all school students** in this country?)

Hake: *Ae, e whakaae ana au, tautoko au i tēnā, he tino ao anō mō rātou kei roto i ngā āhuatanga, me kī, ... tō tātou whenua, ki te reo o te whenua nei ... ki te reka o tō tātou reo tae atu ki ngā tikanga kia pono, kia kite ai rātou te puna o te ... tika, he maha ngā kōrero pōrarururu e pā ana ki tō tātou reo, heoi anō, e pā ana ki tō tātou ao Māori ... mā ēnei akoranga ka ako rātou ... he reka ... nō tēnei ... āhuatanga o te reo Māori i tēnei ao.*

(Yes, I do. I support that. It can be another world for them ... our country, the language of this country... the beauty of our language and culture. Absolutely, they will understand its legitimacy as there are a lot of perceived negatives (from non-*Māori*) in respect to our language, our culture. If they learned, they would see the beauty ... of the *Māori* language in today's world)

Interviewer: *Kei a koe rānei he whakaaro, mō te take, ā, kāore anō i whakatūrea te reo Māori hei kaupapa ako mā ngā kura katoa puta noa i te motu?* (Do you have an opinion as to why *Māori* is not compulsory in all schools in this country?)

Hake: *Ae, me kī, mōku ake nei tēnei whakaaro, ki tōku nei whakaaro ... tētahi mate o te Kāwana he kūare nōna ... me kī, ki te mahi me ngā āhuatanga... ki au nei ki te whakaaro te Kāwana, horekau he painga kei roto, he reo anake ... karekau he hua kei roto, karekau he pūtea kei roto, ki roto i tō rātou mahinga i mua rā ... koinā te kōrero ... ehara i te kōrero whakaiti, he kōrero pono.*

(Yes, I have thought about this. In my view, the Crown is ignorant ... I think the Crown thinks that it is a waste of time, that it is a simple language with no real

value, there is no money to be made from it. This has been said before ... it's not a put down. It's the truth)

Interviewer: *Ki a koe, ka taea rānei ngā marae o ēnei rā hei whakaora i te reo Māori me ōna tikanga? (Do you think that today's marae can help revitalize the Māori language and tikanga?)*

Hake: *Ae, kei te tautoko ki tēnā, i te mea hoki, he maha ngā tauira o te kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa, whare kura ... e whai ana i ngā tikanga i roto i ērā momo kura ā tōnā wā ko tōna tikanga ki ahau kia hoki atu ki ō rātou ngā kāinga kia puri ai in ngā hau o Tāwhirimātea i reira nā ... ko te mahi nui tērā pea ka whakawhiti kōrero te kura me te marae ne! Kia āhua pēnā pea ... te whakaaro, te tūmomo kura o te motu ... ka tīmata, tērā pea, ā tōna wā pea ka whakaarohia ki te mahi tērā momo āhua ... nō reira haere koe ki te marae, koinā tētahi kura anō, tērā pea me whakatū he kura pērā anō ... mehemea ka noho tahi ki te kōrero me pēhea ki te mahi pēnā... ko te mea nui... ko te whai wā ki te noho tahi ki te wānangahia ... i roto i te wānangatanga ... ki te mea hoki kei te marae, kei reira te wā ka tino ... whai koha ... ngā tāngata katoa ... ko ngā mea kāore rātou e ... ka mahi rātou i te kāinga, me kī, ētahi o ngā tūkinotanga ētahi wā o ērā momo āhuatanga, kāhore i te pīrangī, ka kore pērā ... ki runga i te marae ne! Nā reira, he akoranga anō.*

(Yes, I believe so because there are many students attending *kōhanga, kura kaupapa and wharekura* ... [Māori] culture is followed within these schools. When they grow up, I think that they will be able to return to their lands and contribute to their community ... The important thing, perhaps, is for these schools and *marae* is to communicate with one another. Maybe the schools of this country should start thinking like that - start there. Perhaps the time will come when we should think about doing that ... so when you go to the *marae* that can be another place to learn. Perhaps we should build schools like that. If we sit down and talk about how this can be achieved - the important thing is to find time to talk about this ... go back to the *marae*. It is there where everyone shows respect ... The not so good thing is that there is no work in these [rural] places. The other thing is that there are those who don't want to learn on the *marae* eh. That's another learning curve)

Interviewer: *Ki a koe, mā te Māori anake rānei tōna reo Māori me ōna tikanga e whakaora, me whai tautoko rānei i te karauna? (Do you think that Māori really need the support from the Crown to fully revitalize the Māori language and tikanga?)*

Hake: *Kao! Kāore au i te pīrangi tōna hiahia, me kī, i te mea i mōhio au ... hei te mutunga o te rā ka taea mātou te iwi Māori te mahi, ahakoa he nui te mahi, ka taea, mā whero mā pango ka oti te mahi ... me kī, hei aha te Kāwana nā te mea, ki au nei he mea hei whakararu i ā mātou ki roto i tō mātou ... te hangā me kī o tō mātou nei waka ... he mea hei whakararu ... tō mātou nā hekoitanga ki runga i te huarahi tika ... ka taea e mātou, heoi anō, he nui te mahi, mahia te mahi.*

(No! I don't want their help because I know that at the end of the day we Māori can do this ourselves ... In spite of the hardships, we can do it. If we all pitch in, we can do it, you know. Never mind the Crown. They just undermine everything we try to achieve, we can do it. So what if it's hard. Just do it)

Interviewer: *Ki a koe, he aha ngā mahi me matua tūtuki hei whakaora i te reo Māori me ōna tikanga? (What factors do you believe are essential in the revitalization of the Māori language and tikanga?)*

Hake: *Ko ētahi o ngā mea ... tuatahi ... tētahi o ngā āhuatanga mai rānō, ko te mahitahi, anā, ko te mahi kōtahitanga ... te ... mahi tāu, te mahi mā te whānau, te hapū te iwi ... ko tētahi atu, me matua ako ngā tāngata ... Māori ki to tātou nā reo rangatira ... me kī ngā tāngata Māori ... me matua akongia rātou tō tātou nā reo rangatira, ngā tāngata Māori katoa ... ā tētahi atu nā, kia kaha ngā Māori ki te hoki atu ki tō mātou nei marae akohia ngā taonga tuku iho ... i te mea hoki, koia nā tētahi o ngā tino rawa kei te orangia i roto i ā mātou, ko tō tātou marae tēnā, ko tō tātou tūrangawaewae, mehemea ka whakaaro au ko ngā marae, ko au e tino kite ana ... i te rawe o tō tātou nā reo, te reo-kautā, (vernacular) ... te reo i mua, te reo o ngā tamariki, te āhuatanga o ngā tikanga ... ka tika a mua, ka tika a muri, i ngā momo āhuatanga, nā reira, me matua ki te hoki atu ki te kāinga ... ka tino rangatira koe i roto i tēnei... ao, ko te hiahia ka pēnā ngā Māori katoa, kātahi ka tūrangatira*

ahakoa te aha, ka taea ki te nekehia te maunga pea, ki te tohu i ngā momo mahitahitanga... ae, mā whero, mā pango ka oti ai te mahi tika...

(Some things are - Firstly, let's go back to the grass roots. We all work together, unity, the work you're doing, family unity, clan and tribe. Another thing is for all *Māori* to learn the *Māori* language ... another thing is for *Māori* to go back to their *marae*... and learn the knowledge of our ancestors... because that is another thing that lives within us all, within our *marae*, our lands ... it is there I see the beauty of our vernacular, the dialect our children learn, the culture. If things are good in front, then things will be good out the back so it's imperative to go back home, to stand proud in this world. My wish is for all *Māori* to be like this. No matter what, they can achieve whatever they wish to achieve. Yes, if we all work together, we can do it)

Interviewer: *Ki a koe, he take nui tonu i ēnei rā, te mita, te momo reo rānei (arā reo ā-iwi, reo ā-motu rānei)?* (Do you believe that in this day and age it matters which dialect or (e.g. standardized) version of *Māori* people speak?)

Hake: *Ae, tika ... me mau ... ki tō tātou nei Tūhoetanga, ki tō tātou nei Tainuitanga, ki tō tātou nei Ngapuhitanga, he mea nui, he rerekē tēnā iwi, me tēnā iwi, me tēnā iwi, me tōna reo, me tōna waka me ōna maunga kōrero, me ōnā hitori mai tēnā wāhi, nō reira, i roto i ērā mita he kōrero anō ... ētahi ō ngā mita i roto i ngā waiata...*

(Yes, absolutely. Hold fast to your *Tūhoetanga* (one's dialect one's culture if from *Tūhoe*), to your *Tainuitanga* (one's dialect one's culture if from *Tainui*), to your *Ngapuhitanga* (one's dialect one's culture if from *Ngapuhi*). That's very important. Every tribe have their differences and their dialect, their *waka* connections, their stories unique to them, their histories from this place to that. Therefore, within these dialects are deeper meanings and dialect within songs)

Interviewer: *E whakapono ana koe ka noho tūturu te reoruatanga (Māori me te Pākehā) i Aotearoa whānui?* (Do you believe that this country will ever be truly bilingual (in *Māori* and English)?)

Hake: *Ko te whakaaro i roto i ahau i tēnei wā, kao ... nā te mea ... e kore te ... Kāwana e aro mai, ki ahau ... kia whakatōngia i ērā i roto i ngā kura, i roto i ngā wāhi katoa hei... akoranga mā mātou ... he moumou pūtea ki ā rātou, i ēnei rā ko te pūtea te atua i roto i tēnei ao tae atu ki ngā ture here, koianā ngā mea ka tino whakararu ana i ā mātou mehemea e hiahia ana ki te mahi tēnā ... taku whakaaro ki te tino kūare rawa atu i te Kāwana ... me te mea hoki he maha ngā tāngata hoki ... kore e noho ana i roto i tēnei whenua ka ū ki tō rātou nā kī ... te reo me kī, e kore rawa i te pirangi, ki ahau nei ... korekau he pūtea mō tēnā nō reira ... koianā te āhua o te ao ināianei, mehemea kāore he pūtea i roto i tērā akoranga ... nō reira, ko te ... taniwhā nē te Kāwana ... ka tino whakararu ... engari kei roto i taku ngakau e tangi ana mō tēnā.*

(The way I am thinking now is no because the Crown will not support it, that's what I think. For them to implement this in schools, in every place, is a waste of money ... These days money is god in this world, as well as the law that imprisons us, these are the things that really hold us back if we try to achieve these things. So as far as I am concerned, the Crown is ignorant ... so are a lot of people out there ... they're not even from here. They don't want to learn ... I think there's no money available, that's the way of the world these days ... If there's no money in it ... you know. The Crown is an ass ... All they are doing is undermining ... and my heart is crying because of that.)

Interviewer: *He whakaaro anō ōu e pā ana ki te reo Māori me ōna tikanga? (Do you have any further views in relation to the Māori language and tikanga that you would like to add?)*

Hake: *Tuatahi, e tika ana kia... mihi ki a koe... me ōu hikoitanga i roto i tēnei... mahi rangatira, nā, he tuakana koe ki ahau... ā tōna wā ko taku hiahia tēnā hoki kia pēnā hoki... kia piki ake i ērā momo maunga he whāinga mō tōku whānau, mō tōku hapū, anā, ko tō tāua iwi, nā tēnā hoki i tō tātou ngā iwi, waka, nō reira... e tika ana... ki te mihi atu ki a koe... mōhio pai koe... ko taku aroha tēnei... tō tātou reo i pērā ki pāua e piri ana ki te toka nei... nō reira, ka tui au nei ētahi ō ana whakataukī... hei tautoko tā mātou nei kaupapa, anā, ko te tuatahi ō ngā whakataukī ko te reo, tō tātou reo te poutawha i whakairi ai i ngā toanga katoa o ā*

*mātua tūpuna ... nā, kei roto i tō mātou reo... ngā mea katoa o ā mātou nei taonga
... anā, ko taku kōrero whakamutunga 'E kore e ngaro te kākano i ruia mai i
Rangiātea.*

(Firstly, greetings to you and your journey in this important work that you are doing. You are my elder. It is my wish to do a thesis like this, to complete a thesis, to inspire my family, my *hapū* our tribe, our waka. Yeah, greetings to you. You know I mean that ...Our language is like the *paua* (abalone) that holds fast to its rock ... So I will add this colloquial saying to support our purpose ... The first saying is: *The Māori language is the support that holds all the knowledge of our ancestors* and within our language is everything that is dear to us ... my final word is ... [the *Māori* language] will never be lost as for the seed was sown from *Rangiātea* (*Raiātea: Tāhiti*).

Appendix 6: Focus group transcript

Key

Normal orthographic representation used throughout.

Participant names replaced by pseudonyms.

Other possible identifiers replaced by letters (e.g. X; Y) accompanied by footnote indicating that a replacement has been made.

. . . = tape inaudible

Interviewer's questions in bold italic script.

Hine

I never grew up around anybody speaking *Māori* or anything like that. I know that my grandfather when he was younger he could ... speak *Māori*, but ... they weren't allowed to at school and stuff, so he sort of shied away from that, and ... my parents never talked *Māori* ... I learned a little bit at high school through *kapa haka* and stuff ... I really love the language and that, and that's why I want my kids to learn it ... That's me.

Kiri

I was brought up in a bilingual setting ... my Nan ... used to talk *Māori* to me. I could understand it but I didn't speak it back to her ... [I] did *Māori* at high school.

Ihapera

Kia ora te whānau ... I was brought up in *Otorohanga* with my grandparents. I was lucky to live on the *pā* (*Māori* village) a lot of the time. I lived with my grandparents on my mother's side. My grandfather, he was in the war. He had this good saying. He used to say: "Don't do anything *Māori* because it's not going to get you anywhere"... and you know. So I can understand why my mum and her sisters, and a brother of hers, why they don't speak *Māori*, and now my mother is old and she has been trying to learn but she has found it really difficult and she actually jumped off the *waka* (quit). On my dad's side my grandparents only spoke *Māori* ... they were from *Kāwhia* so that was their life I suppose. The *Pākehā* that lived in *Kāwhia* could speak *Māori* too.

My dad he was a real ... said he couldn't read or write. He's not bad actually ... fishing and he'd do work for the cockies (farmers) and the cockies would send milk and whatever it is into the *pā*, that sort of thing. Myself, I actually was kind of spoilt but I didn't like school and I never learned to speak a lot of *Māori*. I remember when I was at high school ... I did *Māori* and teacher asked what was my *hapū* (clan) ... I didn't know so I went home and asked my grandparents and my grandfather told me: "Your *hapū* is the Church of

England”. So I thought “Oh yeah”. So I went to *kura* (school) and said my *hapū* Church of England” ... I was wondering why my cousins were laughing at me ... *pono!* (true) [I said] what are you’s laughing at?”

Yeah so that was me... Then I think my oldest son, he never learned *Māori* ... my other four children, I’ve sent all of them to *kura kaupapa Māori* (*Māori* immersion schools) because I wanted to learn the reo and I also did Te Ataarangi and loved it - loved everything about it. For me it was sort of a missing link you know, I felt I had the tikanga but didn’t have the reo and couldn’t quite communicate as well as I could, I suppose.

Awa

Kia ora whānau, my mum was brought up in *Hokianga* ... she left home when she was really young, fifteen, and never went back, and never had anything to do with her language. My dad was *Pākehā*. He grew up in *Taihape* and I always remember my mum saying that it’s a *Pākehā* (white man’s world) world and you need to get on in this world, you need to just worry about things *Pākehā*. That’s what it’s all about ... and at the time when I was growing up, we grew up in South Auckland, in *Otara*. Even though there was a lot of *Māori* around, we weren’t, we sort of did mixed together. You have sort of like a connection although I don’t think I realized that when we were kids, but as far as the *reo* (the *Māori* language) [is concerned], I ... never heard [anything] other than ... *Māori Maths*, it didn’t really sort of, I mean math was long enough anyway, and to have it in *Māori* was even longer, but the good thing about it was they had a *kai* (feed) afterwards, so I didn’t really have any *Māori* influence. I still remember it was quantum, like quantum, so you were like ... I didn’t want to be a half cast, because that was - I wasn’t a full cast. My mum was. That was bad. I knew that was bad. I don’t know how. I didn’t want to be a half cast. I wanted to try to get to the wider side of thing so I tried to be a quarter or an 8th ... but as the kids got older, I got older, I think kids make you realize there something’s missing and you want more for your kids than you do for yourself. So I started the journey, and I started with this *kapa haka* (*Māori* performance group) ... I found it was really, really hard to learn the *waiata* (songs) because I didn’t know what I was singing about. Everything sounded the same, and then to listening to people who had *te reo* (the *Māori* language), who were much younger than I was ... they could learn it so easy because they could understand what they were singing about. So that sort of started me getting interested in learning and like some of others here ... It was *Āaarangi* that was recommended to me and that was the one thing ... I was talking to X there about the *wairua* (spirit aspects) that it did stuff for me that I never had when I was learning in school where I felt like - It catered for all of me - my spiritual side of me, yeah, it’s, you weren’t put down, all those sorts of things that happened

when I was in school. I haven't looked back since ... *Te Ātaarangi* ... it's eleven years now and to all those people that knocked me when I was learning, like: "You'll never get a job. The *reo* won't get you anything ... what you want to do that for? You're mad". Yes you can get a job using your *reo*. I still work for *Te Ātaarangi*. I got two *mokos* (grandchildren) that go here to the *kōhanga*. That's how I link in. *Kia ora*.

Hahana

I'm X. I grew up in Ōhaupō, little town in Ōhaupō ... with my grandparents ... my granddad was fluent and my grandmother was fluent in te reo Māori ... he was half Scot ... but he never spoke... [they] did not they speak *Māori* ... to us because he ... my granddad ... said it's better to get ... *tohu o ngā Pākehā* (*Pākehā* education) so you can get *mahi* (work), but half my *whānau* (family) spoke *Māori* my dad [was] fluent in te reo. He is ... *whakapapa* (*Māori* geneology) ... but that ... side of them ... [had] been ... drummed ... into them that they couldn't share with us the same knowledge that they had. But in saying that, I never heard *te reo*, but we always went to every *marae* ... *Tūrangawaewae*, always had to go when I was a child ... follow the *Kīngitanga* movement, cause my granddad [was] on the board there. So even though I didn't get the *reo* from my own *whānau*, maybe I was picking it up out there, unknown. And I was a real shy child ... I was one of those children that would hide behind my nan ... 'cause I grew up in a white environment in *Ōhaupō*. there you could count the *Māori* in this primary school up there ... there was about three *Māori* in that *kura* (school) ... I knew I was different by the time I came out of primary 'cause it went right through to intermediate and you had that stigma so I became quite withdrawn and I was sent to Y but my nan really wanted me to learn *Māori*, but she just had that problem of trying to give it and then granddad telling her: "Oh no 'cause that girl won't get anywhere". Same issue. Then I went to Z thinking ... that was an environment for *Māori* but it was more of a disciplinary school where you learned a lot of English. I tried to learn *Māori* in the *Māori* classes. I really struggled. I couldn't understand the books they gave ... I couldn't learn that way so I picked up nothing. By the time I left college I was sixteen. I had to come home and look after my grandparents because that was my nana's way. She took all *moko*. I grew up with lots of fun like ... *whānau* which are all my brothers and sisters ... my real (siblings) *whānau* are there but my cousins are still ... my sisters and brothers because I grew up beside them. There's heaps and I should have become the mama of them *koia rā* (like that). That's why I love children. I grew up with all of them like aunty Z ... that's my sister. that's the one I grew up with. Half of my *whānau* speak *Māori*. On my real side they shun it because they never grew up with any of it so I might be the only

... two of us in my real *whānau* that can speak *te reo*. I wouldn't say I was fluent but ... I kind of like ended up being passed the *rākau* (given a leadership role in her *whānau*) so *koia rā* (that was that) I meet my *tāne* (husband) who was really hungry for *te reo Māori* and that. His whanau had a re-connection ... from *Kāwhia* ... he really wanted his *reo* which drove me, towards *Te Ātaarangi* and that where I learned. It was - it was everything. It was the *wairua* in it, the way they did the *rākau*, they made you hungry for it because you learned *ngā pakiwaitara e pā ana ki ngā kai* (stories of old concerning food) ... just *whakaaro* ... and it was beautiful *whakaaro* (ways of thinking) which made me want to learn more. Plus I felt for my *tamariki* (children) 'cause I could [see] them going down ... they were struggling going to bilingual *haere ki tērā atu* (going down a different path) and then I realized ... bit late, that I should have gone straight to full immersion because they wouldn't struggle so much. I found bilingual too hard to juggle the two languages. I wish I had brought them straight into *kōhanga reo* and let them grow in the full immersion because they'll learn English no sweat because they will see it every day on the *pouaka whakaata me ngā reo irirangi* (TV and radio) ... English is more out there. So *Māori* to me should - For my *tamarikis* (children) I should have done that *mōhio ana ināianei* (I know now) I make sure my *mokopuna* (grandchildren) go through because now I learned so I can *awhi* (help) them. That's it, aye.

Etera

I went to *kōhanga reo* when I was a young fella. I was brought up in South Auckland as well, X. After *kōhanga reo* ... went to *kura kaupapa* for 'bout a year, - not even that - 'bout one term. Then for some reason my parents decided to change me over to mainstream, which was a big shock and my first *reo* (language) was *te reo Māori*. From that time onwards ... my *reo* (the *Māori* language) just drifted away from me ... in saying that though ... my mother was brought up with her grandparents and the *tikanga* (objective) they used to run by was to go to all the *tangis* (funeral), with all the *whānau* (family). So just about every week we would go to *tangi* ... I spent a lot of time on the *marae* getting to know the ins and outs on a *marae*, spending a lot of time with the *whanaunga* (extended family), hearing the *reo* all the time, seeing different things happen on a *marae*. So I thought ... that was quite ... lucky for myself ... even though I wasn't ... speaking it, I was still able to understand as well. So by the time I got to *kura* (school) I suffered right through all of primary

school and ... as Y mentioned over here, teachers weren't too great so I started rebelling as well at school - not so much the learning stuff ... sitting at the back doing my own thing ... and then got to college and then was introduced back into *kapa haka* (Māori performance group) and then from ... there [I] done *kapa haka* ... at that point of time at college, when I went to college, I joined the *kapa haka* group. That was a turning point for me, just the messages that were involved in the *waiata* (song) and stuff. This one particular *haka* we just talked about *te reo Māori* ... at the time, they celebrated once a year, gave once a year to celebrate our *te reo Māori* so the statement in our *haka* was: "Who the hell are you to say that we should celebrate our ... *te reo Māori* ... once a year? We should be celebrating every day our lives every minute, all the time day and night". You know ... just celebrating us being *Māori* ... for me, and in there it talked about really beating our *whānau* (family) up, all the stuff our *tupuna* (ancestors) went through beaten up and all that stuff ... it really touched my heart and I was encouraged, from there ... all my other classes I didn't care about just went to *te reo Māori* classes, done *kapa haka*. [The] *te reo Māori* teacher [would] see me wagging and she just dragged me back to her class and look after me, nurture me "Why didn't you go classes?" 'cause I don't like it there, miss, [I] can't understand a thing that's happening, at least in here if you can't understand a thing, you will take time off to help me." But it was more like ... oh, maybe I am not a dummy but they wouldn't spend that extra time with you ... in saying that, there was a lot of things I did not understand but ... because I was just a shy person, really shy actually, I wasn't the type of person to ask. I was always brought up ... might saying something dumb 'cause they would all laugh at me. But anyway I went through that. *Kapa haka* made me be more, more involved in our *kaupapa Māori* (being *Māori*) through the *kapa haka*. And then in 1999 I joined the ... course learning all the *kaupapa Māori* ... the course involved us going to every *Pōkai* (to *marae* who supported the *Kingitanga* movement to keep in touch, empower one another and fund raise for the movement) [for] one year and that was the course. Go there, be involved ... *tikanaga marae* and our job was to go in the *Pai-Marire karakia* (religious prayer of the *Kingitanga* movement) [I] used to be involved in that every *pōkai*, we had use to go do the *karakia* ... uplifting of the flag and ... putting down the flag at the end of the *pōkai*. *Te reo* [Māori] was choice and being immersed ... in something that I could appreciate. And then the tutor asked me one day: "What do you want to do?" I said: "Oh, wouldn't mind getting

into *te reo Māori*”, this was in ... 1999 in Auckland ... and the *kaumātua* learned elder said: “That’s it, you’re going to Y”... I said: “I can’t do that! All my *whānau* are here.” “No. you’re going”. So he was a very hard old man ... He said: “No, you’re going”. So he set me up down here - no *whānau*. Oh, I got heaps of *whānau*. Anyway, made the big move ... where he sent me was to *kura* (school) to *Te Ātaarangi* and then ... got here ... I went from this person who was shy ... I would never speak to you guys ... I would just be restless, hiding away in the back all the time. Anyway, learned *te reo*. Just the *wairua* (*aroha*/ love and support). it really uplifted me as a person. And then I started to learn the stories and *kōrero* (history) and everything which pertains to our *reo Māori* ... beautiful and it just, yeah, it just really helped me focus on what I really wanted to do in life and ... for me, I guess no matter what I am doing as long as I am involved in kaupapa Māori (being Māori). In terms of working ... working for our people I don’t really care about ... working for the *Pākehā*. they’re rich enough. And not so much about being racist. Just ah, similar to the bro, feel that our *reo* is in a state and our people ... it’s not the *reo* that I am going to help ... it’s our *Māori* people ... and that kind of stuff. So, yeah, it’s been a journey for me ... I also managed to be involved in *kapa haka* at a national level ... ‘Te Waka Huia’ and stuff ... it took me to another level ... just no holding back. Yeah, that’s pretty much me. For *te reo Māori* ... I love it to death and I am really pretty passionate ’bout it. My mission is to ... one day ... go home. Out of, ah, probably, my mum, both, both mum and dad’s side, there probably about, all up, about eighty to ninety first cousins there, only about three of us that can speak the *reo Māori*. There’s about forty on mum’s side and forty on dad’s side. Out of those ninety, there’s about three of them that can speak *te reo Māori* so they have been asking me for a while: “Nah nah cousin do something” said “oh yeah, I will look at that”, look at doing something at home on the *marae*, renting the *marae* for the weekends, simple things like teaching the *waiata*, *karakia*, (songs, prayer) making the first step. Every time there’s *tangi* (funeral), they actually turn to me now even though I’m probably about the thirtieth first cousin in line to speak ... my *tuakana* (older brother) has ... given the reigns to me to take up (speak on behalf of the family) on the *marae*.

Hehu

I can start back from my great grandfather ... he loved sport... he loved to play rugby. This is back in the early nineteen hundreds. And he wasn't allowed to play rugby so he joined up with that new code which was called rugby league because no *Māori* were allowed to play rugby back in the day so ... my great grandfather started the *Māori Rugby League* in 1911. He was the founder of the *Māori rugby league* and what we have today... in *Rotorua* ... and he went on to politics and worked inside the council in Auckland and he lived around the X area and that's where he's buried in X ... his daughter married my grandfather which was from Thames - the Y *whānau* ... He was from Thames and he was the first *Māori* to captain any New Zealand team in this country ... the *Māori* rugby league and the Kiwis he captained in his time. He then went on into politics and became an M.P. and he fought for our *Māori* land rights in the sixties. He ended up dying ... heart attack and he was elected by the people to represent in Parliament. So politics is deep in my vein. I sit there quietly and ... I listen and I participate in various ways. Also in X they started the ... X Rugby League club, they started in there. My grandfather started that club and they took out the ... '*Rukatai Shield*'. My great grandfather played ... for that up in Auckland ... the rugby league 'Fox Memorial' ... from there ... quietly deep down inside of me, you know, I have this feeling for politics and I sit on different boards up and down the country representing students ... so I help out that way. On my mother's side, she's a Z, I know that she is related to some of you here ... She is part ... of the Xs in that way and I tie in there on that line as well. So through ... my mother and my father, they opened doors for me - things I never knew could open. And so I mention my name on my *whānau* name ... doors just open for me. I can step into those doors, by accident, and that's because of that. So, like I said, I fight quietly for our students but ... my main passion ... and if I decide to step out and go into the politics world is to be able to ... change families because I think the breakdown in our country is with the family structure. Our young parents today don't know how to teach our young children so we go astray. So the breakdown is inside the family and if we work heavily and be involved inside that family structure, which I kind of had something prepared, hopefully it will happen. I believe if we change one person, just change into something good, just one person, you will change thousands 'cause that one person will teach their kids what they learned so on and so on and so on, generation after generation after generation - makes thousands. So if we can change one, what

happens if we change many? How would our future look like if we change many? And if we teach our youth to make a slight change, I reckon fifty to sixty odd years down the track it be a different world, but it start from us someone got to start. My problem is - which is a big problem - I don't know the language and I know that I can't progress to that next level until I know the language and I believe if I know the language then I can stand up there and the. I can force my opinion a lot more ... so that's what I am lacking in my life. My parents were strapped if they went to school and spoke *Māori* and so they never taught us. I used to hear my grandmother and grandfather talk quietly among themselves but they wouldn't speak to us as young children. So I know time is coming and I know I need to learn the language and I've shied away from it so long I suppose 'cause I can't sing, that keeps me awake too - to be able sing after you speak. Time will come maybe I be able to do something, make some changes in this world. So that's me.

Kaitaka

Kia ora whānau ... I didn't really ... grow up in *te reo Māori* but it was my passion. I loved it hard ... my mother ... mother's family [said] ... yeah, like you said before *whaea* ... you need the white man's papers to get a job and that. So they were more into that. My father's family ... they were ministers and pastors so the only time I had *te reo Māori* was on the *marae*. I quit school when I was fourteen so as much as I wanted to learn *te reo Māori at kura* (the *Māori* language at school) ... yeah I never got to. I think it was when I had my children that - when I got to get my passion out 'cause of my kids ... five minutes just me and my children in the home, we kept *te reo Māori* in the home *i ngā wā katoa, ko tērā anake* (all the time, just that) but ... when we get *manuhiri* (visitors) or other family that don't know the *te reo* you got to speak *Pākehā* for them I am very proud of my children. They are way more advanced in *Māori* than I am. They are exactly where I wanted to be when I was younger ... growing up.

Hakeke

Kia ora, on my mum's side, we are X. On dad's side, we are Y but most of my influences have been around Y - and both my grandparents were fluent. My grandmother and her father were staunch *kingites* (*Kingitanga movement*), her father was a renowned orator. My mother come from a generation where she was

given the strap for talking *te reo* (in the *Māori* language) at school so even today she understand it but she won't actually speak it. I suppose the biggest influence in my life would actually be my grandfather - a lot of passing on stories and *whakapapa* (*Māori* genealogy) being from my grandfather. So in regards to *te reo* I don't know my *te reo* that much but I actually started learning *whakapapa* when I was about twenty one, which was my grandfather and my mother grandmother actually ... so I was lucky to actually have my grandparents right into my early thirties because they were in their 80s so I was actually to have that influence for so long. I did *te reo* at X. I did a year there but due to work commitment then we ended up leaving to country. I came back when I was about seventeen. I did my trade cert and my first introduction to *racism* was down in X. This was in X and we were doing history and it was *Māori* history. So that was my first encounter with racism was actually in this country. From there I had enough of school, well just enough of that school, so I went on a *Māori* trade training programme. I did a trade there for a couple of years but then I got bored there ... I needed to stimulate myself some more so I went to polytechnic and then I ended up working for *iwi* social services. This was for about five years. And then there was a need there, even though it was a community organization and we dealt with *iwis* providing social services, there was also that lacking at home and also within that *Māori* community of qualification. So I left that *mahi* (job) and went to the University of X and did the *Māori* resource management at the X. I also did *te reo* papers. I did *Te Kākano and Te Pihinga* but trying to use it with my grandmother I got slung backed 'cause she couldn't understand what I was saying. So they came up with that term *pukapuka reo*: "Don't understand what you talking about girl". So I thought: "If you can't understand me, it's a waste of time to keep on learning it". So I just progressed more on the *Māori* resource side 'cause that was my actual goal was to develop resources and I ended up hitting more into the environmental side and then hooking up with people like X. So I got quite interested in the environmental side but in the same time in the third year of university I fell *hapū* (pregnant) with my first *tamariki* (child) and then I brought her to this *kōhanga* when she was two. So I have been involved with this *kōhanga* for 11years. My last child is here at the moment. He is four going on five. I also learned *Ātaarangi* and night courses but that was jus' like last year. But I got to pick that up again. But otherwise I am very

much involved in *Māori* resource development, land and all at *Waitangi* claims. So that's me.

Q. In your whānau (and I already heard some of these stories), what language or languages do you or other adults in your family use when you talk to your kids?

Etera

Just in my immediate family - it's just me and my two ... kids probably at home ... and ... when *whānau* come over ... for some reason I would jus' change over to *Pākehā* (English) and start speaking *Pākehā* to them otherwise ... in a place like this ... when they come here ... I would pick them up after *kura* (school) ... come here I just speak hard out *te reo Māori* to them.

Q. Is there a point in time that you might get to a certain place and then you start speaking Pākehā (English)?

Etera

Yeah, it get like that as well ... especially when I'm trying to explain to them ... and they just won't listen at the time and I get a little bit, I just take the easy option sometimes ... that's what I have to do sometimes. Sometimes I find it a little bit hard to explain to them, as if I ... say something short and sharp in *Pākehā* and they just go: "Oh" and they will go do it ... but in my whole *whānau* as well probably mum speaks ... my mother ... the *kōhanga* ... she will ring me or something she will try to korero *Māori* (speak *Māori*) to me as well. She can speak *Māori* as well. That's probably about the only time but that's ... the only time she'll speak *Māori* herself - that's probably the only time she'll speak.

Q. She speaks Māori to her kids?

Etera

Yes.

Q. Only Māori?

Etera

Fifty percent.

Hakeke

Well with me ... if the kids are not listening I'll break into *te reo Māori* ... if they're not listening, I use *te reo* and you see with my partner because he ... both his parents are fluent - he speaks the old *reo* so he laps into *te reo* quite often with the kids. Then we've got my oldest one. I didn't follow through with *kura kaupapa*. I went bi-lingual but I should of followed through with *kura kaupapa* so she gets *whakamā* to speak it (*Māori*) but she understands it ... and I think it helped bringing her into *kōhanga* during the holidays ... and with her being growled ... to speak *te reo*, you know to encourage her to speak *te reo* when she's in the *kōhanga*.

Q. So with your partner ... he can speak te reo, you mentioned he lacks in speaking te reo Māori ... so does he not speak Māori at all?

Hakeke

No! And the thing is there are seven of them ... he's the only one that speaks it. The other seven don't ... rest of the siblings don't and both his parents are fluent ... I forgot about the other sister, she went to the *wānanga* to become a teacher so she learned *te reo* there but I noticed with my sister-in-law ... my in-laws became quite frustrated with her *reo* 'cause they can't understand it ... I'm same too. I can like, if I am listening to old people, even like on TV or listening to them on a *marae*, I can understand it but you get someone who been on a higher level like up in the university it gets quite confusing ... I get confused ... otherwise, the old people, you just, I don't know what it is ... it just seems to flow and you just seem to understand them.

Awa

I think for our ... *whānau* it's a bit like *whaea* X and ... I did with the youngest one put her through *kōhanga* but they didn't guide me to, or push me to put her into *kura kaupapa* (*Māori* immersion schools). So then I took her out and put her in

mainstream and so she didn't have the continuation ... but a later I put her into ... an immersion unit. So they haven't really had anything that's been quite constant so ... I feel like they've missed out. So there myself, my daughters, and my two *mokos*, they got one child each ... both of the girls speak English... although X can speak *Māori* because she has done a year with *Te Ātaarangi*, I think she finds it a bit difficult but she will try if I sort of have a little bit of a *kōrero* (conversation) about this is what we need to do. Myself, I decided - I'm the one that pushed to have the kids in *kōhanga* because they won't do it. The parents won't do it. So they just do it to please me ... and I think what I am trying to say is ... I made a commitment. I tried to make a commitment mind wise to just be that *reo Māori pou in the whānau* (role model for the family) ... and ... when I started that it was very hard. It wasn't an easy thing to do. I kept finding myself slipping back into English or if the kids went to sleep and then they woke up my first instinct I'd default to English and then I'd sort of have a couple of sentence out and go: "That's right, I'm supposed to be *kaha to kōrero Māori*" (staunch to speak *Māori*) - and force myself to go back. The more I do it, the easier it gets but I still do quite often default back to English when ... I need to growl or if I can't get things out quick enough - but I do still like to keep the growling to *Māori* because just seems ... it's nicer and you can explain it better. You know, like *tiaki to tapu* (keep your legs closed), you know instead of constantly telling you to sit like a lady *kaua whakatū tō tapu ki te ao* (don't show the world your family benefit). She seems to understand that and grasp it better and wants to do, you know, what's right, whereas you are constantly nagging at them, yeah ... in English, it's not quite the same.

Hahana

Now in our *whanau*, it's a bit of both ... my daughter is really, my oldest daughter is very good. She will try speak *Māori* as much as she can to all of us ... but with my other three, they get frustrated because they get lost along the way of how to *whakautu* (answer) to her or to me and her father 'cause there is three of us who all gone through *Te Ātaarangi* together but we are all *rerekē* (different) - the whole three of us - all our *whakaaro tino rerekē* (point of view is very different) so sometimes it's like it's debate between the three of us whereas we end up looking at our oldest daughter 'cause *kei te mōhio ia* she knows *ngā rerenga pai* (correct dialogue) and then we go: "Oh" and me and her father kind of like chill out and

because we ... yeah she has to kind of put a handle on the both of us but the other three get really frustrated and they try ... they know ... it's when they can't answer so they get really wound up and frustrated ... that they just give up ... and they lose that confidence and or just give up altogether and go: "Oh na, too hard and then they might think and go back to X. *Ka pai* so we kind of leave our three with our oldest daughter because she can relate to them. Maybe it's her age. I don't know. Aye X? I don't know but it works for our oldest daughter.

Ihapera

In my family ... not so much my aunties, my mum's sisters, but their husbands, they all speak *Māori* ... yeah, *i ngā wā katoa* (all the time) and I got an uncle, him and his wife, they play a big part ... in my *whānau* and they only speak *Māori* and to their children and so the kids were brought up around it and I find at home I speak more *Māori* than the kids but they get *hoha* with me and that frustrates me so I end up speaking English 'cause they go: "Mum, what are you trying to say, *whakarāpopoto tō rerenga kōrero*" (simplify what you are trying to say) and I am like ... 'cause I am trying to use all the ... what I learned I suppose and they get *hōhā* (annoyed) with me ... so that frustrates me. So then, um, yip, we're talking English now.

Q. Did your parents or grandparents speak Māori to you?

Ihapera

All my grandparents are passed on now ... on mum's side, my grandmother only spoke *Māori* ... we were lucky. We had X ... it was a party line ... but ... she always spoke *Māori* ... I am the oldest of my cousins that was brought up with my grandparents and my grandfather would say: "Oh, why do you speak that shit for?" You know, she ... would go: "Shoosh shoosh". You know, she would tell him to be quiet in *Māori* because he was really staunch about ... "Don't bother with that stuff. It's not going to get you a job. It's not going to get you anywhere" - and I think he was quite disheartened because most of my aunties married *Māori* ... and it's their husbands... that are ... real *Māori*. I got one uncle, actually he's the oldest in our *whānau* ... he is probably the only uncle that doesn't speak *Māori* ... I really don't know why he didn't to be honest ... his younger brother ... he went to X ...

even though he can speak *Māori*, he didn't see the need for it, I suppose ... so it's only mainly the in-laws on my mum's side that speak *Māori*. On my dad's side, they all spoke *Māori* but when they all migrated into the towns, they sort of stop speaking *Māori* or it became broken *Māori*, if that make sense and so when dad would talk to us ... "What are you saying?" couldn't understand him in English ... or *Māori* then he would just' kind of put sentences together that sounded bit stupid ... but my grandparents, yep, they only spoke *Māori*. My granddad passed away when we were quite young.

Hine

For me, my immediate family, none of them can talk *Māori* like my first husband... aunties, uncles, nobody. So that's where I am real proud of my kids because I feel like they're inspiring everybody - what they learned. They've only been here for like nearly two years but they know so much and like my sister and one of my cousins, they're going to start classes so they can understand the kids when they talk. My *whānau* in X, that is where our marae is... some, most of them are fluent like all down there and it's cool when we go back to the marae and hear them. They're white as. You wouldn't think they can speak but they can and it's really cool when we go there and that's what I want for my kids, to be able to do - 'cause when we go there our family like 'cause we know nothing, you know, and it's, yeah, I think it's - feel really sad for my family 'cause I feel like we missed out on that. Everyone loves watching kapa haka and all that kind of thing but no one knows it so, yeah, just relying on my kids I suppose for our family.

Kaitaka

Um, yep, that's the same as my family ... I ... was born in X then moved to Y (Informant is from Y) - lived there all my life and then we just moved here so it's only my brother and sister here and my father but otherwise ... no! No one ... in my family knows *te reo Māori* but, yep, my children did inspire them ... me and my friend, we speak *te reo Māori* to them all the time, eighty per cent, ninety per cent in the home ... like I said when we have ... for example, like my partner or family we all break down into English. We can't understand them. They think it's rude. My kids ... always respond in *te reo Māori* ... my daughter, she has actually spent all her years in *kura kaupapa* (*Māori* immersion schools). She has gotten a

taonga at the end of the year for being student of the year or 'student of the *rōpū* (group) so I'm really proud of her ... along with my other kids ... gradually ... what they learn in the home ... I also teach *Pākehā* to them at home because they go to school and they come home to *te reo Māori*. I ... love our *tikanga* (culture). I love our *kaupapa* (lore) and I do want that ... for my children and for me, hard. I definitely do want that ... you know I just wish there was more ... qualification for us *Māori*. My brothers went to *kura kaupapa* when they were younger and they were in there right through to intermediate and then when they went to intermediate they ended up going back to school, they dropped back because they knew no *Pākehā* (the English language) at all ... so my family have that on them but that's where I look at it is if you don't teach them in the home, oh well, that's where they fall.

Q Has your reo improved since your children have been involved in...?

Kaitaka

My reo, personally I think on me because I used to work in the *kōhanga reo*. That's where I was more stronger in it because I was in it every day. I was going home and doing it on my kids ... now that I got too much kids, they are all in *te reo Māori* so I am out in the white man's world getting a job so I've lost that *reo* but my kids carry that on, if you understand what I mean. I ... did a X course around like um X campus that's where they had *te mōhiotanga* (the knowledge) at *Te Ātaarangi*. They had all those around us so we all like kind of thinged in together you know ... every day for that whole year. My ... niece and nephew ... my brother ... married a *Rarotongan*. She is hundred percent *Rarotongan* but their *Rarotongan Māori* (the *Rarotongan* language) but they know more *Raro[tongan]* ... they love it ... they love the *Māori* [language] ... they love the fact ... their aunties and their cousin are always speaking the *reo*. Now my niece, she's in *kapa haka*. My nephew, he's the means as, you know ... so you can see where the influence is going with the cousins.

Part 2

I think a few people have already answered the second question - the language that the children responded in?

Ihapera

I found that my kids are really confident to *kōrero Māori*. It's me that's not because a lot of my *whānau* speak *Māori* so I think: "I don't want to say anything. What if I say it wrong?" Shame, you know, so I will speak English but my kids oh... For me, that's my barrier because even in my head, if I say something, I will think: "Okay, is that how I say it?" By then the kids are already gone... and I find I don't think and I just speak. It's like: "Oh yeah, yeah. It sounded right. It was good".

Hine

When listening to my son speak ... sleep talking, one scenario was in English and the next scenario was in *te reo* ... so its good he is dreaming in both languages.

Awa

I think most of the time the oldest *moko* (grandchild) pretty *kaha* (staunch). If I speak to her in *Māori*, she will stay in *Māori*. Sometimes she forgets. She gets excited and she will speak English but then I will just say to her: "*Korero Māori mai*" (speak English) - and she just quick to switch back but I notice, like, she been away for three weeks and there was nobody there and that to carry on the *reo* and so coming back been really, really hard for her to get out of English and that's only three weeks so I feel a little bit like all my hard work has gone down the drain, bit like pushing it back up the hill again but, yeah, I just got to be *kaha*.

Q. With your kids, do they have a preference to speak Māori at your place with each other or to you?

Etera

My younger ones, younger one tends to speak *Māori*. The older one tends to go back to *Pākehā* a lot

Q. How old is she now?

Etera

She's eight.

Q. Is she in mainstream?

Etera

Ah no ... they have got a *rumaki* class (a class taught completely in *te reo Māori*). She goes back into *te reo Pākehā* as well ... last year they speaking full *te reo* and when they go to lunch ... automatically they just' go into mainstream, my kids as well they speaking fluent *Pākehā* again.

Q. So do you think she gets swamped, what I meant by swamped, she gets so much of it?

Etera

But yeah, soon as I turn up... when I speak *te reo Māori* to them, most of the time I react in *Māori* ... it's a bit of a fifty, fifty ... but if I do speak *te reo Māori* ... to them in most cases they'll speak ... *te reo Māori* back.

Q. Did you find that with - when they are talking together ... the kids, do they only speak Māori? All your kids ... because you can actually observe them without ... them noticing that you are there ... do they speak Māori together or they sort of break off when they think that no one's watching?

Etera

To be honest they ... talk *Pākehā*.

Q. Because there is quite a bit of an age difference, eh?

Etera

Five and eight, but, yeah, what I was saying before, the younger ones tends to speak *te reo Māori* more ... in most cases.

Q. Do the younger one answer the older sibling in Māori or English, the older one ... asks the questions so ... in Pākehā will the little one answer in Māori?

Etera

Half the time, yeah.

Q. Do your kids only speak te reo together?

Awa

They do speak *Māori* to each other. That's one of the very few times I hear the youngest one actually speaking 'cause a lot of the time ... he doesn't have a lot to say ... and they were really, really quite good at conversing when they are playing ... but like I say with the holidays, they both went away and they both come back and it was like, starting. It's still early days since they been back. They're only been back for a couple of weeks so I think it - our main thing is to get them back here again, to that point ... where they do it without thinking.

Q. So they do have the preference themselves to talk Māori to each other?

Awa

Yeah, I suppose they do, yeah.

Ihaperā

I think mine speak *Māori* to each other the majority of the time. When we are at home, just about all the time really but it's when we are at my mum's they don't because they know that nana can't understand them.

Q. That's really good because they can go to it. Well they can switch between bilingual which is called 'natural bilingual'.

Ihaperā

And even at the shop I hear them talk *Māori* to each other because my daughter asking how much change did I have X ... get ripped off

Q. So you find ... there are certain places where they will switch to Pākehā ... we call them domains ... some kids ... as soon as they get out that gate, that's a big domain ... maybe in the car they would only speak English or maybe for example

at the supermarket or certain places ... they only use Pākehā or they only use Māori.

Ihapera

They kind of switch ... to however they are feeling I suppose or they want to include me they might speak a bit more *Pākehā* then because they are waiting for me to jump on whichever *waka* (*Māori* or English language), you know what I mean but ... yeah they speak *Māori* to me where ever they want, whenever they want. It's just the majority of the time I notice when we are at my mum's, pretty much don't speak any *Māori* ... and maybe just some of their cousins, like my nieces that don't speak *Māori* ... but whenever we're are with nanas and that they do, like my aunties and uncles they will. I think our kid's generation, like most of my cousins and that, are learning *Māori* too so the majority of their kids or their *mokos* (grandchildren) are speaking *Māori*, that's why our kids all speak a lot more *Māori*.

Ihapera

My son... I said to him: "*kōrero Māori*"... and he said to me "I am *hoha* (annoyed) with speaking *Māori*" and I just said "pardon me" and so "oh, come on let's sit down". So we sat at the table and I did this big lecture about ... how our world is just about lost and these people fought for ... our *reo*, and save our *reo* ... and all that and: "Do you know how much money mummy had to spend to study how to speak our *reo*! And here you are getting ... in it and tell me you are *hoha* with it"... and he would just go "ah true arohamai mum" (sorry mum) ... "but you know if you don't want to speak *Māori*, that's alright with you". And then I said: "when you have children, are they going to speak English?" and he said: "oh hell no they are going speak *Māori* only" ... and I said: "well that sound's silly, you don't want to speak *Māori* but you want your kids to". And then he will say: "I will have to think about that one mum". It is quite funny ... our thing we have me and my son.

Hakeke

You notice how cheeky and confidence the kids are, the fluent ones are.

Ihapera

No.

Hakeke

Yeah, I notice that.

Ihaperā

I didn't notice that at all.

Hakeke

Because even all the nannies picked that up, all the *kōhanga* kids.

Ihaperā

X (Interviewee's son) went to *kōhanga* but he actually went through three *kōhanga* ... he started off at X ... Y and then I think he had a week at Z before he started at ... where as A she is from B.

Hakeke

I would say X is *tūturu* (fluent) but her grandparents picked it up since she was little, the mother in-law commented ... she's quite proud because there are no other *mokos* (grandchildren) like her.

Q. None?

Hakeke

No ... so ... she goes least I know that I have got *moko* ... that are fluent, that are *tūturu* ... and I would make them have conversation with them and then they would make X do items, *kapa haka* items ... they actually make her stand up do her *poi* and *waiata* and encourage it ... but I think that the generation they came from that what they use to do, because her, she's in her late 70s nearly 80, and the old man ... mid-80s.

Ihaperā

The kids sing a lot ... not me I am not musical at all ... so when they get to have breakfast ... X would have to ask her brother: "How does this one go?" and he would play the ... and she'll say don't sing mummy, I kill the song.

Q. Does anyone have teenagers?

Ihaperā

I got a eighteen year old. He went to *kura kaupapa* (*Māori* immersion schools). He went to ... he started ... at another *kura* ... bilingual and I found it did nothing for my older two. Well my older three ... one of them did not do too bad ... the oldest but the other two they didn't do well at English or *Māori* and they were in the bilingual unit and so ... eight or nine she started to look for *kura kaupapa* and I ended up taken them to ... X ... loved it and they thrived there they thrived and ... I thought they found it hard because their *reo*... well pretty much they did not have any ... they didn't go to *kōhanga* but they didn't have too much *reo* and I thought they were going to struggle at first so by their second week it was like they have been there forever.

Q. So do you think they have less value ... feel about the [Māori] language ... being a teenager?

Ihaperā

Yeah ... my eighteen year old, he is eighteen. What can I say but ... he speaks a lot of *Māori* ... to his sisters and that but he's a bit shy to speak to other people I notice and even his friends but ... I think he - at this stage his friends are into doing other things anyway so they don't so much converse in *Māori*.

Q. Is that the one with the baby?

Ihaperā

No that's X, my oldest one she went to X school ... goes to ... *kura kaupapa* but he went to Y. He loved *Māori* but ... he can understand I'd say but ... he can't speak too much but he got his daughter at a *kōhanga* ... and he wants her to speak *Māori* ... and his partner speaks *Māori* too

Hakeke

I have got a niece, she is twenty-five, she started in a *kōhanga*, she was there for two years but my father pulled her out because there was *raru* (problems) in the *kōhanga* ... so he pulled her out but she has regrets, she has regrets because ... after that because her parents live in X she wasn't sort of like exposed to anything *Māori* then she went to go to Y and then off to varsity but when she went to varsity she got really involved and she got sort of like leadership courses things like *Māori* leadership courses and um she yeah she really enjoyed it.

Q. So when your kids get a bit older ... when they have kids, what would you want them to have? We have all got our own stories like ... the generation before us wanted to battle for the language to ... generated, revived the ... thought goodness ... we got the hard part over and done with but it only takes three generations to lose it again ... but for your case what ... language or languages you were taught ... you might want your kids to speak three or four languages, but there might be one they preference for?

Awa

I have preference for my *mokos* (grandchildren) to speak *Māori* because ... it was like what X was talking about it ... when you see the kids that have the *reo* they know who they are. They stand - they have a ... they have that confidence and ... I remember watching a kid in a high school *kapa haka* group and I looked at that group and I thought: "those kids have all got something", and I was sitting there and I was trying to figure out what it was and I realized that they knew who they were and they - so they had their identity. They had their *reo* and were just ... the world was their oyster and I think that's what you want for your kids and that's what you want for your *mokos*, yeah ... so that it's a natural thing. They don't have to learn it like I had to and that they don't miss out and that, they value it that that what I really want. I don't care how many languages they learn and I'm hoping that them learning their *Māori* language is actually going to ... be something they want to go on learn another language if they can because it be easier for them.

Hakeke

That's what I think. With my oldest one, she just started high school but I've put her into languages. I put her ... in *Māori* first but then also after that because I think the closest one to *Māori* would be *Japanese* so I put her into Japanese and then after that I sort of avoided *Spanish*. I thought that *Japanese* ... not ... *Spanish, French* 'cause my sisters all did *French* at school. She like the prize giving student for *French* 'cause it was quite hard case because when she was at X she like won prize giving in *French* and she was a *Māori* and a white girl won it in *Māori*.

Kaitaka

I veer towards languages with my oldest girl as well.

Hakeke

Kai pai, I think that's going to be our main, that's what I always been told - languages would get you jobs all over the world, specific languages. Even the new one would be *Chinese* now ay? Because they becoming a bigger economy now they giving the Yanks a run for their money so perhaps *Chinese* would be a language to learn in the future for our children.

Awa

Well you look at those ... those young guys ... the ones that all knocked around with X and them, X and them... they are so on to it as far as languages go... it just seems like it so easy for them and I am sure it must be you know... you work that language side of the brain so... to get other languages it must be ... you know really easy for them.

Q. I have heard if you're are bilingual it's easy to pick up another language.

Awa

Oh yeah. I have no doubt.

Etera

For our *kaupapa Māori* (being *Māori*) and ... along the same lines as X too ... what it's done for me is amazing in terms to what X was saying ... becoming a better person ... knowing who you are, where you come from and I honestly think if I

wanted to pursue anything, I will because of my *Māoritanga* (being *Māori*) and my *reo* that I got within me. I think I can accomplish it and it just about knowing about who you are and ... head down, ass up and doing the *mahi* (job) ... for me anyway *te reo Māori* and the *kaupapa Māori* has done that for me, gave me. It gave me a mindset I can do anything ... never thought I would get into 'Waka Huia' (at the time the top *Māori* performance group in the world). That was another dream for me.

Q. Taken you to China, Mexico?

Etera

Exactly.

Q. Italy?

Etera

Italy, yeah, as you know those are the other bonuses that are ... very fortunate to come across ... for me, it's just about ... I loved it. *Te reo Māori* has taken me to another domain of learning ... so at least I have that for my babies. At same time, I am not trying to push it on to them ... to a certain point I do need them to ... what I will be doing though ... is do what my mum done ... we do at the moment ... any *tangihanga* (funeral) any *marae* ... three days hard out playing with their cousins getting to know their cousins and I think that plays a big part of it too ... a lot of our *tamariki* (children) today ... they don't even know how to go on to a *marae*. I make sure that they go to their *kuis* (grandmothers and grand-aunties): "haere kei te hararu" (say hello). This is your nana ... that your nana ... first cousin etc ... her dad etc ... your koro, your grandfather ... and I explain their *whakapapa* (genealogical connection) ... all about ... knowing who they are and now that's just natural ... a lot of the *whānau*, they just go: "wow your kids haven't even meet us before and they are cuddling us like they have known us all their lives". So I have just made that second nature. *Mā te reo Māori* (because of *te reo Māori*) ... the biggest one for me too is: Don't tell me, show me ... getting them, showing them, watching dad and that goes for the *marae*: "yeah, you can go play ... kitchen ... I got a *mahi* (job) to do I have got to feed our people that come to the *tangi*" (funeral)

... those practices ... being accustomed to those. So, yeah, and in regards to that ... that's what I'm saying in my life and that's one option as I see it ... but I would like them to take that as a foundation in whatever they pursue, always be there to inspire them and feed them with the right *wairua* and the right *kōrero* to help them to pursue ... strive for success.

Hine

I would like all my kids to learn it (the *Māori* language) ... my oldest two ... they never went to *kōhanga* or anything like that ... in the bilingual unit at ... intermediate and she picked it up from there ... she was taking ... *Spanish* last year, which she thought it was no use so she dropped it and now she is looking at *Māori* in her class and my son he is ... real shy but since he has been in a bilingual unit too ... just started intermediate and he just come out of his shell learning *Māori*, and with the baby ... you know ... hard out talk *Māori* at home. They'll say a few things here and there and X, he's three ... he sings *waiata* (song) a lot at home ... its really cool ... and I am not completely clueless myself. I know a few things and I try talk to them and they, most of the time, won't talk back to me in *Māori* but they understand what I'm saying ... I do hear them sometimes ... the two boys talking to each other, yeah, but nah it's really good. I am really happy that the kids are getting into it and hopefully one day they will be representing our family like standing up at the *marae*, doing what the rest of my family can't. And it's good learning from them. Yeah, it's not just a nice beautiful language. I think it gives them ... confidence and stuff as well for kids and I like the whole *whānau* ... *kaupapa*... *koha* (donation) and stuff like that ... *marae*.

Interviewer. The week before X left, I don't know, what it was with him but he was continuously speaking English and I was a bit worried about him and ... I said something to one of the kids in *Māori* ... I said to him: "let those kids play on the -". This was all in *Māori*. "let them play on the on the playground it's not just for you" and then X ... looked up and said in English: "yeah, that playground not just for you let us all play there". So when I heard him say that, I knew ah nah, he alright.

Hine

Yeah, he understands. I think he ... speak when he wants to ... it's really good at school ... at *kura* because they doing it all the time. A few people have tried to put me off, saying ... "can't get anywhere learning *Māori*, they need English" - stuff like that but I'm like I see it as ... they are like a sponge - can, they can learn faster and easier so that not a kind of a issue for me and they bring in the English later so, you know, even English is easy to pick up. They get it enough around my family and that. So I think it's really good they getting it now while they are young. Looking at the two older ones, they have missed out really 'cause they have to learning it at school and ... my oldest she is ... the top of her class you know X there at school always tells her to help the other kids and stuff like that so its cool.

Hahana

I like for my *mokos* (grandchildren) to learn *Māori* first because that is who they are. *Māori* first ... what interest after that their decision ... but I make sure that I *tautoko* (support) their *taha Māori tuatahi* (*Māori* side first) and that they *ako tērā* (learn that) and that *ākuanei* (later) they can do whatever but that first preference for me and the *kāinga* (my home) and me and my *tane* (husband) make sure of that ... because that is what we all talked about anyway in our *whare* (house) ... (to their children) "when you fellas start having your *mokopuna* (grandchildren) ... *haere kei te kōhanga reo* (send them to *kōhanga reo*) ... *i te taha ahau hoki* (I will be there also)" because I will be following them too right through that best. As for who they are, I think I don't really have a - too much of a issue with that because *whakapapa* is important first and you don't have to *kōrero Māori* to teach them who they are where they from ... *whakapapa*, then they can relate back to who they are ... *ako te reo* ... (learn the *Māori* language) that all comes with that ay ... That's *tōku nei whakaaro* (that's my view) because I think that even though I didn't have *te reo* I knew who I am, where I from. That's always been something that we were instilled with.

Q. Would anyone like to add anything?

Ihaperā

I do ... just about ... languages ... me and my thirteen year old have already spoken about that his two older brothers they did *kapa haka* and I always tell them do *kapa*

haka and sports, anything. That's where you get to travel a lot 'cause we can't afford to do that stuff as a family and ... my two older ones, one went to *Hawaii* and *Vanuatu* and the other one went to *Fiji* with *kapa haka* at school and they said to me when they were there ... "do you know those fellas can speak three languages mum? Some can speak four" and I said "that does not mean you can't" and they said "really?" ... you know, they really thought we only could speak English and *Māori* because that all you speak in New Zealand kind of thing and ... my thirteen year old, he's the fourth one, he said that ... this year when he goes to school he wants to learn a lot of languages so I said: "go for it, there is nothing stopping you" and you know that's because his brothers were talking about how they spoke this language, this language and yet they are *Fijians* you know and the *pōhara* (poor) people ... they are *pōhara* and yet they can speak all these languages, and for me I don't have expectation but I think it was because I was sort of pushy to make them learn *Māori* which meant I removed them from bilingual ... and put them just in *kura kaupapa*. So for me, I feel I got my way and so, yeah, you know and so I think, well, when they are older ... well then it's their choice. I just kind of put a little niggling little thoughts in their heads I suppose but you know don't want to be like mummy. I did *Ātaarangi* and then I did nothing for a couple of years and then I realized I was losing my *reo* and I spent all this money to learn this *reo* that I was losing and that's why I jumped on the *kōhanga reo waka*, just to help keep my *reo*. Well the kids thought because they are real *pōhara*, how could they learn these other languages.

Q. Languages are not associated with money?

Ihaperā

Well, I think that why my son has an interest in learning more languages because of his older brothers and because I got an uncle, he's sixty, he travels quite a bit with his *mahi* (job) and so he learned how to speak *Spanish* because they were going over there for one of his *mahi* and he got a aunty she lives in *Hawaii* now and she speaks *Hawaiian* so he going there next Christmas hoping and so it's given him that interest and that drive ... if aunty can, if she this age, and if *koro* (granddad) can at his age, I think it's just opening that, that bit of *whakaaro* (food for thought) there.

Hakeke

X said an interesting comment ... be about three or four month ago and he said to me: “*whaea*, what do you dream in, *Pākehā* or *Māori*” ... and I said: “nah ... dreaming in *Pākehā*” but lately I have been dreaming in *Māori* so I thought: “well, that means the next door opening up, which means my *reo*, so is *kei te pai*” (secure). I also ... we spent five years in X when I was from six to eleven and ... my whole X language is coming back as well, I’ll be watching TV and I can understand it ... because my brother said the same comment ’cause he went back to X and work there for a few years and he said once you get back into X, he said you’ll pick up the language again just like that he said it took me a week and he said: “I had it back”, so I think ... I don’t know what happened I must be, my brain is opening up or something but, yeah, so I got a tendency to absorb more so, yeah, thank you *matua* for that in regards to that dream. I got a shock when I woke up and I went: “oh, it was a dream in the *reo* and I was talking to someone I didn’t even know”.

Etera

I suppose for me ... I would like to see our *kaupapa Māori (Māori)* incorporated in ... mainstream a bit more to enlighten ... mainstream kids in the mainstream realms ... a lot of people don’t know, actually, know properly about ... our *kaupapa, tikanga and our reo*. I think just to be able to enlighten it a bit with ... I suppose ... what I am trying to say is that it would be good if they could incorporate ... something compulsory components like *te reo* within schools ... especially for our *Māori* kids ... just to give them that option ... sometimes they don’t even get the option ... maybe ... that’s sometimes that’s all they need ... just a little bit of insight ... I think a lot of it has got to do with the actual people teaching as well ... there’s a saying: ‘There are teachers and then there are teachers’ ... referring to teachers who just go there nine to five ... “oh no, I only got one minute left. I won’t have time”, whereas for myself, I see myself as: “It’s not an issue”... if I can help in any way ... I help out after hours in my own time and be passionate make sure ... *kōhanga kaupapa*, make sure that the *whānau* knows and spend that extra time and then I think that’s at knock off, that is what I see ... in the *kura*, that is where the *wairua* is missing. People say: “Oh yeah, I want to be a teacher”, and they get there. Quite sad because ... the *tamariki* future is in their hands just ... really passionate ... but it needs to be done especially ... I think their intentions are right. It’s just

about, for me ... having the right teachers there ... people who are really going to do the *mahi* ... I suppose ... especially ... *te reo*. So, yeah, I like to see that incorporated in our *kura* (schools), mainstream.

Key Words

Aotearoa	New Zealand
Hapū	Clan
Hauraki	Tribal area of Aotearoa
Iwi	Tribe
Kai Tahu	Tribe of Aotearoa
Kapa Haka	Māori Performance group
Ka Pai	Good
Karakia	Prayer
Karauna	Crown
Kaumātua	Learned Elder
Kāwanatanga	Government
Kōhanga Reo	Māori immersion kindergarten
Koro	Grandfather/ Elder (m)
Koroua	Grandfather/ Elder (m)
Kōrero	Talk; Speak; Stories
Kōrero Māori	Speak the Māori language
Kotahitanga	Unification
Kui	Grandmother/ Elder (f)
Kuia	Grandmother/ Elder (f)
Kura kaupapa Māori	Māori immersion primary/ intermediate/ high school
Te Taurawhiri o Te Reo Māori	Māori Language Commission
Manuhiri	Visitor
Manuwhiri	Visitor
Mana	Prestige
Māori	Indigenous people of Aotearoa/ NZ
Marae	A Māori village
Matatau	Expert
Mita	Dialect
Moko	Grandchild/ Grandchildren
Mokopuna	Grandchild/ Grandchildren
Ngai Tūhoe	Tribe of Aotearoa

Ngapuhi	Tribe of Aotearoa
Ngāti Awa	Tribe of Aotearoa
Ngāti Haua	Tribe of Aotearoa
Ngāti te Oro	Tribe of Aotearoa
Ngāti Porou	Tribe of Aotearoa
Paepae/ Pae	A sacred place on a marae where learned elders (m) represent and speak for their families, clan and tribe
Pākehā	White New Zealander; Non Māori etc
Pātai	Question
Pōhara	Poor
Pono	Truth
Rangatahi	Teenagers/ Young Adults
Rangatira	Chief/ Chiefly
Reo	The Māori language
Ruri	Poem
Tainui	Tribe of Aotearoa
Tane	Man
Tangata	Man
Tāngata	People
Tangata Whenua	Indigenous/ People of the Land
Tanata	Person/ Man
Taranaki	Tribal area
Te Ātaarangi	Māori immersion language school
Te Reo	The Māori language
Te Reo Māori	The Māori language
Tikanga	Culture/ Lore
Tūara	Back/ Backbone
Tupuna	Ancestor
Tūpuna	Ancestors
Tūturu	Genuine
Waea	Strain
Wahine	Woman
Waiata	Song

Waikato	Tribal area of Aotearoa
Whakapono	Truth/ Religion
Whāngai	Adopted
Whānau	Family
Whanaunga	Extended family
Whanui	Extended family
Whare-Karakia	Church
Whare Kura	Māori immersion high school