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Kiwi, Kapai, and Kuia: Māori Loanwords in New Zealand English Children's Picture Books Published between 1995 and 2005

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Abstract

Māori loanwords are a distinctive characteristic of New Zealand English (Deverson, 1991). A previous study of the frequency of Māori loanwords in New Zealand English children's picture books showed an incidence of 56 words per thousand in a corpus of 13 books published by a single publishing house between 1995 and 2005 (Daly, 2007). The current study determined the frequency, semantic categories, and textual representations of loanwords in a corpus of nearly 500 children's picture books published in New Zealand between 1995 and 2005. Results showed an incidence of 13 Māori loanwords per thousand words of text. Reasons for this difference in frequency and the potential effects of a relatively high incidence of Māori loanwords in children's picture books are discussed in terms of the language use of the readers, the changing character of New Zealand English, and New Zealand national identity.

Introduction

This study is a development from a study by Daly (2007) which examined the frequency of Māori loanwords[1] in a set of thirteen books published by a New Zealand-based publisher between 1995 and 2005. Results showed a much higher frequency of loanwords than in other contexts (56 per thousand). This was explained by Daly (2007) in terms of the ethnicity of the authors, who all identified their ethnicity as Māori, and the fact that the books were all published by a publisher with a commitment to telling stories from the Māori world. The question remained as to whether the high frequency of the loanwords in the set of thirteen books examined by Daly (2007) would be found in all picture books published in New Zealand in this time period. Is there something special about children's picture books which invites a higher incidence of Māori loanwords?

Loanwords from the Māori language are a distinctive characteristic of New Zealand English (Deverson, 1991).[2] Recent studies show rates of Māori loanwords ranging from 6 per thousand in *New Zealand School Journals*[3] to 8.8 per thousand in a combined corpus of New Zealand School Journals, newspapers, and Hansard records (Macalister, 2006a). In a study of Hansard records from debates concerning Māori issues only, Macalister showed a rate of 25 loanwords per thousand (Macalister, 2004). In several successive studies of Māori loanword knowledge amongst the New Zealand population, Macalister has shown that the estimated size of an average New Zealander's Māori loanword vocabulary (other than proper nouns) is between 70 and 80 words (Macalister, 2006b; 2008). Davies & Maclagan (2006) examined the use of 13 loanwords across an eight-year period in four New Zealand newspapers. Their results showed that most loanwords were found in articles concerning Māori issues, but that *hui* 'gathering' and *hikoi* 'walk/march' were found in non-Māori contexts.

As already mentioned a study of 13 books produced by a New Zealand publisher with a commitment to telling Māori stories showed a frequency of 56 per thousand Māori loanwords (Daly, 2007). Very few other studies can be found which examine the use of loanwords in children's literature. One of these is a study by Barrera and Quiroa (2003) who examined the use of Spanish in Latino children's literature published in the USA between 1995 and 2000 and noted that historically, Spanish language has been added to English-language texts for cultural flavour at best, at worst for stereotyping. They concluded that the use of carefully selected and

well integrated terms enhance the literary realism and cultural authenticity of books, but that the selection of such terms can only be done by someone with cultural and linguistic knowledge otherwise the book risks tokenism or superficiality. This study did not however quantify the use of Spanish loanwords nor examine their semantic categories or textual representation. Nor did this study consider how the use of loanwords may affect the language use of those either reading or listening to the books.

A range of studies show that children's books affect acquisition of new vocabulary items (see Cunningham, 2005 for a review). Two recent studies in which parent readers of children's picture books were interviewed after reading a set of New Zealand English picture books to their children for a month has shown that children's books can also affect the adult reader's reported acquisition of new vocabulary (Daly, 2009; 2010). Thus it is likely that the frequency of Māori loanwords in Children's picture books will affect the changing face of New Zealand English, both for the child listener and the adult reader.

The research questions for this study are as follows:

(1) What is the frequency of Māori loanword tokens[4] used in New Zealand English children's picture books published between 1995 and 2005?

(2) What semantic categories do the Māori loanwords used in New Zealand English picture books between 1995 and 2005 fall into?

(3) What are the most frequently used Māori loanword types[5] in New Zealand English children's picture books published between 1995 and 2005?

(4) How are Māori loanwords in New Zealand English children's picture books published between 1995 and 2005 represented textually?

Methodology

The first priority for the project was to locate the appropriate children's picture books. This task was facilitated by using *New Zealand Books in Print* (NZBP), an annually published reference guide for booksellers and librarians, which not only lists book titles and publication information of all books printed during a particular year in New Zealand, but also notes details of their subject categories. From the NZBP, the following search criteria were established:

- 'Illus/Col'
- 'Children's Fiction' or 'Child and Youth Fiction'
- Page Numbers were noted (generally < 32 was a good indication of a picture book)
- Year of Publication had to be 1995-2005 inclusive

Children's colour-illustrated fiction additionally labelled as 'foundation', 'concepts', 'literacy links', 'readers' and 'read along rhythm' books were deemed unsuitable for the project as the purpose or function of these texts is primarily educational, whereas story picture books are typically read to children by adults, and may be both educational and entertaining. The researchers decided that this difference in language function would have directly influenced the author's choice of vocabulary.

Although publication details in some of the books indicated that they had been published elsewhere (e.g. Australia), their inclusion in NZBP was taken to indicate their publication in New Zealand also. Books which were bilingual or trilingual, having full translations provided were also excluded from the study.

In order to check suitability further, a search of the University of Waikato's library catalogue was made. All books catalogued as 'PB' (picture books) were selected and cross referenced with the list from *New Zealand Books in Print*. This also usefully reduced the time required to physically locate the books. Where a book was published in hardback and later in paperback, or as a paperback with subsequent reprints, the original publication date determined the applicability of the book for the study. A second or later edition was however included in

the corpus if it was published between 1995 and 2005 because content may have been changed at that time.

Individual book analyses of text and illustrations excluded the book covers (inside and out), the publication details, and the title pages. Also excluded were text strings which are instances of code switching rather than code mixing and borrowing, although this distinction was occasionally difficult to determine. For example, in *the Fantail and the Weka* by Jon Gadsby (1996, p. 30), the phrases *Kia ora, e hoa, thanks, mate* and *ka tika, s'all right*, although small and intra-sentential, were deemed to be code-switching.

Cliticised lexical items were counted as one unit (*it's, don't*) as were those joined by a hyphen *slubberdy-dubberdy*. Acronyms such as *KZ7* were counted as single words and also lexical items capitalised by the author to signal contrast and emphasis e.g. AMAZING, UNBEATABLE (Walsh, 2000), whereas the elements of single lexical items deliberately extended by the author were counted separately: *A. M. A. Z. I. N. G.* and *U. S. of A.* from *Captain Redsocks and the Magic Black Boat* (Gadsby, 1995) were counted as being seven and four lexical items respectively. Justification for this decision was made on two counts, the first being that children's picture books are written to be read aloud and listened to (Daly, 2008), and 'spelling out' the words in this fashion preserves the rhythm and metre of the text, while secondly, the method of presentation in the text (e.g. full stops and spaces) indicates the author's intention for the reader to treat the elements as separate items.

In order to be consistent with previous studies of this type (Macalister, 2006; Daly, 2007), Māori lexical items were counted in terms of units rather than individual words. *Te Aroha, moko ma, tangata whenua* were all judged to be single instances of borrowing.

Following Macalister (2006), capitalised nouns were assigned to the semantic category of Proper Nouns, while generic items such as *ika* 'fish' were classified as belonging to the material and social culture domain (Tikanga Māori) and more specific terms like *mango* (a type of shark) were classified as Flora and Fauna.

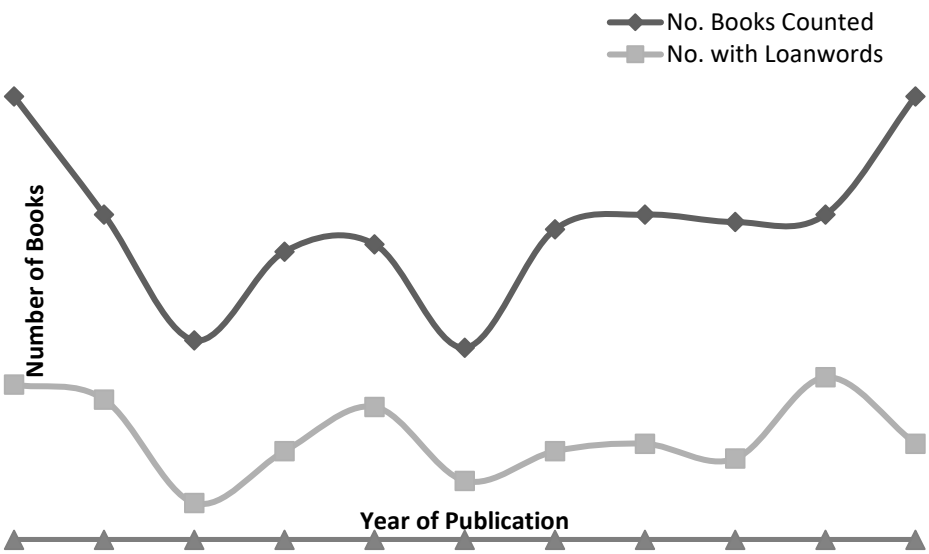
Results

Results will be presented in four areas, addressing each of the four research questions outlined above: (1) the frequency of Māori loanwords tokens across the time period examined, (2) the semantic categories of the Māori loanwords used, (3) the types of Māori loanwords found across the time period examined, and (4) the textual representation of the Māori loanwords. Before these four areas are addressed a brief overall picture of the use of loanwords across the time period being examined will be given.

Overall picture

In the corpus of 469 books examined in this study (97% of all books published in the period 1995-2005), the years with the highest number of children's books published fell at the beginning and end of the period: 1995 and 2005 (60 books each year). The lowest number of annually published books was 26 books in 1997, and 27 books in the year 2000. In some years there were up to 40 books published which used no loanwords at all. Of those picture books which did use loanwords (n=154 or 33%), most were published in 2004 (22 books). Such high proportions of books without any loanwords lead us to expect that the frequency of loanwords in this corpus would be substantially less than the frequency observed by Daly (2007). See Figure 1 below for a graph of the publishing trends across the period in this study.

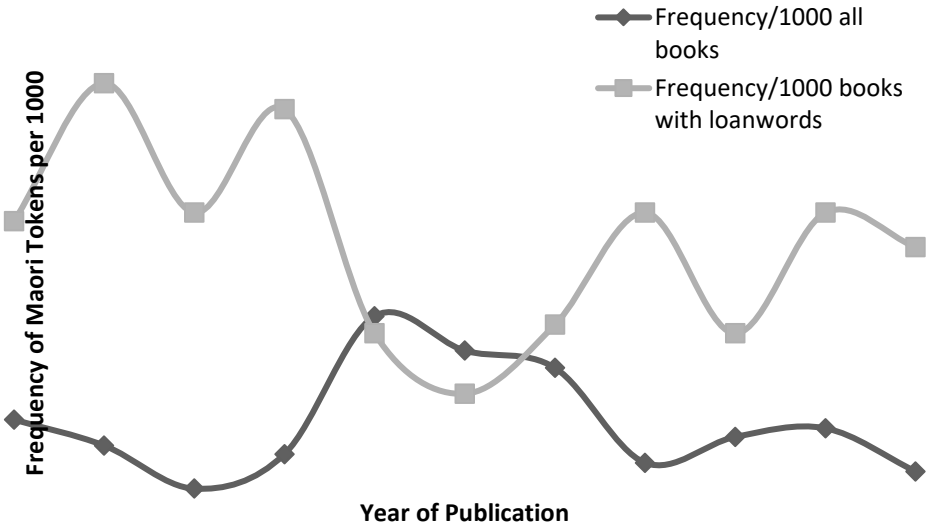
Figure 1. Number of New Zealand Children's picture books published between 1995 and 2005



Frequency

The main question we wanted to answer in the present study was how frequently Māori loanword tokens were used in the picture books published in English in New Zealand between 1995 and 2005. Figure 2 below shows the frequency of Māori loanword tokens for each of these years. Across this short period the frequency varied from a low of 5 per thousand in 1997, to a high of 25 per thousand in 1999. The overall frequency was 13 per thousand. If we examine only the books which used loanwords (n=154), the mean frequency was 37 per thousand, with a minimum of 16 per thousand in the year 2000, and a maximum of 52 per thousand in 1996, a rate more commensurate with the earlier study of children's picture books (Daly, 2007). Thus it appears that there may be two kinds of children's picture books available: those which use loanwords, and use them quite frequently, and those which use none at all. While the difference between these two sets of books would be worth examining in more detail, this is left for a future study. The focus of the present study was the overall frequency which children and adults reading this genre of New Zealand English children's picture books are being exposed to.

Figure 2: Frequency of Māori loanwords in New Zealand children's books published between 1995 and 2005.



The frequency of Māori loanword tokens in New Zealand picture books across the period between 1995 and 2005 varied; however, the overall rate of 13 per thousand is considerably higher than the previous finding by Macalister (1999) of 6 per thousand in New Zealand School Journals published in the 1990s, and substantially lower than 56 per thousand found in the 13 books examined by Daly (2007). The reason for the difference from the 1990s School Journals (Macalister, 1999) could perhaps be explained in terms of the fact that the present corpus includes a later period in which perhaps more loanwords were used, thus raising the overall frequency. However, if we examine the frequency for the period 1995-1999 in Table 1 below, we see that the frequency for this period was in fact already 12 per thousand. Thus, for reasons not yet clear, in the present corpus of New Zealand English children's picture books, substantially more loanwords are used than in the New Zealand School Journal, another publication specifically for New Zealand children. Perhaps this difference is related to the genre of picture books as compared to the magazine format of the New Zealand School Journal (School Journal, 2009), or the age for which the two kinds of publications are intended (see Footnote 3). This difference in the frequency of Māori loanwords in the two kinds of publications will be further discussed below.

The reason for the much lower frequency of loanwords in the current corpus compared with the corpus of 13 New Zealand English picture books examined in an earlier study (Daly, 2007) is much clearer. The latter corpus is from one New Zealand publishing house with a stated aim to tell stories from Māori and Pacific perspectives (Huia Home Page, 2006), and as discussed by Daly (2007) all of the authors in this corpus identified their ethnicity as Māori, whereas the current corpus included all books published in New Zealand across the same time period, many of which, as mentioned in 3.1 above, used no loanwords at all.

It could be argued that children are rarely exposed to picture books for 11 years of their life,[6] and so the overall 11 year frequency of 0.013 may be meaningless in terms of a child's exposure to the language in these books. However, if we estimate that children are exposed to the language of picture books across a 5 year period (from age 2 years to 7 years), it may be more relevant to consider the frequency of loanwords in 5 year periods across the 1995 to 2005 period covered in this study. These figures are presented below in Table 1, and show that for a child listening to/reading children's picture books published in New Zealand in the period between 1995 and 2005, they would have been exposed to between 11 loanwords per thousand to 17 loanwords per thousand. Of course, New Zealand children are also exposed to many picture books not published in New Zealand, and to books published prior to the time when they are actually read.

Table 1. Frequency of Māori loanwords across six 5 year periods between 1995-2005

1995-1999	1996-2000	1997-2001	1998-2002	1999-2003	2000-2004	2001-2005
.012	.014	.015	.016	.017	.014	.011

Semantic categories

The second question being addressed in this study relates to the semantic categories from which the Māori loanwords come. The three semantic categories (Flora and Fauna, Proper Nouns and Tikanga Māori) used by Macalister (1999, 2006) in his series of studies of loanwords in New Zealand English were also used for the present study. Table 2 below shows the proportion of loanword tokens found in these categories. As has been found in previous studies (e.g., Macalister, 1999; 2006), the category of Proper Nouns predominated. In every year except the

year 2000, the proportion of loanword tokens in the Tikanga Māori (material and social culture) category is substantially more than the proportion of tokens in the Flora and Fauna category. The proportions range from 17% in 2000 to 42% in 2005, as compared with the 10% found in the 1990s New Zealand School Journals (Macalister, 1999). This trend ties in with Macalister's (1999) finding when he compared his School Journal corpus from the 1960s with that from the 1990s. Macalister found that in the 1960s School Journal, the Flora and Fauna category was larger than the Tikanga Māori (material and social culture) category, but in the 1990s School Journals this was reversed. Macalister (1999) suggested that future growth in Flora and Fauna and Proper Noun categories is less likely due to the fact that they are relatively closed classes, and concluded that the Tikanga Māori category is perhaps 'the most sensitive barometer of change' (p. 48). That is, as numbers of Māori loanword tokens increase in New Zealand English, they are most likely to increase more in the Tikanga Māori category. This prediction is evidenced in this corpus of New Zealand children's picture books.

A fourth category of hybrid words was not included in previous studies, but was included in the present study. It was expected that in children's books there would be more evidence of authors playing with language by combining parts of words from English and Māori, for example, *pungapeople* (a combination of Māori *punga* 'tree fern', and English *people:* Crump, 1999). However, the most common proportion of such words was zero, while the highest was 10% in 1995 and 12% in 2005. Thus, the number proved insufficient to draw any meaningful conclusions about this type of borrowing.

Table 2: Percentage of loanwords in three semantic categories used in NZE children's books published between 1995 and 2005

	1995	**1996**	**1997**	**1998**	**1999**	**2000**	**2001**	**2002**	**2003**	**2004**	**2005**
Flora and Fauna	24%	20%	17%	18%	17%	29%	18%	20%	22%	26%	12%
Proper Nouns	39%	43%	50%	56%	52%	55%	42%	39%	41%	44%	35%
Tikanga Māori	27%	34%	33%	26%	26%	17%	40%	35%	37%	30%	42%
Hybrids	10%	2%	0%	0	5%	0	0	6%	0	0	12%

Lexical Types

The third question to be addressed from the present corpus concerned the types of words being borrowed. A total of 366 lexical types were found in the 469 children's picture books: Proper Nouns n=187; Tikanga Māori (material and social culture) n=127; and Flora and Fauna n=56. Many of the types had only one token. However, most of loanword types were in the Proper Noun category as was found by Macalister (2006a) for newspapers, School Journals and Hansard Records published between 1850 and 2000, and in the School Journals of the 1960s and 1990s (Macalister, 1999). The next most numerous set of loanword types was Tikanga Māori. So, not only were Tikanga Māori loanword tokens more frequent in the present corpus

(see Section 3.3), there was also a greater number of different loanword types in the Tikanga Māori category than in the Flora and Fauna category. Table 2 below shows the top 10 most frequent lexical types for the 11 year period in this study. It is noted that *hui* ('meeting') and *hikoi (*'march'), as examined by Davies and Maclagan (2006) in non Māori contexts in four newspapers do not feature in this top ten list. This is probably because both of these lexical items have political relevance in the New Zealand context and are thus more likely to occur in newspapers than in children's picture books.

Table 3: Ten most frequent lexical types in three lexical categories across the eleven year period 1995-2005

Flora and Fauna	**Proper Nouns**	**Tikanga Māori**
kiwi (113)	Kapai (244)	kuia (57)
kea (51)	Tamatoa (124)	taniwha (44)
moa (43)	Kiwi (117)	*kākahu (27)
pipi (41)	*Hine (104)	taonga (23)
Kauri (22)	Pukunui (87)	marae (20)
Weka (19)	Pukeko (80)	kai (14)
pohutukawa (17)	Koro (76)	haka (14)
*kererū (15)	Mihi (65)	kia ora (13)
*putangitangi (14)	*Poutama (60)	* kēhua (13)
tuatara (12)	Kaha Kea (59)	*matariki (11)
tui (12)	Moko (54)	waka (11)

Note: Numbers in brackets are the number of types for each token and an asterisk (*) denotes that this loanword is in the top ten, but all of the tokens are from one year

It is interesting to compare these figures with the estimate by Macalister (2007; 2008) that New Zealanders have a vocabulary of between 70 and 80 Māori loanwords (other than proper nouns). If we take the number of types found in this corpus other than proper nouns, readers of this literature, both adult and children were exposed to up to 179 vocabulary items. Given that we know that even one exposure can result in receptive vocabulary acquisition for children (Cunningham, 2002), and that exposure through reading of children's books to children can also affect parental acquisition of loanwords (Daly, 2009: 2010), it would seem highly possible that the vocabulary of the readers and listeners is being expanded while reading and listening to these books.

Textual representations

As reported in an earlier study (Daly, 2007), the way in which loanwords are presented textually give an indication of the extent to which the loanwords are accepted into the substrate language, in this case New Zealand English. Italics can be used to indicate words of foreign origin (Macalister, 2000). Glossing, or the giving of the meaning of a word believed to be unfamiliar to readers, can be used in various ways: in the text, on the page (footnote, or endnote) or in a glossary. Macrons (a bar above a vowel sound) are used to indicate long vowels which are phonemically salient (i.e., can change the meaning of a word) in te reo Māori. As macrons are not used in standard English, their use on loanwords signals to the reader that the words are borrowed.

Like the loanwords in the New Zealand School Journals of the 1990s examined by Macalister (1999), and the loanwords in the corpus of 13 NZE children's picture books examined by Daly (2007), none of the loanwords in the corpus of New Zealand English children's picture books was italicised. In the set of 13 picture books examined by Daly (2007) eleven books used macrons on loanwords with long vowels; however, only 24 of the 469 books in this study (or 5%) used macrons on their long vowels.

Overall, some type of glossing occurred in 86 of the 469 books (or 56% of the books with loanwords), embedding the meaning within the text being the most common method employed (63 books or 41% of books with loanwords). Twenty of the books provided glossaries at the front or the back of the book (13% of books with loanwords), sometimes embedding the meanings in the text as well, while in only three cases were the glosses given as footnotes or endnotes.

As with the typographical presentation of a text, it is likely that the frequency of glossing in the children's picture books indicates the author's expectations of audience familiarity with Māori loanwords, and also suggests the degree of assimilation particular loanwords might have acquired in NZE. For example, in Tommy Kapai's *Cuzzies Meet the Motuhoa Shark* (2004), a glossary is provided at the back of the book for a number of the loanwords such as *utu* 'fee', *ika* 'fish', and *kaitiaki* 'guardian', but *taihoa* 'wait' was not one of these. Likewise, in *The Sandman* by Esther Tamehana (1997), glosses are not provided for *iwi* 'people', *marae* 'meeting house', *waka* 'vessel' or *maunga* 'mountain' which all belong to the Tikanga Māori (material and social culture) semantic category, but glosses are embedded in the text for the proper nouns *Tangaroa ,*'God of the sea', *Papatūānuku,* 'the earth', and for *Ranginui,* 'the sky'. This is relevant to the on-going debate concerning the estimated size of an average New Zealand English (NZE) speaker's Māori word vocabulary and the semantic domains these types belong to. It also suggests an area for further research in the Children's Picture Book corpus from this project.

Discussion and Conclusion

In sum, the finding of this study of 97% of the New Zealand English picture books published between 1995 and 2005 has shown a higher frequency of loanword tokens than in studies of the New Zealand School Journal. It has shown that the loanwords used are mostly proper nouns, but that a substantial proportion also belongs to the Tikanga Māori (material and social culture) semantic category, a category identified by Macalister (1999) as being an area of growth for future Māori loanwords in NZE. The Māori loanword tokens in the present corpus are represented in the text without italics, mostly without the use of macrons, and mostly using embedded glossing, which indicates that these words are accepted in New Zealand English at one level, but that there is an acknowledgement that some words are unknown to some readers.

These findings lead us to ask two questions: (1) Why is there a higher frequency of Māori loanwords in this text corpus? ; and (2) What does this mean for the readers of and listeners to these books?

With regard to the first of these questions, it is possible that in children's literature, writers are less cautious about using words which may be unfamiliar, given that children are learning language through picture books anyway (De Temple and Snow, 2003; Cunningham, 2005). Perhaps the repetitious nature of the text in children's picture books lends itself to this. Certainly three of the four authors of children's picture books interviewed in an earlier study (Daly, 2008), discussed using Māori loanwords specifically in order to introduce new words to children. One author in particular mentioned her desire to use different and exciting new words in her writing for children as she believed they would pick up any new words easily. The authors also discussed making decisions to use Māori loanwords in order to disambiguate, to keep the rhythm of the text, and to reflect a Māori child's reality among other reasons. But all the reasons suggested that the writers interviewed were using the Māori loanwords as another source of linguistic possibilities to add to the quality and richness of the story being created. In all cases the 'narrative contract' (Dollerup, 2003) or the desire to ensure that children wanted to come back for more [reading] could be seen to be at the heart of their decision making.

With regard to the question of what this higher frequency of loanwords actually means for readers and listeners, Daly (2007) suggests that the higher frequency of loanwords in children's books has an effect at two levels. For those children and parent readers who use a higher proportion of loanwords in their own spoken New Zealand English, the use of loanwords in these books acts to validate their identity. These readers are 'hearing' their own voices in the stories. Galda & Callinan (2003) in their discussion of multicultural literature for children write '[i]f children never see themselves in books, that omission subtly tells these young people that they are not important enough to appear in books, that books are not for them' (2002, p. 277). Thus the use of loanwords in children's picture books could act as a subtly powerful validation of the voice of such readers and listeners. Indeed one adult participant in a related study in which she read a set of 13 books to her son over a month commented that she felt she was being immersed in her own culture (Daly, 2010).

For both children and parent readers who do not use many loanwords, reading these books may increase the use of borrowings in their spoken NZE. Daly (2009; 2010) has shown that reading books with a high frequency of loanwords did affect the reported spoken language of parent readers, and Cunningham (2005) has reviewed many studies of adults reading books to children which shows that after as few as one reading, children can pick up new vocabulary from books being read to them.

In terms of textual representation, the predominant use of embedded glossing, non-use of italics, and the very low use of macrons in particular, show that these words are firmly accepted as part of NZE. The tendency for macrons not to be used to indicate phonemically salient distinctions between long and short vowels could be viewed from two different perspectives. The first is that the non-use of macrons may indicate completion of the borrowing process whereby readers accept the borrowed words as being part of NZE, pronouncing them according to the sound system of New Zealand English. The second perspective is that this non-use indicates a lack of awareness/respect for te reo Māori (the Māori language), evidence of the attitude discussed by Harlow (2005) that it is what happens in English that really matters.

In his overview of the current status of te reo Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand, Benton (2007) discusses the special place of this language in the New Zealand national identity, which ties in with the much earlier observation by Deverson (1991) that the use of loanwords in New Zealand English is one of its most distinctive characteristics. Because of the special quality and the strength of this link between Māori loanwords and New Zealand English, and also the New Zealand national identity, we believe that the use of Māori loanwords in New Zealand English

picture books has the potential to contribute to the growth of the New Zealand identity for two reasons: Firstly because this corpus uses a higher frequency of Māori loanwords than other contexts, and secondly because the literature we reviewed earlier shows that the language used in children's literature can affect the vocabulary and cultural knowledge of both children and adults. Children and adults who read widely from the set of books published across the period in this study are exposed to loanwords and thus may understand and use more of these words in their own spoken and written New Zealand English. This relationship between children's literature and the New Zealand national identity is explored in another study by one of the authors (Daly, 2010) in which six parents, who had read New Zealand English picture books with a high frequency of Māori loanwords to their children over a one month period, reported that such books were important to the national identity of their children. It is also extensively examined in other contexts, including the Canadian context (Bainbridge, 2002; Bainbridge & Wolodko, 2002; Desai, 2006; Williams, 2001, 2003). In her study of the ways in which Canadian children's literature can be used to influence Canadian children's sense of national identity, Bainbridge (2002) notes that '[l]iterature is a powerful vehicle for the transmission of national culture and national identity' (p. 66). Our findings suggest that New Zealand English picture books published between 1995 and 2005 use a comparatively high frequency of Māori loanwords. We believe that this literature has the potential to affect both the New Zealand English used by both children listeners and parent readers, and in turn to 'grow' their New Zealand national identity.

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Notes

[1] When a linguistic form from one language is used in another language, such words are known as borrowings or loanwords (Crystal, 2003, p. 56).
[2] The Māori language is a member of the Eastern Polynesian language group and is native to New Zealand. It has official status in New Zealand along with New Zealand Sign language.
[3] The *New Zealand School Journal* is 'a magazine for New Zealand schoolchildren' aged from 6 years to 13 years of age, published between two and five times a year. It is distributed throughout New Zealand and the South Pacific (*School Journal*, 2009).
[4] *Tokens* is a term used to denote the total number of words, including repetitions of some items (Crystal, 2003).
[5] *Types* is the term used to denote the number of different words (Crystal, 2003).
[6] Children could, however, be exposed to children's books for up to 11 years in the case of older siblings who may overhear picture books being read to their younger siblings.

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