Issues in Māori Language Planning and Revitalisation[1]

Ray Harlow
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato
University of Waikato
[rharlow@waikato.ac.nz]

Introduction

All languages which have undergone changes of status in the course of their histories have been the subject of language planning, be this consistent or piecemeal, officially driven or diffuse.[2] In some cases, the processes have been and are still relatively 'painless' or even subliminal, at least as far as much of the population speaking the language is concerned. English is an extreme case in this respect, so that Ayto (1983) is able to speak of the 'failure of language reform' as a striking characteristic of its history. Many of the issues which could potentially be associated with its position in both the world and in particular countries do not, to all intents and purposes, arise. They have been dealt with by history; the way English works as a *lingua franca*, as an official language, as an international language in a variety of domains and regions, its spelling systems, its vocabulary, just 'growed', with only sporadic help from conscious planning.

For other languages however, especially for languages which have rather suddenly undergone a change in status of some kind or another, a whole set of issues arise. Here I want to mention some of the issues which come into play in New Zealand with respect to Māori, though much the same sort of matters are concerns in many other parts of the world as well.

The changes in status which have affected Māori in recent decades, and which have given rise to the issues I want to mention, are interrelated. These changes are the recognition that Māori's continued existence is precarious, and its being made an official language of New Zealand. Both of these developments have occasioned language-planning exercises which have tended to proceed very much on an *ad hoc* basis.

Until about 60 years ago, Māori was very much the first language of the Māori community, which was largely rural. There was some *de facto* official status accorded Māori in that there was an official system of accredited translators and interpreters administered by the Department of Māori Affairs; Māori could be used by Members of Parliament to address the House; at least one court, the Māori Land Court,[3] dealt with documents and testimony in Māori.

However, the symbiosis with English which began in the late eighteenth century, and which was arguably a relatively stable diglossia until about the time of the Second World War, has led to massive language shift from Māori to English.[4] On the basis of an extensive survey carried out in Māori communities between 1973 and 1978, it was estimated that at that time there were some 70,000 native speakers of the language and a total of perhaps 115,000 people who could understand the language easily (Benton, 1981, p. 15). While these figures looked healthy enough in absolute terms, they were in fact cause for great concern, since the survey showed that

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knowledge of Māori was restricted to a minority of those who would class themselves as ethnically Māori, and that knowledge of Māori is concentrated in older age groups. The tendency already evident in this survey was confirmed by a second major survey conducted in 1995 by *Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori* (usually referred to in English as The Māori Language Commission; here often 'The Commission') and published in 1998 by *Te Puni Kōkiri* (The Ministry of Māori Development). This study arrived at the result that there are now only some 10,000 people who enjoy 'high' or 'very high' fluency in Māori (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1998, p. 34).[5]

In part because of the perception of this trend, but also because of a growing interest in and concern for Māori issues of all kinds, a number of initiatives were begun in order to try to ensure the survival of Māori. Recognising that the natural transmission of Māori within the family was in very large part broken, The Department of Māori Affairs promoted the foundation of 'The Language Nest', *Te Kōhanga Reo*, a Māori language preschool, in which children are brought up in an environment which is Māori not only linguistically, but also culturally. The first such preschool was opened in 1982, and now there are over 700 throughout the country catering for some 13,000 children.[6]

Despite assurances from the Department of Education that the public education system would be able to accommodate children progressing from this monolingual Māori background, it was not long before some of the *kōhanga* felt the need to retain their children past preschool age in order to continue their education in a Māori environment. This led to the foundation in 1985 of the first *Kura Kaupapa Māori*, a primary school teaching the whole curriculum required by the Government but in a Māori context and through the medium of Māori. In the meantime, this sort of initiative has attracted Government approval and funding, and by the beginning of 1997, there were 54 such schools catering for some 3700 pupils. A few of the schools had extended as far as the final year of high school education,[7] and students who have had their entire preschool, primary and secondary education through the medium of Māori have started to arrived at the country's universities.

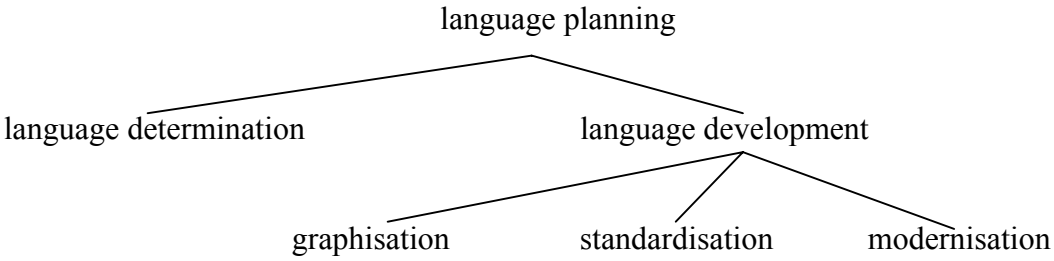
Māori has been a subject for Bachelor of Arts and other degrees in New Zealand Universities for some decades,[8] however, a recent innovation (since 1991) at the University of Waikato, Hamilton, is *te Tohu Paetahi*, a degree programme in which Māori is not just a subject, but the language of tuition for the majority of courses and subjects in the degree. This has entailed the development of courses in a range of subjects[9] through the medium of Māori. Waikato also has a policy allowing the submission of assignments and examinations in any subject to be written in Māori, and some magisterial and doctoral theses have been submitted in the language.

These developments have all taken place over the last two decades. They are part of the general 'Māori Renaissance', for which the Land March 1975[10] is a convenient symbolic starting point. This movement embraces cultural, political, economic and justice issues, as well as the developments specifically directed at the language, which were triggered by a desire to preserve Māori and enhance its place in New Zealand in the face of threatened extinction.

As part of the same impetus, a claim was made by Huirangi Waikerepuru and the Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo (The Māori Language Board) to the Waitangi Tribunal,[11]

making the case that the Māori Language is a *taonga*, a 'treasured possession', in the terms of the second paragraph of the Māori-language text of the Treaty[12] and that the Crown had been delinquent in guaranteeing the Māori people its continued possession. The Tribunal accepted this argument and made some recommendations to the Government. Its response was the passage of the Māori Language Act 1987. This Act made Māori 'an official language of New Zealand',[13] allowed any party to most judicial and quasi-judicial proceedings to speak Māori in the proceedings, founded *Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori*, part of whose statutory function is to promote Māori as a living means of communication, and set up a new method of certifying translators and interpreters.

All of these developments involve language planning, even if unintentionally and unknowingly. Indeed, arguably because these developments represent planning done on a very *ad hoc* basis and without the cohesive force of an explicit and overriding policy, the issues which arise were in large part unforeseen.[14] In discussing them, I will refer to the subdivisions of the area of language planning summarised in Fasold (1984, pp. 247-8). He follows Jernudd (1973, pp. 16-7) in distinguishing 'language determination' and 'language development' and reports Ferguson's (1968) further division of the latter into: 'graphisation', 'standardisation' and 'modernisation'.



By 'language determination' is meant in the general case decisions about which language is to be used for what, and can be a real issue in multilingual countries trying to balance the claims of various indigenous languages with the need to accommodate a language of international communication. In the case of New Zealand, there is only the one indigenous language.[15] However the identification of Māori as the language whose 'status planning' is being undertaken is the easy part; vacuous or at least vague pronouncements such as 'Māori is an official language of New Zealand' or 'It is desirable to ensure the survival of the Māori language' trip relatively lightly off the tongue. But they leave a lot of questions open about the precise status for which Māori is destined, as well as issues like which version of Māori,[16] and who is to decide these and other questions. Some of these issues will be discussed below.

'Language development' corresponds to what is elsewhere called 'corpus planning', that is, activities which relate to the shape of the language itself. In all three of the subdivisions, 'graphisation', 'standardisation' and 'modernisation', related issues arise.

It will not be possible to discuss fully all the issues and factors which arise within this broad area of language planning and normalisation for Māori, so I shall take a couple of areas of planning and discuss them in some detail. It will be clear that the sort of factors that arise apply equally to other aspects of planning.

Ferguson's graphisation

This refers to the determination of a writing system for the language concerned. It is related to but not the same as the matter of standardisation. In a number of cases of languages where recent changes of status or at least perceived needs have given rise to this issue, the establishment of a written norm is not a trivial matter. For historical reasons, there were until recently five written standards for Rhaetoromansh in the Swiss canton of Graubünden, a state of affairs which led for instance to the absurd situation of the canton's having to prepare seven sets of school materials, one each for the German and Italian speaking communes, and five for the Romansh communes. In one case, there was only one commune using the particular form of Romansh. The existence of these five written forms of the language was also providing an excuse for the canton not to produce official material in Romansh unless it absolutely had to. Previous attempts to rectify this situation had failed, but in 1982, at the invitation of the Lia Rumantscha, Heinrich Schmid published guidelines for a single written language, Rumantsch Grischun, which represented such a clever compromise between the existing standards that 80% of any text would agree with any of the five existing standards. The federation immediately supported this, and all Rhaetoromansh translations of, say, federal legislation are now into Rumantsch Grischun.[17]

Māori is in the lucky position that with few exceptions regional variation is very largely lexical; dialects in general have at least the same segmental phonology and phonotactics. Thus in large part the establishment of a single spelling system, as opposed to standardisation of vocabulary, to which I will return, should be a very simple matter. In fact, most of the writing system has been standardised since the 1840s, the last feature to have been fixed being the writing of /f/ as <wh>. However, there are three points at which dialects differ sufficiently phonologically that the question arises as to how these should be spelt. The dialect historically spoken in much of the South Island[18] had merged *N and *k prehistorically to /k/. Similarly, in parts of the Bay of Plenty there has been a merger in the speech of many people of earlier *N and *n as /n/. Finally, in some forms on Māori in the Taranaki/Wanganui area, the /h/ of other dialects is pronounce [?], and the /f/ (spelt <wh>) as [?w]. How should these be spelt? Who should decide?

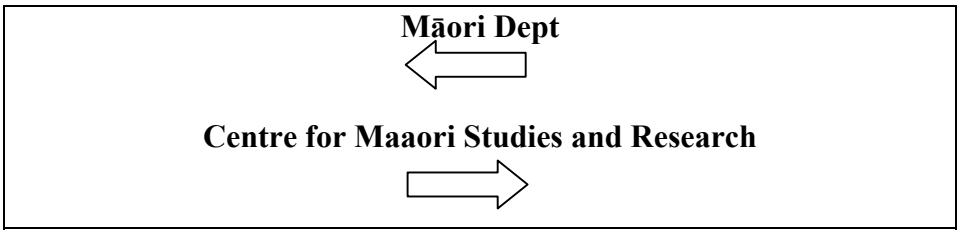
Again, the matter of the phonemically long vowels in Māori presents exactly the same questions.[19] Should they be written differently at all from the short vowels in Māori orthography? The practice in older texts, and of much non-published writing in Māori is in fact not to mark them. Should the long vowels be marked with macrons as Learning Media,[20] the Commission and most Universities do? Or by double vowels as advocated by Auckland University?[21] In a number of particles, the vowel length varies in predictable ways. How should these be spelt? Under present conventions some are always spelt with a macron, others never. Devising systems of spelling is in fact not hard; the hard bit is deciding whose to follow. Should there be only one system? How is it to be imposed? These are not questions to which I want to tender answers here, but this relatively simple case shows up two of the important matters in the whole area of planning: that of authority, and that of the extent of standardisation which is needed or possible. These occur again with respect to the 'modernisation' and 'standardisation' sides of planning.

Authority

The issue of authority in the areas of language planning is actually not distinct from the general issue of authority within Māoridom; there is no centrally agreed body which is able to 'legislate', define policy, plan, distribute resources, etc., in a way which would be accepted universally, even if grudgingly sometimes. Local and traditional authority structures are still very strong, even in something as apparently pan-Māori as say the Kura Kaupapa Māori movement.

This is of course another story,[22] but with respect to language planning, there is no central body with the *mana*[23] which would be necessary to impose decisions, quite apart from the practicalities of implementing them. Again just in the case of spelling, even if a decision that there should be one spelling system were accepted widely, its implementation would entail considerable retraining for a lot of teachers, editors, proof-readers, etc.

But even a small thing like long vowels excites considerable intransigence. The signage at the University of Waikato is quite inconsistent, because the Department of Māori Studies loosely follows the Commission's conventions, but the Centre for Māori Studies and Research,[24] for historical reasons, followed Auckland University's. The result is different spellings depending on which particular unit provided the Māori text. An extreme example was a sign in the corridor of one building which incorporated both conventions.



Very similar remarks can be made in the matter of 'modernisation'. Māori has undergone a variety of types of adaptation as it has been confronted with new environments, new cultures and new domains of use. The arrival of the Eastern Polynesian dialects which would become Māori in temperate New Zealand from the tropical islands occasioned an adaptation reflected in shifts in vocabulary. The arrival of the Pākehā[25] prompted a radical expansion of vocabulary in Māori as new ideas and goods were introduced. Both of these events proceeded in a very *ad hoc* manner. The rapid change of profile and status that Māori has enjoyed recently has led for the first time in its history to concerted efforts to expand its resources, especially though by no means exclusively in technical areas.[26]

Unfortunately, again there has been little coordination of this effort, with the result that there has been huge duplication of work. A glance at the database administered by the New Zealand Council for Educational Research (http://www.nzcer.org.nz/search/kimikupu.htm) will show the degree to which a variety of bodies have independently proposed sets of terminology in a range of areas. What is worse is that sometimes the same wordform has been chosen by different bodies but assigned different though related meanings. For instance, the form *tūingoa* is proposed for 'noun' in Cleve Barlow's (1990) translation of Biggs' *Let's Learn*

Maori (1969), but is used in the Māori Language Curriculum Statement[27] to mean 'pronoun'. In the same area, *rereingoa* is used by Barlow for 'nominal sentence', that is, a sentence with a noun as the predicate but lacking a copular verb. The same word though is what the Curriculum Statement uses for 'noun'. Thus, at any rate, the glossary at the back of the statement; strikingly, the terms are used with Barlow's meanings within the text.

	Barlow	Curriculum
'pronoun'	*tūpou*	*tūingoa*
'noun'	*tūingoa*	*rereingoa*
'nominal sentence'	*rereingoa*	

The Commission did at one stage attempt to assume a coordinating role in this activity by asking those groups and individuals who were developing their own vocabulary to submit their work so that it could be circulated. However, the Commission's practice in fact turned out to be a filter; submitted lists were not just publicised, they were edited and adapted according to the tastes of the Commission's members. The matter of grammatical terminology which I have already mentioned provides a good example of the sort of thing which occurs in this whole area of vocabulary 'modernisation'.

Some 20 years ago, Professor Hīrini Mead at Victoria University of Wellington developed a set of words in Māori for basic ideas of Māori word and sentence structure. This was followed about twelve years ago by Cleve Barlow's translation of Bruce Biggs' book *Let's Learn Maori*. In order to effect this translation, Barlow developed Māori versions of the particular set of technical terms Biggs uses in his model of Māori grammar. This set of terminology has been used in classes at Auckland University and the University of Waikato for over a decade now. Confronted with these two lists, the Commission's reaction was to develop a third, based largely on Barlow's but with some differences. In the meantime, preparation of a curriculum statement for Māori in Māori has led to the existence of yet another list, not unlike Barlow's or the Commission's, but not identical either. Finally, recognising that there are now a number of courses at the University of Waikato in which the structure of Māori is discussed in Māori, some staff have rightly decided that we should be sure that students are confronted with just one set of terminology. The procedure adopted to ensure this however was not a decision to adopt say Barlow's terms as published, but to begin to produce yet another list, albeit largely based on Barlow.

This is an extreme case, but not completely untypical. There is a lack of coordination in this effort and an unwillingness simply to commit to already existing systems. About the only thing on which everyone who is working to create new terminology agrees on is the puristic injunction, thou shalt not borrow from English.[28] However, even in that there is disagreement with some people even attempting to undo earlier borrowing.

At its inception, the Commission developed a policy for its own activities in this area which said that no new terminology would be generated by borrowing from English, but that existing loans would be recognised as part of the language. In fact, though, its practice has not been entirely consistent with this policy, the most notorious case being its attempt to promote the reintroduction of traditional month names in lieu of

the borrowed names which have been in use since at least the middle of the 19th century.

	borrowed terms	*traditional terms*
January	Hānuere	Kohi-tātea
February	Pēpuere	Hui-tanguru
March	Māehe	Poutū-te-rangi
April	Āperira	Paenga-whāwhā
May	Mei	Haratua
June	Hune	Pipiri
July	Hūrae	Hōngongoi
August	Ākuhata	Here-turi-kōkā
September	Hepetema	Mahuru
October	Oketopa	Whiringa-ā-nuku
November	Nōema	Whiringa-ā-rangi
December	Tīhema	Hakihea

The felony was compounded in my view by the invention of pseudo-traditional names for the days of the week.

	borrowed terms	*words based on numerals*	*newly created calques*
Sunday	Rātapu	Rātapu	Rātapu
Monday	Mane	Rātahi	Rāhina
Tuesday	Tūrei	Rārua	Rātū
Wednesday	Wenerei	Rātoru	Rāapa
Thursday	Tāite	Rāwhā	Rāpare
Friday	Paraire	Rārima	Rāmere
Saturday	Hātarei	Rāhoroi	Rāhoroi

Borrowed terms[29] for the days of the week have been in use for a very considerable time. The forms in the second column of this table have also been current for many decades and are (Monday to Friday anyway) compounds of *rā* 'day' and the numerals '1' to '5'. *Rāhoroi* is a compound of *rā* and *horoi* 'wash', so 'washing day'. The third column contains the system proposed by the Commission. As can be seen, *Rātapu* and *Rāhoroi* are retained. However, the other terms are all calques based at least in part on continental models such as French, using in part the names of planets.

-hina	'moon'	= Fr. *lune*	*lundi*
-tū	Tūmatauenga 'god of war'	= Mars	*mardi*
-apa	Apārangi	= Mercury	*mercredi*
-pare	Pareārau	= Jupiter/Jove	*jeudi*
-mere	Meremere	= Venus	*vendredi*

Now, while the division of a year into twelve or thirteen months was a precontact practice in Māori culture, and there are indeed several sets of old month names

recorded,[30] the seven-day week is a Judæo-Christian introduction for which there was no equivalent and thus no terminology in traditional Māori.

Undue rigour in this and other areas has led to the situation, often complained of, that older people, for whom the borrowed terms are the usual words, cannot understand what is being referred to in the language being promoted in schools. The issue of inter-generational mutual intelligibility is not a trivial one for Māori language planners, yet the trend seems to be to sacrifice it at the altar of purity.

Returning to the matter of authority

It seems to me that the inability of any group, be it the Commission, the Ministry of Education, Te Puni Kōkiri (The Ministry of Māori Development), the University of Waikato, to achieve the status of recognised authority in this area is allied to a further issue which affects planning activities. This is dialect loyalty.[31] As is often the case with languages which have been distributed over quite an area for some time, Māori has regional variation. This was mentioned above with respect to the issue of 'graphisation'. The differences between Māori dialects are not great and are largely lexical. In general, mutual intelligibility is not impaired, but people tend to be particularly sensitive to any initiative which smacks of 'standardisation'. This is taken to be the imposition of a single word for any idea, and the elimination of dialect variation. To quite an extent, dialect loyalty is motivated by the same attitudes as the wish to preserve Māori as a whole and the purism which informs the modernisation of the language. At least part of both of these phenomena is the attachment to Māori and one's own dialect as flags of identity. Any move which seems to threaten the distinctiveness of Māori (*vis-à-vis* English) or a dialect (*vis-à-vis* other forms of Māori) is resisted. Unfortunately, clashes arise between these often passionately held positions. Some of the motivation for the very considerable duplication of effort in vocabulary development comes from the need to maintain dialect distinctiveness. Universal adoption of the same set of new terms would lead to a lessening of that distinctiveness, though might enhance the language's chances as a whole. To the extent also that terms are promulgated by people or institutions associated with a different dialect area, they can be perceived as foreign 'not words of our dialect'.

As I say, mutual intelligibility between dialects is high. It is thus a legitimate question whether in fact any kind of standardisation is necessary. Certainly, there can be no question of trying deliberately to eliminate regional variants. However, there is probably some point in trying to achieve uniformity in two areas anyway. The first of these is schooling, where practical matters such as preparation of resources and mobility of pupils and teachers between institutions would argue for uniformity. The second is the use of Māori in official documents. As mentioned, the main area of difference between Māori dialects is lexical. Often this is just a matter of dialects using differing word forms for a particular meaning. However, there are also instances of the same wordform having different meanings in different dialects. For instance, *pakeke* means 'adult' in many parts of the country, but 'hard, not soft' in Northland. One can imagine that without a universally accepted assignment of meanings to wordforms, some formulations could be ambiguous, perhaps disastrously so. *Kirikiri* means 'gravel' in Western districts of the North Island, but 'sand' in the East. In order to have authoritative Māori versions of regulations on, say, the proper composition of concrete for bridges, one could not afford to leave the interpretation of this word up to local practice.

But perhaps the most important issue for Māori Language Planning is, 'Will Māori ever be used in this way?' 'Will Māori ever be used in such a way that such potential ambiguities might lead to problems?' Taking the words of the Māori Language Act to reflect the intention of Parliament, then it was Parliament's intention that Māori should be so used. While the Māori Language Act itself gives little guidance as to the intended meaning of the expression 'official language', I believe an argument can be made from the clear meaning of this expression in other cases, that among other things, Māori formulations of regulations and statutes should exist and would be authoritative.

If the overall goal of whatever planning for Māori goes on is its continued survival, there needs to be some thought as to the linguistic shape of New Zealand society which provides the best guarantee of this survival. I believe too that there has to be some research as to what Māori people actually want with respect to their language. I say this because I suspect that despite overtly expressed opinions about wanting Māori to survive as a language, there is a widely held though covert position that what is really wanted is recognition of Māori not as a language for ordinary use but as a badge of identity.[32] I hope that I am wrong in this. Often expressed goals and measures such as making Māori compulsory in schools, achieving 'correct' pronunciation of English words borrowed from Māori, the provision of poetic Māori names for institutions, seem to me often beside the point and not articulated in the context of a clear idea about where we're going. As often pointed out in the literature, good research is a critical preliminary for good language planning.

The Māori Language strategy which the Commission was contracted to write seems to me to have been heading in the right direction by arguing for a type of diglossia. That is, we should aim to make Māori the preferred language in certain domains, in the hope of achieving the sort of stable allocation of roles to different languages seen in places like Switzerland, Paraguay and so on.[33] This project has however been taken over by Te Puni Kōkiri, whose strategy has certain objectives, such as 'increasing the numbers of Māori speakers, increasing the opportunities of Māori to be spoken and/or heard, etc.', without showing how these objectives contribute to the attainment of a stable place for Māori within New Zealand.[34]

There are of course a great variety of other issues to do with language planning for Māori, such as dissemination of new vocabulary, training of teachers, editors, translators and so on for whatever the role of Māori will be in the future. However, it seems to me that these are to some extent secondary, and will follow on from decisions in the more fundamental issues I have mentioned here.

Endnotes

1. In large part, this essay is the response of someone who has been involved in a variety of ways in efforts to maintain Māori, and in language planning activities. Thus, it is a personal view and many of the specific phenomena reported are anecdotal. It began life as a Public Lecture in Applied Linguistics, Institute of Language Teaching and Learning, University of Auckland. Many thanks both to the audience on that occasion and to Terry Crowley and Russell Bishop, who have read the earlier version and provided invaluable comments. The flaws and prejudices which remain are however all my own work.

2. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, p. 3) call language planning any activity "intended to achieve a planned change (or to stop change from happening) in the language use in one or more communities". Taken at its broadest, language planning can include, for example, something

as trivial as the introduction of a new brand name, right through to legislation on the official status of some language, spelling reform, centrally organised terminological work. See below for subtypes of planning.

3. A special court set up in the 19th century to determine title to land previously held communally by Māori tribes.

4. Very useful accounts of the factors and processes involved in this shift can be found in Benton (1981) and Te Puni Kōkiri (1998). Fishman (1991, pp. 230-250) contains a good, though now somewhat dated account of the situation and of efforts made to maintain Māori.

5. Out of a population self-identifying as Māori of 523,371 (15% of the total New Zealand population). Of these, 326,970 are aged 15 and over (1996 Census, see Statistics New Zealand, 1997). Interestingly, there is a considerable discrepancy between the results of this survey and the statistics reported in the most recent census. For the first time, the 1996 *Census of Population and Dwellings* (Statistics New Zealand, 1997) contained a language question, specifically: In which language(s) could you have a conversation about a lot of everyday things? Just over 26% of the Māori population gave Māori as (part of) their answer. As could be expected, this proportion was higher for older age-groups, but strikingly, the lowest proportions (20% - 21%) were found in the age-groups 20-34; younger groups returned (slightly) higher proportions. This may be an indication of the effectiveness of the measures named below in at least halting the downwards slide that Māori has been on in terms of use and knowledge within the Māori population.

6. See <http://www.kohanga.ac.nz>

7. See <http://www.minedu. govt.nz/curriculum/updates/update19/19origin.htm.>

8. From small beginnings in Auckland in the early 1950s. Otago was the last of the major New Zealand universities to introduce Māori as a subject, a single language-skills course being offered in 1981 and later expanded to a full offering. Now Māori Studies (language, culture, literature, etc.) is very widely available as a major subject for degrees right up to doctoral level.

9. These include Geography, Education, Linguistics, and even a stream in introductory Computer Science.

10. The Land March was a protest action against the alienation of Māori land. It took the form of a march from the very north of the North Island of New Zealand to Parliament in Wellington.

11. The Waitangi Tribunal was founded under the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 to hear claims of alleged infringement of the Treaty of Waitangi (1840) by the Crown and to recommend settlements to the Crown. The Act requires that claims must be brought by individuals. Usually, though, the claimant is accompanied by a tribe or interest group, as in this case. On The Treaty of Waitangi, see Orange (1987). On the Tribunal see <http://io.knowledge-basket.co.nz/waitangi/>

12. In the second paragraph, the Crown guarantees to the Māori tribes the continued and undisturbed possession of their *taonga*.

13. The formulation perhaps suggests the existence of other official languages, but in fact, Māori is the only language which has this status *de iure*. English is of course *de facto* an official language.

14. In the early 1990s, an attempt to develop a national languages policy was made. Jeffrey Waite was commissioned to prepared a discussion document (Waite, 1992). This enterprise has however languished through governmental inactivity, though a group called Language Policy 2000 associated with the Victoria University of Wellington continues to argue for the need for a policy. cf. e.g. Chrisp (1998).

15. The Polynesian language Mōriori, spoken by the indigenous population of the Chatham Islands to the east of the South Island of New Zealand, is extinct. For some indication of what is known about this language, see Clark (1994).

16. Māori shows regional variation. The issue of Māori dialects and language planning will be taken up below.

17. For a brief account of this situation, of the development of Rumantsch Grischun, and of its reception and use, see Lia Rumantscha (1996).

18. This dialect is to all intents a purposes extinct. However, there are rather better resources for its reconstruction than is the case for Mōriori (see above), and the majority tribe of the South Island has instituted a project of revitalisation, see <http://www.ngaitahu.iwi.nz/tereome.htm.> On the dialect of the South Island, see Harlow (1987).

19. As will be seen from the examples cited, Māori distinguishes five vowel qualities. The distinction between long and short is also phonemic in vowels, thus: *marama* 'moon', *mārama* 'clear, bright', and many other minimal pairs.

20. Previously, School Publications, the arm of the Ministry of Education responsible for the production of printed resources for schools. Learning Media has produced over the years a very wide and invaluable range of readers in Māori.

21. The argument for double vowel spelling (e.g. *maarama*, cf. fn.19) is based on the incontravertible analysis of the long vowels as geminate short vowels, cf. Bauer (1993, p. 534).

22. Because far wider than just language issues. Māori are traditionally members of tribes (*iwi*) and subtribes (*hapū*) first, and Māori only secondarily. *Iwi* are very important units in politics, Māori authority structures, and the distribution of resources including the negotiation of settlements under the Treaty of Waitangi Act (see above).

23. *Mana* is more than just 'authority' in a legalistic sense; it is in fact more like *auctoritas* 'status due to personal attributes', which lends authority to a person's or group's directions or advice.

24. A separate unit, now disestablished, belonging to the same school within the University. Its role was research including the supervision of candidates for higher degrees.

25. The word *Pākehā* is a borrowing from Māori into New Zealand English and now designates European New Zealanders. In this context it refers of course to the early European settlers, missionaries, whalers and sealers, etc.

26. See Harlow in press.

27. Learning Media (1996). In recent years, a number of curriculum statements have been prepared for teaching through the medium of Māori. Apart from the language curriculum, documents have been issued for science, maths, technology and social studies.

28. See Harlow in press.

29. First column of the table. *Rātapu* 'Sunday', the one item which appears in all three sets, is not a borrowing but a compound of *rā* 'day' and *tapu* 'holy'.

30. The main published source on the traditional Māori time system is Best (1973).

31. On the dialects of Māori, see Biggs (1989).

32. See Harlow n.d.

33. I take May's (2000, p. 124) point that "the limitation of a language to particular domains can mean the social and political impoverishment of the language concerned", and would certainly want to advocate the legitimisation and institutionalisation of the language which he regards as *sine qua non* for minority language survival. Nonetheless, the promotion of Māori as the preferred language for certain domains, including family life, schooling (at least primary), tribal activities, interaction with national and local government, within the Māori community, seems to me to be more promising with respect to the survival of Māori than vaguer and more ambitious goals such as Māori 'as a language for all New Zealanders'.

34. For instance, cf. Te Puni Kōkiri (1999, p. 5).

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