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**Kia Mate Rā Anō a Tama-nui-te-rā:  
Reversing Language Shift in  
Kōhanga Reo**

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degree of Doctor of Education, Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato,  
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## Abstract

This thesis focuses on reversing language shift (RLS) efforts via the revernacularisation of te reo Māori (the Māori language) in Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo (Māori language nest). J. Fishman's (2001a) graded intergenerational disruption scale (GIDS), and M. Durie's (2001, 2003) discussions on Māori educational advancement provide conceptual frameworks for the meaning-making, cultural and symbolic relationships of language to culture and identity (Fishman, 1996). This qualitative case study involves three young children and their families who are committed to the intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori, the threatened indigenous heritage language of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Observational data was analysed illustrating these bilingual, biliterate, bicultural, bicognitive and bilateral children and their use of sophisticated language for increasingly complex purposes. This study identifies how children's learning dispositions for shared reference with adults (who are active listeners and thoughtful speakers in meaningful activities [Carr, M., 2000, 2001]) are part of the deep structure of a unique cultural context successfully supporting language revernacularisation. In addition the study develops critical insights into how RLS can be viewed as the linguistic arm for furthering Māori aspirations of *tino rangatiratanga* (Bishop, R., 1997a; Bishop R., & Glynn, T., 1999) and has further implications for language planning, pedagogy and praxis in Kōhanga Reo.

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(Te Pā Harakeke - Painting by Hannah Skerrett-White, 2003)

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## CHAPTER ONE

### “Kia Mate Rā Anō a Tama-nui-te-rā”



*Kia Mate Rā Anō a  
Tama-Nui-Te-Rā*

#### **Introduction: Tēnei Au Tēnei Au, Ko te Hōkai nei o Taku Tapuwae**

This thesis explores the premise that in order to revernacularise te reo Māori (the Māori language) there needs to be an increase in the cultural and linguistic domains where te reo Māori can be spoken and written. The subject matter of this thesis is a documentation of the mechanics of revernacularisation. What constitutes a revernacularisation process? What are the some of the mechanisms which support the revernacularisation of te reo Māori?

This chapter is in three parts with conclusions. Part I, locating myself in the Māori community, as a Māori Researcher, is a personal journey into Kōhanga Reo<sup>1</sup>.

Part II will overview a pilot study for the current research project. Firstly, some rationales are discussed. The pilot is then contextualised by outlining reversing language shift along with the theoretical orientation underpinning the study. Some language learning domains are introduced, as well as research questions, the research participants and context.

Part III will document the pilot discussion firstly with the Native Māori-speaking elders, and secondly with the younger Kōhanga Reo children. Some issues that were raised as a result of the pilot study are overviewed, followed by a brief discussion about developing bilinguals.

Finally, the conclusions will identify some of the issues that were developed in the pilot and some key questions guiding the wider study.

## **PART I – Nōku Anō te Takapau Wharanui**

As a Māori researcher it is important that I locate myself not only within the indigenous community (L. Smith, 1999) but that I belong to the indigenous research community itself. The following is not just about location. It is about representation from a base-line of belonging and caring.

I choose to commence my story with the meeting of my parents at the Royal New Zealand Air Force base in 1948. My mother was visiting an aunt on base and my father was working there. During those years there was much movement by

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<sup>1</sup> See glossary for Māori terms not translated in text. Māori text provided in examples not translated.

Māori away from their tribal areas, in search of employment. The armed forces were an attractive employment option for many Māori. Air Force life was conducive to Māori from different tribal affiliations gathering in many different contexts—sporting, cultural, spiritual, social evenings and so on. So much so that perhaps the idea of reconstituted ‘whānau’ served to soften the feelings of alienation from tribal territories, language and customs as extended ‘whānau’ gatherings were regular. My parents were to become the ‘Mā and Pā’ for many of the young Māori couples who lived on the Air Force bases and who later became our Aunts and Uncles. As a result, I was born in Mosgiel, Dunedin, to a Ngāi Tahu father and a mother who was Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Māhuta, Ngāti Pīkiao and Ngāti Whakaaue. Most of my formative years were spent moving from base to base.

### **Photograph 1**



(Whānau photograph taken by R. Skerrett at Māori Women's Welfare League Conference, Palmerston North, 1958)

One significant event in my early years, which sowed the seeds for a later development of my passion for things Māori, and especially ‘te reo’ was the visit by my Great Grandmother, Kataraina Emery, and her niece, Aunty Polly Katene

when we were stationed at the Ohakea Air Force Base. As they went to leave, I refused to get out of their car, so it was back to Rotoiti—their home, our papa kāinga—for me for a week or so holiday. That holiday turned into more weeks and eventually months, with just a mild hint of refusal to return me to my parents. I was totally oblivious to this tug-of-war, but simply have memories of being the most spoilt kid in town. According to my father's account, Aunt Polly's thinking was that as I was the fourth child, quickly succeeded by another, surely they would not miss one. Not so. Several months later, my parents journeyed to Rotoiti to reclaim me—by then a fully-fledged Maori-only speaking 'Rhodesian' (nickname for relations who come from Rotoiti).

Upon my return to Bulls (Ohakea), my Māori language quickly disappeared, as, like most Māori families who lived away from their papa kāinga, we did not speak te reo Māori at home or in the community. However, my desire to be involved in anything and everything Māori was nurtured, from 'kapa haka' as soon as I started school to things political like school resistance sit-ins in the early 1970s, justice protests in the 1980s, and a very real involvement in the Tino Rangatiranga movement in the 1990s. My own Māori language-learning path has been chequered. Apart from that good start which was halted by my return home, I recommenced learning te reo Māori at high school in the early 1970s, a time when there was a lot of debate about the value and place of te reo Māori and a need to provide for and accept 'cultural differences' (Jenkins & Ka'ai, 1994). Te reo Māori was only introduced as a subject at my particular high school in the mid 1970s for the senior pupils—a little too late for me as I was about to leave to go overseas as an American Field Scholar.

Upon my return to this country, I became a foundation member of a Kapa Haka group and enrolled at night school in a Certificate of Māori language course at Waikato University. A move to Australia in search of further employment opportunities disrupted things for a while, until I enrolled in weekend Ataarangi classes in Sydney. I also joined the Poihākena Kapa Haka group—I think more as a forum to socialise with other Māori than anything else. Finally the shift back to

Kirikiroa (Hamilton) meant I was able to enrol as a full-time university student in the late 1980s.

The path has, at times, been very ‘trying’ as language learning/teaching techniques differed and changed. I was soon convinced that the only way to learn te reo Māori was through an ‘immersion’ (Māori medium only) approach and made a commitment to provide that for my own children, through Kōhanga Reo and its extension, Kura Kaupapa Māori. Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo is the result of that commitment to the revernacularisation of te reo Māori through the building up of a Māori-speaking community including my children.

I want to refer to the above, Photograph 1. It is a photograph taken at the Māori Women’s Welfare League Conference held in Palmerston North in 1958. It pictures sisters, aunts, nieces, mothers, cousins, grandmothers, daughters, granddaughters, all interconnected, and me, as a toddler, in my grandmother’s (Raiha Serjeant) arms. The following photograph is an update taken over 40 years later, at Kuarua, Lake Rotoiti. My grandmother now has my youngest daughter cushioned very comfortably in her arms, her great-granddaughter, the pōtiki, alongside three of her siblings and two cousins. They are surrounding their great-grandmother, who was then in her 90s, and a staunch advocate for Māori mothers from the 1940s until she passed away in recent years.

**Photograph 2**

(Whānau photograph taken at by G. White at Kūhārua, Lake Rotoiti, 1996)

Nanny Raiha named Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo after the Amokura bird, a fantastic bird that used to come to these shores. It was highly sought after because of its long red tail feathers, considered an important taonga. It would also carry the seed of Tāne Māhuta (the forest God), to spread to new lands, and so symbolizes new life/survival, much like our tamariki/mokopuna being a vehicle to carry our valued Māori language and culture into the future and in turn ensure the survival of our Māori people as Tāngata Whenua (the people of the land).

I have been involved in the Kōhanga Reo movement for approximately 18 years and a kaiako in Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo for the past 10 years, whilst studying part time, eventually completing a master of philosophy degree with a thesis on language scaffolding in Kōhanga Reo.

That involvement in Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori has provided me with international, national (north and south) and local networks. I was seconded on to the Ngāi Tahu Language Planning Committee and Focus Group, which takes me south regularly.

The journey has been long. It started long before I was born and will continue long after I am gone necessarily making my journey a life-long one. It is one of cultural and linguistic survival. I am a product of colonisation. As such my story is one of struggle and resistance against the insidiousness of colonialism and all its guises—not necessarily for myself—but for those who travelled before me and those who come after me, particularly my five children.

When my mother was four years old the home in which they were living burnt down to the ground. She watched the fire, which had started soon after they had all gone to sleep, from the shoulders of her relation, Petera. Some were sad but a temporary shelter was soon arranged under the pine trees. What my mother learnt from that situation was that it was not the value of the material things that was important—it was human life. All human life had been spared and they were grateful and celebrated that. Another important lesson she learnt at that time as a four-year-old, from the actions of her grandfather, was acceptance of what had happened and to put it right. No amount of anything was going to change the fact that the house had burnt down and they had lost everything. Koro Sam (her grandfather) and a few others immediately set about making arrangements to build a new replacement. Life went on and the pathway to recovery for the whānau clear. The relationship in that instance of the loss to the well-being of the whānau was rather obvious. Acceptance of the situation meant they were very quickly mobilised into action. It was very clear what needed to be done. But what is lost when the language of the whānau is lost? What does that mean to the cultural contexts in which that language thrives? What does that mean to the lives of its members? What needs to be done?

## The Birth of a Movement and Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo

*Tōku reo, tōku ohooho!*

*Tōku reo, tōku māpihi maurea!*

*Tōku reo, tōku whakakai mārihi!*

The beginnings of the Kōhanga Reo movement as we know it was to stay the decline of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga (unique cultural practices), to address issues of sociocultural disruption and concerns of identity loss. It was considered among its proponents that by bridging the sociolinguistic gap between the native older speaking generation and the younger generation just setting out on their language and cultural learning pathways that some of the sociocultural disruption associated with language loss would be relieved (M. Hohepa, L. Smith, G. Smith & McNaughton, 1992; Ka'ai, 1990). It was also considered that the intervention would not only bring about a halt to language and cultural disruption, but would begin to cause a reversal in the pattern of shift, contributing to a socioculturally rejuvenated iwi Māori.

My involvement in Kōhanga Reo both as a parent and as a kaiako led me to question some of the practices and beliefs that I held about language acquisition/learning theories. I began to search out how to create a context which would afford a culturally rich language-learning environment with meaningful experiences for young children. Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo provided those of us with the inclination to work towards creating such a context.

Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo is an urban, community-based Kōhanga Reo, founded initially in 1990, involving whānau who had an active commitment to the regeneration of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga. It was fully licensed for 16 tamariki/mokopuna and chartered to the Kōhanga Reo National Trust in 1992. The Kōhanga adheres to the following National Guidelines;

It is the right of the Māori child to enjoy learning the Māori language within the bosom of the whānau.

It is the right of the whānau to nurture and care for the mokopuna.

It is the obligation of the Hapū to ensure that the whānau is strengthened to carry out its responsibilities.

It is the obligation of the Iwi to advocate, negotiate, and resource the Hapū and Whānau.

It is the obligation of the Government under the Treaty of Waitangi, to fulfil the aspirations of the Māori people for its future generations (*Peka Matua Te Kōhanga Reo*, undated, p.2).

The philosophical statement of the Kōhanga Reo includes desires for the tamariki/mokopuna to be competent and confident speakers in their own Māori language and that they are proud and knowing of whom they are; that is their identity as Māori. Secondly, that the tamariki/mokopuna know and respect the wider world, and finally that they grow up strong and healthy, with their life source secure for life's challenges.

The Kōrero Whāinga states “Kia tupu te mana o te Tino Rangatiratanga me ngā āhuatanga Māori i roto i te Kōhanga Reo, hei oranga mō te iwi, kia kore ai e ngaro Te Reo me ōna tikanga, me ngā taonga tuku iho a ō tātou tīpuna. Kia kore ai e ngaro anō hoki, ka tautoko i ngā tuhinga o Te Tiriti o Waitangi<sup>2</sup> (Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo Charter, n.p., p. 9). Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo is located in the Waikato/Maniapoto district. It is pan-tribal and provides a culturally supportive Māori language learning environment for the whole whānau.

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<sup>2</sup> Te Tiriti o Waitangi (The Treaty of Waitangi) signed between Māori and the Crown in 1840 has two texts, one in Maori and one in English. The English text is not an exact translation of the Maori text. The Treaty is a living document recognising the prior occupation by Māori of Aotearoa, reinforcing and protecting Māori tribal authority over lands, fisheries, forests, villages, treasures and culture and extending to Māori the status and rights of British citizens. It allowed for peaceful acquisition of land by the Crown for settlement by immigrants (Caritas Aotearoa NZ, 2003).

## Whānau/Language Related Policies in Te Amokura

The Mission Statement in Te Amokura reads:

Whāia te mātauranga Māori, te reo me ōna tikanga, kia tupu te mana o te tino rangatiratanga me ngā āhuatanga Māori i roto i te whānau o Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo, hei oranga mō te iwi, kia kore ai e ngaro tō tātou reo rangatira, me ōna tikanga, me ngā taonga tuku iho a ō tātou tīpuna. Ka tautoko anō hoki i ngā tuhinga o Te Tiriti o Waitangi, kia kore ai e ngaro ngā tikanga o taua Tiriti (p. 9, Charter).

(Translated: Seek out Māori knowledge, te reo Māori and culture, to develop the mana of tino rangatiratanga and all things Māori within the whānau of Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo, as a means of strengthening the Māori people and so that the noble language and treasures passed down over the generations from our ancestors and that which is written in the Treaty of Waitangi will never be lost).

In the Kōhanga Reo policy document, under all of the following ten headings Licence, Reo, Whānau Participation, Mokopuna Involvement, Curriculum, Enrolment, Objectives, Review, Tino Rangatiratanga and Kura Kaupapa Māori, there was a language-related policy or statement regarding use of te reo Māori by the whānau, the supports needed and the role of the whānau. The central policy states there is an;

[a]ctive commitment to the Māori language e.g., commitment to speaking the language *i ngā wā katoa*, *i ngā wāhi katoa*, professional development via enrolment in Māori language courses/ngā wānanga reo o Te Taura Whiri<sup>3</sup>, active and current participation in Marae activities, active and current participation in Māori cultural activities, and an adherence to Te Aho Matua<sup>4</sup> (Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo Charter, p.6. Italics added).

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<sup>3</sup> Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (The Māori Language Commission), established under the Māori Language Act, 1987, promotes the use of te reo Māori as a living language of the community by increasing the number of speakers and situations where it is spoken (Te Taura Whiri, 2003).

<sup>4</sup> A guiding philosophical document with pedagogical principles underpinning kaupapa Māori theory and practice for Kura Kaupapa Māori written by K. Mataira (personal communication, 1993).

In the day-to-day operations at Te Amokura it is essential that as many of the whānau—the parent/s, grandparent/s, caregiver/s, extended whānau—be actively involved in the curriculum and its development with the tamariki/mokopuna on a day-to-day basis, to ensure that there is congruency between home and Kōhanga Reo. Policy was developed to support this notion over the first few years of operating. The policies were refined as a result of observations over a lengthy period of time, in discussions with Te Amokura whānau and others working in the field, relating to concerns about the type of language that was being spoken by both Kōhanga Reo children and the pakeke. We noticed those children who had the linguistic support of their whānau in the home and the Kōhanga were better equipped to handle ‘te reo Māori anake’ domains. With whānau actively involved, or ‘on board’, the children, especially infants and toddlers seemed more settled and acquired te reo Māori rapidly and effortlessly. So did the pakeke (adults). A commitment was made to attend Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori kura reo (The Māori Language Commission language schools) to professionally develop those adults in the Kōhanga whānau who wished to attend.

Professional development on the part of the pakeke has become an important characteristic of Te Amokura’s operations, and necessary to equip children with meaningful language. Further along their language learning paths the children were able to build upon and sustain lengthy conversations in te reo Māori, discuss topics with increasingly more depth and use increasingly more complex language structures. Alongside research on infant bilinguals, bilingualism and threatened languages, and contrasted with children who came into the Kōhanga Reo at an older age with no Māori language background or without the support in their homes, the difference between those children who had the support of the home and those who did not was noticeable. Largely because of the difficulties experienced by both the child/ren who lacked the home supports, and Kōhanga pakeke (staff, parents and extended whānau), a policy was eventually developed to the effect that children over the age of three years with no previous contact with te reo Māori (and where there was no willingness on the part of their own whānau to attend and learn alongside the tamariki) were advised to seek other forms of

childcare/education. This was considered not only in the best interests of the child/ren concerned, but to 'safeguard' the kaupapa (distinct philosophy and practices) operating at Te Amokura. Kōhanga Reo has a very specific kaupapa. It is about creating a community of language speakers of te reo Māori. Children, of course, are central to that community. Therefore, it was felt to be an important feature of Te Amokura that the tamariki continue to make sense, find the linkages and create meaning out of their lived experiences whether they are living them at Te Amokura, the marae, the beach, bush or home. As far as is practicable the Kōhanga tries to smooth the transition between their worlds into Te Amokura and Te Amokura into their worlds.

The role of the adults was to firstly commit to the concept of intergenerational Māori language revernacularisation; secondly to act on that commitment by learning and using te reo; and thirdly to wānanga issues as they arose in terms of effectiveness of the programme, the language development of the individual children, collectively and language and curriculum planning for future directions. The wider sociopolitical context of Maoridom and the various struggles iwi Māori face on all fronts was always 'hot' on the agenda as well.

Interestingly, Fishman (1996) argues that the reason why RLS is difficult, and often not successful (aside from the fact that it is always having to unfairly compete with a dominant language), is because people do not know what to do and they do not know the difference between mother-tongue (vernacular) acquisition, its use and transmission. This is an important distinction. They forget how they learnt the language, and how it was used and how to pass it on to children. If it is learnt from books or in schools it is not intergenerational, or 'mother tongue' acquisition because they already have another mother tongue. Schools are not intergenerational language transmission agencies. There is a difference when learning language in schools and in homes. After school there are many years before they have children and pass it on, whereas if it is in the homes then it simply continues. It has to be realised that "...the school itself is not going to transmit it to the next generation because the society has not set up a

transmission mechanism that picks up after school (p.86)”. It is for this reason that the important distinction is made between mother-tongue acquisition or intergenerational transmission and language learnt as part of the curriculum in school. This is not to downplay, by any means, the important supportive linguistic role that school and other educational institutions can, and do, play. Suffice to say that this significant distinction has, in my view, largely been disregarded in the context of Aotearoa, in terms of policy and practice. That is why the unique kaupapa and policies of Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori are extremely important to maintain and why Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo whānau/language policy developed in the way that it did.

## **The Curriculum**

The curriculum is designed to provide a balance of planned stimulating activities (projects, haerenga (trips), play activities), spontaneous activities (going with the flow), and daily caring routines (eating, sleeping and so on). The focus is on interactions with other children and adults, which are meaningful, responsive and increasingly more complex.

Te Amokura supports the principles of Te Whāriki, the early childhood National Curriculum Guidelines (Ministry of Education, 1996), which promotes the involvement of the whānau and community, and its resources; values children as ‘taonga tuku iho’, is empowering and which acknowledges the centrality of responsive and reciprocal relationships with people, places and things in children’s learning. These are supported by the following aims:

*Te Mana Atua/Te Taha Wairua*

***“He kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea, e kore e ngaro”***

The total health and well-being of the tamariki/mokopuna is critical and so too the recognition of the centrality of wairua and their whakapapa. They are indeed the descendants of the Gods—‘ngā tama-Ariki’. They are ‘ngā moko o te puna’—the physical genealogical representation of all who have contributed to their gene pool. The nurturing of their hinengaro, te wairua, te whatumanawa, te tinana are of the utmost importance to their well-being, as is their sense of self and their place in the scheme of things.

He mea motuhake te tipu mai o te kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea, i te pā harakeke, i ‘ngā wai o te atua’, ‘te iho matua’, ‘te whenua’, ‘te kōpu’, te āhurutanga, te putanga mai ki te whaiao, ki te whānau, ki te hapū, ki te iwi, ki te taiao, ki a Papatūānuku, tae noa ki te ao mārama, ā, tōna hokinga anō ki te kōpū o te whenua hei tīmatatanga anō.

*Te Mana Aoturoa/Te Taha Hinengaro*

***“Ki te whaiao, ki te ao mārama”***

The tamariki/mokopuna are supported so that they may be able to make meaningful connections in their lived and past experiences (histories) on their pathways through life. Information and knowledge gathering, exploration and its synthesis in the creation and recreation of knowledge, sourced in ancient times (ngā kete e toru o te wānanga), enable them to participate in today’s world and for their future well being as active participants and creative decision-makers.

*Te Mana Tangata/Te Taha Tinana*

***“Ngā kanohi ora o rātou mā”***

The importance to our tamariki/mokopuna of their developing identity as Māori and the way they form meaningful relationships with people, places and things is stressed. The child’s positioning reflects his/her own important place in relation to everyone else and the joys and responsibilities that go along with their positioning.

*Te Mana Whenua/Te Taha Whatumanawa*

***“Mā roto rā e kata”***

The child’s sense of being, of belonging, his or her feelings of self-satisfaction and happiness, is protected and nurtured, and elementary to the child’s growing positive self-identity. The child’s tūrangawaewae is embedded in the landscape and strengthened with spiritual links to Ranginui and Papatūānuku, to all their children, and to their oneone, maunga, awa, waiariki, waka, and iwi.

*Te Mana Reo/Te Taha Oranga*

***“Ko te reo te mauri o te tangata”***

Children’s identity is inextricably linked to language, language to culture and culture to our humanity, without which we would have no perspective, nor foundation upon which to build and strengthen our whare, our future. The relationship of language to healthy development and a good life is important because it is a tool that allows children to link the outer worlds with their inner worlds and vice versa. It shapes them, their thinking, who they are and how they develop and must be protected and promoted.

## **The Daily Programme**

In concert with other local programmes, the daily programme is planned to provide a wide variety of activities, themes and experiences including those which are indoor/outdoor; quiet/active; independent/co-operative; individual, small group, large group; child/adult initiated; involve small/large musical movement. Play activities offered include books, storytelling and puppets, dramatic, imaginative and family play, manipulative play, e.g., puzzles, sorting/matching games, patterning materials, seriation and threading activities, cooking, dough (and sometimes clay), block play and constructive activities (carpentry), science, nature exploration and opportunities to learn about themselves and their community, creative art activities, e.g., painting, collage, weaving, finger painting, drawing, music and creative movement, singing, rhymes, stick games, poi, kapa haka and other dance routines, water and sand play, physically active play, playing with balls and group games, adventuring, walks and outings. The whānau mostly work 'one-to-one' or in small groups with the children. Throughout the day they look for opportunities to extend the children's language, experiences, concepts, confidence and abilities in an environment that is well resourced, and through the provision of real, meaningful experiences. In summary, the context has a deep structure, which is operationalised as a planned, purposeful language-learning programme with adults who are committed to, and knowledgeable about, language revernacularisation.

## **Policy in Practice**

To illustrate how policy is related to practice within Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo I will use the following. Whilst carrying out the daily activities, underpinning them are the values and beliefs that are embedded in those activities, and articulated in the language used. Within the centre we have a plum tree. In the summer it was laden. The fruit was sweet. Our kuia (elder) was in the Kōhanga. She did not like to waste food. Therefore it was decided to use the fruit and make jam. This activity is not a particularly 'Māori' thing to do, but embedded within the activity

are the tikanga Māori —those cultural aspects that are distinctly Māori—as well as other curricular learning/teaching opportunities developed within the activity.



There were wairua links as the karakia were said to give thanks for having such a plentiful tree.



There was a sense of manaakitanga, where making the jam was a community effort, with everyone pitching in to help. From the karakia before the gathering of the fruit from Te Wao Nui a Tāne, during the preparation of the fruit and utensils for the cooking process, to the eating and sharing of the jam, the whānau worked as a collaborative unit. There were numeracy links during the collecting, assessing quantities and weighing of the fruit to washing, cutting and sorting it; collecting, counting and sorting numbers of jars needed; measuring ingredients in the cooking, and dividing quantities in the end.



There were cultural and identity links as, after assessing for taste and the satisfaction on completion of the task, the remaining jars of jam were given away to help fundraise for a Māori school under threat of closure. The whole activity was conducted in te reo Māori with an oral and written literacy component as the activity was documented with the use of photographs.

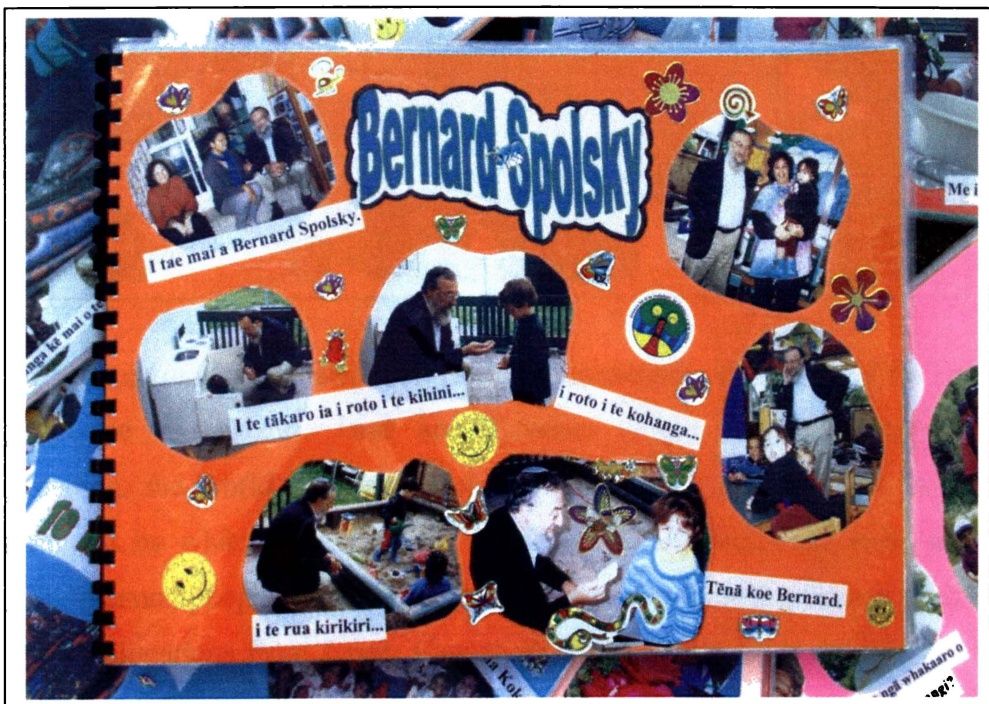


The photographs were subsequently annotated and made into a book for follow up discussion and reflection. This example is used as a connection between RLS theory, policy (te reo me ōna tikanga) and the practice (the revernacularising environment) in real, meaningful, cultural activities.



## Networking

This study, set in Te Amokura, is also located within the wider indigenous and research community. It is important to maintain networks with local initiatives and developments, as well as nationally and internationally. According to Dahlberg, Moss and Pence (1999) networks instil habits of cooperation, solidarity and public spiritedness in their engagement of the surrounding world. Networking "...assumes an active interest in the times we live in, such as questions concerning our environment, peace, justice and human coexistence, and new debates and achievements within science and philosophy" (p. 77). Networking has been an integral part of the operations of Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo.



At the Hui Taumata (Māori Education Summit) M. Durie (2001) spoke of benchmarks against which Māori could gauge progress. He stated the tendency has been to compare Māori with non-Māori which may not always be relevant or even desirable. More relevant benchmarks could be found with other iwi or outward to other indigenous communities internationally. It may be useful to look at the RLS efforts of other indigenous groups in order to contrast, to see what

works and perhaps learn from any mistakes made (Fishman, 1996). According to Dahlberg et al. (1999) networking, combined with pedagogical documentation are key tools for opening up the process of analysis and self-reflection, and hence for change to take place.



Locally and nationally, debates such as those surrounding the status of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, te reo Māori, land and fisheries issues, immigration, genetic modification, the world bank and globalisation, and so on, have led to active involvement by whānau members in the Māori community, with links also to other indigenous peoples internationally. These have included liaison with and receiving delegations from Japan, Canada, Indian Country, Europe and closer to home, Hawaii, Vanuatu and Australia. Contacts with researchers in the area of bilingualism and language regeneration are maintained and ongoing. These issues are presented here as crucial to, and underpinning, what happens in Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo.

## **PART II - I te Tīmatanga Ko te Kupu: Pilot Study**

### **Rationale for Pilot Study**

One of the requirements of my Doctorate in Education was that a pilot research project be carried out, as an introduction to the current research project in order to trial methods of data collection and to refine the study proper. In the pilot research project, I observed some aspects of young children's Māori language development in Kōhanga Reo with a view to describing how they integrated the two language codes they had access to, one within the Māori-only language-learning context of Kōhanga Reo and the other in a wider English language-learning context outside of Kōhanga Reo. I wanted to identify any of the consequences of this development both for the children themselves, and the impact upon the Māori language revernacularisation goal of Kōhanga Reo.

### **Contextualising the Pilot: Reversing Language Shift (RLS)**

Māori language is declining as an everyday language (R. Benton & N. Benton, 2001; Bishop & Glynn, 1999). There are fewer native speakers of te reo Māori than there were in the last millennium, fewer Māori language domains outside of educational institutions in which te reo Māori can be spoken, still not much printed material available in te reo Māori for our tamariki, especially those in Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori, and still a need to extend the vocabulary base of the language to meet the demands of the new domains. It is also a continuing irony that one cannot assume that those elder 'native' speakers will align themselves with RLS efforts. Recently I was involved in a hui (gathering) on the marae where an influential native-speaking kaumātua actively promoted an English-only policy agenda for marae hui.

If te reo Māori is to be reinstated as a vernacular, as is the aspiration of many Māori people (Māori Education Commission, 1999), then its visibility must be

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promoted and it must be used as an every day language or a vernacular. Waite (1992a) commented “It is a truism to point out that a language is being maintained at some level by a community *that uses it, and lost to a community that stops using it, for whatever reason*” (p.31) (emphasis added). There also must be increased opportunities to learn and use Māori and changes in attitudes and proficiency within the ‘whānau’ (family), the ‘hapū’ (wider whānau or neighbourhood) and ‘iwi’<sup>5</sup> (tribal community).

Given that only approximately 8% of the Māori adult population are highly fluent in te reo Māori, and that these are mostly kaumātua, 750 of whom are lost to the Māori population every year (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1998a; Te Puni Kōkiri, 1998b), the opportunities for intergenerational Māori language and cultural transmission are rapidly diminishing. Language is central to cultural transmission (Bhatt & Martin-Jones, 1992; Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Bruner, 1996). If we lose our language we lose many of our values and cultural ways of doing things, our Māori perspective of the world, especially when it comes to Māori epistemologies, axiologies (value systems moral and aesthetic) and ontologies (the metaphysical—Māori philosophical perspectives and beliefs). Many indigenous languages are being lost to the world’s linguistic community at an alarming rate. Approximately half of the world’s 6,500 languages are endangered (May, 1999). The more languages that are lost, the more worlds are lost, and thus opportunities to gain understanding into the ways in which diverse peoples make meaning out of their lives (Lee, 1997).

The commitment to intergenerational Māori language transmission is central to the ‘kaupapa’ (philosophy) of Kōhanga Reo. To date, very little research has been done in Kōhanga Reo in terms of the mechanics of revernacularisation and the implications. Those of us working in Kōhanga Reo seek reassurance that we are ‘on track’ in terms of supporting the children’s Māori language development, and also wonder if our children are reaping the benefits of being able to access

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<sup>5</sup> Whānau, hapū and iwi are the fundamental socio-political institutions of Māori culture.

two distinct language systems. What really is going on? What are the impacts of their bilingualism on te reo Māori? What are the precursors and consequences of the development of their bilingualism on their growing bicultural, bicognitive, biliterate worlds?

### **Theoretical Orientation**

Young children learn and create their own knowledge and understandings through the kinds of activities they participate in (Rogoff, 1990) through interactions with others both physical (Filer, 1997), verbal and non-verbal (Bruner, 1983; Rogoff, 1995) in naturalistic, meaningful cultural contexts (Hickey, 1997; Rogoff, 1990, 1995). The longstanding nature/nurture debate over how language is acquired continues. The behaviourist tradition (Kail & Cavanaugh, 1996; Garton & Pratt, 1998) places the learning process outside of the child. The nativist tradition (Burman, 1997; Portes & Hao, 1998; Wood, 1992) places the learning process within the genetic make-up of the child. A social constructionist perspective seeks to balance the two perspectives with emphases on the cultural context, environment and the developing child (Dahlberg et al. 1999) instead of the dualism of a nature/nurture (inside/outside) approach. Dahlberg et al. (1999) talk about the child as a co-constructer of knowledge, identity and culture in relationships with others in meaningful contexts. They argue “[a] pedagogue working with a social constructionist perspective would give the child the possibility to produce alternative constructions before encountering scientifically accepted constructions” p.55. This would enable the pedagogue to identify and value the child’s own thinking, ideas or constructions before building on them. In this way intersubjectivity (shared meaning/understanding) is reached in reciprocal/responsive relationships. As well as building on the intersubjective relationship with the child, the pedagogue must extend the relationship building to the child’s family, to deepen understanding of the socio-cultural context/s of the child. Malaguzzi discusses the importance of relationships of pedagogues in schools with families and community members, as well as the cultural context in which they are situated (cited in Edwards, Gandini & Forman, 1998). He sees the

school as a sort of “...construction in motion, continuously adjusting itself...from time to time while the organism travels on its life course...” (p. 62-63).

Rogoff (1990) contends that children’s learning and development is embedded in a context of social relationships and therefore any research into such development involves observing sociocultural activity on three planes of focus. They are *participatory appropriation* (personal), *guided participation* (interpersonal), and *apprenticeship* (community) planes of focus for use in the analysis of developmental processes involved in the participation of individuals in sociocultural activities. Furthermore, Rogoff (1995) argues that the planes are inseparable, mutually constituting planes comprising activities that can become the focus of analysis at different times but with the other planes remaining backgrounded. The planes of focus are not separate or hierarchical, but involve different ‘grains’ of focus within the whole sociocultural activity. None exists separately although they can be considered separately or part/s can be foregrounded without losing track of their inherent interdependence with the part/s that remains backgrounded. Distinguishing them serves the function of clarification for the purposes of discussion.

Rogoff’s (1990, 1995) framework is based on Vygotsky’s concern with finding units of analysis that preserve the mutuality of the individual and the sociocultural environment. She stresses firstly that children’s role in their own development is an active one as children take part in purposeful community activities engaging with other children and adults in routine and tacit, as well as explicit collaboration. Through participation in these activities they become prepared for later participation in related events.

The image of the child from a social constructionist perspective is not so much in an abstract sense, but the child as rich in potential, strong, active, confident and competent. More importantly, the emphasis from a social constructionist educational approach is on each child in relation to other children, adults, his or

her histories and the socio-cultural context/s in which the child is located (Edwards, et al., 1998).

According to Bruner (1983) "...human competence is both biological in origin and cultural in the means by which it finds expression" (p. 23). To this understanding, language learning and cultural expression in cultural activities are inextricably intertwined. As Schieffelin and Ochs (1986) say "...language is not simply responsive to the social activity/event, it *is* the social activity/event..." (p. 3).

This study is involved with the relationships of individual children's communication with other children and adults within social interactions occurring in Kōhanga Reo. Rogoff's (1995) concept of *guided participation* refers to the processes and systems of involvement between people as they communicate and co-ordinate efforts while participating in purposeful, ongoing sociocultural activities. The 'participation' referred to in 'guided participation' includes observation/s as well as hands-on involvement in activities (p.142). The 'guidance' involves the direction/s offered by cultural and social values, as well as the 'scaffolds' offered by social partners (other children and/or adults).

## **Scaffolding**

The term 'scaffolding' (Wood, Bruner & Ross, 1976) is a principle which acknowledges people, places and things and the reciprocal and interactive nature of all three in meaningful cultural contexts. Adults are located within the learning environment of the child and *how* the adult's role in that learning environment will assist the child's cognitive, physical, spiritual, axiological and social development, in making sense of their world is critical. One of the roles for adults in the building of relationships is to provide scaffolding for learning, the relationship being central to the learning process (Rogoff, Turkanis & Bartlett, 2001). It is this notion of 'relationship' and how pupils and teachers, working in concert with one another, negotiate meaning (Baker, 1993). The term scaffolding in this sense, because it is embedded in the learning environment, is used in a

sociocultural sense of contextualised development (Rogoff, 1990; 1993), and designed as a theoretical construct and tool grounding Vygotsky's (1978) notion of the zone of proximal development (ZPD).

According to Vygotsky (1978) teaching is only good when it "...awakens and rouses to life those functions which are in a stage of maturing, which lie in the zone of proximal development". That zone defined is;

...the distance between the actual development level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers (p.86).

Thus the use of the ZPD theoretical orientation as methodology allows us to see the child's immediate developmental needs and also her or his changing developmental state, allowing not only for what has been internalised or independently achieved in terms of a deeper understanding or problem solving, but also for what is in the course of maturing (White, 1995). The use of the term 'internalised' in this sense is as an active term. The notion that children themselves appropriate the meanings that they construct whilst participating in meaningful sociocultural activities to add to their repertoire of knowledge or to accommodate into their world-views is central to this methodology. Children are not passive receptacles (Freire, 1972) to be filled up, but active agents. It is the child's constructions and negotiation of meaning in intersubjective relationships with others that ensures mutual understanding or a shared understanding in the learning/teaching process. The intersubjectivity is achieved in the reciprocal relationship as the child progresses through the ZPD gaining a deeper understanding of the activity. The assistance offered within the activity is the scaffolding, thus being an added framework to the ZPD (Wood, et al., 1976).

It is this social constructionist orientation that underpinned both the pilot and wider study within Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo. It allowed me to take into account

not only the users of language but the sociocultural contexts, here termed domains, in which they were situated.

### **Language Learning Domains**

The term ‘domain’ refers to the sociocultural context in which te reo Māori is being used, either topically or situationally (Fishman, 1991), for example within the context of family, education, religion, government and so on. More narrowly speaking, domains are conceptualised as role relations within particular contexts. In the family domains there are the role relations of parent/child, sibling/sibling, and grand-parent/grandchild and so on. In Kōhanga Reo there are the role relations of ‘matua-tamaiti’ (*parent-child*), ‘kaumātua-tamaiti’ (elder-child), ‘kaiako-tamaiti’ (*teacher-child*), ‘kaiako-kaiako’, and ‘tamaiti-tamaiti’ and so on. Across these domains, and even within the same domain, there can be variance in terms of the percentage of use of te reo Māori. In terms of RLS research, Fishman (1991) argued that “It is exactly such variation, both from person to person and from situation to situation for the same person that must ultimately be sketched out...” (p.45) if the language shift picture is to be clarified.

Language domains for the use of te reo Māori are restricted, especially for the urban bilingual child. The pilot study overviewed some of the issues to do with language regeneration where there is no place or country to return to for a genuine ‘immersion-in-all-domains’ experience (Saunders, 1988), as is the case with many threatened languages. The impact of colonisation on language shift or loss was taken into account to ascertain those aspects which contributed to, and may still maintain, language shifting domains.

### **Research Questions for the Pilot Study**

As previously mentioned, the main thrust of reversing the language shift from Māori to English in the reinstatement of te reo Māori as a vernacular means increasing the number of domains where Māori would be spoken (and written).

Research into what the children themselves understood of their developing Māori language and the usage of te reo Māori in different language domains may well inform the phenomenon of revernacularisation. The following research questions were considered in the pilot, as they may have provided some insight or understanding into how children's language in Kōhanga Reo was developing.

- What are some of the ideas that children have about their own language development? (Metalinguistics)
- How do they integrate their understandings of two languages? (Domains)
- How does any metalinguistic awareness translate into metacognitive awareness? (Metacognition)

## **Method**

### *Research Participants*

Initially, because of the time frame for the pilot, I decided to observe and interview two children—my own, Tirangi and one other, Te Maire—attending Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo. In discussion with the General Manager of Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, Iritana Tāwhiwhirangi, I decided to extend the study to also include the language learning domains of those older native speakers of te reo Māori. The idea behind this move was to investigate how those people, active in the establishment of the Kōhanga Reo movement, learnt to speak te reo Māori, the changes over time, or the differences between their language learning domains and those of young children currently attending Kōhanga Reo. The design of interviewing outside of the Kōhanga whānau level at the hapū and iwi levels meant the selection of research participants working at those other levels. As a result, I interviewed two native-speaking kaumātua (Maata in Māori and Waimārama in English) with a view to finding out about their early childhood experiences and memories to do with how, where and when or from whom they learnt to speak te reo Māori. One interview was conducted with a research participant, Paula Rawiri, who worked in the area of education management at the iwi level.

## *Contexts*

Bruner's (1975) notion of intersubjectivity argued that language learning takes place in social interactions with others and so context always includes the physical and cultural settings in which the social interactions occur. Likewise, Hatch, (1995) advocated qualitative research methods designed to reveal how children (and others in their worlds) were experiencing and constructing their realities. This study included children in their language learning context of Kōhanga Reo. The Kōhanga Reo was equipped with fifteen inside and outside activity areas and operated a curriculum that was essentially play-based. There were plenty of opportunities to engage in make-believe play, painting and drawing, telling stories and exploring books. I also interviewed older and younger research participants in private homes and the work place.

The procedures used for data collection and analysis in the pilot study are detailed in 'I te tīmatanga ko te Kupu: Qualitative Research Pilot in Search of Method/s for Studying Aspects of Language Learning Domains and their Implications for Children in Kōhanga Reo' (White, 1999a). Conversational-type interviews were conducted with the use of video recorder and transcribed. Copies of transcriptions and videos were sent to adult participants. All data was then entered into QSR Nud\*ist (1997) (computer software) to enable experimental use of that technology as a data management tool, in preparation for the study proper.

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## PART III - Pilot Discussion

### Native Māori-speaking Elders

*Interviews with the native Māori speaking elders generated the following themes.*  
*Schools as Agencies of Colonisation*

According to both Maata and Waimarāma, their schooling had been about learning English. Maata commented “My thoughts on those times—I thought that that was why they sent us to school, to learn to speak English. I did not think beyond that. It’s different now because of the decline in te reo Māori. For us it was very much alive”. For both Waimarāma and Maata, their childhood homes were culturally specific Māori language domains, and schools, in keeping with educational policies, were in English. In their own homes as adults, English had shifted into the homes. Waimarāma and Maata taught their children to speak only English. That was the ‘norm’.

Some of the experiences recalled suggest how language policies, both public and domestic, shaped the lives of the older native-speakers which also impacted upon their descendants, including those currently in Kōhanga Reo today. Public policies made on behalf of the government by various means to steer the conduct of individuals such as teachers and students, and organisations such as schools (Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard & Henry, 1997) and churches, were systematically introduced to ‘rid’ Aotearoa of Māori speaking people. To further the assimilatory aim of ‘one nation’, ‘one people’, ‘one rule’ that meant, in real terms, one ‘British’ nation, one ‘British’ people (with Māori becoming British citizens), one ‘British’ rule (subservient to the monarchy and its judiciary) and one ‘British’ language (English). One of the first such public policy documents was the Education Ordinance, 1847. Clause 3 supported the giving of public funds to schools *provided* that instruction was given in the English language (New Zealand Legislative Council Ordinances, 1841-1853). Since that time there has been the

systematic promotion of an assimilation agenda through government policy (Simon, 1998; White, 1995). That also meant a shift in Māori language as the vernacular to English. The transfer of the missionary schools to the native schools system furthered this policy of language shift as Māori children were being fitted to becoming ‘good English speaking servants’ (Simon, 1998).

Whilst in the 1830s there was much interest in the Māori language and teaching through the medium of te reo Māori in the missionary school system (Simon, 1998)—a time when Māori/English bilingualism was a ‘taken for granted’ reality in Aotearoa, (Jones, Marshall, Matthews, Smith & Smith, 1995)—by the 1930s when Maata and Waimārama entered the (compulsory) Native Schools system there had been a complete reversal from Māori and English bilingualism to English monolingualism.

William Bird first took over the management of the Native Schools system in 1903 and was a rigid enforcer of these assimilation policies (Simon, 1998). He strongly resisted the speaking of Māori at school. His promotion in 1930 to *Superintendent* of Native Schools, coinciding with the time that Maata and Waimārama were entering the Native Schools system, saw the introduction of new policy which aimed to get the Māori language out of schools as quickly as possible. This was re-enforced through the use of corporal punishment and both Maata and Waimārama have memories of being punished if they got caught speaking Māori in the school grounds. Waimārama’s recollection of schooling in the Native School system was as follows:

At school - when we first started school of course we had to stop speaking Māori. We were never allowed to speak Māori. The teachers called us up and said ‘Now you have to learn English so go home and tell your mother to teach you English’. And if we kept persisting to speak Māori we got the strap. That would happen to me. I couldn’t speak English. I had no idea on how to speak English. It was all Māori and that was through our Kui Aneta of course and Nan and I used to get it at school (Waimārama, personal communication, 1999).

Maata's was similar, as follows:

E rerekē hoki i ērā wā. Ka haere koe, i ērā wā, ka haere koe ki te kura, kei mau koe e kōrero Māori ana i te papa o te kura kua patungia koe e te māhita. Nō reira kāore e pai ki te kōrero Māori i te kura. (Maata, Native School Pupil, personal communication, 1999).

(Translated: It was different in those days. If, when you went to school, you got caught speaking Māori within the school grounds, you were hit by the teacher. Therefore, it was not good to speak Māori at school).

The emphasis on an English-only curriculum made learning difficult. Maata and Waimārama recall:

We did not really know how to speak English... When I started school I was warned not to speak Māori. That was hard because I did not know how to speak English but we spoke secretly so that the teacher would not hear us speaking Māori (Maata).

It was hard. I couldn't learn - well I was hopeless sitting there all day and trying to learn lessons because I didn't now how to speak the language (Waimārama).

On the whole the public policy of English-only and its implementation had a deep and long lasting impact on Waimārama and Maata. My own mother recalled those days as being “fearful” and the sense of insult when she would have to spend long hours doing the teacher's washing and ironing.

In the analysis to the pilot there was discussion as to the challenge for RLS efforts being made difficult because te reo Māori is spoken by only a minority of Māori people. Whilst the Māori immersion kaupapa operating in Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori has begun to halt the decline, if the language remained in the artificial domains of preschool and school only, then they will become weak language learning domains, because the meaningful domains are outside of school in families and communities. According to J. Fishman (personal communication, July, 2000) no language ever lived in a school if simply taught as a subject, for example Latin. If it had no relevance to daily-lived experience, then it would soon disappear. English became strong because it moved from schools to the community. The challenge for us as supporters of revernacularisation is to cause

the same shift so that the language becomes 'normalised' in the community domain. Normalisation of te reo Māori into the communal domain in this sense is to reinstate it as a vernacular, in a natural, meaningful domain, rather than an abnormal, exceptional or artificial one (Grin & Vaillancourt, 1997).

If we do not contribute to this shift with those children attending Kōhanga Reo now, then we may well be unable to continue to stem the degeneration (and consequential death) of te reo Māori.

### *Two Languages, Two Perspectives*

It was interesting to note that, of the two older native-speaking interviewees, Maata, who interviewed through the medium of Māori, spoke more about Māori language domains than Waimarāma who interviewed through the medium of English. They re-presented different world views and attended to different aspects of those world views. Lee (1997) argued that different languages encouraged their speakers to draw different essentials out of the same situation. Of significance was that both Maata and Waimarāma were monolingual Māori up until they went to school. Their language, and the sociocultural meanings that went along with that language, had time to cement. Their language learning domain was different from the language learning context of those children attending Kōhanga Reo today. The dominance of English means that today's children are exposed to two languages from birth. Does this situation make a difference to their Māori language-learning context?

A discussion with Maata about translating from Māori to English led to dialogue about keeping the two language domains separate. When she spoke Māori she thought in Māori, when she spoke English she thought in English. This suggested that she may have had two separate world views and led me to hypothesise that she may have kept them separate because of her experiences as an indigenous Māori-speaking child. Her subjection to unpleasant discriminatory practices in school was a very different experience to the Māori-speaking child of Te

Amokura Kōhanga Reo, or the bilingual child whose bilingualism is maintained for different reasons. The schooling experience obviously ‘taught’ them to keep their languages and perspectives separate, because they would be disciplined if they did not. It is noteworthy that Maata was much more animated and highly political when she spoke in Māori. When she subsequently spoke in English she was more reserved, perhaps even guarded, when it came to talking about language policy and change. Possibly there was element of safety involved—the idea that you are much safer if you expressed your real views and feelings in Māori. As an adult, therefore, you became better able to express your political views and opinions on such sensitive issues in te reo Māori. Alternatively, it may be Maata simply used her own voice when she spoke in Māori. The above ideas of different world views and different meanings would be worthwhile exploring.

### **Younger Kōhanga Reo Children and their Domains**

One of the consequences of the two Kōhanga Reo children’s developing bilingualism was that they exhibited an awareness of the different language domains. There was a child-child playground domain where interactions were in te reo Māori. Secondly there was the child-child domain where there were mixed codes, Māori and English. Thirdly, there was the child-adult domain in the Kōhanga Reo where interactions with adults were in Māori. This was also the situation in a private home away from the Kōhanga Reo. Child/adult interactions were in Māori. Finally, in one adult/child interaction, away from, but in close proximity to, the Kōhanga Reo, I attempted to alter the Māori-only adult/child domain by encouraging a response in English. With my own child, who communicated with me in both Māori and English outside of Kōhanga Reo, this was usual practice. However, with the second child it merely caused confusion. On reflection I knew it was because I had been a Māori-only speaking person domain to that child. This suggested to me that the *person* domain in that situation is actually stronger than the *place* domain. Both children, however,

readily accepted Kōhanga Reo as being a Maori-only domain when interacting with adults.

### *Some Issues of Pedagogy and Research Method*

A problem for me was the difficulty I faced when endeavouring to understand a child's thinking about the relations between different languages, their forms and domains. Part of the problem was my approach. On reflection my approach reminded me of the teacher in the Tizard and Hughes (1984) study where the use of questioning to elicit a particular 'correct' response was not fruitful at all. I questioned for meaning in the abstract form, rather than seek meaning in context, in what was happening and being said in context. I decided to use video as an observational tool in the Kōhanga Reo as a means of exploring children's interpretations of why they may have switched from Māori to English or, alternatively, why things were said in the way they were said. The advantage of having everything captured on video, where I had a chance to revisit the contexts and critically examine my interview techniques, gave me the opportunity to critically reflect on some of the techniques I employed and also to refine them. This insight caused a shift in my focus, and an attempt to interpret children's words from the inside out (rather than the outside in) that is from the conversations that took place between children and with children and adults in authentic meaningful contexts in the daily activities of the Kōhanga Reo, not an artificial context of an interview situation. I decided not to interview because in an interview situation I did not have the expertise to elicit children's perspectives without controlling the responses through the questions that I may ask. I was aware of the power differential between myself as kaiako, parent, researcher and the research participants—the children attending the Kōhanga Reo.

Another problem was the beautifully decorated textless book that I had put together which depicted a day in the life of my daughter, Tirangi, together with some links to past experiences. This book was complete with 'pretty' hologram stickers to attract Tirangi's attention. These decorations, however, did more than

attract her attention. They shifted the focus of the exercise from discussions about daily activities (sleeping, getting ready for Kōhanga Reo, eating breakfast and so on) to the story telling being centred around, and interwoven with, the holograms and her descriptions of them. This provided me with a note of caution for future reference in terms of possible distractions when carrying out research with young children.

### *Developing Bilinguals*

According to Lee (1997, p. 462) “...speakers of different languages are encouraged from childhood to attend (unconsciously) to different features of experience by the naming patterns and grammatical demands of their languages”. The role that grammar plays in generating meaning is important and I was interested in studying any differences in the language learning patterns of children learning two distinctly different language structures. The observations of word invention by children, their talk contrasting words and meanings, sentences, reading and writing letters and numbers, use of metaphor, and their awareness of two separate, distinct language codes suggested there was a development of metalinguistic awareness. Would this development have any significance to their developing bilingualism and their cognitive development?

Of particular interest to me were the literacy behaviours of reading and writing and how knowledge of these two functions is a knowing that these symbols represent oral language and thought, and that they provide meaning. Reading and writing is a metacognitive process. It involves a knowledge of, and thinking about, symbolism. Literacy may be narrowly defined as successful interaction with text, but according to Reeder, Shapiro, Watson and Goelman (1996) literacy has a broader definition which takes in aspects of oral communication. It refers to a “....spectrum of competences related to the processing of text, its precursors, and its consequences” (p. 13). They argue that, in early childhood, such things as book reading, dramatic play, painting and other activities, which involve symbolic play and oral language, are the precursors for literacy development. The

relationship of oral communication to literacy development is critical. What was it about Māori oral communication that accelerated literacy skills, or biliteracy skills, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century?<sup>6</sup>

As Fishman (1991) pointed out, when carrying out revernacularisation research, it is preferable to look at different time frames. What are the differences in the literacy skills between Māori in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and Māori in the 21<sup>st</sup> century? Jones, Marshall, Matthews, G. Smith and L. Smith (2000) argued:

It used to be frequently stated that societies which did not have the 'written word' were somehow simple societies made up of people who had limited thinking skills and a limited language. More recent work...has largely disposed of that argument; instead, research indicates that members of oral societies rely upon a complex system of 'literacy' skills which enable them to 'read' and interpret meanings of their own symbols (p.38-39).

What were those symbols and skills? How or why might they be of significance to the Māori language-learning context of young Māori children today? What are the pedagogical implications for Kōhanga Reo?

The two children in the pilot study were both able to integrate their two language codes effectively. However, whilst there clearly were some benefits for these children in terms of their ability to competently and confidently switch between the two language systems, questions were raised as to the 'quality' of their Maori language development when contrasted with the native speaking elders. Maata and Waimārama were monolingual Māori-speaking children before they went to school. Their Māori language had time to 'cement'. Their early experiences meant that they were able to perceive the world differently. For the young pilot participants, it may be that the simultaneous acquisition of two languages at such

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<sup>6</sup> Research suggests Māori enthusiastically sought literacy skills in order to enhance their traditional way of life with many accounts indicating the extent of the spread of literacy during this period documented in Simon (2000).

a young age, one a threatened minority language, the other a powerful colonial language, could be detrimental to their Māori language development. This is an area for further research.

## Conclusions

The pilot study identified that the main thrust of RLS meant increasing the domains where Māori could be spoken and written. The pilot study showed how public policy contributed towards language shift in the first instance. Presumably then, the converse could be true, public policy could once again contribute to a reversal of language shift. What policies are needed to facilitate language reversal? What are the phenomena that might operate against successful language reversal?

In the pilot study I identified some of the issues that interested me about RLS. They were the:-

- notion of bilingualism and what sense or meaning children make of their own experiences;
- notion of literacy, precursors and consequences, including the pedagogical implications for Kōhanga Reo;
- notion of code switching in different domains, including the structural domain of language; (the Māori language is structured quite differently—syntactically, semantically, metaphorically. What are some of the differences and are they significant? If so, how could we facilitate for Kōhanga Reo children today those aspects of the language that were rich for the older native speakers in the past?) and
- sociocultural implications of revernacularisation attempts in Kōhanga Reo and the home.

As a result of the pilot study, I decided to do a more detailed case study of a few children at Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo. The theme of the study would be revernacularisation of te reo Māori in a small, urban, Kōhanga Reo setting. The key question guiding this wider study is what constitutes a revernacularisation process? More specifically, what are the mechanics of revernacularisation? What does revernacularisation mean in practical terms for children in Kōhanga Reo and children in their homes?

The above questions meant a search of the literature in terms of revernacularisation, RLS and the reasons and implications for raising children bilingually from birth.

In this chapter the setting of Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo was introduced. Chapter two is an overall review of the literature in the field of RLS and bilingualism, with the story of Te Amokura interwoven to illustrate the issues raised.

## CHAPTER TWO

### Revernacularisation of Te Reo Māori

#### **Introduction: Ko te Hōkai Nuku, ko te Hōkai Rangi...**

This thesis focuses on one case study of Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo, its setting and some of the participants with a view to identifying some of the elements of the revernacularisation of te reo Māori. As was explained in chapter one, Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo was established as part of the wider movement to revernacularise te reo Māori. The revernacularisation of te reo Māori is the bringing back of te reo Māori as a vernacular or local community language. Its functioning as a vernacular is synonymous with Māoritanga and Māori identities being alive and thriving. Revernacularisation is the enabling of another generation to speak, read and write te reo Māori, so that it is a living language of the Māori community, with the community inhabitants speaking the language in everyday communicative activities, including the very youngest members of the community.

A review of the literature in the field of reversing language shift and bilingual education identified that there are four main reasons for raising infant children bilingually in the Māori and English languages in the context of Aotearoa. This chapter will outline those reasons in the following sections:

Section I: Reversing language shift (RLS) via the revernacularisation of te reo Māori as a living language of the community. This section will discuss some of the antecedents to language shift and ways of containing it through the restoration of vernacular functions.

Section II: Bilingualism and biculturalism. This section will overview bilingualism and biculturalism and the belief in the intrinsic value of knowledge of more than one language, providing, as it does, an awareness of another culture, values, ways of thinking and ways of knowing. Some implications for local contexts will be extrapolated.

Section III: Increased cognitive and metacognitive skills. This section will document issues to do with literacy and some of the politics surrounding Māori literacy, biliteracy together with some wider implications.

Section IV: Tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) as an aspiration fundamental to the Kōhanga Reo movement. This section links identity and rights issues. Revernacularisation is the linguistic component of tino rangatiratanga.

### **Section I: Reversing Language Shift via Revernacularisation**

Language shift away from te reo Māori being an everyday vernacular in Aotearoa has been facilitated by, and is a consequence of: colonisation, unequal rates of social change, and imbalances in political and economic power. Fishman (1991) argued that the combination of social, cultural, economic, physical (medical) and demographic onslaught of conquest, culture contact, modernisation, urbanisation and discrimination on the initially rural Māori was not only dislocative but “...dislocative with a genocidal vengeance” (p.230). Both Gorst, a British Parliamentarian (Arvidson, 2001) and Vaggioli (Vaggioli, 1896/2000), a Catholic Priest, recognised this genocidal intent early on in the colonial project when they worked and lived here among Māori and began documenting such at the time. In the period leading up to the colonial land wars in the mid 1800s, Sir John Gorst alluded to the colonial government’s sinister intent in a letter published in *The Times* on 24 December 1863 (Arvidson, 2001). He wrote:

The causes of the war can be divided into two distinct classes—firstly, the circumstances which led to the recent outbreak of hostility at Taranaki; and secondly, those more obscure but far more important causes which have made a local insurrection the signal for a general rising, and forced the Government into a war of extermination and the natives into a desperate struggle for survival... (p.x)

That struggle still goes on and is manifest, among other things, in the battle to reverse language shift in order to not only contain further linguistic and cultural decline and loss, but to contribute to overcoming some of the widespread socio-cultural dislocation of modernity and to further Māori advancement (Fishman, 1991). According to Fishman (1991), when any of a culture's main supports, such as language, are lost, most of the other supports are seriously weakened and, as a consequence, far more likely to be altered or lost as well. RLS is not about language regeneration per se, but about language-in-culture, and culture-in-language. Part of it is about recovering our own histories, knowledge bases and cultures. It is about fostering and fashioning language-in-culture, to attain and to assist particular language-in-culture contents and patterns. It is about socio-cultural survival (bound up with resistance to domination) and the exercise of socio-political power. It is the power to speak the word and read the world (Freire, 1972) and to imagine and create a new world through the restoration of Māori vernacular functions.

Fishman (1991) argued that ceremonial or situational switching into a threatened language for the attainment of traditional 'social meaning' cannot continue for very long after massive language shift has galloped along for any appreciable number of years. In the case of te reo Māori this process has continued for at least 100 years. Revernacularisation is achieved by reversing the shift over the last century from Māori (initially), to Māori/English bilingualism, to English monolingualism, and now on to Māori/English bilingualism.

Emphasis on what Fishman refers to as 'secret language' or tokenistic functions (when travelling abroad, te reo Māori greetings at conferences or of exhibits for

touristic and commercial visitors) is not enough. Impoverished and impoverishing views still exist in this country and continue to occupy centre stage in mainstream media for self-serving hegemonic purposes. Therefore, ideological clarification is crucial. This is part of what this research aims to do. Currently te reo Māori is a low status, threatened language. In order to reverse that, RLS has to be promoted among our communities to foster the ideas that if we want to have some sort of self-regulatory control over our own lives, and if we value our Māoritanga, our Māori cultural heritage, and ourselves as Māori, then we must, as a consequence, value our Māori language and culture and regenerate it.

Children speaking te reo Māori is an integral part in ensuring its regeneration and continuation and is bound up with Māori identity, Māori indigeneity. That is to say, it will enable Māori people to realise one of our deepest aspirations, to *live as Māori*. In the opening address at the Hui Taumata Mātauranga, a national Māori education summit held in Taupo in March 2001, M. Durie (2001) proposed a framework for considering Māori educational advancement. This framework restates, in straightforward terms, the aspirations of our tupuna or ancestors, mai rā anō (from days gone by), and the first of those was ‘to live as Māori’. That means being able to have access to a Māori world—access to language, culture (including tikanga), marae, whānau and resources such as land and kaimoana.

Accessing a Māori world via language implies its revernacularisation in communities which support families (including children) to make meaning of their daily lives in socio-cultural contexts which are culturally Māori. As revernacularisation is fostered and attained through the settings of home, family, neighbourhood, community, it must also be supported and maintained through those settings. A useful tool for such analysis is that proposed by Fishman (1991) in *Reversing Language Shift* called the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) and revisited ten years later in his publication *Can threatened languages be saved?*

The GIDS Scale is set out in Figure 1. It outlines the severity of intergenerational dislocation in the shift of a language from the vernacular to a threatened minority language (ML). Stage 8 is the most severely dislocated stage, or least secure ML stage, whilst stage 1 is the most secure ML stage.

According to Fishman (2001b) the notational conventions of designating the *threatened* language as Xish or X and *its speakers* as Xians, while its *threatening* and stronger competitor is referred to as Y or Yish are used. The RLS Scale is designed to champion the unique role of languages in their own traditionally related populations and functions, hence the use of the shorthand designations Xish and Yish.

## STAGES OF REVERSING LANGUAGE SHIFT:

### Severity of Intergenerational Dislocation

#### *I. RLS to attain diglossia (assuming prior ideological clarification)*

8. Reconstructing Xish and adult acquisition of XSL.
7. Cultural interaction in Xish primarily involving the community-based older generation.
6. The intergenerational and demographically concentrated home-family neighbourhood-community: the basis of mother-tongue transmission.
5. Schools for literacy acquisition, for the old and for the young, and not in lieu of compulsory education.

#### *II. RLS to transcend diglossia, subsequent to its attainment*

4.
  - a. Schools in lieu of compulsory education and substantially under Xish curricular and staffing control.
  - b. Public schools for Xish children, offering some instruction via Xish, but substantially under Yish curricular and staffing control.
3. The local/regional (i.e. non-neighbourhood) work sphere, both among Xians and among Yians.
2. Local/regional mass media and governmental services.
1. Education, work sphere, mass media and governmental operations at higher and nationwide levels.

Figure 1. GIDS Scale (Fishman, 2001b, p.466)

Stage 8, the most severely dislocated stage, is where the minority language (ML) is least secure and possibly in a state of being reconstructed among adult second language learners. According to Baker (1993) this stage corresponds to the 'worst case' for a ML where there will be a few older generation speakers of the ML but ML interaction is rarely possible due to the demographic spread of the elders. It is therefore important that, if there is to be any chance of reconstructing the language, permanent records of the language be collected on tape and paper.

At stage 7, whilst the ML continues to be spoken, there is an absence of speakers of childbearing age or younger which, in terms of any self-maintaining intergenerational link is detrimental to the ML (Fishman, 1996). The ML is likely to die in the absence of a younger generation of speakers (Baker, 1993).

Stage 6 is where there is intergenerational transmission of the ML in the settings of home, family, neighbourhood and community. This is the pivotal stage for survival of the ML. However, according to Fishman (2001b) stages 8, 7 and 6 all represent serious circumstances for any RLS movement aimed at revernacularisation.

Stage 5 occurs when the ML is in the home and also involves literacy education as well as oracy. Efforts at this stage are still located within, and under the control of, the ML community itself rather than under the control of the central majority language environment (Baker, 1993).

Stage 4 includes ML medium education which, according to Baker (1993) may be partly under the control of the local ML community and partly under the control of central government.

Stage 3 occurs when the local/regional work sphere includes the ML being informally spoken among Xians and among Yians. According to Baker (1993) an important focus at this stage is to create a wider base for the ML.

Stage 2, the penultimate stage, is where the ML is used in local and regional media and governmental spheres.

Stage 1, according to Fishman (2001b) is the least dislocated stage or the most secure for a ML, providing Stage 6 has been met. The ML will be used throughout educational institutions, in the work sphere, mass media and governmental operations at higher and nationwide levels.

One of the purposes of the GIDS scale is to use it as a guide to locate the functional disruption of a particular threatened language in social space. Such location would help to establish the focus and priorities for RLS efforts. Another purpose is to cause the viewer to consider linkages between the stages and its potential for strengthening the selected stage where RLS efforts are to be located.

According to Fishman (2001b), stage 6 is critical and is the basis of mother-tongue transmission. In the case of te reo Māori revernacularisation it is to this stage on the GIDS scale, in the settings of home, family, neighbourhood and community, that Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo is pitching RLS efforts. The focus is on consolidating and securing the intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori within the home among the whānau and anchored in the community to which those whānau belong. This home language policy is critical for revernacularisation. All RLS efforts should be geared towards promoting and supporting this policy where the language is used and passed on from generation to generation in the home and community. It is in this 'passing on' generationally, and its anchorage within the community, that its survival and self-maintenance is ensured. Community supports such as Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori reinforce the use of te reo Māori as a living community language.

Fishman further argued that language maintenance is particularly difficult for speech communities which are undergoing language shift, especially when the shift is so advanced that the speech community cannot even control its informal intergenerational usage within the confines of the home, family, neighbourhood and face-to-face community. Therefore in the RLS struggle priorities have to be made. Of course the priorities at various points of the struggle vary but they must all derive from the language-in-culture theory that places intergenerational mother-tongue transmission at the very centre—a centre which must be defended. Fishman added that if this stage is not satisfied, then all else that happens at the other stages amounts to little more than biding time. Saunders (1988) also emphasised the importance of intergenerational transmission when he argued that children's ability in a language acquired naturally, through interaction with their parent/s in the home, will usually be far superior to any ability they may acquire later through studying it as a foreign or second language at school (or even preschool). This is particularly so as far as a native-sounding pronunciation is concerned. Arnberg (1987), when discussing the issue of raising bilingual children, also noted the supportive role of preschool or school, but cautioned never to neglect the more important role of the parent/s in the task of raising children bilingually. She noted that "...even when parents are fortunate enough to be assisted by bilingual education programmes, they simply cannot assume that the pre-school or school can do the whole job" (p.8). However, pre-schools and schools can play an important supportive role, with regard to RLS efforts, so long as linkages are made to, or are located within, the crucial stage (Stage 6).

### *Reversing Language Shift Priorities and Planning*

In terms of the mechanics of RLS, Fishman (2001b) noted that the above stages need not be worked on through a stage-by-stage progression, as long as the crucial stage was targeted consensually and with a clear understanding of what false priorities would 'cost'. The stage 6 focus meant that prioritising of higher stages (stages 1-5), at the expense of, or without linkages to stage 6, posed a potential

danger for RLS. Even higher education could pose a risk unless refocussed for RLS purposes, as it rarely linked back to intergenerational transmission or to the stage 6 link in which such transmission took place. M. Durie (2001) made a similar point when he said “It makes limited sense only to prepare students for a life in international commerce if living as a Maori must be sacrificed” (p.5). Te reo Māori is fundamental to Māori cultural practices and values, Māori realities and Māori lives. If, in spite of all the rewards offered by gaining knowledge of the wider world, one fails to live and speak as Māori, then there has been a failure that results in contributing towards language shift and cultural disruption.

Fishman (2001b) argued that it is important to understand which sociocultural functions are fundamental to intergenerational continuity and which are peripheral. Priorities include functions which are culturally *crucial* to intergenerational language use and continuity (home language), and those functions which give a *reasonable chance of success* (school language). However, Fishman further argued that when these two sets of functions do not coincide, then a compromise must be reached between the two. Success in intergenerationally unimportant functions (some may say entertainment on the ‘kapa haka’ stage may fall into this category if there is no connection to stage 6, language-in-culture) is merely camouflaged failure. At the same time failure with respect to intergenerationally crucial functions (home language), can be disheartening and bring a halt to RLS efforts.

Moreover, Fishman contended that, in the promotion of a threatened language, RLS efforts seek to conscientise people about all that is lost, individually and collectively, when a language is lost. RLS theory also acknowledges that multiculturalism is weak in its ideological and practical focus and usually ignorant as to the consequences of the far greater compartmentalisation, minimalisation and subsequent disappearance of indigenous languages. As May (2001) asserts, multiculturalism causes fragmentation among minority groups as they compete with one another for limited resources. In Aotearoa, relegating Maori to the status

of a single ethnic minority group among many is in breach of Te Tiriti o Waitangi as it is a denial of the rights guaranteed under Te Tiriti. It also denies the divisions within Maoridom their separate status whilst exaggerating the status of other immigrant groups so that Māori interests become peripheral.

RLS theory is concerned with the development and reinforcement of intergenerational speech-communities. “Just as nationalism is ethnicity rendered conscious and mobilised, so RLS is language maintenance rendered conscious and mobilised” (Fishman, 2001b, p.455). In Aotearoa, although English is the dominant language, te reo Māori is the official language. Therefore, RLS is concerned with the endorsement of Māori/English bilingualism and biculturalism, because invariably RLSers (those people committed to RLS) are bilingual and, in tandem with their bilingualism, they are bicultural.

## **Section II: Bilingualism and Biculturalism**

A conviction of the value of knowing two (or more) languages, and particularly knowledge of ones own heritage language/s, is what underpins RLS and the renaissance of te reo Māori and Māori/English bilingualism. Heritage/majority language bilingualism provides an awareness of self (and thus a determination of self) and also of others, other culture/s, values, ways of thinking, ways of knowing and lifestyles.

In Aotearoa the heritage language for all who self-identify as Māori is te reo Māori, even though the majority who do identify as Māori do not speak it. Culturally it is their whakapapa (genealogical) language, their heritage language, and for an increasing number of Māori children (now approximately 14% of all Māori children under five years attend Kōhanga Reo) (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2001) it may also be their first language as they become native speakers of their heritage language. It is their mother tongue.

The term 'bilingualism' has been a very difficult one to define, and highly controversial in pedagogical terms. According to Saunders (1988), some commentators have argued that bilingualism is the native-like command of two languages, even to the extent that the bilingual speaker could be taken for a 'native' speaker by native speakers of both languages concerned. However, he found this too restrictive and representing the highest degree of bilingualism. Furthermore, he argued that this was an ideal, very rarely attained, and better termed equilingual or ambilingual.

Baker's (1993) definition of bilingualism is of a child who is able to speak two languages *fluently*. However the concept of 'fluency' raises the question as to when somebody could be considered fluent, so the controversy continues.

According to Waite (1992a) bilingualism begins at the point where a speaker of one language can *produce* complete, meaningful utterances in the other language, whereas Diebold (cited in Saunders, 1988) suggested bilingualism commences when a person begins to *understand* utterances without necessarily being able to produce them. Saunders (1988) terms this a *receiving* bilingual, when a child or person is spoken to all the time by others in the language but they never reply back in that language.

The focal point of the controversy is the degree of fluency one should reach before claiming to be bilingual and when the benefits of being bilingual will therefore accrue. Saunders' (1998) notion that bilingualism simply means having access to two languages, and placing all bilinguals on a continuum from equilinguals to just beginning to acquire a second language, in a sense negates the fluency debate. These are conditions or differing states of development at different locations on a receptive/productive bilingualism continuum. I agree with Saunders' qualification however, that those who have very little proficiency in more than one language are still essentially monolingual and that balanced bilinguals are roughly equally skilled in their two languages. Although they may

not be perfect in both languages (one could be more dominant in one language), there is a balance between the two languages in terms of domain usage and the range of purposes for which they would use language in their daily lives.

Of significance in the bilingualism debate, especially for Kōhanga Reo, is that it is somewhat difficult to make distinction between infant bilingualism and child bilingualism. According to Saunders (1988), an infant bilingual is one who has a *simultaneous* acquisition of two languages from birth. A child bilingual is one who has *successive* acquisition of two languages. That is, the child acquires first one language within the family and then acquires a second language through preschool and/or the early school years. Although there has been some disagreement concerning the cut off point between first-language acquisition and early second-language acquisition (Lanza, 1992) there is an arbitrary cut off point between infant bilingualism and child bilingualism of three years where one language has become relatively well established before exposure to the second occurs (Saunders, 1988). According to Saunders (1988) those children who become bilingual before four years of age have significantly increased chances of being able to make use of their two languages. They have an earlier awareness of the arbitrariness of language in that they can analyse it more intensively; they can separate out meaning from sound earlier; they have a greater adeptness at divergent thinking; greater adeptness at creative thinking; greater linguistic and cognitive creativity and concept formation; and greater social sensitivity than their monolingual counterparts or child bilinguals. It is also an important point to consider that for an infant bilingual, s/he is learning the two languages simultaneously as if s/he is learning one. S/he does subsequently learn to differentiate between those two languages according to the needs of the social situation. However, it is difficult state categorically when this might occur as language inputs, outputs and social setting must be considered when discussing matters of differentiation (Lanza, 1992).

Research into those children who became bilingual before the age of four years compared with those who became bilingual after that age found that not only were the 'before fours' markedly superior to monolinguals, but they were also significantly superior to later child bilinguals (Balkan, cited in Saunders, 1988). This distinction is of significance for Kōhanga Reo because in discussion with colleagues in the field it seemed to be a common phenomenon across many Kōhanga Reo that child bilinguals (that is the older 'three years plus' children) who came in to Kōhanga Reo, having had their grounding in English only, significantly changed the language dynamics of the Kōhanga Reo. This observation caused many Kōhanga whānau to re-examine the philosophy or kaupapa of Kōhanga Reo, to make it a place that focuses on the regeneration of te reo Māori as a native/first language. It is Kōhanga Reo policy to have the whole whānau involved, so that the children can attend from birth, and even before but in practice whānau involvement has often been in managerial areas rather than language regeneration, catering for the before-fives without any clear language policies or support. Involvement from birth would ensure, at the very least, that the children would have access to two languages—te reo Māori through the intergenerational transmission in the home and Kōhanga Reo, and te reo Pākehā through the wider society and media, instead of coming in to Kōhanga Reo having had a head start in English only.

### *Some Positives and Negatives of Bilingualism*

Cummins (1979, 1984) overviewed research which showed bilingual children have better academic development, cognitive skills and metalinguistic awareness than their monolingual peers. Bilingual children are more aware of an arbitrary link between the object and its name, and more proficient at breaking words into syllables and phonemes. He argued they had better concentration, and more developed skills in the synthesis and abstraction necessary for reading. Fishman (1991) also discussed the benefits of being bilingual, and to emphasise the

genuinely creative, innovative and enriching gains of bilingualism. Bilingualism promotes a more analytic approach to language.

On the possible negative side, the issue of 'artificial' bilingualism, where one of the languages being passed on is being passed on by a non-native speaker of the language constituting artificial bilingualism, was raised by Saunders (1988). M. Hohepa (1999) referred to this when she discussed the disparaging remarks made by a few who consider the language being passed on to be inauthentic because it was 'learnt from books'. There is much debate within the Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori movement surrounding the 'quality' of language being passed on or taught. However, the issue, in the Māori context, should not be one of artificiality or authenticity. To recontextualise the issue, the focus should be what underpins the politics of language shift and its reversal. That requires an in-depth critique of the power relations between those who had the power to cause the shift and how, and those who were perhaps powerless to prevent the shift. Waite (1992a) makes the point that second language learners play an important role in RLS. They fill the gap for supporting the first language speakers when the first language speakers are scarce as a resource. This is the case in the Aotearoa context. When the next Māori speaking generation reach child-bearing age and pass on their language to their children, then some of the current issues surrounding Māori language regeneration may be resolved. However, it is noted that, perhaps unfortunately, the Māori language, regenerated, will not be the same as it was traditionally.

Saunders (1988) raised the issue of the negative impact that can occur when languages are not balanced, and the schooling situation does not help to overcome the imbalance. Take, for example, a situation when a child's weaker language is also the language of the school and the native language of their monolingual counterparts, as was the case for all native speakers of Māori from roughly 1847 up until the advent of Kura Kaupapa Māori. The child is in a submersion situation. This has been referred to as a subtractive bilingual situation, where the

child's home language is replaced by language of school. The school attempts to subtract the child's home language in order to replace it with a school language, sometimes using draconian measures. Cummins (2000) argued that this creates a situation of imbalance between the languages and puts the child at risk of educational failure. Contrasted with additive programs, where properly understood, planned and implemented immersion programmes represent an appropriate form of enrichment bilingual education for all students, a balanced bilingual child was the result. There is no apparent cost to the child's personal or academic development (Cummins, 1984). Genesee (1987) argued that total immersion was better than partial immersion and that early immersion was better than late immersion if bilingualism is the aspiration of the language programme.

It seems most of the difficulties or problems associated with bilingual programmes, schooling for bilingual children, and bilingualism are really politically constructed problems, sociocultural not linguistic. Controversy exists where there is misinformation about the nature of languages and hidden political agenda. According to Sapir (1921):

The fundamental groundwork of language—the development of a clear-cut phonetic system, the specific association of speech elements with concepts, and the delicate provision for the formal expression of all manner of relations—all this meets us rigidly perfected and systematized in every language known to us. Many primitive languages have a formal richness, a latent luxuriance of expression that eclipses anything known to the languages of modern civilization. Even in the mere matter of the inventory of speech the layman must be prepared for strange surprises. Popular statements as to the extreme poverty of expression to which primitive languages are doomed are simply myths (p.22).

Te reo Māori has such a richness and luxuriance of expression in its use of metaphor and structure, in its whakatauki and whakatauāki (proverbial sayings), kīwaha and kīrehu (colloquial sayings), mōteatea and hakirara (laments and poems), waiata and oriori (songs and chants), karakia and tauparapara (prayers

and incantations), and so on. For generations of Māori their experience of school was a subtractive form of bilingualism (and possibly biculturalism), with assimilatory aims. For many it was an oppressive, alienating, experience. In some cases it led to entrenched negative views as to the value of the heritage language and culture that was almost entirely subtracted. In other cases it led to a fear of schools with valid concerns, even scepticism, about the educational processes in Aotearoa and outcomes for their children. And in some it led to resistance and withdrawal.

### *Language Learning Approaches and Implications for Kōhanga Reo*

#### *Structural Approach*

According to Baker (1993) in a structural (behaviourist) approach to language learning, the language learning comprises linking a particular response to a particular stimulus, to be either reinforced or corrected. The pedagogue would see second language learning as occurring in a distinct set of speech habits, where the child would be able to say a word or grammatically correct sentences in an automatic fashion. The pedagogue would provide the stimulus, the child responds. Through repetition and drill it is hoped the child would be able to use the second language correctly and automatically—not naturally (Baker, 1993). I have seen this approach operating in some Kōhanga Reo and observed that many children coming through this approach do not become functionally conversant in te reo Māori. The language has become automated, for use only in those restricted domains (mainly for ceremonial purposes or tokenistic functions) with which it was associated or automatically linked to. The child's language learning is structured and controlled externally (by the pedagogue).

#### *Communicative Approach*

An oppositional approach to language learning, developed in the 1970s, is known as the 'communicative' approach. Baker (1993) suggested that this approach is

functional and is about using language to convey meaning, in purposeful communication. Language is a means, where the language user's competence to communicate *meaning* effectively for a real purpose is centralised in the language learning process, rather than a structural/grammatical end. According to Baker recent modifications to the communicative approach have focused the language learning process on the interactions between *people* in social communications or meaningful cultural contexts. This is known as an 'interactional approach'. It is this approach that most accurately describes the pedagogy of Amokura Kōhanga Reo, the method being one where the aim is to encourage children to be competent, confident conversers and to engage in real meaningful conversations with others in a Māori cultural context.

### *Immersion in Māori*

Te Amokura is a context which promotes an immersion Māori language approach. However, the children do have access to a dominant (majority) English language and culture which we are mindful of and take into consideration in our programme. They are acquiring infant/child bilinguals who are encouraged to compare, contrast and discuss their languages in order to develop critical language awareness and its relevance for their lives. This encouragement provides a cultural context for linguistic enrichment as the children have access to two phonologies, two graphologies – two complete, distinct language codes and an awareness of the domains that those codes occupy. Whilst they may be receptive or passive bilinguals as very young children, their bilingualism becomes increasingly apparent as they grow older, and as the dominant Pākehā culture has more influence in their lives through such things as television, radio, computers and the general neighbourhood and community.

Indeed, this aspect of the relationship between te reo Māori and te reo Pakeha is reflected in Te Aho Matua (Education Review Office, 2003) as expressions of respect for all languages. First and foremost te reo Māori is validated as the

child's first language, and the language of teaching and learning in the Kōhanga Reo. But therein is also the notion of, as an outcome, balanced bilingualism. Clause 2 of Te Aho Matua states “Te eke o te whānau ki te matatautanga o te kōrero i te reo Māori me te reo Ingarihi—the whānau achieves full competency in Māori and English” (as cited in Education Review Office, 2003, p.2). This is a notion expressed in Goal 2 of M. Durie's (2001) framework for Māori educational advancement, to actively participate as citizens of the world.

In my seventeen years of experience in Kōhanga Reo, with those children whose apparent first language is Māori, the phenomenon of their bilingualism usually shows at around three years of age, as more and more English utterances creep into their language. Some actively seek to learn English at a younger age. By the time the children are ready to enter Kura Kaupapa Māori, they are relative bilinguals. I do not know one monolingual Māori speaking child of five years old, although certainly te reo Māori may be the preferred first language of many Kōhanga Reo graduates.

### *An Additive Approach*

According to Cummins (2000) strong and uncompromising promotion of first language and literacy (in this case Te Reo Māori) is a crucial component of the total immersion approach, but that a *both/and* rather than an *either/or* orientation to both first and second language acquisition should be adopted. In Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo they are promoted together, not through a dual immersion approach (two languages occupying the same space), but through the informal exposure to English and its formal introduction in another space (outside of Kōhanga Reo) and at other times. There has been inadequate or very little research done in this area, in Aotearoa, as to when to formally introduce English as an academic subject. This area is hotly debated by parents, practitioners, policy makers and researchers in both Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori, and, certainly, in the wider field of bilingual education. In the case of Te Amokura, the children involved in the

study have formally been introduced to reading and writing in English, outside the physical domain of the Kōhanga Reo. They have access to, and use two ‘arapū’ or alphabet systems.

Amberg (1987) argued that the implication is that if bilingualism is considered important, discussing and contrasting the differences between languages helps the child/ren become aware of this importance. Moreover, she asserts that a growing awareness of their bilingualism needs to be developed among the children. Promoting critical language awareness means, as a matter of course, allowing the children to discuss, argue, debate—to communicate freely as they interact with others and make meaning of their situation. Any attempt to subtract or actively suppress the English language of a bilingual child in Kōhanga Reo may be viewed by many sociolinguists as a subtractive approach to bilingualism. As mentioned, the reality is many of the children in Kōhanga Reo will have an increasing exposure to English. Some may even come in to Kōhanga with the foundations of English having already been laid. Being put into a situation to ‘boost’ their reo Māori development can often result in a subtractive approach to bilingualism if the kaiako do not have a linguistic understanding of how children acquire two or more languages simultaneously. Therefore it is imperative that all kaiako (pedagogues) in Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori be aware of the issues surrounding bilingualism, that they be language activists and committed to RLS goals.

### *Te Kōhanga Reo Whānui and Te Amokura*

Currently the immersion aims of Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo are not only additive, but counter-assimilatory, liberating at the personal level, and transformative at the community/societal level. They are political, with a view to effecting change. Through the regeneration of te reo Māori, the objective is the achievement of balanced bilingualism for Māori children living in a bicultural society. The

General Manager of the Kōhanga Reo National Trust, Iritana Tāwhiwhirangi, spoke of these bilingual (and bicultural) aims when she said,

Koia rā e kaha nei au ki te hāpai i te kaupapa o te Kōhanga Reo. Mehemea ka tīmata mai tātau i ngā kōhungahunga, ki te hunga rangatahi, pakeke rawa ake rātau, kua māro ngā whakaaro. Kua pakari ki te haere i roto i te ao Māori, i te ao Pākehā... What is good for Māori must ultimately be good for New Zealand (cited in Szaszy, 1993, p. 256).

Likewise, Raiha Serjeant, my much-loved Grandmother, said,

Nā, ko taku tino hiahia kia hoki ngā tamariki ki te ako i te reo Māori, kia hoki mai ai te mana o ō rātau tupuna ki a rātau; kia kotahi ai te iwi Māori...Kātahi rātau ka mōhio nō rātau tēnei motu. I tēnei wā kāre te iwi tamariki e mōhio ana ko wai rātau, he aha rānei rātau ... he Māori? Koirā aku tūmanako, kia tū tika te Tiriti i runga i te whakahaere a te Kuini o Ingarangi. Nā te mea i hūnaia mai tērā Tiriti... Ko ngā painga i haere mai i te Rōpū, he whakahoa i ngā wahine Māori, kia āwhina rātau ki te kimi ora mō ngā tamariki, mō nga mātua. Kia kimi mātauranga ngā tamariki, kia tika ai tātau i roto i te ao Pākehā (cited in Szaszy, 1993, p.195-198).

(Translated: My greatest desire is that our children learn to speak Māori so that the 'mana' of their ancestors returns and so that Māori people have a sense of solidarity... Then they will know that this is their land and their identity is intact...as Māori. These are my hopes, that the Treaty takes pride of place, because currently it is concealed...The benefits of the League were the friendships formed among women, assisting one another with the well-being of the children, and parents, and enabling the children to seek knowledge so that we (Māori) are able to transition competently into the Pākehā world).

Kōhanga and Kura are bilingual settings, not because they use a dual Māori/English medium approach as stated, but because they are supporting bilingual children. Depending on the context and the status of languages, there are many different types of bilingual settings, some using early immersion, partial immersion, late immersion, dual immersion, total immersion approaches. Te Amokura uses a total immersion Māori language approach, with an expectation

that our children will reach high levels of proficiency in te reo Māori. However, we do expect and respect that our children, through their daily interactions in the wider society and all its technologies, will speak English proficiently as well. They are bilingual, and how that is mediated within the context of Te Amokura is complex and often difficult. There are many political, philosophical and pedagogical debates had among our Kōhanga whānau – mainly to do with how we authentically set about trying to recreate a Māori worldview through the medium of Māori, holding on to our values, when there are so many tensions. According to Fishman (2000b) ‘Life is unfair’ for threatened languages such as te reo Māori. And further that “They are destined to fight a difficult and prolonged, two-front war: pursuing just enough but not too much modernization on the one hand, and cultivating and safeguarding “authenticity”, on the other hand” (p.18). It is a tension to keep two sets of lives (and languages) going especially when one of those lives and worldviews is being compromised daily by linguistic neo-liberal pressures. The reality is our children are exposed to two languages from birth, and two worldviews, one a minority language with an indigenous Aotearoa/New Zealand worldview, the other a dominant language with an essentially British, western, capitalist worldview. According to Fishman one cannot be bilingual and monocultural (personal communication, July, 2000). In the same vein, I pose the question—can one be bicultural if one is monolingual?

Our country was founded on a document which guaranteed dual rights (including language rights) and dual citizenship (biculturalism) to the signatories to that document and their descendants—Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Section 7(a) of The Māori Language Act 1987 directed Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori to pursue strategies designed to give effect to the declaration of te reo Māori as an (the) official language (Waite, 1992a). The ultimate goal of such policy was equal status to both te reo Māori and English at the official level. Therefore, Māori is an official language *de jure* (according to law, by right, legally) and English is an official language *de facto* (existing in fact whether officially recognised or not). Aotearoa is thus a bilingual country (officially) and all efforts should proceed towards

promoting its bilingualism and biculturalism (Waite, 1992a). What does this mean in real terms for the Aotearoa context? The Chairperson of the Māori Language Commission, Patu Hohepa (2000) gave his ideas of what it meant when he said:

In Asia, Europe and Africa, it's normal for people to speak more than one language. And while te reo belongs to us, it does not make it exclusive to us. Therefore, I believe that people who consider themselves as authentic New Zealanders must know both languages. They must be bilingual (p. 20).

Ultimately Māori immersion education is seen as a means of not only transforming the Māori child's educational experience but upholding the tenets of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, impacting upon the wider socio-cultural context of Aotearoa.

### **Section III: Increased Cognitive and Metacognitive Skills**

Research suggests that if bilingual children have a reasonable degree of balance between their two languages, their overall intellectual development is not hindered. On the contrary, it is enhanced (Arnberg, 1987; Baker, 1993; Bhatt & Martin-Jones, 1992; Fishman, 2001b; Hickey, 1997; Lindholm & Padilla, 1978; Saunders, 1988; Snow, 1992; Spolsky, 1989; Waite, 1992a). There is much debate over the role of language in relation to the cognitive development of the individual child, namely whether language shapes the cognitive development of the child or whether cognitive processes shape language development. Perhaps it is a moot point to theorise the extent to which conceptual development or thinking shapes language development or vice versa, the extent to which language development shapes thinking and the mind. Suffice it to say that they are intricately and inextricably connected and intertwined. Therefore we should endeavour to develop both together or at least provide a context in which both can flourish simultaneously. Furthermore, much of the current literature on bilingualism asserts that the child in the process of developing two linguistic

codes (language systems) has improved metalinguistic awareness and consequently improved metacognitive awareness (Bialystok & Codd, 1997; Lindholm & Padilla, 1978, Waite, 1992a).

Metalinguistic awareness, an awareness of knowledge and skill of language as a formal system with meaning (Bialystok, 1986; Doherty & Perner, 1998; Mann, Shankweiler & S. Smith, 1984), develops in the preschool years and facilitates later literacy skills (Garton & Pratt, 1998). The literacy skills about to be discussed briefly are those narrowly defined as print literacy where children begin to gain experience of the sustained meaning-building organisation of the written language of books by being read to (Wells, 1986).

Although it is acknowledged in the literature that the exact nature of the relationship between the precursor literacy events that occur in the preschool years and print literacy development are yet to be clearly defined (Garton & Pratt, 1998), Wells (1986) argued that listening to stories was the activity that was most likely to prepare children for the acquisition of literacy skills. Moreover, in listening to stories read aloud, when children come to read books for themselves, they find the language familiar; they can extend the range of their experience far beyond the limits of their immediate surroundings; they develop a richer mental model of the world; vocabulary (which is related to educational achievement) is enriched; and stories provide an excellent starting point for collaborative talk between children and adults as they share their understandings of a topic. Telling stories is a regular activity between human interactions. Making sense of an experience is to construct a story about it. As children begin to speak and understand the speech of others, their view of the world is strongly influenced by the stories that other people tell them and they interpret and recall the stories of other people's experiences as they share them with their own. According to Wells, "In this way, stories are woven into the tapestry of a child's inner representations, producing the patterns that give it significance" (1986, p.196). In this way children enter into a shared cultural world expanded and enriched by the

exchange of stories and continually broadening their cognition and metacognition as they are constructing and reconstructing their views about the world.

Lee (1997) also argued that metalinguistic awareness is believed to provide essential (but not sole) access to metacognitive awareness and its associated potential for cognitive self-direction and growth. At a simple level it is an awareness of speech, our own and others. At a more developed level it is an ability to attend to the stream of speech and break it up mentally into various parts, sounds, words, sentences (Bialystok, 1986; Bryant, 1998; Muter, Hulme, Snowling & Taylor, 1998) and meanings.

Many applied linguists believe the simultaneous acquisition of two languages is linked to, and can accelerate, the development of metalinguistic/metacognitive processes. Thus there has been a shift in attitude towards bilingual education (Bhatt & Martin-Jones, 1992). Lindholm & Padilla's (1978) finding that bilingual children are able, from an early age, to differentiate between their two linguistic systems, was significant. Bilingual children's<sup>7</sup> ability to differentiate supposes a metalinguistic and metacognitive awareness that language is a symbol system which generates different meanings. For example, Māori bilingual children recognise early that the word 'ngeru', 'tori' or 'poti' is just a label, because it has another label—'cat'. Therefore as bilingual children are increasingly accessing two linguistic codes, they are developing advanced metacognitive and metalinguistic abilities because they have a dual repertoire to label and organise reality in a flexible, symbolic way. In other words, bilingual children are not locked into seeing the world through one set of labels or symbols, but have multiple perspectives or ways of viewing and constructing reality. That construction of reality will be different from monolingual children.

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<sup>7</sup> The term 'bilingual children' is used here in a generic sense and does not make the distinction between infant bilinguals and child bilinguals but is inclusive of both.

Bilingualism then facilitates and enhances metalinguistic and metacognitive awareness in young children because of their increased ability to decontextualise language from the object to understanding that it is a code or symbol for that object (Ada, 1995; Bialystok & Codd, 1997; Cummins, 1995a; Cummins, 1995b). It is not *the* object. Donaldson (1978) referred to this process of being able to decontextualise language as disembedded thought, a formal thinking operation of moving beyond the bounds of 'human sense' or context to reasoning or thinking without it. Bilingual children develop this ability to abstract because of their enhanced metalinguistic awareness.

### *Biliteracy*

According to Saunders (1988), just speaking a minority language in the home (or Kōhanga Reo) is not enough to ensure its maintenance. It is important that children learn to read and write in that language also because "Once children can read, they are exposed to a wider range of language, to a greater richness of language than individual parents could possibly produce" (Saunders, 1988, p.198). It is also important for the children psychologically because they come to appreciate that the minority language, like the majority language, is a 'fully-fledged' medium of communication with status.

### *The Politics of Māori Literacy: The Case Study of Te Amokura*

Māori literacy in both the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries was extensive. Simon (1998, 2000) documented the spread of print literacy among Māori, such that by the early 1830s there was a growing enthusiasm for reading and writing in Māori, which spread like wildfire. This was well documented. One such observation by Brown in 1845 (as cited in Marshall, Coxon, Jenkins & Jones, 2000) was as follows:

If one native in a tribe can read and write, he will not be long in teaching the others. The desire to obtain this information engrosses their whole thoughts and they will continue for days with their slates in their hands... (Simon, 2000, p. 41)

However, enthusiasm started to wane in the 1840s; it is believed because of the restriction of printed material to the Scriptures and the missionary zeal for conversion with a hidden agenda of subversion. The Education Ordinance of 1847, introduced by Governor Grey, saw the beginning of the decline of Māori language in schools which were subsidised provided instruction was in the English language (New Zealand Legislative Council Ordinances, 1841-1853). Missionary monopoly on Māori education, enshrined in the Ordinance, ended with the land wars of the 1860s, and in particular with the 1867 Native Schools Act when Māori education came “fully under the control of the settler government” (Simon, 1990). The subsidising of schools, provided instruction was in English was again reinforced under this Act, the Education Act of 1877 when the Department of Education was established, and subsequent acts bringing Native Schools under the control of that Department. Schooling for Māori in the 1880s was made compulsory with fluency in English being the main criterion (Simon, 1990). However, Māori literacy and oracy was still common, with over 90% of Māori children arriving at school with Te Reo Māori as their first language in 1900 (Ministry of Education, 1998).

Draconian measures were subsequently introduced into schools for the eradication of te reo Māori right through until at least the 1930s and perhaps longer. In 1931 the Director of Education, T.B. Strong, stated “The natural abandonment of the native tongue reflects no loss on the Māori” (McLaren, 1974) reflecting the prevailing negative Pākehā attitude towards te reo Māori and Māori children, with widespread corporal punishment when they spoke Māori. At that time my late mother was in her first year of school, which she remembered as fearful. She said

And we weren't allowed to speak our language. I remember a friend of mine one day asked if she could go to the toilet in Māori. Well, she was brought up to the front of the class and strapped for asking if she could go to the toilet. You weren't allowed to speak it at all...Before the school started, the bell rings and then you line up, and they give you a dose of cod liver oil, if you needed it or not, you still had to have

it. This is the sort of thing that was just I think—how would you say it  
—to take over?

In the pilot study both Maata and Waimārama, who were native-speakers of te reo Māori, had recollections of corporal punishment in schools for speaking te reo Māori. The shift of literacy and oracy from Māori to English was systematic and cruel. By the 1980s the amount of Māori children arriving at school with Te Reo Māori as their first language had dropped to approximately 1% (Ministry of Education 1998). In the 1990s it raised slightly, largely due to the institution of Kōhanga Reo and its extension, Kura Kaupapa Māori, but Fishman (1991) considered that Māori literacy tradition has largely been forgotten, because of the shift of literacy to English only. It now needs to be revived alongside oral literacy regeneration. This would assist a return of Māori literacy to the individual and Māori societal life. The Ataarangi<sup>8</sup> emphasis on oral Māori language has tended to overlook the role of adult Māori print literacy with an impact on attitudes to print literacy. Fishman also considered that there was an urgent need for Kōhanga Reo to adopt literacy functions, wherever possible, both for children and for adults, and states "...otherwise the Māori speakers of the future will not only be fewer in number than those of the past, but they will have to cope with the growing burden of contrastive illiteracy as well" (p.243). However, in Kōhanga Reo it has been very difficult to gain access to print literacy over the years. Access at various times to basic readers in the He Purapura series and other Learning Media Māori language resources has been denied to Kōhanga Reo. Access to the School National Libraries is denied to Kōhanga Reo. Many Māori language readers gather dust on shelves, in warehouses and store rooms and are denied to those who need them, the children in Kōhanga Reo and in their homes.

In the response to a letter written in 1992 to Dr O'Rourke, Secretary for Education, seeking clarification on the availability within early childhood

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<sup>8</sup> A Māori language programme focussed on developing oral fluency.

institutions of Māori language resources produced by Learning Media for the Ministry of Education, the following statements were made:-

...Titles in the He Purapura series are not distributed to early childhood centres or kohanga reo, nor (in general) are they available to purchase by such centres. The Kōhanga Reo National Trust was consulted before this decision was made. There are two reasons for this: (1) the interest level and reading level of He Purapura series are targeted to the 5-9 year-old group; (2) even though some titles will appeal to young children, who may also be able to “read” them, the books need to be kept ‘fresh’ for use in schools when Māori-speaking children arrive and require new materials to support learning to read in Māori...Later this year we will be receiving the draft of the Early Childhood Curriculum Guidelines. When we publish this document early next year, it will be distributed widely throughout the early childhood sector. We look forwardly keen (sic) to this event as we feel that the guidelines will give a sound platform on which the Ministry can base the development of a wide range of new resources for this age group, both English and Māori...(personal communication, 1992).

The letter was signed David McDonald, Programme Co-ordinator. This response raises a number of issues. Firstly, the issue of ‘interest level’ for Māori children is problematic because it is not based on any qualitative research. Many of the He Purapura series are so basic our two year olds at Te Amokura can read them. Secondly, it highlights a huge dilemma when it questions exposure to TKR children of these books, what will they read when they get to school? The Ministry of Education’s solution was to deny Kōhanga Reo access to books. Issues to do with centralised power, creating barriers and how they may affect what happens at the local level need to be addressed. The upshot of Ministry of Education policy is that some children in Aotearoa continue to be seriously disadvantaged.

In the response to a letter sent to the Minister of Education, Dr Lockwood Smith, in 1994, the following was stated:

The Minister of Education, Dr Lockwood Smith has asked me to reply to your letter dated 22 Whiringa a nuku 1994 concerning the provision

of resources to kohanga reo. The question of learning resources for the early childhood sector including to kohanga reo is an area of concern. However, it would be inappropriate for the Ministry to impose policy regarding the distribution of learning resources to kohanga without first consulting with the Te Kohanga Reo National Trust (personal communication, 1994).

The letter went on to say that the National Trust should be contacted and was signed by Rawiri Brell, Group Manager Māori. The Trust responded that they just simply did not have the resource to address the issue. In more recent years there have been a few books targeted for TKR. However, in 2001 in an approach to Learning Media regarding the provision of resources to TKR, Margaret Clarke of that organisation informed me that books were not available to Kōhanga Reo and that “Kōhanga Reo do not teach their children to read”. That statement was strongly rebutted and the importance of access to literature for young Māori children was raised. I was then informed that in any event the Purapura series were ‘too difficult’ for Kōhanga Reo children. That too was strongly contested. I was also told that Mr Hone Apanui would respond to my concerns in writing and that he would also outline the policy and procedure/s for accessing resources. Such response was not forthcoming. Subsequently, I wrote to the Chief Executive Officer, Learning Media, formally requesting their policy in writing, to which he responded:

Tena koe Mere,

How many ways are to say “I’m sorry”? - “Kia te aroha atu ki akoe” (sic). Learning Media Te Pou Taki Korero humbly apologises to you for the advice offered by Margaret Clarke. He Purapura is available to Kōhanga. We do not tell teachers how to teach – We actually try to help in any way we can to facilitate educational development. In that vein we have actively worked with the Ministry to have more te reo Māori resources available more widely. In Margaret’s defence our staff get a lot of calls for resources and they have to make on the spot decisions about suitability but in your case it’s clear the wrong advice was given. We would be very happy to talk with you in person about (sic) how to improve our services to Kohunga (sic). I’ll ask Hone Apanui our Team Manager Te Pou Taki Korero to contact you on behalf of LML and take these discussions further. Kia Ora, Neale Pitches (personal communication, 2001).

However, again as promised in the above response, no contact was ever made. At around the same time an article headed “Māori restrictions to be lifted” was published in the New Zealand Education Gazette (Stewart, 2001) which stated “RESTRICTIONS on Māori language teaching and learning materials will be lifted over the next 12 months, providing access to all schools, early childhood centres, teachers, parents and students...” (p.10). Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo responded with a lengthy fax (after telephone communication) ordering all the resources available. That fax was never responded to and nor were we sent any of those resources. In personal communication between myself and a Ministry of Education Official in 2002 I ascertained that all the resources had been given out and would no longer be available.

I raise the above because, in spite of Ministry rhetoric, in reality policy implementation (or lack of) has been the source of unenviable frustration for us at Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo and many other Kōhanga whānau, especially knowing the important role books can play in RLS attempts. These issues are not new. Many people have been raising them at all levels of government and in the wider community, for decades (Benton, 1993; Hirsh, 1990; House of Representatives, 1995a, 1995b, 1995c, 1995d, 1995e; Irwin, 1999; Meade, 1988; Te Puni Kōkiri, 1997a; Te Puni Kōkiri, 1997b; Waite, 1992a, 1992b; White, 1995). As Irwin (1999) pointed out, what is now 100% transparent is that transforming Māori education is not an intellectual challenge, it is a political challenge and that is a different matter that has been with us for a very long time. She added that Māori people know what they want and they know how they want it. These problems have been identified, and solutions offered. Governments simply choose not to listen.

Likewise, research issues are dealt with in the same *laissez faire* manner. In a response to a letter sent to the Research Division of the Ministry of Education, 1994, the following was stated:

...I wish to advise you that while Māori education in particular is a priority for research and policy development within the Ministry, the Ministry is not in the position to advance a research agenda which is specific to the Kōhanga Reo National Trust...that research needs to have specific policy implications on the broader scale *for the Ministry* (personal communication, 1992, my emphasis added).

The covert workings of institutional racism at the structural level, as highlighted, are entrenched. The problem with this *laissez faire* approach by government is that, while the 'buck is passed' to Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, the Trust itself is not in a position to administer Learning Media resources, nor to initiate research without the funding. In this way, the control remains with the State which reinforces Māori subordination (Johnston, 1997).

Both Baker (1993) and Saunders (1988) argued that biliteracy development is vital, because illiteracy in one of a bilingual's languages would represent a considerable loss both to the individual and community. The languages would eventually become imbalanced. Saunders referred to research documenting the teaching of very young children to read in their first language and the ease of transference when they began school, especially if they are bilingual. M. Hohepa (1999) discussed the relationship between language regeneration and print literacy and found levels of biliteracy among Māori to be of increasing importance for Māori language regeneration. She argued that the demand for developing print literacy to express contemporary ideas and concepts contributed to the dynamics of te reo Māori.

Bilingualism provides an increased control over and ability to manipulate language (Waite, 1992a). Language awareness is enhanced as bilingual children develop a greater capacity to think divergently and as they become language detectives through their ability to compare and contrast languages. In Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo the aim is for the children to be first language, native speakers of te reo Māori and ultimately balanced bilinguals in a bicultural Aotearoa/New Zealand.

## Section IV: Tino Rangatiratanga – Māori Self-definition and Determination

Living in today's world, albeit one that is increasingly becoming smaller with the onset of globalisation, and progressively more influenced by, and having influence upon, the modern technologies which are encroaching into our very minds and bodies, it is impossible for any body or culture to be entirely independent or cut off from its surroundings or influences (Fishman, 2001a). The development of cross-cultural awareness, respect, understanding and communication, where we retain our own identity and culture but at the same time mediate the wider influences is all the more important because of globalisation, and at the heart of our tino rangatiratanga. Tino rangatiratanga in this sense is an ability to control the way the world enters into our minds, bodies and daily lives, that is to make sense and meaning of the world at the individual level and at the cultural level, and mediated from a given position that is Māori. It is self-identification at the personal level and self-determination culturally. It is an ability to think critically and respond collectively in order to mediate external influences and the rate of change which impacts upon our lives and resources.

*Tino rangatiratanga* also goes much deeper than a mediation of the external world, as it has close links to *whakapapa*. If we were to take the literal meaning of the word *rangatiratanga*, we have the concept of being able to meld people—*ranga* (to weave), *tira* (a group), *tanga* (a noun-forming suffix) (Bauer, 1997) in the bringing together of the people (in a united cause). Combined with *tino* (essentiality, the absolute self, total or complete reality) (Williams, 1997), as in *tino rangatiratanga* it has a sense of togetherness of self, self realisation. Strongly linked to self-identification, essentially it is who you are as distinct from any other genetic (individual) and social being.

To provide another take or double think, it could actually be a condensed version of the words 'ranga te ira tangata'—the bringing together of the essence of people

at different levels, in different times and spaces and for different purposes in all that is humanising. However one chooses to define or derive meaning out of the words *tinu rangatiratanga*, there is deeply embedded, within the concept, an exactness or whakapapa link. That link is unequivocal and it acknowledges that everything has a time, a place, a context and a purpose—even those things inanimate. It is an acknowledgement of the multiple layers or complexities that is creation. It is an acknowledgment that everything has a distinctive unique whakapapa which gives it meaning. That is to *whaka*—to make to be, *papa*—layer (or shortened form for *whenua* or *Nuku*, also meaning earth or wider, distance, move, extend). In other words, it is to make to be ‘layered’ or to make to be land ‘papa’. Both those phenomena occur when our *tohunga*, (experts) versed in whakapapa<sup>9</sup>, recite whakapapa. They whakapapa back to the land and then beyond, to the outer (or inner) layers, histories, knowledges, to the core of creation, *te ira, te kore* (the void). Combined *rangatiratanga* (a meta-knowledge of all the levels and the way they are related and interconnected across time, space, people and resources) with the word *tinu* there is perhaps a more intrinsic meaning of journeying further inwards to a knowledge of self and the way it is linked in whakapapa terms to the outer layers, external of the self, in limitless directions. In this sense then, *tinu rangatiratanga* is a right to journey in all the different directions one may choose. The idea of pushing the boundaries is included in the process of meaning making. That concept, coupled with kaupapa Māori practice (revernacularisation through intergenerational transmission in homes, *Kōhanga Reo*, *Kura Kaupapa Māori*), would then help to guide a framework which encapsulated those aspirations which our ancestors presented to us in our language. Therefore, revernacularisation of *te reo Māori*, in this sense, linked as it is to identity and rights to define and redefine, is the linguistic component or the mechanics of *tinu rangatiratanga*. Put another way, kaupapa Māori practice, the space to teach and reflect in a Māori way, with Māori values

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<sup>9</sup> Superhuman status is given to this ability of Māori to whakapapa with the use of memory. An example is given of a *kaumātua* who recited the entire history of his tribe over 45 generations and 1,000 years to a reporter which took three days in the book *Accelerated Learning* (Rose, 1985).

and through te reo Māori, is the operationalisation of self-determination through RLS efforts. It is praxis and resistance (practice, reflection and a will to do things our way). Applied educationally into a framework, tino rangatiratanga has an active component and is about the affirmation and reformation of Māori identity, indigeneity, self-definition and self-decision by Māori, in Māori, for Māori. It is encapsulated in the following framework.

Earlier in this chapter I commented on M. Durie's (2001) opening address at the Hui Taumata Mātauranga held in Taupo in March, 2001, in which he proposed a framework for considering Māori educational advancement with the following goals:

1. To Live as Māori;
2. To actively participate as citizens of the world;
3. To enjoy good health and a high standard of living.

*Goal 1: Kia Marae: To live as Māori*

To live as Māori, the right of every Māori child is an indigenous right. May (2001) referred to Convention 169 of the International Labour Organisation (Article 1.1), which provides an apposite description of indigenous peoples as:

peoples in independent countries who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonisation or the establishment of present state boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions (p.275).

Articles 14 and 15 of the Draft Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2003) states:

Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalise, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions,

philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons. ...Indigenous children have the right to all levels and forms of education of the State. All indigenous peoples also have this right and the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning.

The goal of enabling Māori individual and collective cultural identity, where Māori children have access to a world (historically, contemporarily and futuristically), which is Māori, necessitates a regeneration of te reo Māori. It is not enough to simply learn about Māori—a bit of poi and haka here and there and to know that ‘mā’ is white—but to live as Māori, creating meaning out of life as Māori. M. Durie (2001) argued that being Māori is a Māori reality and that education should be as much about that reality as it is about literacy and numeracy. Revernacularisation of te reo Māori provides one of the central support structures, arguably the main support structure (atu i te whakapapa<sup>10</sup>), to a framework which positions tino rangatiratanga both within the framework at the personal autonomous level, and at the outer parameters of the framework by shaping the sociopolitical context within which RLS resides. Indigenous rights (or tāngata whenua<sup>11</sup> rights) also allows for a right to access other sorts of provision by the State, if desired. This right is a whakapapa right— a dual right that only Māori can enjoy by virtue of whakapapa, and a rangatiratanga right reaffirmed under Article II of Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

For Te Amokura whānau it is about making sure that our tamariki have access to oracy and literacy Māori with increasing complexity of structure and meaning in contexts which are enjoyable to them and encourage participation in meaningful ways. That is their right to participate as citizens of the world.

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<sup>10</sup> Apart from genealogical ties

<sup>11</sup> The people of the land, Māori, the Chiefs of which were signatories to The Treaty of Waitangi.

*Goal 2: Kia Rongo Ngā Hau e Whā: To Participate as Citizens of the World*

The second of M. Durie's (2001) goals asserts that education is equally about preparing people to actively participate as citizens of the world. It simply recognises that "...Māori children will live in a variety of situations and should be able to move from one to the other with relative ease" (p. 4).

For Te Amokura whānau it is about supporting the children to make links between situations in their bilingual, biliterate, bicognitive and bicultural development and supporting their movement between those situations competently and confidently.

*Goal 3. Kia Ora: To Enjoy Good Health and a High Standard of Living*

The third goal is that of progressing Māori to enjoy good health and a high standard of living. This has been a long time goal of Maoridom. It is established in The Declaration<sup>12</sup> and The Treaty, but is sourced in ancient times. It constitutes the basis upon which Māori first formed alliances with non-Māori in recognition of, and in order to accommodate, western technologies believed to be beneficial to Māori. M. Durie (2001) states,

It makes limited sense only to prepare students for a life in international commerce if living as a Māori must be sacrificed. Similarly, if fluency in te reo Māori has been achieved through education but there is no preparation for work or for participating in a wider society, then a disadvantage has occurred (p.5).

For Te Amokura whānau it is about supporting the children to make the best of both worlds, to open up options and provide the children with the facility to be able to make the choices that will be beneficial not only to themselves, but their whānau and wider whānau.

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<sup>12</sup> The Declaration of Independence of New Zealand was signed and witnessed on 28 October 1835 under designation of the Confederation of United Tribes, recognising Aotearoa's independence and extending Crown protection to the hereditary chiefs and heads of tribes within Aotearoa. The British government agreed to both (Orange, 1989).

The above three goals are to be taken concurrently and highlighted as relevant for Māori. They may be viewed as the *modus operandi* of tino rangatiratanga through the progression or advancement of Māori as Māori, as citizens of the world and Māori communities as healthy communities with its members enjoying the good life and high standards of living.

### *Power Relationships*

In this context of tino rangatiratanga, M. Durie (1998b) expanded on two further important dimensions. The first touches on the dimension of power and control, at individual and group levels. He states:

Maori advancement is about the better self-management of natural resources, greater productivity of Maori land, the active promotion by Maori of good health, a sound education, enhanced usage of Maori language, and decision-making that reflects Maori realities and aspirations (p. 4).

Secondly, advancement is about change. M. Durie refers to cultural fossilisation as inconsistent with the spirit of advancement and argued further that "...even though traditional values and knowledge have important lessons for today and offer some clues for the future, Maori self-determination is not about living in the past" (1998b: 4).

Colonisation has had debilitating effects on Māori society, and has been about the legitimation and maintenance of unequal power relations which privilege some sectors of society over others, reinforced through societal institutions and discourse (Awatere, 1984; Foucault, 1995; Freire, 1972; May, 2001; L. Smith, 1999; Walker, 1990). Any challenge to the centre in terms of Māori regulatory control cannot be devoid of political power. Reversing language shift then has a political aim or arm. Fishman (2000a) raised the issue of the unprecedented reach of globalisation. He also discussed the contradiction that cultural beliefs and interpretations may not only be resistant to globalisation, but, actually reinforced

by the “threat” of globalisation. It is in this resistance space, or encounter to the unprecedented reach of globalisation that comes a form of unprecedented power in response. It is through such emergent practices as Te Kōhanga Reo, which incorporates dynamic and ongoing processes of ‘*cultural negotiation*’ rather than a simple return to, or retrenchment of, past practices, which provide the space to counter past hegemonic practices. Kōhanga Reo are not about isolating ourselves or locking Māori in to a distant past. The internal *tinu rangatiratanga* within cultural institutions and at the point of encounter with mainstream institutions emphasises *negotiated* power-sharing, both through constitutional reform and within new and existing institutions (Fishman, 2000). It is about people existing in relationship with each other and the sharing of and equitable access to resources. Without such power sharing relationships and access to resource that could constitute the economic bases of more self-regulatory collective lives, indigenous people are denied avenues of cultural viability as well (Fishman, 1991).

### *Language as Resource*

Fishman’s (1991) notion of language as a resource assumes that every cultural group should have the right to define its own history and work toward a desired model of its future in accordance with that definition. A. Durie (1998a) adds that Māori values, cultural practices and aspirations determine future directions. Language is the means by which those values, practices and aspirations are clarified and made explicit. That is why the notions of RLS and *tinu rangatiratanga* are important because they provide ideological clarification for the purpose of centralising language and its relationship to identity formation. Within the notion of *tinu rangatiratanga* is the enabling of Māori to self-define, to re-define, to self-determine and to self-realise. On the one hand, it allows Māori to talk, discuss, debate, argue, theorise about things Māori in a Māori way. It is important because it is powerful. On the other hand, language loss due to a shift to a dominant colonising language is disempowerment because of the loss of

ability to self-define and self-realise. Fishman (1991) argued that, without a doubt, "...weakened and endangered languages pertain to cultures that no longer significantly regulate the daily lives of their members" (p.8). Along with language loss we have cultural loss, societal loss and a loss to humankind in a thoroughly dehumanising manner. The following reflective questions were posed by Fishman (cited in Delpit & Dowdy, 2002) and highlight how serious an issue is language loss.

What does the country lose when it loses individuals who are comfortable with themselves, cultures that are authentic to themselves, the capacity to pursue sensitivity and some kind of recognition that one has a purpose in life? What is lost to a country that encourages people to lose their direction in life? (p.2).

Tino rangatiratanga, within this context of reversing language shift, appeals because it is part of a process of re-establishing local options, local control, local hope and local meaning to life (Fishman, 1991). Furthermore, it is conscientising by making public, through praxis, a humanistic, positive and transformative outlook on life, as opposed to a mechanistic and fatalistic one. M. Durie (1998b) similarly suggests it is about Māori solutions to Māori problems and makes the distinction between Māori development and Māori self-determination (tino-rangatiratanga). Both are on about social well-being, cultural identity, a strengthening of economic standing and Māori delivery systems. The point of departure, however, is the control over resource and Māori management or independence from the state. Tino rangatiratanga is both fundamental to and positioned within a kaupapa Māori framework which places much more emphasis on *Māori* control over resources, greater independence from the state and a position of cultural safety (Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori). On the other hand, Māori development is located within an impositional Pākehā framework (Māori in mainstream) where local decision making may not necessarily drive public policy, where dominant hegemonic ideologies and classroom practices have served, in the main, only one segment of our society and from a position of cultural ambivalence which maintains a power imbalance. It is worthwhile noting

M. Durie's qualification, however, when he pointed out that the difference between tino-rangatiratanga and Māori development in terms of how they are played out, can often in reality mean that the difference may not always be that apparent.

In Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo the notion of tino rangatiratanga is about socialising our tamariki into a commitment to a Māori way of living and a Māori way of speaking. The interrelatedness of those two aspects of socialisation in Māori children's self-identification as Māori is part of their growing up experience. According to Gella and Joshua Fishman (personal communication, July, 2000) Māori communities are endangered and this realisation should become just that, a realisation or a dawning recognition rather than a traumatising reality for our children. Therefore, they assert, what children may feel or their commitment is greater because they are co-participants or co-constructionists in an important effort to shape Māori society, to shape Māori lives. We realise that our children are important allies in the regeneration of a community of Māori language speakers. We also realise the conscientisation, resistance and transformative (Freire, 1972) roles of RLS efforts in Te Amokura; but with our children it is important to keep in mind that that role is attended to indirectly. We cannot force into our tamariki the concepts of tino-rangatiratanga, or make them into language activists. We cannot even guarantee that these will be attained indirectly but that is an aspiration.

According to the Fishmans (personal communication, July, 2000) most people do not spend their lives as language planners or language activists but they are going to spend their lives as speakers of something and as members of, hopefully, the Māori community. Therefore the joy of being Māori as well as the responsibility of cultural continuation is interwoven so that the children lead rich, meaningful, creative lives without too much pressure or tension. Being bilingual, of course, is sometimes tension creating as two sets of lives are kept going. We have multiple identities even within both the Māori and Pākehā worlds (Bishop & Glynn, 1999)

and may not want to give up any but the challenge is how we go about working out a way of enabling our children to live as Māori, to participate as citizens of the world, and to enjoy good health and a high standard of living without becoming ideologues, theorising about a Māori way of life and speaking. We want them to live Māori lives whilst mediating rapidly changing Māori (and Pākehā) societies. We realise there is a new order of ‘normalness’ where they may, for example, wish to incorporate Harry Potter into their lives alongside Hatupatu. In our assessment and evaluation of their language we have to take all these aspects of their context into account. Traditionally or in past generations the context was different.

In the pilot study Maata recalled how she, as a toddler, would spend all day with her Koroua in Te Teko (firmly attached to the horse when she was too young to hold on) checking out the local harvests from sunrise to sunset. She recalled:

Koirā te mahi a taku Pāpā...He parau i ngā whenua, i whakatipu kānga - ērā mea katoa...Heoi anō, ka taki haere ana ki ngā whenua nē rā, ana kua haringia e te koroua nei..ka haere ana te koroua, ana kua haere hoki au. Kāre au i mahue... Ka mahi ana ngā hei, kātahi ka whakatākengia nē! Anā, ko te koroua nei nā, ana koirā aku mahi—whai mai au i te koroua nei...Nāku i whakarongo...Āe, ka tangihia e au... ‘Oh, taihoa’ ana ka haere ana māua nē rā. Kua tū māua i ngā toa i Te Teko rā...ana ka hokongia mai e taku koroua he pōtae mō taku māhunga kia kore ai au e wera i te rā...Ka tahuri taku Pāpā ki te parau, ana he rūmaki kumara/riwai...Āe, he nui tonu o ngā mahi i mahingia e ahau i ērā wā. Āe, nō taku koeke haeretanga kua āhua mōhio hoki au ki te miraka kau nē... Ana ko te mahi o aku koeke ka oti ana ngā kānga (pirau - explained process). I pērātia ai anō hoki ngā riwai o mua. Ana ko te ingoa mō tēnā-he kōtero. Ana ka kiringia ngā riwai, ana koirā anō te āhua. Me rau anō ki te wai...Koirā anō ētahi mahi. Ka hauhake riwai, ana kua titirongia ngā riwai e pai ana hei mahi i ērā mahi, hei whakakōtero. Koirā te ingoa o tērā mahi... Kāore anō kē au kia kai noa i tērā kai mō tētahi taima roa.

*Translated: That was what my Pāpā did - cultivate the land, growing corn - all those things...And so, we went together. I was taken – where ever the koroua went, I went. I was not left behind... The hay was stacked - whatever he did, I did. I followed the koroua... It was for me to listen... I cried to go with him and off we went together... One day*

*we stopped at the shops at Te Teko and he bought a hat for me so that I did not get burnt... He cultivated the land, planted kumara and potatoes... I did lots of things in those days. When I grew up I knew how to milk cows... I also learnt how to make rotten corn and potatoes were done like that also in the past. That was called 'kōtero'. I would strip the potatoes and put them in the water... That was another job. As the potatoes were harvested some potatoes were put aside to do that, to make 'kōtero'. That was its name... I haven't eaten that food for a very long time.*

According to Maata practices associated with marae activities these days are different. No one spoke English on the Marae back then. The concept of 'koha' is now commonly thought of as the giving of money, whereas 'koha' in her youth meant more of a communal effort. If there were 'tangihanga', the immediate family would not handle food and so the tangihanga were catered for by the community. The practice of naming people and places has also undergone significant change. For example, Maata pointed out that Kui Maata had five different names—Maata Ramanui, Maata Waiari, Maata Irihana, Maata Hona, Maata Katene. This was for 'whakapapa' (genealogical) and 'whenua tipu' (ancestral land) alliances. The meanings of many words have also changed with different word usage.

I use these examples to illustrate how Maata's Māori world, and mine for that matter, is worlds away from our children's. She certainly did not have the distraction of Pokemon and Dragonball Z, and many other cultural activities are just simply different. Therefore the associated language of those cultural activities has not been lost but perhaps taken on different meaning or purpose. It is a mammoth task, some might say impossible, to regenerate that sort of native language and values in meaningful contexts for our children today. This is especially so when we do not always work and live in the world of Māori and are so demographically spread out. In many respects, we are reconstructing a language and, at the same time, clamouring for space. Language occupies physical space (J. Fishman, personal communication, July 2000) and we are forever competing with the dominant society for space for our language and way

of life. But we want to engender a sense of Maoridom blossoming into thriving Māori communities with adults who take their responsibilities for language and cultural transmission decisively and for handing on to their children those responsibilities.

In terms of further ideological clarification, self-identity is a Māori-via-reo Māori identity but not separated out or set up as a dichotomy to a national identity. It is automatically a part of bicultural/national identity with responsibility essentially resting with Māori. However, the goal of being able to live as Māori also imposes some responsibilities upon the State and its education system to contribute towards the realisation of that goal. M. Durie (2001) commented,

To the extent that the purpose of education is to prepare people for participation in society, it needs to be remembered that preparation for participation in Māori society is also required (p.4).

At Te Amokura we promote te reo Māori regeneration not just for language sake but we keep an eye on the bigger socio-political landscape. According to Freire (1972) teaching is a serious political act, which we must take seriously, not just so that we do not lose the critical edge by getting bogged down with the struggle of it all, but so that we continually reflect on and refine our goals in order to move on. The other reason is so that practitioners/parents in Kōhanga Reo do not become constrained or pigeon holed into certain roles but continue to articulate RLS efforts, more as a resistance to the temptation to default to mainstream ways of operating and speaking than anything else. I always remember the sense of indignation when we were told that we were to provide a service (a narrowly defined one at that) and should not participate in the struggles at the 'iwi' level over land rights. Simply put, tino rangatiratanga is all about taking control of our lives, culturally reconstructing them and greater self-regulation and decision-making over resource, including land. The struggle for greater self-regulation or less State control has often culminated in taking a political stand via rally or protest which can end in tension and conflict at the whānau level as some may fail

to make the wider link between RLS and iwi Māori sociopolitical resistance or simply positioning (creating space) activities.

## **Chapter Summary**

This chapter has overviewed four main reasons for the revernacularisation of te reo Māori as rationale for raising infant children bilingually. Some of the themes or reasons were illustrated with experiences from Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo.

The first theme was the reversal of language shift through the restoration of vernacular functions. The introduction of Fishman's (1991, 2001b) GIDS as an assessment tool was useful as a guide to locate where to target RLS efforts. The focus for te reo Māori RLS efforts on consolidating and securing the intergenerational transmission within the home among the whānau and anchored in the community is located at stage 6 on the GIDS scale. RLS in the context of Aotearoa is synonymous with the promotion of te reo Māori, a threatened minority language, within threatened Māori cultural communities. RLS is not just about language but a shift in the power relations that currently exist as te reo Māori is regenerated—not without a power struggle. RLS is as much a political act with a practical focus, touching on the daily lives of those involved in the movement. Revernacularisation of te reo Māori is as much a result of (perhaps more than) political process than a linguistic process.

The second reason or purpose was that of promoting bilingualism and biculturalism, some benefits, positives and negatives, with a view to increasing awareness about bilingualism, bilingual education, becoming bicultural and documenting some of the wider implications both for Kōhanga Reo and for Aotearoa.

The third theme was the increased cognitive and metacognitive awareness that bilingualism contributes towards. It discussed the multiple perspectives or ways in which bilingual children view and construct their realities and how their construction of reality is different from that of a monolingual child. The important role of print literacy (a metalinguistic function) was overviewed and the nature of the relationship between biliteracy and revernacularisation discussed.

Finally, *tino rangatiratanga* as a purpose for revernacularisation was presented as both an active and reflective component of RLS. With strong links to identity, indigeneity, self-definition and self-decision, *tino rangatiratanga* as a broader construct is about the mediation of the wider contexts on the daily lives of the people living in those contexts. A literal discussion of the meaning of *tino rangatiratanga* led to a discussion of its operationalisation at different levels—at the internal level of the individual and the external level of the sociocultural context, across time frames and spaces, and how they relate to development.

M. Durie's (2001) education framework was overviewed with a focus on *RLS as the linguistic component of tino rangatiratanga or absolute power and control to self-definition and determination*. *Tino rangatiratanga* is thus seen as political in nature, pedagogical in its construct and practical in its implementation. It provides the framework as well as supports the framework. It operates within the framework through RLS, as Māori speakers struggle with the reclamation of vernacular functions. It also operates at a deeper, structural, level in terms of its conscientisation focus and causing a shift in power relations between both partners to Te Tiriti o Waitangi, in a redefinition of that relationship. *Tino rangatiratanga* supports a context where Māori can realise Māori sovereignty by moving competently and confidently in their world from a deep-seated Māori cultural and linguistic base. Te reo Māori is fundamental to Māori culture and a key marker of Māori cultural identity.

Some may perceive tino rangatiratanga to be a 'separatist' political movement among the radical activists. Others, somewhat resignedly, may see it as a means to be able to participate as competent citizens in a global society. I see it as fundamental to laying a sound foundational base for the rebuilding of our Māori whare and a springboard from which our children can fly in whichever direction they may choose. Those children who participate in this movement are more likely to become the future leaders for Maoridom because of that base.

This chapter traversed the literature and identified some of the reasons for raising infant children secure in their own identity, in the knowledge of who they are as Māori as their foundation, and who are able to transition competently and confidently from that foundation into the wider world. The following chapter will identify some of the key methodological research underpinnings of the inquiry in terms of politics, policy, with implications for the ways (method) in which the inquiry itself was conducted.

## CHAPTER THREE

### Ngā Āhuatanga Rangahau

#### **Introduction: Ko te Hōkai o Tōku Tīpuna, a Tāne-nui-a-Rangi**

Philosophical ideas about the nature of our metaphysical worlds (ontological considerations), about how we come to know in the creation of knowledge (epistemological considerations) and the logic behind the methods employed in the search for what can be known (methodological considerations) are important because they form the premises upon which knowledge is acquired and/or created. Within current research approaches there are wide-ranging disputes over paradigms<sup>13</sup> (Denzin, & Lincoln, 1994), how these paradigms are conceptualised and the methods used for their application in sociological and educational research (see, for example, Burman, 1997; Davies, 1988; Walkerdine, 1981). In contrast to the more established positivist paradigm, feminists and indigenous peoples are breaking new ground (see Bishop, 1996; Cooper, 2001; Delpit, 1997; Irwin, 1992; Serjeant, 1993; L. Smith, 1999; Weiner, 1997). This chapter will examine and contrast various paradigmatic prototypes and is in two parts.

Part I contextualizes the study by historically locating it in a neocolonial context. After L. Smith (1999) I will draw on a brief critical reflection of research literature with a view to positioning myself as a Kaupapa Māori researcher in a project that seeks to support those of us committed to, and working towards, reversing language shift through the revernacularisation and maintenance of te reo Māori in Aotearoa. The final section of Part I will be a scoping exercise of some methodological considerations with implications for this study.

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<sup>13</sup> For example positivist, postpositivist, poststructuralist, postmodernist, postcolonialist.

Part II overviews the methods employed in the study. It outlines a design which is emergent and a case study approach to reporting the research outcomes. The context is backgrounded along with some qualitative methods of data collection, its management and analysis.

## **PART I – Some Methodological Considerations**

### *Revernacularisation a Political Struggle*

Language rights are a political issue, not a linguistic one (May, 1999; M. Hohepa, 1999). Skutnabb-Kangas (1995) argued

The political rights or lack of rights of any language cannot be deduced from linguistic considerations. They are part of the societal conditions of the country concerned, and can only be understood in their historical context, by studying the forces which have led to the present sociopolitical division of power and resources in the societies concerned (p. 41).

The following is a consideration of the Aotearoa context which positioned te reo Māori as a minority language as a result of colonisation.

### *Colonialism Alive and Thriving*

According to L. Smith (1999), in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries indigenous knowledges and culture were (and in many regions of the world still are) plundered and exploited, much like raw materials, in the quest for military strength and dominion (see Belich, 1989; Freire, 1972). This quest was one of empire/nation state building (May, 2001). It resulted in a phenomenon commonly known as ‘colonisation’. Colonial exploration usually included the violent dispossession of indigenous people’s cultures (supposedly savage) (Freire, 1972), knowledges and languages (also considered barbaric) lands and resources (which, by virtue of their being sub-human, they were not entitled to anyway, or, in the case of the Aborigine in Australia they were seen as ‘vacant lands’ (terra nullius), where the Aborigine were not even sub-human, culturally they simply did not

exist) (May, 1999), and even artefacts (whakairo and other artistic creations seen as crude and tributes to ‘false’ gods) (see Fishman, 1991; L. Smith, 1999) by the colonisers as a means of exploitation and oppression. As Freire (1972) argued, “Any situation in which A objectively exploits B or hinders his pursuit of self-affirmation as a responsible person is one of oppression...There would be no oppressed had there been no prior situation of violence to establish their subjugation” (p.31). Such violent subjugation was the case here in Aotearoa (see Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, 1994; Arvidson, 2001; King, 1996; Scott, 1975; Vaggioli, 1896/2000). The colonial exploration was usually carried out by white, European men from both religious and secular worlds (McClintock, 1995). Thus the colonial project was about disconnecting indigenous peoples from their histories, their beliefs and spirituality, values and symbols; ways of thinking, feeling, interacting with and constructing the world (see Binney, 1969; Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Fishman, 2001a; L. Smith, 1999). Colonisation in Aotearoa was in support of a new ‘scientific’ *eurocentric* world view concerned with the accumulation of wealth, status and power—no matter what the cost (Awatere, 1984), and putting knowledge about Māori to the use of the colonisers.

In concert with these colonial activities and attitudes was the prevailing methodological paradigm of the time, positivism. According to L. Smith (1999) fundamental to this position was the notion that knowledge (and the people who held that knowledge) was just there, waiting to be ‘discovered’, extracted, appropriated (or misappropriated), packaged and re-distributed. Furthermore, as a consequence of such an approach, Māori knowledge and people became threatened. Māori knowledge was turned into ‘scientific’ knowledge and Māori people became the mere objects of the ‘colonial gaze’. The newly-found, newly created knowledge then became a commodity, to be bought and sold for social, political and economic power. It was used in the public schools system in this country for socio-political purpose—subjugation and control of the ‘natives’ (see Bishop & Glynn, 1999, Chapter 1). L. Smith (1999) argued that this new knowledge was re-presented through the disciplines as being ‘Māori knowledge’ tūturu, Māori history, when only fragments of those re-presentations had any sort

of resemblance to Māori world views, values and beliefs, Māori ways of knowing and Māori ways of doing. Māori ways of speaking were also colonised through the subjugation of te reo Māori, to be replaced by English. This, at times violent, process of colonisation caused a disruption in the intergenerational transmission of Māori language, Māori knowledge and, as a consequence, disrupted Māori lives and Māori societies. The displacement that took place occurred not only in the public sphere (local/regional/national mass media, education and governmental services) but in the private sphere/s of the whānau, hapū and iwi.

The relentless process of colonisation has today become so refined, embedded as it is in the structural fabric of this country. It is difficult to detect and is perceived by many as something that happened in the past—dead and buried. However, that is *not* the case. It is alive and well—still. It is made manifest in the political structure of this country which some political commentators refer to as “the tyranny of the majority”; inscribed on and in the landscape; and on the minds of bodies all who live here in Aotearoa. It is reflected in policy and practice, and impacts daily on the lives of Māori, posing an ongoing threat. The struggle associated with RLS politics and practices in Kōhanga Reo have highlighted these issues for our Kōhanga whānau. In particular just how te reo Māori and the associated values and tradition became threatened has become a dawning reality, but the subtleties and seductive forces which operate to maintain that threat a frustrating ‘normality’. They are insidiously entrenched in the hegemonic beliefs, values, socio-political and economic forces. After L. Smith (1999), attitudes and values are made manifest in questions of;

- *race/culture*, “who is a ‘real’ Māori?” There are measures of full-blooded, half-caste; and, who displays ‘real cultural values’?
- *ontology*; The nature of and assumptions behind the notion of an oral society—“As an ‘oral culture’ should you be looking at issues to do with literacy?”;
- *criteria* used to assess the characteristics of authenticity with questions like “Can you then claim to have a ‘pure’ culture?”;

- *epistemology* such as “Do you think that you would be doing *research*, that you could call it research?”; and
- *methodology*, “Do you think it is fair then that you use tools like a tape recorder, video, as a research tool when doing indigenous research?”

When discussing the current research project and methodology with research colleagues, these were typical of the questions asked of me. They are suggestive of the entrenched colonial attitudes underpinning them. L. Smith (1999) argued that they are designed to fragment Māori definition and they are fractious. Furthermore, ‘academics’ use such terms as ‘authentic’, ‘pure’, as ‘criteria’ to determine who really is indigenous, who is worth saving, who is even worth listening to. Moreover, she argues that there is a very powerful tendency in research to take this argument back to a biological ‘essentialism’ related to race, because the idea of ‘culture’ is much more difficult to define and therefore control. She qualified authenticity as “...a belief that indigenous cultures cannot change, cannot recreate themselves and still claim to be indigenous. Nor can they be complicated, internally diverse or contradictory. Only the West has that privilege” (p.74). Seemingly, Māori did not exist until ‘discovery’ and thereafter Māori people’s lives have been defined, redefined and constructed during the reign of the ‘discoverers’ referred to by Burman (1997) as the ‘anglo-saxon male scientists’. Skutnabb-Kangas (1995) related the reign of these ‘white, middle-class, male’ scientists (whom she called ‘monolingual technical idiots’) to the phenomenon of language shift via “...the domination of one language at the expense of others” (p.40). She termed this phenomenon *linguicism*. There seems to be a yen to want to lock us into that place in space and time of ‘discovery’ by the ‘neocolonialists’. This inquiry aims to challenge that yen and the underlying assumptions of the neocolonial project by examining the power relations that operate to petrify us in time for the purposes of ‘power and control’. That challenge is posed through the reassertion of a Kaupapa Māori approach to research and definition, a Māori-centred approach to policy development, theory and praxis, in a project with humanising aspirations.

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*A Māori-centred Approach—Kaupapa Māori Research*

A growing xenophobic nationalism of late, largely due to issues of immigration (in particular Asians and refugees), land (the latest being 'wāhi tapu' which are sacred or troubled land areas) and language (the administration of English language tests as criteria for entry by prospective immigrants). Māori political representation both at national and local level and the ongoing debate around Te Tiriti o Waitangi also flavour the context and then become entangled as if we Māori are yet another add on, or ethnic (immigrant) minority. What often gets overlooked (and very conveniently too) in the rhetoric are the Māori rights to self-definition, self-determination, self-affirmation, identity and autonomy to lead meaningful lives and to be Māori. These are our tāngata whenua (indigenous people of the land) rights established in Aotearoa when Māori first came to these shores over a thousand of years ago (Walker, 1990) and reaffirmed in The Treaty. Te reo Māori is the first language of this land, but over the last 100 years or so the shift to English has given rise to current concerns among Māori, including many involved in education and research. These concerns can be dealt with. L. Smith (1999) suggests there are a number of issues facing Māori seeking to address Kaupapa Māori research concerns. She states:-

One of the challenges for Māori researchers working in this context has been to retrieve some space—first, some space to convince Māori people of the value of research for Māori; second, to convince the various, fragmented but powerful research communities of the need for greater Māori involvement in the research; and third, to develop approaches and ways of carrying out research which take into account, without being limited by, the legacies of previous research, and the parameters of both previous and current approaches. What is now referred to as Kaupapa Māori approaches to research, or simply as Kaupapa Māori research, is an attempt to retrieve that space and to achieve those general aims (L. Smith, 1999, p. 183).

It is not the focus of this thesis to theorise Kaupapa Māori research concerns to any great depth. That is beyond the scope of this study and has been, and continues to be defined and refined by others working in this field in more indepth analyses (e.g. Bishop & Glynn, 1999; G. Smith, 1997; L. Smith, 1999). My

concern is, given the current status of research in Kōhanga Reo, how do I address these issues in a broad sense in Te Amokura and what do they mean for RLS efforts of te reo Māori and tino rangatiratanga in practice? As a Māori researcher, locating myself as I do in a Māori world, I am part of a community committed to Māori language regeneration with a conviction that our Māori world and word is important. It is important for those of us who self-identify as Māori and who want to live as Maori. That is our rangatiratanga—a right to define who we are and how we want to live our lives. In a sense this research was initiated by my forebears who fought for Māori wellbeing and the advancement of Māori, and its accountability rests with their descendants. In the meantime this study is concerned with the daily lives of Māori who are bridging past tradition and value with contemporary innovation and rapid change. The focus is on real experiences, interactions between real people and the narrative documentation of phenomena that occur in a specific cultural setting.

Within western academia, indigenous students' voices have been overwhelmingly silenced (L. Smith, 1999). Consequently, there has been an element of complicity in that silence, as indigenous students have played by the rules of the game in order to participate, even though such complicity for Māori students is not without tension. It is to this issue of complicity that I shall now briefly turn in my role as a Māori researcher, carrying out research in a Māori-centred space, Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo. I am forever mindful of the ways in which I could, albeit inadvertently, collaborate in self-serving systems and practices with little or no benefit to my iwi. Simply because a research project termed 'kaupapa Māori research', does not necessarily make it so. What are some of the elements of kaupapa Māori research that make it 'Kaupapa Māori'? After M. Hohepa (1999) and G. Smith (1997) kaupapa Māori research not only includes viewing Māori knowledge, values, language, beliefs and practices as valid and legitimate, but it is transformative. Its consequences are a matter of urgency. It is about engaging the gaps, resisting the traps, and effecting change, real change, for the advancement of Māori people. It provides alternative ways of thinking and doing to that of the colonising agenda. It is Māori-centred research, and its findings are relevant and

meaningful to the lived experiences of Māori people. That is, it is critical and connected to Māori peoples' lives. A. Durie (1998a) argues that research should be about the advancement of people—the people whose lives are directly affected by the research. And further, that no longer can it be located in a deficit research model. Therefore, accountability to Māori should be an integral part of the research process from beginning to end. It is also important that we, as Māori researchers, locate ourselves in our own whare (house), dilapidated as it might be with its very foundations weakened, and that we work together towards rebuilding or co-constructing it with an awareness of how it got to be in that state in the first place, and how functional we want it to be for our lives, here and now, and for our futures.

Furthermore, what is equally important for Māori researchers is that the co-construction is grounded in a very real sense of what it is to be Māori, living as Māori in Aotearoa today. According to M. Durie (2001) being Māori is a Māori reality and means being able to have access to a Māori world—access to language, culture, marae, and resources such as land, tikanga, whānau and kaimoana. As a Māori woman researcher it is my whakapapa links which are critical to my self-identification as Māori. It is my Māoritanga inscribed as it is into the landscape, which allows my self-identification to take root—my tūrangawaewae, my indigeneity (M. Durie, 2001). With a central consideration of Kaupapa Māori research being grounded in a Māori world, one can understand why there is a 'rāhui' (research ban) on non-participatory (outsider) research being conducted in Kōhanga Reo and its extension, Kura Kaupapa Māori. The term 'outsider' refers to those who have not had a close association with Kōhanga Reo at the flaxroots level as practitioners, as 'whānau' members, as speakers of the Māori language and as language activists. These issues, particularly that of the power relationship between the researcher and the researched, even when the research does not explicitly claim to speak for or on behalf of others, are difficult to resolve, largely because they are not straightforward issues.

Tiakiwai (2001) examined notions of power in research. In particular she examined how white male western ‘norms’ prevail in the creation of knowledge, and, perhaps more importantly, how research paradigms are still dominated by their patriarchal characteristics, whether they be qualitative or quantitative, for political purpose. Essentially research paradigms are suffering from an epidemic of epistemic mutation where the xenophobic mutants, ensconced as they are, carefully mask the maintenance of their hegemonic power through privilege, propaganda, and pillage as minorities continue to be robbed of any sort of say in the knowledge industry by virtue of demographics. “You are a minority, therefore you don’t count, nor does your language, your culture, your view or your lives” is the underlying premise. This notion is cautiously and cleverly cloaked in democratic law (“te kahukura o Ingarangi”), and reflected in mainstream educational policy and practice. According to Skutnabb-Kangas (1995) it is because somebody has to do the “shitwork”. She says “[t]herefore minority education needs to be racist and linguicist, in order to force the great-grandchildren of the slaves to continue to take the shitwork” (p.55). Kaupapa Māori research seeks to shift the balance of power. It does so by destroying what Tiakiwai (2001) refers to as the liberal myth of a common culture thus altering the rules by which the knowledge game is played, much to the chagrin of those who previously set the rules. One needs only to listen to mainstream talk-back radio in Aotearoa to witness abhorrence to such rule changes.

For the purposes of this project, I have located myself within a Māori research paradigm which resists the colonial project and rejects positivism with its measurement and quantification methodologies. I am a Māori Researcher, employing a Kaupapa Māori research methodology. Why? Because I am Māori who values research, Māori involvement in research, the ongoing development of Māori research approaches and intent on reclaiming the space that is Māori for research which will ultimately assist to transform in helpful ways the lives of those involved.

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*Phenomenological/Ethnographic Research*

The basic phenomenological tenet is the notion of intersubjectivity (Bruner, 1996). That is, we are not merely objects placed here but living subjects and as such we interact with and create our worlds (Holstein & Gubrium, 1994). These subjectivist assumptions about the nature of lived experience and social order, from a phenomenological perspective, are derived from Husserl's argument (cited in Holstein & Gubrium, 1994) that we, as subjects creating our worlds, are not passive receptacles. He argued that it is human consciousness that actively constitutes the objects of experience, which make up the world of everyday life. It is these objects of experience, which are the basis of phenomenological inquiry and how people make meaning out of them. This approach focuses on understanding the meaning that events have for participants to the study (Maykut & Morehouse, 1998). Shutz (cited in Holstein & Gubrium, 1994) noted that individuals approach life worlds, or experiences, with a *stock of knowledge* made up of socially constructed categories of meaning or commonsense. These stocks of knowledge (ideas, images, theories, values and attitudes) are applied to aspects of experience in order to make further meaning. That is, "Stocks of knowledge are resources with which persons interpret experience, grasp the intentions and motivations of others, achieve intersubjective understandings, and coordinate actions" (Holstein & Gubrium, 1994, p. 263). These stocks of knowledge then become the general and flexible guidelines for understanding and interpreting experience and it is through language that these interpretations and meanings are transmitted. Lee (1997) refers to this as *patternment*, the relationship between *isolates of experience* and their operationalisation in language, *isolates of meaning*.

A methodological orientation, therefore, to phenomenological inquiry is concerned with the relationship between language use and the objects of experience. In other words, inquiry into the relationship between what people say (narrative) and their experiences in contexts (cultural activities) is the basis of phenomenology. Narrative can be both the phenomenon and the method in the

sense that it can be applied to the nature of the experience by way of inquiry into narratives, or the way the (narrative) inquiry is undertaken, that is narrative inquiry (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Goodfellow, 1998). Bishop referred to this duality as ‘collaborative storytelling’ (1996).

To contrast the phenomenological nature of inquiry with other methodologies, Mishler (1986) noted that narrative analysts do not have the option of ‘distancing’ themselves from what people are saying in perhaps the way a survey analyst might do. Data collection is contextualised and the process of developing interpretations and theories follows. The raw data can be a description of a phenomenon, built up into a theory by conceptualising patterns or comparing and contrasting incidents across data (Glaser, 1992). The patterns that begin to emerge are theory-building patterns and in qualitative research inquiry it is important that the phenomena that begin to emerge are not predetermined by the researcher (Maykut, & Morehouse, 1998). So too in Kaupapa Māori research inquiry, which is concerned with the imposition of the agenda, interests and concerns of the researcher (Bishop, 1996).

The term ethnography is controversial (Atkinson, 1994). For some it is a philosophy. For others it is a method to be used. Ethnographic research is cultural research. According to Maykut and Morehouse (1998) research efforts aimed at describing aspects of culture are ethnographic, and it is from the early ethnographers that we have learned much about participant observations into the lives of people in diverse settings. Ethnographic methods rely substantially or partly on ‘participant observation’ (Atkinson, 1994). In practical terms ethnography has the following features

A strong emphasis on exploring the nature of a particular phenomenon, rather than setting out to test a hypothesis; a tendency to work with unstructured data, that is data that has not been coded at the point of collection; investigation of a small number of cases, perhaps just one, to get to the core of the matter; interpretive analysis of data that involves explicit interpretation of meanings and

functions mainly through verbal descriptions and explanations (with any quantitative component taking a subordinate role).

There are, however, some elements of ethnographic research which need further critique. The claim that data can be unstructured is problematic. Data does not just drop out of the sky. All data is collected for some purpose and it is this purposefulness that can identify the political nature of the research (Bishop, 1996). The collection of data that involves 'explicit interpretation of meaning' is also problematic. Who is doing the interpreting of meaning and from what world-view or value base? The term *participant observation* has also been controversial. After Atkinson (1994) a distinction is sometimes made between the participant observer and non-participant observer, but along with that distinction is the debatable suggestion or assumption that the non-participant observer plays no recognised role at all. More importantly, however, are issues to do with *who* the participant observer is, that is whether the participant observer is known by the participants; how much is known by the participants about the research; the orientation of the researchers in terms of whether they consider themselves to be an insider or outsider to the research process, again a major concern to the Kaupapa Māori researcher.

Tiakiwai (2001) uses the notions of emic (insider) research and etic (outsider) research in an attempt to differentiate between the two perspectives. Emic research is simply framed 'insider as belonging' and the research process being an attempt to get to the core of the matter as no outsider could ever possibly do. The emic perspective is largely due to the perceptive understanding that the participant researcher already has of the context. Because the emic researcher is describing their own known, lived, felt experiences and not somebody else's, there is an automatic connectedness to the concerns of the research project and therefore its outcomes. Whereas the etic researcher would, at the outset of the research project, have to ask questions of concern.

This idea can be illustrated by a conversation that I had with my eight-year-old son, Te Piki Kōtuku, at 11.00 p.m. one night traveling in a car from Rotoiti to Hamilton. Most everyone had gone to sleep, but Piki was very contemplative. He commenced this conversation with “Mum, I can see things, and I can feel things”. I said “What do you feel?” He said “Well, this is my skin and it is Piki Kōtuku (pinching his skin) and you can’t change that”. I said, “Yes, that’s absolutely right”. He said “And that is because of my great, great, great grandmother”. I said “Yes, yes, yes” (feeling very excited by his observations). He said “And James, (his Pākehā friend at school) is called James. And James lives in his skin and he cannot change that”. I kept responding with “Yes”, encouraging this conversation. Then he asked “Can James feel what I feel”? I had to think hard about how to respond. I responded along these lines that depending on the context, who is there, what was happening, he may feel similar things to Piki, but that Piki was unique and only he could feel what he feels. He said “That’s why I am good at everything I do, if I play basketball I am strong and I know I will get the ball. I am good at everything and it’s like this, this is me and my name is Piki and memory and there’s Piki and memory, and Piki and memory and Piki and memory” with a layering motion as he spoke. Of course I recognised instantly, and was excited by, the concepts Te Piki Kōtuku was referring to and where his searching questions were heading, in terms of his identity, his memories and naming with whakapapa connections, and his life. But what would an outsider make of such a conversation?

However, whilst there are some common understandings from an emic/insider perspective that could be assumed, there are some that could not. Māori researchers still have to be reflective in terms of their own histories, educational backgrounds and issues to do with being ‘colonised’ which may problematise the researcher’s insider/outsider positioning, and which, according to Tiakiwai (2001) could be compounded by issues of tribal affiliation, gender, age, cultural knowledge, fluency or otherwise in te reo Māori and the extent to which they participate in te ao Māori (he kanohi kitea).

Atkinson (1994) further argued that *all* social research is a form of participant observation because we cannot study the social world without being part of it. Moreover, a problem that still lies at the heart of modern ethnography is the methodological problem of whether and how other cultures can be understood. Much of the thinking in recent years has been based on a rejection of the scientific methodology of positivism. Many ethnographers continue to argue that they endeavour to capture the true nature of human social behaviour, whatever that may be, and further, that quantitative sociological research is seen as located in artificial domains (in the case of experiments) and/or a study on what people say (in the case of survey research) rather than what they do in real settings. This is because, some ethnographers would argue, quantitative researchers seek to reduce meaning to what is 'observable' or explicit in precise and clear terms, thus treating social phenomena as more clearly defined, certain and static than it is (Atkinson, 1994). However, quantitative methods are not totally rejected by ethnographers, simply the idea that these methods are the 'most important' and 'only legitimate' ones. This implies more a rejection of positivism.

Atkinson (1994) also pointed out that one of the major criticisms of ethnography has been its reification of social phenomena. Put another way, ethnography considers *explanations* (theory, abstract ideas or concepts) as real or concrete (*reality*) when they are not. Expertise over the people involved in the study is claimed and issues to do with power and control are not taken into account. Moreover, Atkinson (1994) claims that ethnographic research represents a more subtle form of control than quantitative research because it is able to get closer to the people studied in order to discover the details of their behaviour and experience. The hierarchical relationship between the researcher and the researched certainly implies an unequal balance of power, with the author as 'authority' and researched as 'searched'—lacking authority. Generally it is the author who makes decisions about how, where, and when to study, whose voice is represented in the final product and who the final product will benefit. So there is a need for ethnographers to think about this relationship. The debate is whether the main goal of ethnographic research is the production of (whose) knowledge,

or for practical goals in terms of highlighting issues to do with power. Put another way, is it about the pursuit and production of knowledge as an academic exercise or is it about knowledge production with a view to encouraging action for social change? It is this paradox that lies at the heart of the ethnographic endeavour. As a result, the emphasis is on the need for research that is designed to address and contribute to the solution of practical problems as defined by those people who face the problems for social change.

The distinctive characteristics of both phenomenological and ethnographical methodological inquiry, with emphases on intersubjectivity; the nature of particular phenomena in particular context/s; working with, and interpretive analysis of, unstructured data to make meaning and encouragement of action for social change; researcher orientation and relationship to the researched, are consistent with characteristics of Kaupapa Māori research methodology. There are added issues of complexity when one considers researching in sites of struggle, in a field which has not had sufficient time to consolidate, is clamouring for space and highly controversial both in the context of Aotearoa and the wider context of indigenous rights. How they are reconciled can only be judged in the course of time as to their efficacy for the purposes of Māori-centred research, their usefulness in terms of RLS efforts and the benefits that may accrue to te iwi Māori in the advancement of the kaupapa of tino rangatiratanga.

### *Some Qualitative Research Issues*

According to Lincoln and Denzin (1994) qualitative research is many things at the same time. "It is multiparadigmatic in focus. Its practitioners are...committed to the naturalistic perspective and to the interpretive understanding of human experience" (p. 576). Its centre lies in the commitment to study the world always from the subjective world-view or from the perspective of the interacting individual, as much as possible. Its practitioners must value context sensitivities and complexities (Maykut & Morehouse, 1998).

Some criticisms of qualitative research have been that it is 'not scientific' and therefore 'only exploratory', that it is personal, full of bias and therefore not a sound 'theory-building' approach. However, as argued by Denzin and Lincoln (1994) "Qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researchers and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry" (p.4). It follows then that qualitative researchers are more likely to confront constraints of the everyday 'world-in-action' or the social world, in which their findings are embedded. It is co-operative, rather than unilateral, holistic rather than reductionist and located in natural settings rather than artificial laboratories (Reason & Hawkins, 1988). Qualitative research is descriptive in nature (Hutchinson, 1997; Reason & Hawkins, 1988); has depth, searches for perspective and operates under the fundamental principle of providing a framework within which participants can express their understandings in their own words (Maykut & Morehouse, 1998; Patton, 1987). It relies on interesting, in-depth, results of single cases rather than the statistically generalised results of many cases (Cziko, 1992). Finally, qualitative research is rigorous and its analysis and findings require intellectual craftsmanship (Goodfellow, 1998).

In short, qualitative research looks to understand the situations 'constructed' by *people* and not to create *norms, truths or facts*. Therefore it is *not* about creating sound scientific theories or orthodoxies, which lack any sort of relevance or applicability to people's lived experiences. A case in point is that of '*norm-creation*' (normalisation) documented by Burman (1997) in the invention of the human child. According to Burman (1997) this is associated with the rise of the discipline known as *developmental psychology*. She argued that this rise was associated with the rise of science and that it participated particularly in the social movement of *Darwinism*. This movement was concerned with comparison, regulation and control of individuals, groups of people and societies. It was also closely associated with the development of tools of mental measurement, and the classification of abilities in the establishment of norms. Consequently, when young children did not match up to those *norms* that it created, the discourses that

followed were more about shaping and controlling women's lives who were in turn to shape the lives of children so that they did begin to match up to the *norms*. However, it is contended that what these norms did was create a lot of *abnormal* people, for socio-political purpose—the rise and reign of 'anglo-saxon, male scientists'.

According to McGee-Brown (1995) multiple methods of data collection mostly lead to multiple interpretations and/or even competing or inconsistent interpretations from different persons or the same person at different times. In fact, they are merely seen as attempts to reauthorise a text's authority in a postpositivist moment. Words such as trustworthiness, grounding, naturalistic, plausibility, truth and relevance and their methodological implications represent attempts to thicken and contextualise a work's grounding in the external empirical world. As such they allow the text to bear witness to its own validity or to sell itself. Furthermore, according to Denzin and Lincoln (1994) these can now be interpreted as a text's desire to assert its own power over the reader in an 'authoritative' way.

This Kaupapa Māori research project is not about creating norms. It is about taking one step towards searching out how those of us committed and working towards the revernacularisation and maintenance of te reo Māori in Aotearoa are getting on, how the children themselves make sense of their world through interactions with others and their environment and how we can provide culturally rich learning environments for our children, enabling them to live as Māori.

### *Scoping Research with Implications for the Project*

Revernacularisation of te reo Māori and Māori medium education in Aotearoa is still in its infancy. Other studies into threatened indigenous languages in early childhood research are scarce. Hickey's (1997) research into early immersion education in Ireland looked into the broader issues of the impact of Naionrai (early immersion centres) on the homes in terms of increased use of Irish in the

homes, issues to do with infrastructure, policy, training, professional development, promotion, resourcing, support for parents, language proficiency of parents and staff, planning and pedagogy. Although Hickey's research included a language focus with children, data collection was by means of comprehension, production, imitation and cognitive tests with a view to ascertaining levels of communicative ability in the Irish language and the overall benefits of bilingual education. Her findings were that the Naionraí took the acquisition of Irish a step closer to home or to the 'intergenerational nexus', because of the strong parental involvement, and that there was a positive correlation between an additive bilingual programme and the developing linguistic and cognitive competence of young children. In terms of future research, Hickey called for further qualitative studies of interaction patterns between children as well as child/adult patterns which would have relevance for assessments.

Arnberg's (1987) study into raising bilingual children also stressed the importance of the home in the revernacularisation of indigenous languages. She argued for the importance of being bilingual, and stressed that at the individual level bilingualism provided a wider range of options, breadth of thinking and rich exposure to two cultures. Arnberg (1987) differentiated between language mixing and code switching—the former being the mixing of both languages within the same utterance before the child is aware of having two languages and the latter being a conscious switching of a word or phrase between languages. Code switching was seen as an advantage and that if bilingualism was to be considered important, then ways of helping children to become aware of their bilingualism and this importance needed to be developed, through talking about the differences between languages.

Saunders' (1988) study of his own English/German bilingual children living in Australia, provided some interesting anecdotal accounts based on careful observations, recordings of actual dialogues and video recordings of observations in a case study. In terms of vocabulary testing, Saunders argued that bilingual children frequently perform more poorly than monolingual children because they

have to learn two different labels for everything, one for each language. This reduces the frequency with which they will hear a particular word in either language. However, Saunders argued that they perform poorer because they are normally tested in one language only. That does not mean that they have fewer concepts as is commonly thought. If both languages were taken into account, then vocabulary performance is improved significantly and the bilingual child may outperform the monolingual child. Overall, if there is a reasonable degree of balance between bilingual children's two languages, then their overall intellectual development is in many ways enhanced. Moreover, he too conceded that most of the problems associated with bilingualism are really social or cultural and not linguistic. They are brought about by hostile or discriminatory attitudes of the majority group in society to minority languages, especially if they are indigenous. Saunders further argued that the most successful language acquisition programmes were those which used a 'child-centred' mode of interaction and where adults actively worked at sustaining conversations with children by being responsive to the children's contributions to conversations. Furthermore, he maintained that this style of speaking with children was crucial where there were few role models in terms of native speakers of the target language.

Saunders' (1988) chapter on biliteracy was of particular interest. He argued that just speaking a minority language is not enough to assure its maintenance. Through books children are exposed to a wider range of language and to a greater richness of language than individuals could produce. This is particularly important for children whose main input in a minority language comes from either the parents or kaiako in Kōhanga Reo. In terms of children's attitudes to being bilingual, to see if they showed a preference for one or other language, Saunders (1988) found there were periods of reluctance to speak the target language, German, not because it was difficult but when they were tired or upset or sick of it. He researched when the children were more likely to use German or English and found that they were more reluctant to speak German after intensive contact with English—holidays or even weekends. In discussion with other practitioners in Kōhanga Reo over the years, we have noticed that these patterns are similar to

those found in children attending Kōhanga Reo. Saunders also argued that while grammatical accuracy must not be discarded as a goal, it should never take precedence over having the children using the language spontaneously and naturally for everyday communication.

M. Hohepa's (1999) doctoral research was a sociocultural approach drawing heavily on Bruner's (1996) notion of intersubjectivity. M. Hohepa's study into Māori language regeneration and whānau bookreading practices also stressed the importance of whānau (especially parents) in the Māori cultural and linguistic agenda regarding regeneration, maintenance and growth of te reo Māori. She saw the lack of reinforcement of te reo Māori in the home as an obstacle and that there was a danger of te reo Māori becoming something essentially learned and used in school settings, rather than a living language of the community. Further, that regeneration was more than just a linguistic task, but cultural, social, political and educational tasks. Having commonly accepted the role of the family as central for meaningful intervention to occur, the degree of institutional recognition and support it received also affected the viability of a language. According to M. Hohepa (1999), bilingualism and biliteracy go hand in hand. The number of functions and uses of a language are diminished if one is not able to read and write in that language. Likewise, the status of the language is lowered.

According to M. Hohepa (1999) literacy is an integral part of family life in this country, as it is in schools and communities, business and political life. In these contexts the use of a threatened indigenous language can be promoted in written as well as oral forms. In terms of the rationalisation of literacy into an 'oral' culture, she saw it merely as a tool, another technology where meaning was represented symbolically in the form of print literacy, to be accommodated into a framework which comprised other traditions of symbolisation and representing meaning. She described literacy as a practice in itself, defined by the social and cultural meanings and activities to which it is put when she stated "...literacy is a social achievement, an outcome of cultural creation and recreation. It is acquired through participation in socially organised activities that sometimes involve

writing systems” (p. 72). M. Hohepa (1999) suggested that individual literacy was the ability to participate in such social organised activities with particular language forms, including written language. Of significance is the idea that literacy is linked to identity, that as children learned the mechanics of reading and writing in Māori, they also developed cultural, political and historical understandings of what it meant to be Māori, as well as a vision of what it means for the future.

M. Hohepa (1999) supported the idea that book reading provided a strong context for teaching and learning a language. Children not only draw on their own knowledge base or understandings when interpreting text, but text helps to build understandings and knowledge from which the world is interpreted. The behaviours that she believed needed to be modelled during story reading were commenting about the story plot and encouraging children to relate it to their own experiences. She went on to collect data in book-reading activities with Kura Kaupapa Māori children (older school-aged children) in their homes with parents. The behaviours encouraged during these activities can be linked to Bruner’s (1996) notion of theory of mind, where children are encouraged to think about their own thinking and the thinking and actions of others. They can do this, for example, by recalling past events. The overall research findings suggested that whānau bookreading was able to facilitate the language revernacularisation goal of te reo Māori becoming a living community language by becoming a satisfying, natural and user-friendly aspect of everyday home life.

Royal-Tangaere’s (1997) study focused on the transference of cultural values through language from a total-immersion Māori language Kōhanga Reo to the home, and the rich interactions which occurred within the home. This account of her child’s development within Māori-medium settings is a description of the sorts of activities, the language used, their patterns and formats, which were transferred between those settings and the home. The ways in which scaffolds were provided to support this development were also described and how they contributed to the well-being of the child and the development of cultural mores.

Some of the common fears that many of us have working in this area of language regeneration were also overviewed but in the end, it is a commitment to raising a generation of Māori who are confident in who they are as Māori, able to walk in the wider world and in charge of their lives, that provided the impetus to advance them as a new Māori-speaking generation.

### *Implications for the Current Project*

In practical terms the implication of the above methodological review and scoping, with strong emphases on exploring the nature of particular phenomenon in contexts, rather than setting out to test a hypothesis, is critical to this project because they attempt to get to the core of the matter. There is a tendency to work with raw data or data that has not been coded at the point of collection, an investigation of a small number of cases (in the case of this inquiry just one case study) and an interpretive analysis of data that involves explicit interpretation of meanings and functions mainly through verbal descriptions and explanations (Atkinson, 1994). These are all consistent with this particular Kaupapa Māori research project. The added emphasis on the need for research that is designed to address and contribute to the solution of practical concerns and to add to what is already known is also critical.

There is no single relationship between ethnography and any given theoretical perspective (Atkinson, 1994) but rather, the distinctive characteristics of ethnographic work have been differentially appealed to by different disciplines and tendencies as is the case here with this Kaupapa Māori Research project. Recent moves towards applied ethnographers using a more collaborative research approach (Atkinson, 1994) and the belief that its impact would be greater if *practitioners* were themselves involved in the research process lends added support to an ‘insider’ approach, and consequently to my involvement in this particular research project as a Māori researcher, as a theorist, as a practitioner and finally as a parent, and member of, the research community, Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo. The practice and the theory come together in a blend. This move

has come about because of a suggestion that more collaborative approaches, with practitioners and researchers, would have more practical relevance to the participants and thus the findings more likely to be taken ‘on board’ as a result of such involvement. M. Hohepa’s (1999) observation that to date there has been very little formal research into the language development of young children in Māori medium settings is of concern. She also observed that there has been very little documentation of language regeneration studies of threatened indigenous languages internationally.

There is a growing body of literature, however, in the area of the benefits of bilingualism *per se*, and the raising of children bilingually, biliterally (see Arnberg, 1987; Baker, 1993; Cummins, 1984, 1995b; Fishman, 2001b; Hickey, 1997; M. Hohepa, 1999; Saunders, 1988; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1995; Spolsky, 1989; Waite, 1992a) biculturally and ‘bilaterally’, or, as referred to by Carr (1998) ‘bi-mondial’ (an ability to operate in two worlds). They are of relevance to this study which is situated in the bilingual setting of Kōhanga Reo where the focus is the revernacularisation of reo Māori among bilingual children in the bicultural context of Aotearoa.

Arnberg’s (1987) and Saunders’ (1988) studies discuss the benefits of bilingualism and the pedagogical implications. They also stress the importance of the home in the revernacularisation process whilst M. Hohepa’s (1999) and Royal-Tangaere’s (1997) studies localise the issues and go further to champion the socio-cultural and political nature of language learning in Kaupapa Māori settings and its significance for the future of Māori children in Aotearoa.

This research project is a case study of a particular community-based Kōhanga Reo, designed to address and contribute to what is known about the phenomenon of language learning in cultural contexts and its revernacularisation in Aotearoa. It seeks to address issues surrounding Māori language shift from the vernacular to an endangered language; from a thriving, living community language to a struggling, low status, minority language. It also seeks to contribute to what is

known about the actual mechanics of reversing that language shift in the regeneration of te reo Māori as a vernacular with young children. Hopefully it will be useful to those of us committed to the philosophy, principles and practices of tino rangatiratanga. Finally, it seeks to contribute to what is known about revernacularisation through its regeneration as a first language, as a native language, within a Kōhanga Reo community of teachers, learners and speakers of te reo Māori, rather than the teaching and learning of te reo Māori as a second language—as a subject in school.

Te Reo Māori is endangered. A case study approach provides a real opportunity to get in there and do something about its endangerment from the inside in a collaboration of effort. In that respect it is insider (emic) research. On the one hand this study is exploratory and totally unstructured. On the other I am acutely aware, as a participant practitioner, an ‘insider’, I have to live with the consequences of any decisions I may make, for myself, my children, and, more importantly, other people’s children. I am inquiring into an area that is very uncertain, at the least, and highly controversial. How the research project is designed, therefore, is of the utmost importance.

## **PART II Research Design**

### *An Emergent Design*

The dominant approach to studying children’s sociolinguistic development is through conducting production, vocabulary and comprehension tests (Hickey, 1997). Such an approach was considered to be inappropriate for this project because such testing may provide information about what children *do in a test* situation in (usually) one linguistic code (Saunders, 1988), but not about what children can do, or *understand in the real world*. Testing creates an *artificial* domain, whereas the aim of this research is to document the relationship between language shift and its reversal through its regeneration as a first language, as a native language in a specific cultural context or domain of Kōhanga Reo. This is

a kaupapa Māori research project that seeks to operationalise the rangatiratanga of the sense-making processes of the children involved. This project is a study of what happens at the interactional level, as the meanings are generated, of the purposes and functions of language use rather than the type of language that is generated, i.e., how many nouns or verbs and so on. It is a study of what is happening in conversations among children, in interactions with adults and taking into account a specific cultural context.

Crystal (1987) commented that studies at the interactional level are important because they seek to capture the everyday spoken language where there is no pressure to speak carefully or precisely. Rather, they are studies of meaningful contexts, where children are just talking, telling jokes, arguing, getting irritable or losing their temper, telling tales, getting confused, forgetting what they want to say, hesitating, making grammatical mistakes, interrupting, talking at the same time, switching codes, manipulating the rules of language to suit themselves, contradicting, failing to understand, expressing opinions, exercising power and so on. These are all real situations in real, meaningful contexts. The word 'contexts' is operational here. In a test-type situation the context, and meanings generated within, can be invisibilised, as if it did not count, or even exist, in the artificial clinical domain of a testing situation. When looking at issues to do with RLS, domain is central, whether it be situational (setting), temporal, topical or people related. RLS is about increasing all domains, situational (physical and metaphysical), topical and people domains. Therefore, domain is an important construct. For the purposes of this inquiry I refer to the concept of domains in a broad sense to cover any or all of the situations without necessarily referring to the various aspects into which it can be assigned. However, in the main, I use the concept of domain to refer to physical or people domains.

My approach, developed after Maykut and Morehouse (1998), was designed to document what could be learned about the phenomenon of Māori language regeneration. In the pilot I set out, in part, to explore some of the ideas that children have about their own language development (metalinguistics); how they

integrated their understandings of the two languages (domains); and how any metalinguistic awareness may have translated into a metacognitive awareness (metacognition). That study suggested that there were four major areas in need of further research. They were to question the notion of bilingualism and what sense or meaning the children are making of their own experiences; question the notion of literacy along with some pedagogical implications for Kōhanga Reo; question what context shifting means from school to home; and question the socio-cultural implications of Māori language regeneration.

From the pilot I decided to focus on a few children in context within Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo, which would include others who were a part of that context. This would enable an in depth study of the cultural setting, context or domain, the people in that setting, the ways in which they interacted with one another and the setting, the languages they used and the meanings they generated. Part of that decision was also a pragmatic one, for ease of data collection. A video was set up in a permanent position where the participant children spent a large part of the day so that it became part of the setting in an unobtrusive manner. A purposive participant selection then will allow the space and time to explore the entire context as much as is practicable given the aforementioned constraints on the scope of the project.

#### *A Case Study Approach to Reporting Research Outcomes*

Case study as a method relies on documenting what happens at the interactional level, interviewing, observing and document analysis (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). After gaining entry into the research field, conducting a pilot, identifying some possible themes, gathering further information, and exploring further possibilities, I used some (not all) of the themes for discussion. Excerpts from the actual data will be woven in, thus letting the data speak for itself.

Many researchers using this approach to inquiry support the weaving in of actual data, thereby giving the reader sufficient information for further understanding of

the story that is being told (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Maykut & Morehouse, 1998; Reason & Hawkins, 1988). McGee-Brown (1995) argued that there could be a correspondence between life as lived and experienced and life as it is told, but the inquirer should never assume the correspondence, nor fail to make the distinction. A qualitative evaluator can never know directly what children or parents or learning facilitators are experiencing, feeling, or thinking without observing, asking and listening to what they have to say. During the video-recorded observations in Kōhanga Reo, the participants were encouraged to speak for themselves and it those interactions incorporated into the study, not merely interpretations. Often where there is ambiguity or uncertainty in the interactions, the children are encouraged to explain the intended meaning, or to clarify. Where appropriate, these are included in the data and used as part of the analysis. This approach is more about letting their words tell their own story as much as possible, within a wider story thus reducing the likelihood of misinterpretation. Even so, this wider story, or narrative, is told with the idea that it is not a fixed static account, it is not an orthodox or about creating generalisations or norms. It is a story and even stories can be retold with new interpretations and different perspectives.

The theme of the study is revernacularisation of te reo Māori in-culture, in particular looking at what constitutes a revernacularisation process. What is revernacularisation? What are the phenomena that might operate against successful language revernacularisation? What does revernacularisation mean in practical terms for children in Kōhanga Reo and children in their homes? What are the mechanics of revernacularisation?

### *The Context*

The Kaupapa Māori setting of Kōhanga Reo was chosen as the place where I would be able to explore the phenomenon of Māori language regeneration because it is a context where Māori language is being spoken. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985) the main difference between qualitative and quantitative research is

that of context. Rather than taking participants out of their situations or context, you embed the research in their situations. Rogoff (1990) also argued for the embedded nature of development and research within a context or contexts. It is the context which provides an interwoven web of relations, which form the “fabric of meaning” (p.27). A small community-based Kōhanga Reo was chosen as the context because the Kōhanga Reo whānau have a commitment to revernacularisation of te reo Māori and are enthusiastic about research being done in this field.

### *Qualitative Methods of Data Collection*

Much of the data in this project is people’s words and actions, requiring methods of collection that captured those words and actions. After McDonald (1987) and McMillan and Meade (1985) observations were made with the use of video, field-notes, through informal discussions with the children and adults, and in consideration of the context. McGee-Brown (1995) argued that researcher subjectivity and biases do affect the research outcomes. These need to be offset, to the degree possible, with methodological tools such as triangulation—field notes, in-depth interviews, participant observations, establishing an audit trail, video-taped data and so on. Triangulation of data collection is particularly useful in balancing the limitations of data collection with young children. For example, I could use data from direct observations in the Kōhanga Reo, in conjunction with discussion/s with others and the children involved in the context of Kōhanga Reo in order to clarify any confusing data and expand my understanding of what was going on. It has been argued that triangulation or multiple methods are no real guarantee of minimising researcher bias, subjectivity or verification of the data and findings but the idea of seeking children’s explanations for their meaning, rather than my imposing meanings on the situation, helps to reduce possible misinterpretations and researcher bias.

*Emphasis on 'Human-as-Instrument'*

Attention is drawn here to the key role I play as the researcher in this Kaupapa Māori research and a parent of one of the participant children. As both the collector of the data and the processor of that data, or the "...culler of meaning from that data" (Maykut & Morehouse, 1998, p.46), I have an added responsibility of drawing from the data the salient features as they become obvious to myself as researcher. In this way I become the instrument of data collection (McGee-Brown, 1995). As stated, initially the approach had a broad focus. As the project progressed various themes emerged and some decisions therefore were made as to the selection of data, possible interpretations, which areas to fore-ground, and which areas to back-ground. I become the instrument of selection, in terms of what I choose to transcribe and document for discussion. It is important, therefore, to bear in mind the understandings and meanings which I bring to the situation of the setting and the ways in which those understandings support, or maybe do not support, the research process. What decisions do I make as to which data I consider important, and why? These were by no means simple decisions. I did make selections, for purposes previously determined and documented. However, this did not affect the internal validity the children's meanings had because I decided to capture, with the use of video, notes and observations, what was said in the child/child and child/adult interactions within the cultural context of Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo. This produced a thick text or transcript of children working in action and interaction with each other, with adults, with the environment and with the use of various resources. Each video was dated and transcribed.

*A Purposive Sample*

The purposeful selection of child participants was based on the possibility that each participant, a suitably competent and confident speaker of te reo Māori, would expand the variability of the sample in the data that was collected. Each of

the three child participants<sup>14</sup> had a parent/s involved in the day to day operations of the Kōhanga Reo, all of whom had communicative competency in te reo Māori. Interactions with parents and other siblings were also recorded.

Hinepau was enrolled into Kōhanga Reo at birth in late 1995 where she remained until the end of 2001. She is the youngest child of five, all of whom have attended Kōhanga Reo. Her first language is te reo Māori, although she is a confident speaker of English. Every opportunity is afforded her to spend time with her native speaking kaumātua. Both her parents, although competent speakers of te reo Māori, are second language learners. Her home language is a mixture of Māori and English as her elder siblings have chosen to use English with her, whilst her parents speak mainly te reo Māori.

Awatea was enrolled into Kōhanga Reo 1998 although she did not start attending regularly until 1999 when she was three years old. At that time she was a first language speaker of te reo Māori, having been supported in the home by both her parents, and extended whānau all of whom are second language learners of te reo Māori. Awatea, the eldest in her whānau, lives in an extended whānau situation. She has an older cousin who is a native speaker of Māori, a younger brother and younger cousin who were developing language users at the time of the study. Te reo Māori is the dominant language of the home.

Toko, the youngest of the research participants, was enrolled into Kōhanga Reo in 1998 when he was two years old. He is the eldest of a family of two children and arrived at Kōhanga Reo with English as his first and preferred language. At that time both his parents were beginning to learn te reo Māori, his father becoming actively involved on a day to day basis and introducing more Māori language into the home. English was the dominant language of the home.

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<sup>14</sup> Hinepau, Awatea and Toko were aged 5.7 years, 5.5 years and 4.9 years respectively at the commencement of data collection.

*Adults*

Adults involved in the day to day running of the Kōhanga Reo included the parents of the three child participants, and parents of other tamariki/mokopuna who attended the Kōhanga Reo. Pāpā Poihipi (Kaiako), a staff member and also first cousin to one of the child participants, also attended the Kōhanga Reo on a daily basis. He has been a member of Te Amokura whānau since leaving high school in 1996. Having had five years experience teaching in Kōhanga Reo and a very competent speaker of te reo Māori, he was completing his training as a Māori language teacher at the time of this study.

*Procedures with the Use of Nud\*ist*

Qualitative research requires a combination of very different skills to enable the efficient management of data. It requires the researcher to get very close to the data and combined with detailed knowledge and sensitive exploration, as well as an ability to create abstractions, see patterns and interrogate emerging patterns from the data (QSR Nud\*ist, 1997).

The data collected and transcribed initially appeared very indistinct and unstructured as it was merely verbatim transcription with no analysis. At that stage I was processing the data but there was no set direction. On completion of the data transcription, I sequenced the data into events or episodes and prepared it for importation into Nud\*ist (computer software) according to the Nud\*ist guidelines (QSR Nud\*ist, 1997). With the assistance of Nud\*ist as a tool for storing, managing, describing and exploring the unstructured raw data, I began to explore the data. I was able to do this without losing sight of the context and its complexities by conducting searches which created reports. These reports included the sub-header showing which activity the interactions were from, any observations and descriptions made of the activity at the time of transcription. The explorations via text searches allowed me to theorise the data by being able to organise it, generate ideas, locate patterns and identify possible themes. Search results were saved as further data for exploration and a refinement of themes.

Once the themes were organised links were made to the literature reviews, also stored in Nud\*ist, and further reviews carried out.

Using Nud\*ist allowed me to stay close to the data and context, whilst theorising data by:

- supporting early analysis and moving between data collection and analysis;
- documenting ideas as they occurred and moving them into an internal filing system that I created to develop themes;
- shifting, altering, merging and creating subcategories within the themes for clarification of concepts as they emerged;
- combining several data sources in the one project (raw data, literature reviews, observations and search results) thus appending and building up material on a theme.

### *Searching the Text to Generate Themes*

The transcription phase included a description of the event and/or any observations, what was being said and the name/s of the speaker/s. A new speaker was accorded a new line. In other words, a keyboard return was used to differentiate between speakers and events. Each return signified a 'text unit'. The text search ability was used to auto-code all the text from an activity at a node for that search. That simply means the search results were labelled and stored in a place called a 'node'. For example, the first search carried out in this way on code-switching. That search generated a 10-page report with 168 units (out of a total of 4519) on code switching. That is 168 examples of code switching. A percentage was also reported of the incidence of that particular phenomenon in relation to the total text. In the case of code switching it was 3.7%. However, percentages were not analysed in the results as they were of little relevance to this research project. Of more relevance was the purpose to which those switches were put. Included in each text unit was a reference to the context in which the

code switch occurred, and any observations. That report was code named 'code switch' and stored. The data results include a small number of examples of each of the purposes to which the code switch was put, e.g. whether it was to fill a lexical gap, consequential or anticipational code switching and so on. Many searches generating the remaining categories were conducted in order to shift, alter, merge and create sub-categories in the generation and selection of themes for inclusion and analysis in the results and discussion sections.

## **Chapter Summary**

The main aim of this study is to gain a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of revernacularisation of te reo Māori. The methodological considerations, in the first instance, were more about my positioning as a Kaupapa Māori researcher, and the Māori research methods I would employ in this project. As a Kaupapa Māori researcher the whole notion of benefit has been turned around so that the research project is about collective benefits within a wider kaupapa of Māori advancement, whether it is linguistically, spiritually, psychologically, culturally, politically or socio-economically. Kaupapa Māori researchers in this area must, at the very least, be grounded in a real sense in what it is to be Māori, to live as Māori, with a responsibility and accountability to Māori communities.

The inquiry is phenomenological in nature and qualitative in form. This research path is not bounded by discipline, knowledge or orthodoxy but bounded by authority taken from connectedness (whakapapa Māori with RLS aspiration), purpose (RLS via the revernacularisation of te reo Māori), usefulness (for use in Kōhanga Reo and Māori communities). A case study approach to this inquiry, relying on interactions and observations, is exploratory and tied to meaningful situations and domains. If we are to survive as a unique, national indigenous people with a distinct Māori identity, then we must continue to struggle for the space, and for the right, to define what that identity means and the impact on our daily lives.

As previously mentioned, the theme of the study is revernacularisation of te reo Māori in-culture, in particular; what is revernacularisation? What does RLS and revernacularisation mean in practical terms for te iwi Māori and in the lives of children attending Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo? What are the mechanics of revernacularisation?

This chapter has emphasised the notion of exploring a particular phenomenon in a specific cultural context, rather than setting out to test a hypothesis, or conduct tests on children, in an attempt to get to the heart of the matter. The inclination to work with raw data in an investigation of a case study or small number of cases and an interpretive analysis of data primarily through verbal descriptions and explanations from a credit perspective is consistent with Kaupapa Māori research. The added emphasis on the need for research that is designed to address and contribute to what is already known and the solution of practical concerns in order to advance kaupapa Māori and iwi Māori is also fundamental to this inquiry.

Chapter two discussed Kōhanga reo policy of whānau involvement to provide the nexus between home and Te Amokura in the interests of intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori as a vernacular for RLS purposes. That is the primary concern of Kōhanga Reo. Kōhanga Reo is a nation-wide phenomenon. It is a Māori people's movement. Every Kōhanga Reo in the country has been established outside of government or institutional structure and stricture although subsequent funding, once minimum standards have been reached, is now available. However, sometimes those externally imposed (Ministry of Education) standards and policies have cut across or undermined the central philosophy (and policy) in Kōhanga Reo of whānau involvement and intergenerational transmission primarily because of a lack of understanding of RLS ideology and policy and what it means in practice. Fishman (1991) stated that the RLS goal which *must* be attained, if Māori language socialisation of our young people is to have a secure post-Kōhanga Reo base in everyday life, is the parental involvement and *relinguification* being made a prerequisite for Kōhanga Reo participation. For

Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo, policy formulation has developed along these lines to support the practice.

Chapters four and five will examine further these supports, whānau participation (in the children's interactions and role of the adults in language regeneration), the relinguification goal of the adults (through ongoing ideological clarification, research, professional development, practice and reflection) and the practices in the revernacularising environment, the community of Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo. Chapter four will explore some of the themes generated by the data itself and the functional relationships to language revernacularisation. Using actual examples of children's talk, both among themselves and with adults, it will examine the central theme of creating a community of Māori language users. Chapter five will continue to examine these themes using further examples of conversations, and some developments relating to the broader goals of RLS.

# CHAPTER FOUR

## RESULTS I

*He aha te mea nui?*  
*He Tangata! He Tangata!*  
*He Tangata! Hī!*

**Introduction: I riro iho ai ngā kete o te Wānanga, ko te kete Tūāuri...**

This chapter analyses the data on the three case study children's interactions at Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo. Firstly, some data collection procedures and handling will be briefly overviewed, together with the generation of themes and notes on transcriptions. The data results are then presented with some discussion and conclusions. After Fishman (1996) this chapter will finally explore aspects of the relationship between language and culture and the importance for reversing language shift (RLS). It will articulate culturally what is lost when a language is lost in terms of the indexical relationship of language and culture.

### **Data Collection Procedures**

The approach in this study was open-ended with data being unstructured at the point of collection. Initially I was going to collect samples of children's language only in the context of Kōhanga Reo. After discussion with my Kōhanga Reo colleagues, we decided that the whole conversation (including adult talk) would be documented and become part of the data, not just the children's talk. Rather than remove the children and their talk from the cultural context by setting up an artificial domain, it was decided that the study remain embedded in the context of Kōhanga Reo so that the data collection process would become part of the daily activity or life of the Kōhanga Reo. This would allow for the documentation of

the cultural context to its fullest extent. It meant the gathering of data from both children and adults in their day-to-day interactions. The data itself is included in the analyses.

In order to achieve a measure of depth of understanding of the particular phenomenon of revernacularisation with a few participants in Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo data was collected over a period of twelve weeks on an average of three days per week for approximately two hours a day during the morning sessions through the use of a video. It was decided to video record at around the same time each day when the children were engaged in similar types of activities rich in children's and adult's talk. A total of approximately 60 hours of primary data was collected (and transcribed) via video and secondary data via observations. The observational data consisted of diary notes. Some anecdotal records, which fall outside of the study data, were noted for one of the study children (Hinepau). They have also been included periodically as part of the study. Using examples of children's talk, and adult talk, annotations will set the scene and provide an interpretative account of what was happening and the meanings generated in the recorded interactions.

### *Children's Interactions in Kōhanga Reo Generating Themes*

[C]ulture shapes mind, that it provides us with the toolkit by which we construct not only our worlds but our very conceptions of our selves and our powers...You cannot understand mental activity unless you take into account the cultural setting and its resources, the very things that give mind its shape and scope. Learning, remembering, talking, imagining: all of them are made possible by participating in a culture (Bruner, 1996, preface).

Children's interactions and the role of the adults in increasing vernacular functions in the creation of a cultural community of Māori language users are central to the kaupapa of RLS and Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo. They form the documentation of this study. According to Rogoff et al. (2001) it is important for children to be supported to express their ideas and opinions, because it encourages them to really think about the topic and makes them more comfortable offering a

different opinion on something. Children also learn to speak, to listen and to interact with others in contexts which are meaningful to them and for meaningful social purposes. Children learn to make meaning out of life through their use of language in very specific cultural contexts, in the kinds of activities they participate in, through interactions with others in their homes and in their communities.

As discussed in the pilot to this study, the theoretical orientation underpinning this project is a social constructionist perspective which emphasises the child in the cultural environment in relationships with others. In this perspective, the child is given the possibility of creating her or his own alternative constructions or ideas about the world before encountering scientifically accepted ones (Dahlberg et al., 1999). The image of the rich child, competent, confident and active, is central to this perspective and operating within his or her own zone of proximal development (ZPD), this being the distance between the child's immediate developmental needs and her or his changing developmental state (Vygotsky, 1978). Adults and more expert peers are located within the learning environment of children, involved in activities and interacting with them and providing the necessary supportive scaffolds enabling them to gain a deepening understanding of the activities, language and culture. Language use in these cultural activities is central to the forming of intersubjective relationships and how language is used in Te Amokura is the subject of the following themes.

After transcribing the data and then examining it, themes were developed according to the social purpose for which the children were using language. For example, I would interpret the data in terms of what was happening in the interaction as a purpose—commanding, explaining, being sarcastic and so on. I then broadly grouped the purposes into themes and selected the major themes with a view to documentation. Analysis was supported with the use of the Nud\*ist (computer software) qualitative tool as discussed in chapter three under the heading *Searching the Text to Generate Themes*. In the transcripts there were many examples of the various social purposes for which the children used

language. In the interests of brevity, however, just one example of each purpose in the data was selected and is included in the analysis. Further, only the relevant portion of the applicable data illustrating a particular purpose has been selected (not the whole conversation) and is included as part of the study in the following examples of the children's interactions. The themes and examples, taken direct from the data, illustrate children using language for a range of meaningful social purposes including children being powerful in social interactions with others in the cultural context of Kōhanga Reo.

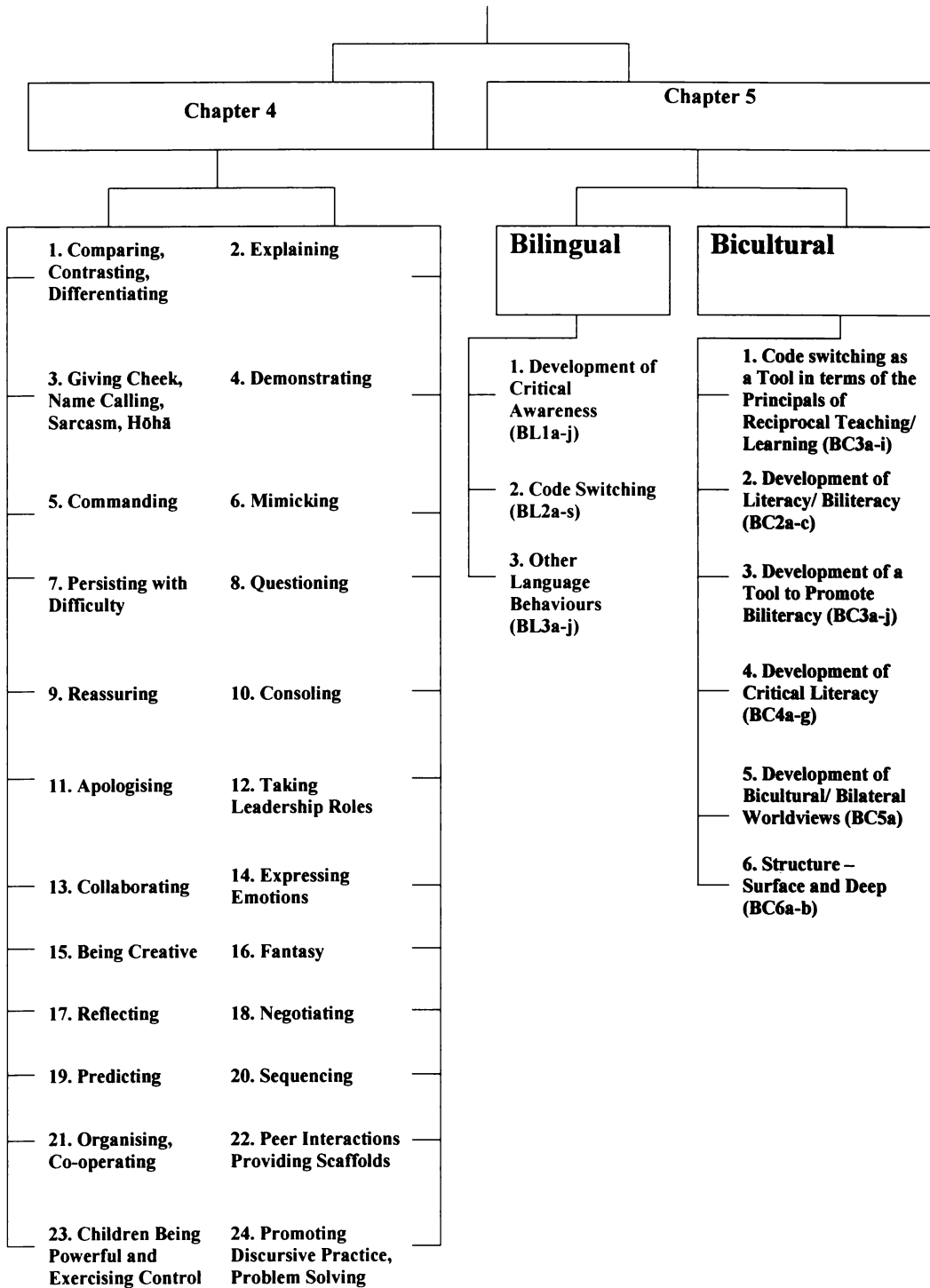
1. Comparing/Contrasting/Differentiating
2. Explaining
3. Giving cheek/name calling/sarcasm/hōhā
4. Demonstrating
5. Commanding
6. Mimicking
7. Persisting with Difficulty
8. Questioning
9. Reassuring
10. Consoling
11. Apologising
12. Taking Leadership Roles
13. Collaborating
14. Expressing emotions
15. Being Creative
16. Fantasy
17. Reflecting
18. Negotiating
19. Predicting
20. Sequencing
21. Organising/Co-operating
22. Peer Interactions Providing Scaffolds
23. Children Being Powerful and Exercising Control
24. Promoting Discursive Practice, Problem Solving

## **Overview of Data in Chapters Four and Five – Reversing Language Shift**

Figure 2 is an overview of the data analysis contained in this and the following chapters. Chapter four explores the indexical relationship between te reo Māori and its use in the cultural context of Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo. It overviews 24 categories of language used in every day communicative functions. Chapter five explores the data with a view to the cultural and symbolic relationships of language and culture and issues touching upon promoting bilingualism and biculturalism.

## Data in Chapters 4 and 5

### Reversing Language Shift



**Figure 2**

### *Notes on Transcriptions of Conversations*

Within the transcriptions, to convey pace and tone of the conversations, the following conventions have been employed:

*Incompleteness.* Where an utterance is either left incomplete or interrupted it is indicated with a dash (—).

*Simultaneous speech.* When two or more people are speaking at once, or when the conversation is inaudible, it is indicated with a series of dots (...).

*Names.* Actual names have been substituted in the transcripts with the use of pseudonyms. All adults (parents and teachers) appear as Kaiako.

*Insertions into the data.* When a name of someone other than the three case study children has appeared in the conversations, I have substituted the name with an X.

*Annotations.* No transcript of conversations can ever capture all the features of the interaction to which the participants in the conversation respond. Therefore annotations which clarify the situational context or nonverbal actions are also included in or alongside the transcripts in italicised writing in brackets.

*Description of data.* Where necessary, there is a brief discussion about the theme together with some detailing of the situational context of the data, why it was selected and what it is illustrating.

*Order of data.* There is no particular order in the documentation of the themes.

*Documentation of themes.* The categories for analysis (see Figure 2) are by no means exhaustive. They are selected, in the main, because they are commonly occurring across the data or representative of a theme.

*Raw data.* The raw data is included in the language examples as verbatim text. That is they are examples of the actual language used by Māori language learning adults and children which have not been edited.<sup>15</sup>

## 1. Comparing/Contrasting/Differentiating

Selective comparison, contrasting or differentiation involve children realising the similarities and dissimilarities between new information and information acquired in the past and using these relations to better understand a current object, expression or event. A number of sub-purposes can be seen in the following examples—comparing, contrasting and differentiating.

### *Example 1a - Comparing*

When engaging with story books the children often discussed and compared the illustrations. In the following extract they compared the illustrations across different versions of the same story.

**Toko:** Ka huna a Hatupatu.

**Hinepau:** He tino roa ana maikuku, he roa ngā matimati hoki. (*Hinepau gets book to show picture of Kurungaituku*).

**Awatea:** Ēngari he iti noa iho tērā atu Hatupatu (*comparing the image in one book with the image in another book*).

**Hinepau:** He nui ake ia. Kāore a ia i peke.

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<sup>15</sup> The study does not set out to assess the linguistic and grammatical ‘correctness’ of language learners’ utterances, but rather sets out to examine them in the context of RLS.

**Example 1b - Contrasting**

When playing games the children were constantly monitoring their position in relation to each other by contrasting amounts scored.

- Hinepau:** Toru Māmā.
- Awatea:** Me a koe.
- Toko:** Kao.
- Awatea:** Ā, kei a koe tahi, rua, toru (*reinstates her position*).
- Hinepau:** (*Hinepau checks*). Āe. (*Whispers and points*) tahi, rua, toru.
- Awatea:** Āe, tahi, rua, toru, look (*points now*) tahi, rua, toru (*then counts others*) tahi, rua, toru (*whilst pointing*).
- Toko:** Kao, ko ēnei tahi, rua, toru, whā rima ono (*contrasting amounts*).

**Example 1c - Differentiating**

This example, where two children are involved in a peer-reading session, highlights how Hinepau discussed the illustrations to differentiate between activities.

- Toko:** He pai ki ahau te kanikani (*Discussion re: picture*)
- Hinepau:** Rite tonu ki te ballet hoki.
- Toko:** Ballet?
- Hinepau:** Āe.
- Hinepau:** Tērā te hīkoi.
- Toko:** Pēnā koutou?
- Hinepau:** Āe – (*points to next picture*) – ko tēnā te hīkoi (*differentiating for Toko, predicting that he might misinterpret the picture as*

*it looks like a boy running – to make the task a little easier for him).*

**Toko:** He aha?

**Hinepau:** Kāore i te oma, ko te hīkoi – arā (*whilst pointing to first word to return to activity*).

## 2. Explaining

Children who are able to actively engage in conversation, to offer their views, their opinions, to explain, to listen to other children's (and adult's) views and expressions are involving themselves in a communicating process which is key to collaborative learning and teaching, to sharing curriculum ideas, taking responsibility for their own learning and the learning of others, and sharing in a co-operative endeavour to build a community of speakers and learners.

### *Example 2a*

In this extract, the children and teacher are playing 'Kei a Wai' game, a game that encourages and reinforces oral language development through the introduction of new vocabulary. Within the construct of the game there is room for children to demonstrate their understanding by active listening, explaining their understanding of what is going on, and to discuss any consequences as in the following sequence.

**Hinepau:** ...a Hamuera ki te tō. Kei a wai?

**Toko:** Kei a au.

**Kaiako:** Āe, titiro! Kei ahau hoki. Titiro ki te kōhua. Kei hea te hānara o te kōhua?  
Arā, kua huri ki roto. Mēnā ka waiho ki waho, ka haere mai a Hamuera, ka taka te kōhua ki runga i tana waewae, tana ūpoko rānei, ka aha?

**Hinepau:** Ka wera tōna māhunga. Me haere ki te wai.

- Kaiako:** Nō reira kua e haere ki te taha o te tō, te umu rānei, nā te mea kei te tō tēnei, kei te umu.
- Awatea:** Kei te wera hoki (*game continues*)...
- Kaiako:** Te wera hoki, nō reira kia tūpatō.
- Hinepau:** Mēnā ka taka ka pai tonu tō māhunga. Mēnā kāore e mau, ka ānini tō māhunga.
- Kaiako:** Āe.

### 3. Giving Cheek/Name Calling/Sarcasm/Hōhā

According to Rogoff et al. (2001) learning involves problem solving whether the problems are in the children's interpersonal communications or academic ones. It is important that children learn to freely express themselves and their emotions and also learn to respect the feelings and emotions of others in their community. When problems arise in their interpersonal communications prime learning and teaching opportunities arise as the children are guided into ways of solving those problems. The following four examples illustrate a range of ways in which children are using language to express their views.

#### *Example 3a - Giving Cheek*

Toko is working at a similar game as the other children with the teacher when a challenge is laid down to enter into a race. Toko does not respond, when another child says in a cheeky song song voice:

- Hinepau:** Pīti māua a Toko, nē nē nē nē nē.
- Toko:** Mahi anō koutou e Hinepau, ka pīti au i a koutou.

**Example 3b - Name calling.**

In the next example Awatea has pronounced Hinepau's name in a manner which she has heard Pākehā people mispronounce it. She is aware of Hinepau's sensitivity to having her name being mispronounced. Hinepau has even anglicised it for the benefit of those who find it difficult to pronounce her name correctly. Awatea then adds a comment in the extract below which shows how Hinepau enters into the communication.

**Awatea:** Ko tērā tō ingoa nē!

**Hinepau:** Ko tō ingoa ko Awatea pihongi tiko tiko tiko  
nē?

**Toko:** Ko tō ingoa ko X, nē. *(The children then launch in to a name calling argument which turns to insults eventually leading to a problem-solving discussion).*

**Example 3c - Sarcasm**

The following is an example of impatience, with a touch of sarcasm, as Awatea waits to have one of her squares covered in a bingo-like game. Awatea's comment is an exaggeration, albeit effective in the actions that followed, as she shows her impatience with the length of time it is taking and her comment along the lines—It's nearly night time!

**Hinepau:** Tatari kia pānui! He pai ki a ...

**Kaiako:** Ngā tama...

**Hinepau:** Ki te whiua, kei a wai? *(Toko puts his hand up).* Kei a Toko.

**Awatea:** He tata pō!

**Example 3d – Hōhā**

In the following extract Hinepau is becoming hōhā with a teina who is following her around. The Kaiako observes her hōhā and has a conversation to ascertain what the problem is and why it is a problem. The child explains.

**Kaiako:** Kia noho pātata mai ki ahau (*Hinepau* complies).

**Kaiako:** Anā?

**Hinepau:** Anā, ka tino haere mai (*moves*).

**Kaiako:** Ēngari ko tōna tikanga kia noho pātata mai ki a au hei pū rawa tō kite atu i te pukapuka.

**Hinepau:** Ēngari ka haere mai ki te whāia au.

**Kaiako:** Ēngari he raru tērā?

**Hinepau:** (*nods*).

**Kaiako:** He aha e pērā ai?

**Hinepau:** Tērā te take e hia au ki te noho ki te...ki te noho au ki taku ake wāhanga and kāore au e hiahia tētahi tangata ki te neke ki te taha o au, kātahi ka neke au, kātahi ka haere mai tētahi tangata, ēngari ka hōhā, kātahi ka kōhete au, kātahi ka haere i a au –kātahi ka kī haere atu.

**Kaiako:** Nē?

**Hinepau:** Āe tērā te take.

**4. Demonstrating**

Children use the verbal pro-forms pēnei, pēnā, pērā (like this, like that, like that there) in order to demonstrate what they are talking about. The following three extracts show how the children regularly used these words to demonstrate

meaning. In Example 4a Hinepau is telling a child not to talk in a certain way. Example 4b is showing size. Example 4c is demonstrating how a character in a book looks. Example 4d shows Awatea justifying her actions by demonstrating what is acceptable.

**Example 4a**

- Awatea:** Kāre ahau he pouaka.  
**Hinepau:** Āe, (*indicating*).  
**Kaiako:** Ka taea e koutou te pānui ēnei.  
**Hinepau:** Kaua e kī, ka amuamu mai kia *pēnei*.  
 (*Demonstrates*). “Kāre ahau he pouaka”.  
 Kaua ka *pēnā*.

**Example 4b**

- Awatea:** Mēnā ka nui tōna waha, ka taea e ia te kai.  
**Hinepau:** Mēnā he momona tōna waha, ka *pēnei*.  
 (*Demonstrates*). Ka taea te kai tana  
 māhunga, tōna ringā, tōna...

**Example 4c**

- Hinepau:** Whaea Mere, ka taea e koe te tiki rātou? Ka  
 pēnei rātou.  
**Kaiako:** Haere mai ki kōnei noho ai.  
**Awatea:** Ka taea te *pērā* mēnā e hiahia ana (*puts  
 hands in front of lens*).

**Example 4d**

**Awatea:** Ka pēnei (*stands to get book*). I kite koe kia pēnei te Hatupatu (*flicking through Hatupatu book*). Kia pēnei te Hatupatu (*pointing to picture. Hinepau stands to have a closer look at the book and nods*). Ka pēnei koe, ka pēnei a Kurungaituku aaaagggggghhhhhh! (*Demonstrates*). Ka pērā.

**5. Commanding**

The children use imperatives in order to give commands. In the following extracts, they use ‘me’, ‘kia’, the prefixed ‘whakahokia’ and the suffixed ‘purua’. The word ‘kaua’ is used to negate an imperative.

**Example 5a**

**Hinepau:** Me tuhi koe, kia tere!

**Example 5b**

**Hinepau:** Āe, whakahokia!

**Example 5c**

**Toko:** Purua ki mua!

**Example 5d**

**Awatea:** Kaua, kaua e huna!

## 6. Mimicking

### *Example 6a*

In response to being asked to move along quickly the following interaction took place highlighting how the children mimic one another.

- Toko:** Kāore au e pīrangi.
- Awatea:** Ka pērā koe i ngā wā katoa nē – Alright, alright (*mimicking Toko's tone of voice*).
- Toko:** Tēnei, me mutu tēnei
- Hinepau:** Alright, alright. Ka pēnā koe mēnā ka pūrei i te kēmu.

## 7. Persisting with difficulty

### *Example 7a*

Children are playing with mathematics games. Hinepau is trying to figure out how the game goes. She is keen to unravel this problem for herself and articulates as much when an offer to assist is turned down.

- Hinepau:** Ooooh, me mahi anō?
- Kaiako:** Mahi anō, me mahi tāua tahi.
- Hinepau:** Ah, nā, kao, kei te pai.
- Kaiako:** Kei te mōhio koe?
- Hinepau:** Me ako au.
- Awatea:** Ka pēnei? (*Shows her work*). Ka pēnei ahau.

## 8. Questioning - to seek clarification

Children use language for gaining and sharing information and for clarifying information through questioning.

### *Example 8a*

In Example 8a Hinepau has asked what the microphone is for. She questions the kaiako who responds with a technological explanation. In the end the child attaches the microphone to herself for her use.

**Hinepau:** He aha tēnei (*referring to microphone*)?

**Kaiako:** He uruoro.

**Hinepau:** Ka uruoro i te aha?

**Kaiako:** Ka uru te oro ki roto.

**Hinepau:** Tō puku?

**Kaiako:** Te oro - Me pēnei te kōrero, ka uru ki roto i te uruoro.

**Hinepau:** He aha te uruoro?

**Kaiako:** Koinei – me kōrero koe ki roto.

**Hinepau:** (*speaking into the microphone*) Kia ora.

**Kaiako:** Arā ka uru te oro ka mau te mea rā, te kāmera.

**Toko:** Ki te rorohiko?

**Hinepau:** Te uruoro – he aha te uruoro? (*Still examining the microphone*).

**Kaiako:** Ka uru te oro ki roto – te oro o tō reo, te oro rānei o te patopato rorohiko.

**Hinepau:** Te patopato rorohiko (*Hinepau talks into microphone*).

**Kaiako:** Āe. Tērā pea ka taea te waiho, ki te mau i a koe  
(pins microphone on Hinepau). Ka pai! Ēngari,  
kia kua e raweke nē.

**Hinepau:** Pai! (*Child has a very satisfied look because she is wearing the microphone*).

### **Example 8b**

The following example illustrates Hinepau questioning the kaiako regarding the meaning of a specific word used by the kaiako.

**Kaiako:** Ēngari, e hiahia ana ki te kōrero e pā ana ki ngā  
āhuatanga o te haumarū.

**Hinepau:** OK- he aha tēnā kupu?

## **9. Reassuring**

According to Rogoff et al. (2001), establishing a climate together as a community of learners, where the children value the contributions each other has to make, where the environment is made safe for the children to be able to offer any of their contributions and feel comfortable emotionally and physically is important. This fosters an atmosphere where the children can be themselves, ask questions, make mistakes and learn from them. They value mutual respect, which develops as the community recognises thoughtfulness and responsible behaviour. Learning and friendships are encouraged. The following examples show the children encouraging and supporting one another.

### **Example 9a**

The children are looking for pictures that depict the weather. Toko is very happy when the illustration that he has drawn is chosen. Another child gives positive feedback by making a comment about his drawing also.

- Awatea:** He rangi rā.  
**Toko:** Oh yay.  
**Hinepau:** He rangi paki.  
**Awatea:** Oh Toko, he pai ki ahau tō mea.  
**Toko:** He kōwhai te rā.

### *Example 9b*

In the following interaction, an older child is praising Toko's efforts.

- Toko:** Kei ahau, kei ahau.  
**Hinepau:** Kaaaaaa pai!

### *Example 9c*

In the following interaction one of the children reassures the other participants of the non-competitive nature of a game (similar to 'bingo'), so as to give them a sense of inclusion even if they are behind.

- Hinepau:** Ka pai! E rua noa iho (*indicated two on her fingers*) kei te toe. Ka pai. Kei te pai Toko, kāre he reihi. Kāre he reihi. Kei a X tēnei.  
**Awatea:** Kei ahau.  
**Hinepau:** Ka pai, kei a Awatea e rua hoki (*praising Awatea as she progresses*).  
**Awatea:** Kei te wini koe Toko (*Awatea reassures Toko so that he does not feel excluded or threatened by the competition*).

### *Example 9d*

A teina constantly seeks reassurance from a tuakana who usually supports with a nod, a smile or the verbal 'Āe'.

- Toko:** He Māori te Kōhanga nē rā Hinepau?  
**Hinepau:** Āe.  
**Kaiako:** He aha?  
**Toko:** Me kōrero Māori i roto i te Kōhanga, me  
kōrero Māori ki roto nei, nē rā Hinepau?  
**Hinepau:** Āe.

## 10. Consoling

### *Example 10a - Consoling*

The children and kaiako are playing ‘Kei a wai?’ when the following conversation illustrates children being concerned for the kaiako who is losing in the game, a common phenomenon when playing this game.

- Hinepau:** Kei a wai?  
**Toko:** Ooooo, kei a au.  
**Kaiako:** (*Ki a Awatea*) Hunaia!  
**Hinepau:** Kei te pai X, kei a koe e toru (*concerned  
Kaiako does not have many squares  
covered*).  
**Kaiako:** Kei te pai, kei te pai, kei te harikoa ahau.  
Ahakoa kāore au e wini ana, ehara tērā te  
raru nui.  
**Awatea:** Kei te harikoa ahau hoki.  
**Hinepau:** Ooooh, kei a Toko tēnei.

**Example 10b – Offering Assistance**

In the following selection the tuakana offers to assist the teina who was asked to fill the cup right up with flour and was having difficulty with the task.

**Hinepau:** He iti. (*Meaning it was not quite full. Then Hinepau offers to help fill it up by scooping flour in her hand to fill it*). Māku e āwhina.

**Awatea:** Āe, pērā noa iho. (*Cup is filled. Child being assisted looks for reassurance by commenting*) Titiro! [*the cup is full*].

**11. Apologising**

Although traditionally there was no vocabulary for the act of apologising, because to seek atonement one would normally carry out an act rather than merely use words, the concept for the purposes of showing politeness has crept into common usage with the use of the word ‘aroha’.

**Example 11a**

In this extract Awatea apologises because she has both her own and Hinepau’s pencils.

**Awatea:** Aroha mai Hinepau, kei a au e rua.

**Example 11b**

Children go to play a game of fish with blocks. Toko has gone to put the poi away and returns late so he apologises.

**Toko:** Koutou, aroha mai, kāore au e oma.

## 12. Taking Leadership Roles

According to M. Durie (2001), Māori education requires leadership within the classroom, within the community and into the wider corridors of Māori development. Rogoff et al. (2001) discussed the notion of ‘in your face learning’ which commenced when children first became immersed in a project. As children work collaboratively, brainstorm, take the initiative, make decisions, plan, discuss, question, analyse, organise and problem-solve they are learning. They learn as they participate in real meaningful events. Rogoff et al. argued “In later life, children who have had years of experience designing and creating curriculum feel adept in decision making, problem solving, and creative thinking (p.102)”. They learn how to ‘own’ their own learning. The following examples, 12a-e and 13a-b provide examples of children taking leadership roles in terms of curriculum, decision making, showing initiative, organising, questioning, discussing, adjudicating explaining and collaborating.

### *Example 12a*

The following interaction highlights how the children took the initiative to commence the programme in the absence of the kaiako with a comment to that effect when the kaiako entered and the Kaiako’s response.

- Kaiako:** Ka pai - hoki mai ki te whāriki. Ka  
whakamārama i te maramataka ināianei.
- Hinepau:** I mahi kē mātou.
- Kaiako:** Mmmmm, ka taea te kite...ki a mātou.

### *Example 12b*

The children in the following extract took turns at taking on a leadership role. The Kaiako has called the children in. Awatea tells Toko to go and get his chair. Then she observes he is busy and tells him to carry on with his work. The Kaiako calls again, whereupon Toko responds. He then proudly shows Awatea with the comment that he was able to achieve what he set out. Another child comes along

stating she is the Kaiako and tells Toko to get a move on. The ‘real’ Kaiako steps in and says yes, we are all waiting. Toko is adamant and insists that he completes his task, at which time he is given the space to do so.

**Awatea:** Tiki tō tūru Toko. Oh, me mahi koe tonu tērā mea.

**Toko:** Ka mahi tēnei mea.

**Kaiako:** Haere mai, haere mai ki kōnei.

**Toko:** Kao, ka mahi au i tēnei (*showing Awatea*).  
See, ka taea e au te mahi...

**Kaiako:** Haere mai Toko, ka mahi i te maramataka.

**Hinepau:** Māku e mahi. Kia tere Toko, ko au a Kaiako.

**Kaiako:** Kia tere mai Toko, kei te tatari mātou ki a koe.

**Toko:** Kāore au e pīrangi tēnei, me mutu tēnei.

### *Example 12c*

During the following storybook session with the Kaiako and children, the Kaiako asked what they thought might happen next, and then continued reading. Toko asked why that had happened and the response was one encouraging Toko to tell everyone what he thought about the matter. At this time Hinepau, who was keen to have the story continue, responded and made the decision to halt all questioning until the end of the book with a comment that when the book had been read, they could all ask questions. Added to this comment was the hint of a rhetorical question at the end, to the effect “Is that alright”? The desired response of concurrence was given, and the activity continued. This is a fine example of a child taking control of the situation through negotiation.

**Kaiako:** Kia kite mēnā... ka ahatia ināianei?  
(*Continued reading*).

**Toko:** Mō te aha ka mahi pēnā a ia?

- Kaiako:** He aha ou whakaaro?
- Hinepau:** He kaha a ia. Koutou e hiahia au te whakarongo ki te katoa. Mēnā ka mutu te pukapuka ka taea e koutou te kōrero, nē?
- Toko:** Āe.

### *Example 12d*

The teina in the group takes a leadership role in the following interaction as he adjudicates in a dispute between the tuakana, illustrating the skill of conflict resolution as the outcome is a resolution.

- Toko:** Kei ahau, kei ahau.
- Hinepau:** Kaaaaaa pai! (*Praising Toko*).
- Hinepau:** Hei, haere mai ki kōnei (*Children re-organise themselves into a circle while they are waiting – when conflict arises*).
- Hinepau:** I tīmata a ia ki te whawhai (*pointing to Awatea*).
- Toko:** Ko wai? (*Hinepau points*)
- Toko:** I patu a Awatea i a koe?
- Hinepau:** I pēnā koe (*directs remark to Awatea*).
- Awatea:** Kao, i pēnei ahau (*demonstrates*).
- Toko:** Oh, he mamae. He mamae tēnā.
- Awatea:** Kāore he mamae ki ahau. Mēnā ka pēnei.
- Toko:** Ehara a tamaiti i mahi ki a koe.

### *Example 12e*

Toko initiates the following exchange by changing the activity from the usual morning routine of māramataka to a game of hide and seek with the rod. The tuakana takes on a leadership role as she is guiding a younger child on the placement of a rod in a safe place. Initially there is conflict as an argument breaks out between Toko and Awatea as to where the appropriate place is. Hinepau steps

in giving the rationale as to why not to place the rod in a certain position, because if he does it will fall.

- Toko:** Kāore koutou e mōhio kei hea ināianeī  
(referring to rod which he has hidden)...
- Awatea:** (Pointing) Me purua ki runga nā.
- Toko:** Kāore au i purua ki kōnei.
- Awatea:** Āe kia taea e au te kite.
- Toko:** Kao – Mēnā ka purua ki kōnei, ka taea  
(puts it to the front as Hinepau joins in by standing to have a look). Mēnā ka purua,  
(moves) kāore e taea e koe ki te kite.
- Awatea:** (Voice raised-commanding) Purua ki mua!
- Toko:** Mua?
- Awatea:** Āe, ki mua - ki kōnei (indicates). Kāore i  
kōnā, e hē...(Toko puts behind). Kao, kua  
e pēnā.
- Toko:** Kao, kua e mahi pēnā, me mahi pēnei.
- Awatea:** Āe.
- Hinepau:** Mēnā ka ka pēnā Toko ka taka ki raro.
- Toko:** Ka taka?
- Kaiako:** Kia tere, waiho ki runga.
- Awatea:** Oh gee, I hate Toko.
- Kaiako:** Oh, he kōrero pai tēnā?
- Toko:** Kao.
- Hinepau:** He aha te take i tiro koe ki a Toko? I  
pēnā? Kua e “I hate Toko”. Kua koe e  
pēnā.
- Awatea:** Kao, kua koe e whakatoī – kōrua (Now referring to both  
Hinepau and Toko).
- Hinepau:** Kāore tērā i te whakatoī.
- Toko:** (Supports Hinepau) Kao.

- Hinepau:** (*Indicates where Toko had put rod*). Mēnā ka waiho ki kōnei – ka taea e ia.
- Toko:** Āe, ka taea e au mēnā e kī...
- Hinepau:** Oh waiho ki kōnei. Oh yeah. Rau atu ki kōnei, a, ka taka kia pēnei i runga i te maramataka. Āe, me waiho ki kōnā (*in final settlement of dispute*).
- Toko:** Āe, nā te maramataka. Ka taka i runga i ngā mea nē rā Hinepau? (*Enlisting support. Hinepau nods*).

### 13. Collaborating

Rogoff et al. (2001) discussed how everyone involved in the creation of a community of learners came to see themselves as teachers and learners, where decisions were made more often in conversation than in isolation. She stated that the key principle for learning as a school community was to “...build instruction on children’s interests in a collaborative way—learning activities are planned by children as well as adults, and adults learn from their own involvement as they foster children’s learning” (p.33). Furthermore, that if children are to become responsible life-long learners who are able to think things out for themselves, are effective communicators, cooperative group participants, leaders and contributors to the community, then there would be occasions one would expect to discern in the programme when children would be collaborating with peers and kaiako in a two-way learning process. One would also expect to recognise occasions when children’s interests are foregrounded in the development of a shifting curriculum.

#### *Example 13a*

In the following interaction the children have begun to direct the activity with one of the tuakana designating turn taking roles in a collaborative effort to guide the activity.

- Hinepau:** Māku e pānui - ko au te... pānui  
– (*Directed to Toko*). Māku e pānui.
- Kaiako:** Homai. Māku e whakatika?
- Hinepau:** Māku e pānui.
- Kaiako:** Ka taea e koe te pānui ēngari...
- Toko:** Māua. Māua katoa taea ki te pānui (*as Toko joins the negotiations*).
- Hinepau:** Au, Toko, Awatea, koe. Ka tīmata au (*as tuakana sets down the order of participation*).
- Kaiako:** Ka whakatika wēnei kāri i te tuatahi, kātahi ka...kia ōrite – arā...  
(*Hinepau is giving out the game cards*)
- Hinepau:** Rāua, me koe tama.
- Kaiako:** Kia mutu a Hinepau Toko.
- Hinepau:** Kātahi ko Whaea, ko Awatea, ko koe (*and the game commences*).

### Example 13b

In the following activity, the children continue with an activity they have picked up during morning tea break. The kaiako returns and observes the peer coaching that is taking place and the intense engagement as a younger child teaches a slightly older child how to play a mathematics matching game. The activity is allowed to continue because of this engagement. It is a good example of the kaiako spotting the ‘peer tutoring’ that was happening spontaneously.

- Hinepau:** Āe. Look—chicken, egg. Sheep—that and that. E tika?
- Awatea:** Āe. (*Game continues*).
- Hinepau:** Oh, mōhio au ināianei. He uua tēnā.  
(*Children continue playing*). Oh āe, ka

pēnā. E tika?

**Awatea:** Aaah, kao. (*Game recommences*).

**Hinepau:** Oh, mōhio au ināianei. He uua tēnā.

**Awatea:** Oh, ka mahi din din din din din din din.  
(*Giving direction*).

**Hinepau:** Kao. Kāore. Me mahi au te katoa, kātahi  
ka mahi a koe. Me mahi au, me mahi koe.  
Māku e mahi wēnei. He uua tēnā nē?  
(*Child sniffs and looks around*).

**Awatea:** Ka tīkina au i tētahi. (*Awatea runs off to  
fetch a tissue. She returns, hands over  
the tissue. Hinepau blows her nose and hands  
back the tissue*).

**Hinepau:** I roto i te rāpihi. Awatea, i mahi— (*Shows  
other child who responds*).

**Awatea:** Āe. (*Both engaged in activity*).

**Hinepau:** Kua mutu au.

**Awatea:** Ko taku wā. Oh, kao (*indicating that one  
match has been left out. Hinepau asks again  
if she is correct. Awatea reassesses and  
responds*).

**Awatea:** Aaah, kao.

## 14. Expressing Emotions

The following exchange came about when Awatea raised the topic of a friend who was fatally injured in a motor vehicle accident, and the impact that that incident had on her mother. This conversation took place in the middle of a game, where a link was made to personal experience and how people involved in that experience reacted and how their feelings.

*Example 14a*

- Kaiako:** E tika ana, mēnā ka kuhu atu ki te waka me mau —
- Awatea:** Tātua.
- Kaiako:** Tātua.
- Awatea:** Mēnā ka kore, ka tutuki, ka hoki mātou ki te pirihihana.
- Hinepau:** Ka haere mai ki te haere ki te wāhi pirihihana, kātahi ka noho ki konā mō te ake tonu.
- Awatea:** Āe, i te wā i mate a Uncle X hoki, kāre a ia e mau tātua, kua mate a ia. I huri a ia ki te whetu ināiane.
- Kaiako:** Nē?
- Awatea:** Ka aroha ki a ia ēngari kei te mokemoke a Māmā, taku Māmā, mōna.
- Kaiako:** Mmmmm.
- Hinepau:** Ko wai – ko wai tōna ingoa anō?
- Awatea:** Uncle X.
- Kaiako:** Tana Matua. Nā, i roto i te waka i aitua tana waka i a ia e hoki ana mai i te tauranga waka rererangi ki te kāinga. E tata ana ki te kāinga kātahi ka tutuki tētahi taraka nē?
- Hinepau:** Taraka tino nui. He aha tēnā? He mea ‘milk’ or Koko Kola? He mea Big Fresh?
- Awatea:** I tutuki a ia ki tētahi taraka, arā i mokemoke, i tangi taku Māmā.
- Hinepau:** Kātahi ka tangi. Ki runga a ia i te.....
- Awatea:** I mea a Aunty X ‘kua mate a Uncle X ināiane, Whaea X’, arā ka tangi

taku Māmā. Ka tino mokemoke a ia.

**Example 14b**

In the following extract Toko is expressing a sense of self-satisfaction as he appraises his work. One of the tuakana, Hinepau, responds in support of his comments.

**Toko:** Kua mutu au. He pai nē rā Pāpā X. He tino tino pai.

**Hinepau:** Ka pai Toko.

**Example 14c**

In the following selection, the child is expressing her desire for the other child to go to her home after Kōhanga Reo, as they miss one another when they are not together.

**Awatea:** Ka pīrangī a X ki taku kāinga i ngā wā katoa. E hiahia a ia ki te moe – ka hiahia – kei te mokemoke au mō X.

**Kaiako:** Ooo?

**Awatea:** Āe.

**Kaiako:** Mokemoke ahau mō taku kōtiro hoki mēnā ka ngaro au.

**Awatea:** I kī a taku Māmā kei te haere mai a X ki tō mātou kāinga apōpō. Ināianeī kei te haere a ia ēngari kāore ināianeī. Ā te wā ka mutu te Kōhanga ka hoki mai a ia ki taku kāinga.

**Kaiako:** Mmm.

**Awatea:** Ēngari kāore ināianeī – nē X? (*Awatea turns to look at Hinepau*).

## 15. Being Creative

Children's creations have a sense of fluidity about them in terms of how they may be interpreted or their meaning. The following dialogue is about a painting which, at the outset was a painting of a boy, who then became a girl, and whose identity was also subsequently changed. This illustrates how children's creations can be anything they want them to be at any time. They do not necessarily remain static. One minute they can represent something and the next something totally different.

### *Example 15a*

- Hinepau:** Me tana tero. Ko Piki tērā. He kōtiro—Piki. Kātahi ka—he tero.
- Awatea:** He rā tēnā nē?
- Hinepau:** Te rā - Kei te kihikihi (*makes kissing sound, and they laugh*). OK, ko X.
- Awatea:** (Ki a X) Oh, kei te pai X. Kei te just pretend mātou.

## 16. Fantasy

Research suggests that through regularly reading to young children they learn early that books are important and that they can be used to find out more, or gain knowledge about the world (Arnberg, 1987; Elley, 1987). They can help to increase a child's vocabulary and provide new, increasingly more complex, language structures. They can introduce new concepts, reinforce or modify old concepts, increase a child's fantasy, provide a range of emotional experiences, be sad, fun or humorous, and by identifying with books they can help children to understand their own feelings (Arnberg, 1987; Saunders, 1988; Wells, 1986). The

following selections all had their genesis in conversations about characters from books.

### *Example 16a*

In this discussion about the characters in *Hatupatu*, it became apparent that one of the children had put herself into the book in the character's place so that the engagement with the text was being incorporated into personal experience in a creative way.

- Toko:** Ka huna a *Hatupatu*. (*Discussion proceeds*).
- Hinepau:** He tino roa ana maikuku, he roa ngā matimati hoki (*she gets another book to show a different version of a picture of Kurungaituku* ).
- Awatea:** Ēngari he iti noa iho tērā atu *Hatupatu* (*comparing the images*).
- Hinepau:** He nui ake i a – Kāore a ia i peke – i just (*demonstrated how he jumped*).
- Awatea:** Kāre e taea ki te tiki ahau. Tērā te take he tere ahau.
- Hinepau:** Ēngari mēnā kāore ia e tere, ka taea te hiki. Ka wshshshsh. Ka taea e au te awhi i a ia. Ka tiki au he naihi, ka whiua ki a ia.
- Awatea:** Kāore e taea e tērā manu te tiki i a *Hatupatu*.

### *Example 16b*

A further discussion about books and characters turns into a similar event to the previous example where one of the children has put herself into the context of the book as if it was real and happened to her. It culminates in a dramatic re-

enactment or re-interpretation of what happens to one of the characters from the book.

- Awatea:** E toru ngā kōtiro ki te kura. E rua ngā tama ki te kura.
- Hinepau:** Oh X (*laughing and changes topic now*).  
Ka taea e au te mahi tērā ināianeī? I haere au ki a Taupo. I te tiro au ki te, oi, toka (*draws round in the air*). Kei te pērā a ia.
- Awatea:** (*To Hinepau*) I kite koe i a Hatupatu?
- Hinepau:** Kātahi ka tiki au – ka tiro au i a Hatupatu.
- Awatea:** Arā i huakina koe (*signals opening of a door*)? I huakina koe i a ia? Ka huakina koe i a ia?
- Hinepau:** Āe.
- Awatea:** Arā ka kite koe he pai a ia?
- Hinepau:** Āe.
- Awatea:** Ka pēnei (*stands and goes to get a book*). I kite koe kia pēnei te Hatupatu? (*Flicking through Hatupatu book*) Kia pēnei te Hatupatu? (*Pointing to picture*).  
(*Hinepau has a closer look at the book*).
- Hinepau:** (*Nods*).
- Awatea:** Aaaa.
- Hinepau:** Kia pēnei a Hatupatu. (*Takes book and looks at it*).
- Awatea:** Ko Kurungaituku tērā?
- Hinepau:** Kao.
- Awatea:** Āe. Ko Kurungaituku. Kurungaituku.  
(*Pointing to illustration*). Kāore e pai a Kurungaituku.
- Awatea:** Tēnā. I haere koe ki tēnā wāhi?
- Hinepau:** I kite au i a ia.
- Awatea:** Kāore tērā i kōhimuhimu ki te toka?

- Hinepau:** Ka pēnei au (*demonstrates*). Ka pēnei te toka—kātahi ka haere mai te wahine manu.
- Awatea:** Arā, ka oma koe tino tere?
- Hinepau:** Kao. Āe. Kātahi ka haere au ki te waka, nē X.
- Awatea:** Nē?
- Hinepau:** (*Nods*).
- Awatea:** (*Awatea approaches me*) Nē?
- Kaiako:** (*Directs question to Hinepau*). He aha te take i haere atu koe ki aaa Taupo?
- Awatea:** (*To me*) I konā a – i hoki mai a Kurungaituku. Kāore au i kite i a ia. Ēngari kua mate a Kurungaituku ināiane, nē?
- Kaiako:** MMMM – Ēngari i kite atu a Hinepau. (*Kaiako is going along with the fantasy*).
- Awatea:** Ka pēnei koe, ka pēnei a Kurungaituku Aaagggggghhhhhh! Ka pērā?
- Hinepau:** (*Demonstrates again for Awatea who gets scared and backs up to sit on Kaiako. Hinepau then falls to ground and says*)
- Hinepau:** Kua mate.

### Example 16c

In the following passage Hinepau recalled an episode when she actually heard one of the characters from a book speaking to her. The children had chosen one of their favourites at that particular time, Hatupatu.

- Awatea:** Pea he wahine kino pea. Me mahi pai a ia ēngari kāore ia e taea.
- Hinepau:** Ēngari i rongo au te wahine manu – i pēnei a ia (*makes a grunting noise*).

- Kaiako:** I kōrero ia ki a koe?  
**Hinepau:** Āe  
**Kaiako:** He aha ana kōrero?  
**Hinepau:** I kōrero a ia tēnei “Kāore au i te kai i a koe, e hiahia au a Hatupatu”.  
**Kaiako:** Oooh – waimarie nē.

## 17. Reflecting

When children reflect and relate the reflections of others to their own experiences, not only is learning taking place through the children making connections and links to the knowledge and experiences of others, but it gives adults some insight into what the children are thinking.

### *Example 17a*

In the following example, during a bookreading session, the child started talking about a past event which led into a discussion about what the children had been dreaming.

- Hinepau:** X, i maumahara tēnā rā i haere au ki te toa ēngari – i haere koe, i mua koe, i whakaaro koe e ngaro a au ēngari, ēngari i te tū au ki te taha o koe. You say (calls out) “X”, (*changes voice again*) “He aha Māmā?”. Uuuuu (*laughs*)–i pēnā koe.
- Kaiako:** Koirā taku moemoeā inapō...
- Awatea:** Kei au he um kino moemoeā.
- Kaiako:** Uuuu?
- Awatea:** Āe, arā i piki mai tētahi noke – he moemoeā kino. Arā he angry rātou – he

riri. Arā ka hiahia rātou ki te kai ahau. Ka oma atu ahau. Kāore ētahi people kei kōrā, ko taku māmā noa iho. I kī taku – arā, i moe au. I haere au ki raro te moenga o Māmā. Arā ka pēnei ahau “He noke ki runga i taku ringa” arā, ka kī – huh – ēngari – arā ka oho taku māmā i ahau arā ka moe ahau tonu, arā kei au he mea – tētahi – he moemoeā tino pai. He patupaiarehe. He moemoeā pai.

**Hinepau:** Pai ki ahau.

**Kaiako:** Mmmm.

**Hinepau:** I moemoeā, i moemoeā au he mea pai, pai pai ake. Ko tōku moemoeā i kai ahau te katoa o tōku kai, e hiakai tonu. Ēngari i mātakitaki au te tīwī ēngari i haere tonu au, i haere tonu au ki te kai ēngari, oh “ Me mutu a koe i te kai” i kōhete tōku Pāpā. Ēngari e hiakai – he pau – Kāore kau he kai ki a mātou kāinga. Kātahi ka – i haere mātou ki te toa. Āe, ko tēnā.

**Kaiako:** Ooooohhh.

**Hinepau:** Hāta kēhi nē. (*Adults laugh*).

**Kaiako:** Āe, tino hātā kēhi tēnā moemoeā. Nā, ka haere.

## 18. Negotiating

There were numerous examples of children carrying out many forms of negotiation. The following extract highlights the way children negotiate the terms of games.

*Example 18a*

- Hinepau:** Ko au te pānui
- Kaiako:** (*Remodelling the sentence which the child interprets to mean the kaiako would read*)  
Māku e pānui.
- Hinepau:** Kao, ko au te pānui
- Kaiako:** (*Changes format of remodelling*). Oo, māu e pānui?
- Hinepau:** Māku e pānui – ko au te pānui. (*Addresses other children*). Māku e pānui.
- Kaiako:** Homai. Māku e whakatika.
- Hinepau:** Māku e pānui.
- Kaiako:** Ka taea e koe te pānui ēngari ...
- Toko:** Māua māua katoa taea ki te pānui. (*Toko has joined in the negotiations*).
- Hinepau:** Au, Toko, Awatea, koe. Ka tīmata au. (*Completes negotiations as Hinepau lays down the order in which they are to take turns*).

**19. Predicting***Example 19a*

Children in the following selection are experimenting with feathers and heater. They predict what will happen while they watch the drift of the feathers.

- Kaiako:** Hei, mēnā ka purua ki runga i tēnei – ka taea te rereke anō...
- Kaiako:** Oh titiro, ētahi ka haere ki runga rawa. Titiro koutou, kei runga rawa e rēre ana, e pōpoko ana ki runga.

- Awatea:** Oh āe.
- Kaiako:** Ngā mea pakupaku rā, oh titiro ki runga rā.  
*(All children join in putting smaller ones over heater).*
- Kaiako:** Oh, titiro titiro X. Ka rere ki runga. Mēnā e kaha ana te hau ka taea e koutou te tiro atu. *(Children are enjoying putting feathers over heater. Toko goes away and gets a scissors to cut bits off the feathers. Awatea follows. Children become engrossed in cutting the feathers up over the heater).*
- Kaiako:** Mēnā ka whakawera tērā ahi, ka aha kē ki ngā raukura?
- Awatea:** Ka mura.
- Kaiako:** Ka mura. Ka haere ki runga, kāore rānei. Ah, tēnā – whakawera – kia kite mēnā ka mura, ka haere ki runga rānei. Purua ētahi ki runga anō . Oh ka taea e ngā mea tino taumaha te rere ki runga X... *(Hinepau is standing over heater cutting feathers)*...
- Kaiako:** Kei te rongō au te mea.
- Kaiako:** Hurihia kia—
- Toko:** Oh, kei te rere ōku.
- Kaiako:** Kua rahi tēnā nā te mea kei te mura, e tika tāu. I rongō?
- Kaiako:** Kei te whakarongo koutou?
- Awatea:** Āe e tika ahau.
- Kaiako:** Mmmmm.

## 20. Sequencing

### *Example 20a*

When playing games, whilst attending to the nature and rules of the game, children can often get out of sequence. In this next passage, they have got lost and trying to figure it all out. They use the strategy of returning back to the beginning in order to remember the sequence and start over.

**Hinepau:** Āe, tīmata.

**Awatea:** Ko taku wā.

**Hinepau:** Ah. (*Agrees and puts back – take a few more turns each - Then Toko has a turn out of sequence*).

**Hinepau:** Haere Toko. (*Toko matches a pair*)

**Awatea:** Eeh, ko a ia (*indicating that it was Hinepau's turn*) Ka haere din, din, din (*as she is pointing to the sequencing of turns*).

**Hinepau:** (*realising she has missed a turn*) Oh Āe, i haere a ia kātahi ko au. Oh, me whakahoki ērā (*addressing Toko*). E tika. Me haere a ia, au, koe (*pointing*). Tērā te take – i haere koe ki tērā taha, so me haere koe ki tēnei taha X (*indicating out of turn*). So me whakahoki ēnā e rua.

**Toko:** Alright, ka taea e koe te tiki.

## 21. Organising/Co-operating

According to Rogoff et al. (2001) co-operative work is accomplished by the division of labor among participants, as an activity where each person is

responsible for a portion of the problem solving. The following is an example of children allocating and selecting roles in an activity where they group together at the beginning of the day to discuss the day's business.

### *Example 21a*

- Kaiako:** Te Rāhoroi, Rātapu ko te Rā—
- Hinepau:** Hina.
- Kaiako:** Āe, ko te Rāhina.
- Hinepau:** Um tiki X (*prompting her to get the word for Rāhina*). Tīkina Awatea.  
(*Hinepau and Toko continue to organise the rest of the activity*).
- Hinepau:** (*Ki a Toko*) Māu ngā nama.
- Toko:** (*Agrees*) Ko au ngā nama.
- Hinepau:** Āe (*pointing*) Te rua me te (*draws a zero*).
- Toko:** Tōku rua?
- Hinepau:** Nods.
- Toko:** (*Ki a Hinepau*) Ko koe te rā kōwhai.  
(*Hinepau nods*).
- Awatea:** (*Reading the days of the week...culminating in singing a song for the days of the week...*)

## 22. Peer Interactions Providing Scaffolds

Rogoff et al. (2001) commented that when adults make visible their struggle to transform their teaching, it gives children a chance to learn how adults recognise their problems, ask for help from others, and experiment to improve. In this way the children are given the opportunity to, and experience of, helping others to learn, which in turn aids them in learning about teaching and leadership. This contributes to children's learning as well as to the creation a community of learners. When the activity is purposeful, the learning is made meaningful.

**Example 22a**

The following conversation is taking place when the children are baking a cake. One child takes responsibility when she offers assistance to a younger child who is having having difficulty filling up a cup of flour.

**Kaiako:** Whakakāi tō kapu i te tuatahi. (*Reiterated*).  
(*Hinepau sees that the cup is not full and that the younger child is having difficulty and comments*).

**Hinepau:** He iti. Māku e āwhina.

**Awatea:** Āe pērā noa iho. (*The cup is filled. The younger child, with a sense of satisfaction, gains the attention of the kaiako by commenting*) Titiro!

**Kaiako:** Ah, ka pai, kua kī tērā ināianeī nē. Āe, rau atu ki roto i te ipu, te oko.  
(*Both children squeal, delighted that task is completed*).

**Example 22b**

Bishop (1997a) stated that power and control must remain within Māori cultural understandings and practices. Meanings are dynamic and forever shifting as they develop, whilst remaining contextually grounded. Likewise, within the relatively new Māori construct of Kōhangā Reo, power and control in terms of pedagogy and practice can and should be within Māori children's cultural understandings and practices. Children should experience opportunities of being powerful, and in control, albeit at perhaps a different level of sophistication to what we might expect in other contexts. Then the teaching/learning situation is about promoting self-determination in a very real sense.

While documentation regarding pre-contact Māori pedagogy among very young children is scarce, opinion is readily found, and anecdotes of more recent learning

experiences abound (see Hemara, 2000). One of them is the role of peer tutoring, tuakana teina relationships. It is generally agreed that these played an important part in children's learning. The following extract is a tuakana/teina exchange while they are engaged in a book reading session. Toko, the teina, is reading to Hinepau.

**Toko:** He pai ki a au te (*Looks at Hinepau*).

**Hinepau:** (*Points to words*). He pai ki ahau te  
(*moenga?*)

**Toko:** He pai ki a—

**Hinepau:** Aa, ahau (*points*).

**Toko:** Ahau, te kaukau. (*Continues*). He pai—  
(*Looks for assistance*).

**Hinepau:** Ehara tērā te pai – (*points*). He pai—

**Toko:** He pai ki ahau te kanikani (*Discussion re:*  
*picture*).

**Hinepau:** Rite tonu ki te ballet hoki.

**Toko:** Ballet?

**Hinepau:** Āe. Tērā te hīkoi.

**Toko:** Pēnā koutou?

**Hinepau:** Āe. (*Points to next picture*). Ko tēnā te  
hīkoi (*Offering a scaffold by differentiating*  
*for Toko. Hinepau has predicted that he*  
*might misinterpret the picture as it looks*  
*like a boy running. He in fact does read it*  
*as 'oma' a little later on in this extract –*  
*confirming the prediction*).

**Toko:** He aha?

**Hinepau:** Kāore i te oma, ko te hīkoi. Arā—(*and*  
*points to first word to return to task*).

**Toko:** He ...(*pause*) (*Hinepau points to all the*  
*words in next sentence*).

- Toko:** He—
- Hinepau:** Pai—
- Toko:** Pai ki a a a ahau ki te oma.
- Hinepau:** Kao.
- Toko:** Āe tēnei te—
- Hinepau:** Hīkoi (*points to word*)
- Toko:** Oh, hīkoi.
- Hinepau:** Ko tēnei te (*points*) hii—kooii, hīkoi.
- Hinepau:** Me tīni tēnei ki te ‘o’ – me ‘oma’ (*points to an ‘o’*).
- Toko:** Kei kōnei te ‘o’.
- Hinepau:** Kao.
- Toko:** Āe.
- Hinepau:** Ko tēnā e ‘i’ (*points*).
- Toko:** Kei hea te ‘o’? (*Turns page*). See, ‘o’, ‘o’.  
(*Turns back*). Me—
- Hinepau:** Kāore tēnā te oma – ānei (*points to word and reads*) hīkoi.
- Toko:** Nā (*and laughs. Hinepau joins in with a smile*).
- Toko:** (*Turns page*) He...
- Hinepau:** E toru ngā pikitia.
- Toko:** Kao.
- Hinepau:** Āe.
- Toko:** Tahī, rua.
- Hinepau:** Āe, tahī, rua (*turns page*) toru. (*Toko counts pictures left*).
- Hinepau:** (*Trying to refocus him back to page where they were at so she points to beginning of sentence*). Ko tēnei mea (*indicates*).
- Toko:** Tahī, rua, toru, (*and counts back inside cover*) whā.

- Hinepau:** Kao, kāore tēnei he pikitia.
- Toko:** Ko tēnei he whā.
- Hinepau:** OK, pānui ināianeī.
- Toko:** He pai ki a— (*and moves to next word*).
- Hinepau:** Kao – aaa (*points back to ahau and they both say*) hau.
- Toko:** Ahau ki —
- Hinepau:** Ki? Te—
- Toko:** (*both together they say 'te'*) te – eke?  
(*Toko looks at Hinepau and she nods*)
- Toko:** Paihikara. (*Shows Hinepau the page*)  
He pai.
- Hinepau:** Nā, māku e pupuri.
- Toko:** Mōhio au, mōhio au (*as he swings book away*).
- Hinepau:** Māku e pupuri (*helps by holding one side of the book*).
- Toko:** Āe.
- Hinepau:** Kao, ko tēnei mea
- Toko:** He... (*looks at Hinepau who nods*) pai —
- Hinepau:** Pai—
- Toko:** Āe, pai – ki a —
- Hinepau:** Ahau—
- Toko:** Ahau, ki—
- Hinepau:** Te—
- Toko:** Te—
- Hinepau:** Oma.
- Toko:** Omaoma.
- Hinepau:** Kao, oma (*Toko turns page*).
- Toko:** (*repeats*) Oma.
- Hinepau:** Mōhio koe tēnei ināianeī.
- Toko:** Āe. Māmā noa iho. He pai ki—

- Hinepau:** Ki (*and repoints*)
- Toko:** He pai ki—
- Hinepau:** Kao, (*they read together*) he pai ki ahau ki te - (*takes Toko's index finger and directs it to each word*).
- Hinepau:** Ki ahau.
- Toko:** Ki ahau - te (*Hinepau nods*) moe.  
(*Satisfied on completion of book*).
- Hinepau:** Ka pai (*reinforcing Toko's efforts*).
- Kaiako:** Ka pai kōrua-tahi, ka taea e koe te pānui ki a Toko ināianei, Hinepau.
- Hinepau:** Āe (*OK – chooses book*).
- Toko:** Mō au?
- Kaiako:** (*Ki a Toko*) Ka pānui a Hinepau ki a koe.  
(*Hinepau holds up book – and points to title*) Mō Wai Tēnei Whāre?
- Toko:** Ka pupuri mōu (*takes book and holds up for Hinepau*).
- Hinepau:** Āe, mō wai tēnei whāre?(*Toko holds book up while Hinepau reads. Brief discussion about 'hupe'*). Haere tonu. Mō wai tēnei whāre? Mō te tipao – kao – kaokao.
- Toko:** Kao – kaokao – tīkaokao
- Hinepau:** Kao – pi – pīkaokao
- Toko:** He aha tēnei?
- Hinepau:** Mō te pīkaokao.
- Toko:** Pi?
- Hinepau:** Pīkaokao.
- Toko:** Kei hea te pī – te kupu pī?
- Hinepau:** (*indicates*) pī – pī, i kaokao.
- Toko:** Āe, tika. (*Activity continues*)

**Hinepau:** Ēngari nōku tēnei whāre. Kua mutu. Kua mutu mātou.

**Kaiako:** Pēhea tēnei

**Hinepau:** Kāore au e hiahia.

**Kaiako:** Māku ināianeī?

**Hinepau:** Āe. Kua makere te niho o Mārama. – e hāngai tēnei pukapuka ki te aha? Ki tō whakaaro X?

**Toko:** He grow ōku niho

**Kaiako:** Ka tipu ōku niho.

**Hinepau:** Ka tipu o niho, kātahi ka tangi a ia.  
(*Further discussion and activity continues*).

### 23. Children Being Powerful and Exercising Control

When children seek clarification of unfamiliar vocabulary, concepts, idioms they are active agents in the learning process. S.J. Smith, (1997) talks about children being able to create their own subject matter through the kinds of activities they do, the games they play, thus defining their own ways of learning through interactions with others, and displaying learned competence. Using the terms ‘pedagogic watchfulness’ and ‘pedagogic responsiveness’, S.J. Smith states that pedagogic watchfulness is foundational to good pedagogic practice, and further, that an intervention or pedagogic practice is as a result of recognising through careful observation, assessing where to from here, and deciding on a course of action that is in the child’s best developmental interests. The child sets the pace and brace, or the supports that they themselves need in order to move ahead in their development, thus taking control over their own learning. Sound pedagogic practice causes a shift in the power relations between teacher/learner, adult/child, where children take more and more responsibility in the learning process, enabling them to eventually become their own teachers.

**Example 23a**

Leadership style – more in the role of tuakana where the older child recognises, acknowledges and reinforces the younger child’s efforts to participate in a game, (‘Kei a Wai’) whilst at the same time resisting any attempts to help on the part of the kaiako. In the following activity, one of the children is inventing text as she reads out the activities on the cards so that the rest of the participants can match, and so that the child remains in control of the game.

- Hinepau:** Ka pai. (*Child is reinforcing younger child’s efforts*).
- Kaiako:** Pani ai...
- Hinepau:** Kao, kaua! (*Addressing the kaiako*)
- Kaiako:** Māku e āwhina—te pānui. (*Child carried on regardless of Kaiako’s efforts to assist*)
- Hinepau:** Ka pani ai a Roimata ki tōna ringa.
- Awatea:** Kei ahau, kei ahau.
- Hinepau:** Kaaaaaa pai! (*Praising E*) (*Child prompting/praising*).
- Kaiako:** Māku koe e āwhina—
- Hinepau:** (*Continues with activity ignoring Kaiako’s offer of assistance*) – He pai te oma...

**Example 23b**

This example is of a child renegotiating the planned curriculum.

- Kaiako:** Nā, whakahokia. E hiahia ana au ki te kōrero...
- Toko:** (*Child cuts in to negotiate another round*).  
Ka taea e au e rua ngā wā? Rua, rua, rua.
- Kaiako:** (*Responds with following question*) E hiahia ana te tākaro tērā kēmu anō?

- Toko:** Āe
- Kaiako:** Tētahi atu? Ēngari, he mahi anō tā koutou e pā ana ki ngā āhuatanga haumarū.
- Toko:** He aha tēnā? (*Children continue with game*).

### **Example 23c**

Children exercise power in a multitude of ways, negotiating the terms of their participation, as in the following example where the child challenges the kaiako with justification of why she should continue to do what she is doing.

- Kaiako:** (*Hinepau and Awatea are lying on the bean bags*). Noho tū, kia āta kite atu.
- Hinepau:** Ka taea e au te titiro.
- Kaiako:** (*Accepting children's response*) Mmmm, ka pai.

## **24. Problem Solving (Promoting Discursive Practice)**

Rogoff et al. (2001, p.127) discussed the notion of problem-solving between students when issues arose. Problem-solving provides opportunities for children to learn about themselves in relation to other children, to take responsibility for their own actions and for the choices they have and make. Whilst the process may sometimes appear to be disruptive and time-consuming, it is critical and crucial to children's learning and development. It helps children learn that if they work together responsibly to resolve problems or conflicts, their perspective will be understood, and generally they will be able to reach solutions and understandings that will be of benefit to everyone.

**Example 24a**

In the following selection, the Kaiako notes that the children got off to a 'different' start to the day which leads into a discussion on what is appropriate behaviour during karakia.

**Kaiako:** Mōhio ēnei, ka tino mōhio, ka whai atu ināianeī Whaea X. He tīmatanga rerekē, ēngari kua tau ināianeī. Kōrero mai anō ki a Whaea X e pā ana ki ngā tikanga o te karakia i ngā ata. (*Children start giggling*).  
(*To Hinepau*) X, ka taea e koe te kōrero mai ki a au e pā ana ki ngā tikanga o te karakia?

**Hinepau:** Āe (*children laugh*)

**Kaiako:** He aha ngā whakaritenga?

**Hinepau:** Ka mihi, ā, ka mahi ētahi nui porohita, kua e pekepeke, kua e tango ētahi mea hei mahi poi.

**Kaiako:** He aha ai? He aha i kore ai e taea te pekepeke ā taua wā?

**Hinepau:** Mēnā ka poi, ko tēnā te momo pekepeke.

**Kaiako:** Nō reira he aha te raru o tēnā mahi?

**Hinepau:** Mēnā ka pekepeke ā ka pātai, kātahi ka mōhio mātou.

**Kaiako:** Āe, koirā ngā whakaritenga. He aha ngā tino tikanga o te karakia? Kia...

**Hinepau:** Noho tika me noho pai.

**Awatea:** Arā, mahi he porohita.

**Kaiako:** Me kōrero tahi tātou e pā ana ki te tīmatanga pai o te rā, nē.

**Tamariki:** Āe.

**Kaiako:** Tuku atu ngā reo whakamoemiti hei

tīmatanga pai o te rā. Mmmmm? Mēnā e hiahia ana koe ki te kōrero, ā, ka pekepeke tētahi, ka kore e whakarongo, he pai, he kino rānei? (*Kaiako is gently suggesting the idea that the role of karakia is to settle into the day's activities ahead of them all*).

**Hinepau:** He kino.

**Kaiako:** He aha ai?

**Hinepau:** Tēnā te take, mēnā ka mahi tonu te paraka, ka peke kātahi ka oma, mēnā kua mutu te mihi ka taea te pekepeke.

**Awatea:** Āe i te wā ka hoki ahau me X ki te kura tino nui pea kua mutu te Kōhanga mō mātou.

### **Example 24b**

The following is the response from one of the children to a problem which has arisen where another child realises she has left her books at home. Hinepau's response was to move on to another activity altogether as a solution.

**Hinepau:** Tērā pea me haere a Awatea ki te rorohiko.

### **Example 24c**

The next exchange is a discussion between two children to problem-solve how Kurungaituku could possibly eat Hatupatu given the size of her mouth. They came up with a novel solution of cooking her as in a stew.

**Awatea:** Ēngari kāre ia e taea te kai.

**Hinepau:** Āe.

**Awatea:** Kao - he iti tōna waha.

**Hinepau:** Ki te tunu—ko tēnei te tunu - ka rau atu a ia i

roto i te kōhua—me ahi a ia, kātahi ka tunu a ia,  
kātahi ka taea te kai.

**Awatea:** Āe ka pēnei - ka mahi ki tētahi pune - ētahi  
tāngata kino ki roto i tō puku, arā ka pēnei,  
ka mate a ia.

**Hinepau:** Ēngari kāore e taea te kai a Hatupatu. Ka  
mahue a ia mō Hatupatu.

**Awatea:** Āe i pīti i a ia -Ko wai tōna ingoa anō?

### *Example 24d*

After a collaborative session on problem-solving with a view to conflict resolution, the combined effort came up with the idea of children concentrating on their own work, and to try not to interfere in or be controlling of what it is other people are doing. It was decided to use a polite way of saying ‘mind your own business’ with the introduction of a kīrehu or saying ‘Kia hihiwa koe ki tāu e mahi nā!’ literally translated to mean ‘Be alert to what it is you are doing!’ The following selection was the use of that saying, in its shortened form, which took on idiomatic usage after just a short time in that form. Toko is talking out loud while working. Another child peeps over to look at what is going on. The response, which gave a clear message to go, was effective.

**Toko:** Tāu e mahi nā!

## **Conclusions**

### *The Relationship of Language and Culture*

When discussing the relationship of language and culture at an Indigenous Languages Conference in Indian Country, Fishman (1996) argued that losing language is technically an issue of losing all that goes with the relationship between language and culture. Essentially it can be asked another way, if the language is lost, what culturally is lost? He discusses the three relationships of language and culture as indexical, cultural and symbolic. The *indexical*

*relationship* is one of meaning making where the words used are best able to express it because of refinement and the long association with the culture; the *cultural relationship* is the culture being expressed through the language in cultural activities; and the *symbolic relationship* is one where the language stands for, and synonymous with, the whole culture.

The first of those relationships, the indexical relationship, is one that was explored throughout this chapter in terms of meaning making and the purposes for which children are using te reo Māori. Fishman (1996) asserted that the indexical relationship is perhaps a more clinical, but very important, relationship of language and culture in that it is the relationship of mapping meaning to words and words to meaning. As cultures grow and change, so too does this indexical relationship. This relationship is recognised in the role of the Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (The Māori Language Commission) as they lexically extend te reo Māori to meet the demands of rapid econotechnical change. Fishman further asserted that “A language long associated with the culture is best able to express most easily, most exactly, most richly, with more appropriate over-tones, the concerns, artifacts, values, and interests of that culture” (p.81).

The indexical relationship then is the relationship of the language used, the actual words, and meaning that is made of their use, in cultural contexts. When a language is lost, many of the cultural meanings are lost, and so too the rationale or reasons why things are done in a certain way. Eventually the ‘doings’ die out as well. This relationship between meaning and culture is what is explored in this chapter as examples of the words used, and the meanings they generate, are used in the interpretive analysis. That is, they are examples of what language users do, what they say and the meanings they generate as they interact with other people, places and resources in their environment. It is argued that Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo, because of its whānau-based policies, is a support setting for the home and family, based in the community that Fishman (1991, 1996, & 2001b) refers to and places at Stage 6 on the GIDS Scale. RLS is the regeneration of te reo Māori in the home and community and central to its continuation as a vernacular is the

intergenerational transmission of language and increasing language domains. How that is operationalised in Kōhanga Reo can be identified in its distinct philosophy, structure (policies) and agency (praxis) and is a central theme in the listed examples of interactions. They demonstrate the operationalisation of revernacularisation efforts of te reo Māori and contribute to the wider RLS aims of Kōhanga Reo.

It is also argued that when children are using language purposefully, as a vernacular, in their daily interactions, as in the above examples, they automatically extend the language domains to perform a range of communicative functions, in an assortment of topics with a variety of people in meaningful interactions and activities designed to facilitate their enculturation into Māori society.

The indexical relationship has been explored in this chapter with a view to identifying some of the communicative functions they serve as a contribution to RLS. The other two relationships of language and culture, the cultural relationship and the symbolic relationship, will be explored in chapter five.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### RESULTS II

**E ngā rangatira, whakarongo mai!  
Kaua e ūwhia Te Tiriti o Waitangi i te kahu o Ingarangi,  
ēngari kia mau anō ki tōu kahu,  
te kahukiwi o Aotearoa nei.**

Nā Aperahama Taonui, 6 o ngā rā o Hui Tānguru, 1840  
(Ngā Haeata Mātauranga, 1994).

#### **Introduction: Ko te kete Tūātea**

Chapter four explored the indexical relationship between te reo Māori and culture (such as purpose and meaning making for young children) in the cultural context of Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo and the relevance for reversing language shift (RLS) in the context of Aotearoa. This chapter will continue to draw on the data to discuss purpose and meaning-making with reference to broader themes related to the simultaneous acquisition of two languages and the impact on te reo Māori revernacularisation efforts in Kōhanga Reo. There are two sections to this chapter: Developing Bilinguals and Developing Biculturals.

Section I, under the heading ‘Developing Bilinguals’, will include examples of what users of language (te reo Māori) do. There will be a further selection of data for analysis related to aspects of bilingualism, provided with discussion, annotations and examples of children’s and adult’s talk. Those aspects include:-

- 1) *Development of Critical Awareness (BL1a-j).*
- 2) *Code Switching (BL2a-s).*
- 3) *Other Language Behaviours (BL3a-j).*

Section II, under the heading ‘Developing Biculturals’, will also weave in examples of children’s and adult’s talk with interpretative annotations and include discussion on the following themes:-

- 1) *Code Switching as a Tool in terms of the Principles of Reciprocal Teaching/Learning (BC1a-i).*
- 2) *Development of literacy/biliteracy (BC2a-c).*
- 3) *Development of a Tool to Promote Biliteracy (BC3a-j).*
- 4) *Development of Critical Literacy (BC4a-g).*
- 5) *Development of Bicultural/Bilateral Worldviews (BC5a).*
- 6) *Structure—Surface and Deep (BC6a-b).*

The same transcription conventions were employed in this chapter as in chapter four.

## **Section I: Developing Bilinguals**

Kaupapa Māori education is a resistance to mainstream because it is about changing futures rather than a maintenance of the status quo that continues to fail Māori children in education (Johnston, 1997; Smith, G.H. 1997; Smith, L. 1990). Kaupapa Māori education is not about reproduction of past inequalities but exposing them and improving conditions for Māori children in education. It is about transforming lives, and society. Ultimately the development of critical awareness is a challenge to the societal power structures (Ada, 1988; Cummins, 2000; Freire, 1972) as children are encouraged to focus on language thus providing them with opportunities to become “language detectives” as they compare and contrast between the two languages of their environment, te reo Māori and English. According to Cummins (2000) the development of critical awareness will make a difference to the coercive power relations in society as students develop a sense of self, a sense of empowerment, through a transformative pedagogy.

In Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo the language focus on the revernacularisation of te reo Māori for young children is inextricably bound up with who they are as Māori children, to identify as Māori, to be enculturated into Māori society and to reinstate the importance of te reo Māori and iwi Māori in Aotearoa by enabling children to live as Māori. That is their identity, their rangatiratanga. Therefore it is important to provide children with appropriate oral (and written) models of te reo Māori in the creation of meaningful cultural contexts for language exploration and to listen and respond to their language initiatives. Failure to do so means we miss out on one of the most powerful tools that children have in the development of literacy and language awareness. According to Cummins (2000) critical language awareness among bilingual students can be promoted by providing them with opportunities to carry out *projects* on language and discuss its relationship to their own lives. In Te Amokura the children are encouraged to participate in conversations about language, they sing songs about language and are involved in the wider politics of RLS whether it is within the actual Kōhanga, in the neighbourhood or national forums promoting te reo Māori.

In this way the children learn to reflect on language generally and on their own language use, and others. Feedback from more expert others and their peers can help children negotiate meaning, determine which phrases are right and wrong and whether their guesses are correct. After Crystal (1987) when children extend their understanding of regular patterns for example “I goed” or “I wented”, they are exhibiting one of the most important states in ‘normal language development’. Children in Te Amokura exhibited those same sorts of language behaviours by extending their understanding of patterns both within the languages they were acquiring and across languages. Arnberg (1987) argued that if bilingualism is important, then ways of helping children become aware of this importance needs to be developed through conversations with children about the differences between languages. The following examples, taken directly from the data, illustrate children using language for a range of meaningful social purposes, including conversations with children reflecting on the differences between te reo Māori and English.

## Data/Results

### 1. Development of a Critical Awareness

After Cummins (2000) the following examples show children being encouraged to compare and contrast their languages and discussing the connections between their language/s. They include discussions between the children, and children with adults, about which language, te reo Māori or Pākehā, is being spoken by the children (Example BL1a); children reflecting on grammar and remodelling Māori language that has been influenced by English (Example BL1b); children commenting on the ability of visitors to speak Māori (Example BL1c); introduction of new vocabulary and children questioning its meaning (Example BL1d); children seeking clarification of word meaning and translation (Example BL1e); and children commenting on Māori and English language domains (Examples BL1f to BL1g). They have been selected because they all demonstrate children's critical awareness of language in their conversations about language and the structural elements of both Māori and English. They are examples of contrasting varieties within the same language and between languages, and exhibit conversations between children well on their way to becoming language detectives.

#### *Example BL1a*

In the following extract, the Kaiako has called everybody together. Toko insisted that he complete what he is working on. Hinepau commenced a discussion about Toko's language, in particular his use of English.

- Kaiako:** Kia tere mai Toko, kei te tatari mātou ki a koe.  
**Toko:** Kāore au e pīrangi.  
**Awatea:** Ka pērā koe i ngā wā katoa nē! Alright. Alright.  
**Toko:** Tēnei (*indicates his work*), me mutu tēnei.  
**Hinepau:** Alright, alright. Ka pēnā koe mēnā ka pūrei i te

kēmu.

**Kaiako:** Kua mutu tēnā?

**Toko:** Āe, ka mahi au i ēnei.

**Kaiako:** *(Toko is pointing to his mahi – Kaiako responds)*

Ka pai.

**Hinepau:** Ēngari ka pēnei a ia. Ka kōrero Pākehā a Toko i roto i te kōhanga. Ka pēnei a ia “alright, alright, alright, alright”.

**Awatea:** Ka pērā a ia.

**Hinepau:** Ka pēnā i roto i te kēmu “alright, I’m coming, wait a minute”. Tana mahi. *(Hinepau laughs shaking her head)*.

**Kaiako:** Ka pai Toko, kia tere mai.

**Awatea:** Kia tere mai Toko. Kia tere.

**Toko:** Hold on.

### *Example BL1b*

In the following example the children are sequencing numbers. A question is asked using English grammar so it is remodelled back using the Māori grammar. A conversation then takes place between the kaiako as to the mixing of the two languages. This led to the children having input about structure of the language and the difference between Māori and English through their remodelling the differences.

**Toko:** Um ko koe, or Awatea or au?

**Kaiako:** Ko koe, ko Awatea, ko ahau rānei.  
*(Remodelled for Toko because of the grammatical variance).*

**Hinepau:** Ko au.

**Kaiako:** Koirā te whakamahi i ngā reo e rua.

*(Commenting to other kaiako on the structural variance. Awatea then jumps up on Kaiako's knee and joins the conversation about Toko's inventiveness with language).*

**Awatea:** Ka pēnei a ia, "Kei ahau wana wēnā"  
*(giggles).* Ka pēnā koe Toko.

**Hinepau:** Kei a au wana wēnā hoki, kei a au wana  
wēnā, kei a au wana wēnā.

**Kaiako:** *(To Awatea)* Noho mai ki te papa.

**Awatea:** Kāore au e pīrangī.

**Kaiako:** He aha te rerekētanga o tērā rerenga kōrero,  
"kei a au wana wēnā".

**Awatea:** Kei a au ētahi o ēnā *(Child re-modelled the  
sentence structure).*

**Kaiako:** He aha te rerekētanga?

**Kaiako:** He rerekētanga - o te "kei a au wana wēnā" ki te  
"kei a au tētahi o ēnā?"

**Awatea:** *(Nods - lifts eyebrows in assent).* Kei ahau  
ētahi o ēnā. Kāore "kei a au wana wēnā".

**Kaiako:** He aha te rerekētanga? *(The kaiako is seeking  
the child's theories about difference).*

**Awatea:** Ēngari mōhio ahau.

### **Example BL1c**

In the following selection, upon the arrival of manuhiri to the Kōhanga Reo, a conversation took place between children, culminating in them commenting on the language of one of the visitors.

**Awatea:** Ka taea e ia te kōrero Māori hoki  
*(whispering).* Ka kōrero Māori a ia. Ka taea e  
ia te kōrero Māori hoki *(out loud).*

**Example BL1d**

In the following extract, the child is questioning the adult who has introduced a kupu hou, new vocabulary.

**Hinepau:** Kātahi ko Māmā, ko Awatea, ko koe.

**Kaiako:** Ēngari, e hiahia ana ki te kōrero e pā ana ki ngā āhuatanga o te haumarū.

**Hinepau:** Ok - he aha tēnā kupu?

**Example BL1e**

The following is a discussion as to the meaning of an English word and its use in this particular context. The children spent some time trying to clarify the word meaning and seeking a Māori alternative, touched with some humour in the end.

**Awatea:** He disgusting a ia (*points*)

**Kaiako:** Nē?

**Toko:** Disgusting, kao disgusting mean he mea anō.

**Awatea:** He disgusting a Hatupatu hoki.

**Hinepau:** Disgusting - kao.

**Toko:** He disgusting a Kurungaituku.

**Hinepau:** Kao.

**Awatea:** Āe. He aha ai? Ko ōna karu kei te pukuriri. Ooooo, Ka pēnei.

**Hinepau:** Kākāriki. Mōhio koutou - kao - kei te kōrero Pākehā koe.

**Awatea:** Kao.

**Hinepau:** Disgusting ko te korero pākehā. (*bilingual*) He aha te kupu kōrero?

**Kaiako:** Māori mō tēnā?

- Hinepau:** Āe.
- Kaiako:** Wetiweti - mō te disgusting. Disgusting ko te mea Pākehā - ko te wetiweti ko te mea Māori.
- Awatea:** Ko wetiweti ko te tiko hoki.
- Hinepau:** Kao.
- Toko:** Kāore nē rā?
- Hinepau:** Kao, ko tēnei te tiko. (*demonstrates*) Children laugh.
- Kaiako:** Wetiweti, kiriweti rānei.
- Awatea:** Oh, āe.
- Kaiako:** Koirā te kupu.

### *Example BLIf*

The following is an example of reading meaning into gesture.

- Hinepau:** Kao ka (*demonstrates Awatea's stance*) that means e pukuriri a koe.
- Awatea:** Kao.
- Hinepau:** Āe, mēnā ka pēnei (*demonstrates*) ka pukuriri a koe.

### *Example BL1g*

In the following selection, the children are arguing about language and its use in terms of the meaning of specific words in context, across languages and language mixing.

- Hinepau:** Mēnā ka pēnei koe all the time ka look koe he ugly.
- Toko:** Kāore e pai tēnā. Mōhio au kāore e pai tēnā kōrero. (*Toko holds up index finger*).
- Awatea:** Ka pērā koe i ngā wā katoa.

- Hinepau:** He aha te ugly mean?
- Toko:** Mean? I ki a X kāre au e taea ki te touch ōnā mea.
- Hinepau:** Kāore tērā te touch ko te ugly. Ko te ugly – you are - ko te ugly - he ugly your āhua. Ko tērā.
- Toko:** Mēnā ka ki koutou ‘ugly tō āhua’ tēnā te Pākehā me te Māori. Kāore ka mahi pēnā i roto i te kura.
- Hinepau:** Oh, kua pērā koe!

### *Domains*

The children had very definite ideas of which were Māori language only domains and, therefore, where it was acceptable to speak te reo Māori, and where it was acceptable to speak te reo Pākehā. When a language is threatened, the physical space or language domains are also threatened or restricted (Fishman, 1991). For revernacularisation purposes, it has been necessary to keep some domains (the Kōhanga Reo for example) distinct reo Māori only domains, in order to counteract or contain the dominance of English, although when English is introduced it is often used as a tool to contrast. The children are aware of these domains as substantiated in the following conversations.

### *Example BL1h*

In the following piece, the children are participating in laying down the ground rules for behaviour in the akomanga (classroom), culminating in a discussion on speaking te reo Māori and differentiating between Māori and English. Toko raises the topic of Māori speaking domains.

- Awatea:** Ok ok ok.
- Hinepau:** Kōrero Māori Awatea.
- Awatea:** Kei te kōrero Māori ahau.
- Hinepau:** I pēnei koe “Ok ok ok”.

- Awatea:** Kao i pēnei, ooooooo.
- Kaiako:** (*Ki a Hinepau*) Ehara tērā i te reo Māori?
- Hinepau:** Āe.
- Kaiako:** Pēhea to mōhio?
- Hinepau:** Nā te mea he reo pākehā....
- Kaiako:** Nō reira he aha tētahi tikanga o te noho whāriki...?
- Hinepau:** Me mahi pai...(*Kaiako writes*)
- Kaiako:** He pai tērā i kōnei, i te kura?
- Toko:** Kao.
- Awatea:** Mō ngā pakeke noa iho.
- Kaiako:** He aha te tikanga o ngā urunga.
- Hinepau:** Pai te tuhi (*commenting on Kaiako's writing*).
- Toko:** Ka Māori au te kōrero i kōnei.

### *Example BLli*

In the following extract the children have growled at an adult for an infringement on the 'kōrero Māori anake' domain, which led into a discussion on Māori/English speaking domains and how they differentiated between those domains. The line of questioning by the Kaiako lead one child, who reflected on her distinction between Māori and English language domains, to conclude that Marian (a local primary school) was an English language domain which is why the children who go to that school speak English. When she was questioned as to who Marian was, she answered that Marian was a school but as she spoke her reference to Marian almost triggered a switch to 'school'. However, she recovered in time to say 'kura' which showed a conscious effort on the part of the child to monitor her own language in this context.

- Kaiako:** He aha to kōrero i mua rā?
- Hinepau:** Kōrero Māori.
- Kaiako:** He aha ai?

- Hinepau:** Ko tēnei te wāhi Māori.
- Toko:** Āe.
- Kaiako:** Pēhea to mōhio?
- Hinepau:** E mōhio au.
- Kaiako:** Nē rā.
- Toko:** He Māori te Kōhanga nē rā Hinepau?
- Hinepau:** Āe.
- Kaiako:** He aha?
- Toko:** Me kōrero Māori i roto i te Kōhanga, me kōrero Māori ki roto nei, nē rā Hinepau.
- Hinepau:** Āe.
- Kaiako:** Kei hea ngā wāhi mō te kōrero Māori?
- Toko:** Kei roto nei.
- Hinepau:** Mōhio koe te wāhi Pākehā - Marian. Ko ngā wāhi Pākehā ko Marian me St Josephs. Ah kao, kāore St Josephs. Ko Marian anake.
- Toko:** Āe, kōrero Pākehā.
- Kaiako:** Nē, pēhea to mōhio?
- Hinepau:** Tērā te take ka kōrero pākehā ngā katoa o ngā tamariki.
- Toko:** Kāore māua e kōrero Pākehā. Mēnā ka kōrero pākehā koutou, ka kōrero pākehā māua. Mēnā ka kōrero koutou pākehā nē rā Hinepau?
- Hinepau:** Āe.
- Kaiako:** Nō reira i kōhete koe ki a māua ko X mō te kōrero pākehā?
- Hinepau:** Āe.
- Toko:** Āe, āe, tika.
- Kaiako:** Āe, e tika ana.
- Kaiako:** Ki roto i tēnei wāhi kōrero Māori anake.
- Hinepau:** Āe.
- Toko:** Āe.

- Hinepau:** Mēnā e hiahia ana koe ki te kōrero pākehā, haere ki te wāhi Marian ki te kōrero Pākehā.
- Toko:** Āe.
- Awatea:** Ko wai a Marian?
- Hinepau:** Marian he momo sc (*about to say the English word 'school' but hesitated and changed her mind and said*) he momo kura. Marian ko te kura o Piki, tōku Piki.

### *Example BLlj*

In the following passage, Toko raises the topic of Whaingaroa, a place where they regularly sojourn, being a Pākehā language domain, and links that domain with a people domain by referring to speakers who are English speakers only.

- Toko:** Āe, mēnā ka tae atu ia ka mokemoke ia. I waea taku Māmā i te pō ki kōnā. He Pākehā ki a Raglan. He Pākehā.
- Kaiako:** He Pākehā te aha?
- Toko:** He Pākehā te kōrero rāua - He Pākehā au te kōrero i kōnā. Ka Māori au te kōrero i kōnei.
- Kaiako:** Oh, ka kōrero Pākehā koe ki Whaingaroa?
- Toko:** Āe.
- Kaiako:** Mō te aha te take? (*Conversation continues*).

## 2. Code Switching

Duran (1994) claims the phenomenon of code switching, the use of two languages simultaneously or interchangeably, and its associated interlanguage, is often misunderstood by most lay people and consequently how it is treated in context. Whereas previously it has been thought of as deviant, aberrant, broken, even dangerous—now it is appreciated by sociolinguists as ‘natural’ and part of the acquisition process. The ability to code switch is seen as an advantage by many bilinguals (Ada, 1995; Arnberg, 1987; Baker, 1993; Cook, 1996; Crystal, 1987; Cummins, 1995a, 1995b; Saunders, 1988; Skiba, 1997). Saunders (1988) distinguishes between these two phenomena, code switching and interlanguage. He argues that interlanguage is the result of acquiring two or more languages simultaneously, but that it is a more commonly occurring phenomenon in the earlier phases of language acquisition. Furthermore, that interlanguage is different to code switching. He argues that the former is the mixing of both languages within the same utterance before the child is really aware of having access to two language codes. The latter is a conscious switching of a word or phrase between the languages once they have been acquired.

Arnberg (1987) does not make the same distinction between interlanguage and code switching. She goes on to argue that infants who are simultaneously developing two (or more) languages from birth may find it harder to differentiate between them for a period, although when they do start to differentiate has been the subject of much debate. Lanza’s (1992) study looking at whether or not a bilingual two-year-old can code switch revealed that in fact the bilingual child in that study could and did code switch at the age of two (p.655). Arnberg (1987) argues that interlanguage is an adaptive strategy or a range of strategies employed for the purpose of communication and is sometimes referred to as code mixing, interlard or borrowing. In this study I do not differentiate or discuss the data in the code switching examples in terms of interlard, code mixing, borrowing or interlanguage functions. I use the term code switching as a generic term to

include examples of each of the variety of samples of conversation where two language codes have been used for a specific purpose in an utterance.

Kaiako or pedagogues in Kōhanga Reo, who perceive code switching to be a deviant form of te reo Maori, will find code switching difficult to accept. This can have a negative impact upon pedagogical practices as they may seek to eradicate the code switching behaviour. According to Baker (1993) this perception (and its negative impact) is largely due to a misunderstanding of issues to do with acquiring two or more languages with developing infant/child bilinguals, namely that code switching is common to *all* situations of acquiring bilinguals. Therefore it is a 'naturally' occurring phenomenon and while in some places and cases code switching may be the exception, in many other places and cases it is and is often seen as the norm. This is a major breakthrough for many of us working in Kōhanga Reo as it legitimates learning whereas in the past code switching was seen as undermining language learning.

For many pedagogues teaching in Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori, however, there is still a negative view towards code switching, which is perceived as interference or error and subsequently treated as such. This is perhaps an overreaction to the English symbolising a colonial, colonising language and any encroachment of English (with lexical transfers and grammatical violations) has led some kaiako to take a bunkered, blinkered approach to policy and practice. In many Kōhanga Reo code switching to English may be seen as perhaps getting in the way of revernacularisation efforts. However, Arnberg's (1987) assertion that code switching as a rule-governed behaviour in a communication strategy between people must be taken into consideration by pedagogues in Kōhanga Reo because it is a naturally occurring speech act and can be used as a socio-linguistic tool to supplement language learning rather than stifle it by viewing it as error or interference.

Cook (1996) puts the extent of code switching in normal conversations amongst bilinguals into perspective by outlining that code switching consists of 84% single

word switches, 10% phrase switches and 6% clause switching. A number of possible reasons for the switching are cited. One is that a speaker may not be able to express him/herself in one language so switches to the other to compensate for the deficiency. This may *trigger* the speaker into code switching to the other language for a while. Where code switching is used due to an inability of expression, it provides a continuity of speech. It may be that there is a lack of opportunity to use and develop language that forms part of the children's local community repertoire and hence certain words are introduced to fill that gap. The following code switching patterns formed such socio-linguistic functions as linguistic or conceptual gap filling, or for continuity of speech. They are annotated with a description of the context within which they occurred in the Kōhanga Reo and selected because they are interesting examples.

### *Single Word Switching*

#### *Example BL2a*

In the following conversation, the children were discussing the weather when one child made a comment that she felt rain in the air. Another responded that the clouds weren't yet black which led to Awatea recalling what a neighbouring child had told her about dark clouds. The switch to *neighbours* was a definite switch to fill a gap as she hesitated before the switch.

- Awatea:** Ēngari kāore anō te kapua kei te pango.  
**Kaiako:** Ēngari kāore anō ngā kapua kia pango?  
**Awatea:** Āe.  
**Kaiako:** Mēnā ka pango ka aha?  
**Awatea:** Ka heke mai te ua.  
**Kaiako:** Ka heke mai te ua mēnā ka pango ngā kapua?  
**Awatea:** Āe i kī tērā tama.  
**Kaiako:** Tama?  
**Awatea:** Kāore au e mōhio. He mea pākehā.  
**Kaiako:** He mea pākehā. Ki hea?

- Awatea:** Ki te taha a (*hesitates*)—ki te taha o te neighbours.
- Kaiako:** He aha tana kōrero?
- Awatea:** Kāore au e mōhio.
- Toko:** I haere koe te taha o te neighbours?
- Awatea:** Āe, āe. I tākaro au ki te taha o ōku neighbours.

### *Example BL2b*

The following is a recollection of a holiday event. The word *hydroslide* triggered a phrasal switch and the single word switch *promise* was used to fill a gap.

- Hinepau:** I kite au i te hydroslide. Tētahi hydroslide over dere.
- Kaiako:** Nē?
- Hinepau:** Ka taea e mātou te haere ki konā anō, taku hoa? Me 'promise'.

### *Example BL2c*

In the following example, Awatea uses the word 'just' to fill a gap because she has not yet become conversant with the Māori equivalent.

- Awatea:** Āe, kāre kau he tātua ki te pahi o Rangimarie. Ēngari, kāore ka tūtuki. *Just* i te āta haere.

### *Triggering*

Saunders (1988) defined triggering as an internally conditioned switching caused by linguistic factors. For example, the occurrence of a word which belongs to, or at least appears to belong to both languages can cause a speaker to forget momentarily which language s/he is speaking, and s/he continues in the other language until it is realised. He identified five types of triggering - consequential

triggering, anticipational triggering, sandwich words, contextual triggering and quotational switching.

### *Consequential Triggering*

#### *Example BL2d*

Consequential triggering is more common than anticipational triggering, where a switch may be made immediately following the trigger word. In the following extract the trigger word is *McDonalds*.

**Hinepau:** E pīrangi ana au ki te haere ki *McDonalds* for  
dinner Mum, nē Māmā?

### *Anticipational Triggering*

#### *Example BL2e*

Anticipational triggering is where a switch may be made just before the trigger word/s. In the following sample Hinepau wanted to annotate a picture that she had drawn. It may be that the word spell was the actual word, and used in this context to fill a linguistic gap, which triggered the rest of the phrase 'how do you'. This trigger word was interesting as it also highlights an example of conceptual transference (spell) from English to Māori. It alerted the kaiako that here was a word which they did not know the Māori equivalent for so they went to the Ngata Dictionary in search of the word 'spell'. According to the Ngata Dictionary the word is 'pūngakupu'. However, the kaiako decided to adjust that word and used instead 'pūkupu'. From that point on that kupu hou (new word) pūkupu was incorporated into their vocabulary.

**Hinepau:** How do you spell tōku?

*Sandwich Words**Example BL2f*

Sandwich words are a combination of consequential and anticipational triggering, as in the following excerpt.

**Hinepau:** E pīrangi ana ahau ki te mātakitaki  
Bart Simpson and Neighbours ā te pō nei.

*Contextual Triggering**Example BL2g*

When children are recalling or talking of certain contexts, activities or situations closely associated with a particular language, this may cause or trigger a switch. In the following dialogue the children are talking about Easter, and chocolate.

**Hinepau:** Ēnā. I homai te eropereina.  
**Awatea:** Mr Wonka. Now Mr Wonka kei te hoatu  
a ia, ki a X. Well, mō mātou katoa...

*Quotational Switching**Example BL2h*

Quotational switching can occur when children are recalling other conversations or in storytelling as in the following example where a child is quoting another.

**Toko:** Āe, ka mahi au i ēnei.  
**Kaiako:** (*Toko is pointing to his mahi. Kaiako responds*)  
Ka pai!  
**Hinepau:** Ēngari ka pēnei a ia. Ka kōrero pākehā a Toko  
i roto i te Kōhanga. Ka pēnei a ia “Alright, alright,  
alright, alright”.  
**Awatea:** Ka pērā a ia.

**Hinepau:** Ka pēnā i roto i te kēmu, “Alright, I’m coming, wait a minute”. Tana mahi. (*Hinepau laughs*).

*Code Switching for Emotive Purposes, Effect or Purpose*

*Example BL2i*

Code switching occurred regularly when the children were arguing as in the following selection.

**Awatea:** Arā, it’s you arguing...  
**Toko:** Koutou, mēnā ka haere te sun – Kei te whiti mai a Tama-nui ināianei.  
**Awatea:** He shunshine tēnā.  
**Toko:** Kao he rā.  
**Awatea:** He shunshine hoki.  
**Toko:** Kao.  
**Awatea:** (*yells*) Āe he shunshine.

For effect or competing, as in the following two examples;

*Example BL2j*

In the next sample Toko is serious in his request to another child who was being annoying.

**Toko:** Kaua, kaua e mahi! Stop!

*Example BL2k*

In the following extract the children are playing a competitive board game.

**Hinepau:** Hōmai, hōmai! Kei a au more than you.

Children may switch when excited, frustrated, hōha, or when making derogatory remarks about one another as in the following three examples.

**Example BL2l**

In the following sample Awatea is looking at photographs and excitedly talking about a boat that the Kōhanga Reo had taken out on a fishing trip.

**Awatea:** He fast as tō boat nē, he fast nē.  
I haere ki kōnei, ki konā.

**Example BL2m**

In the following Toko dramatically left the group totally frustrated with the conversation.

**Toko:** Oh, I going out!

**Example BL2n**

The children would now and then say something derogatory and would tend to switch to English for this effect, simply because they had not learnt a lot of derogatory language in te reo Māori.

**Hinepau:** Kāore he kēmu tēnā – dumb!

Further, according to Crystal (1987) code switching allows a speaker to convey attitude and other emotions and serves to advantage the speaker, much like bolding or underlining in a text document to emphasise points. Utilising the second language, then, allows speakers to increase the impact of their speech and use it in an effective manner, although, it is not until around seven years old that such items as adverbial connectors (*actually, frankly, really, however*) are widely used. However, the following examples illustrate the Kōhanga Reo children using adverbs, adverbial and sentence connectors at a much younger age.

**Example BL2o**

The following was uttered outside the domain of Kōhanga Reo when the whānau had gone to an unveiling<sup>16</sup>. It was documented by me as a diary note. Hinepau used the adverbial connector, in English, when she was three years of age, at a time when she was a ‘Māori preferred’ speaker in the presence of many English speaking people.

**Hinepau:** What are we *actually* doing? ...

**Example BL2p**

The remaining examples in this section were documented in the Kōhanga Reo.

**Awatea:** (*Awatea comes in*) Me te, me te me  
te marangai (*goes over to water cycle chart to point*).

**Kaiako:** Ko te marangai.

**Awatea:** Āe, ko te huringa o te wai tēnei (*refers to chart*).

**Hinepau:** *Actually*, ko tērā te hukapapa.

**Example BL2q**

**Hinepau:** Ināianei *otherwise* ka puta koe.

**Example BL2r**

**Awatea:** Chocolates. He yummy ones. Kāore au e mōhio  
te ingoa – chocolate - oh oh tiakarite tiakarite ture.  
Tiakarite ture. Chocolate, chocolate factory.

**Hinepau:** Oh chocolate factory.

**Awatea:** Āe. *Precisely!*

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<sup>16</sup> Ceremonial uncovering of a headstone.

### *Lexical Transfers*

These are single word switches which were by far the most common phenomenon in the Kōhanga Reo, especially with Toko, a year younger than the other participant children in the study, and who had a different language learning pathway. The following ten extracts illustrate the types of words (not so common) causing single word switches or lexical transfers.

#### *Examples BL2s*

- Toko:** Kaua e *splash*.
- Toko:** Kāore ia i *have* ōna reureu?
- Toko:** Ka taea e koe te *help* au ki ēnei whaea?
- Toko:** Kao, kāre e pai tērā korero - kāre e pai tēnā *idea*.
- Toko:** E tika au nē rā Hinepau, he kākāriki te rākau nē rā? Me ngā ārani. Me ngā *spots*.
- Toko:** Āe - ana ka *growl* i a māua.
- Hinepau:** He aha tēnei? He aha tēnei? Ooo, mō te *rubber*. Āe.
- Hinepau:** Aaa, āe. Kanohi (*draws*) - ko tēnā ngā makawe o te pepi (*they laugh*). Tino '*fluffy*'.
- Awatea:** Āe, he *fun* te rere.
- Awatea:** Āe mō ngā *holidays*.

### 3. Other Language Behaviours

#### *Common One-word Switches*

Switching may also occur such that it may be integrated into conversations in a particular manner (Cook, 1996). In the following examples the lexical transfers had become a pattern. Given that they occurred within a repeated phenomenon, they became a focus, and were utilised as a teaching method. The regular or common one word switches in the following examples included words such as

'so, because, just, though, see, but, or and ok'. The following are examples of each.

### *Examples BL3a*

1. The following uses of 'so':

**Awatea:** Kao. I te wā ka moe ahau ka puta mai aku roimata  
ka tangohia ahau, *so* kare kau aku roimata.

**Toko:** Ka mahi au ki runga i ēnei rāina. Ka mahi a X  
ki konā *so* ka mahi au ki kōnei.

2. The following use of 'because':

**Hinepau:** Kei te āwhina au *because* kei te pēnā koe... i—titiro  
koe ki raro—tēnā te take kāore koe i huna!

3. The following use of 'just':

**Hinepau:** Āe, ka pēnei - kāore e mamae, i *just*  
haere au wiiiiii slip.

4. The following use of 'though':

**Awatea:** Ko a ia taku hoa *though*, me Morewhati.

5. The following use of 'see':

**Toko:** Kao, ka mahi au i tēnei (showing Awatea). *See*, ka taea e  
au te mahi...

6. The following use of ‘*but*’:

**Toko:** Kāore au e mohio *but* i kite au.

7. The following use of ‘*or*’:

**Toko:** Um ko koe, *or* Awatea or au?

I note that words such as ‘*ok*’ and ‘*funny*’ are ambiguous words. In particular, the children often debated whether the use of ‘*ok*’ was Māori or Pākehā, as in the first example following. It could be argued that if these words were introduced by a fluent speaker in a Māori context then it could be a word that the child/ren genuinely did not know was English. It could be a transferable word. When children are learning to separate their languages, often phonological cues can help to classify words as to which language they belong to—according to how they sound. In the case of ‘*ok*’ however, (and other not so commonly used words as ‘*funny*’ and ‘*naughty*’) they are phonologically consistent with Māori (‘*au kei*’, ‘*whani*’, ‘*nōti*’). Therefore there could be some genuine ambiguity as to which language they belong to.

### ***Example BL3b***

The following use of ‘*ok*’ regularly caused debate among the children themselves as to what language it belonged to.

**Kaiako:** E hia urunga mō ia tamaiti?

**Hinepau:** Tahi.

**Kaiako:** Whakamahia.

**Awatea:** Ok, ok, ok.

**Hinepau:** Kōrero Māori Awatea.

**Awatea:** Kei te kōrero Māori ahau.

**Hinepau:** I pēnei koe “Ok, ok, ok”, (*and the debate went on*).

**Example BL3c**

The following use of ‘*funny*’ was to convey the meaning as in ‘*weird*’.

**Awatea:** He whani (*funny*) tō mea.

**Blends**

Blends are the use of corresponding words side by side, and are a signifier that the children have separated the two language systems out. The following three examples illustrate different blends.

**Example BL3d**

**Awatea:** He pai tēnā kēmu ki ahau. He *easy*, he *mama* noa iho.

**Example BL3e**

**Hinepau:** Me te *zero – kore*.

**Example BL3f**

**Hinepau:** Āe, i pēnei i a koe (*stands and demonstrates*). I tango tōku tūru noho ai (*demonstrates*) ka pēnei koe Toko.  
*Like that!*

**Interference or Kaiako Ignorance**

According to Duran (1994) interference occurs with developing bilinguals after an awareness of two languages in the child’s environment, and is the involuntary influence of one language on the other. Baker (1993) overviewed interference in the structural approach and how it would be seen as error, in need of correction. However, in the communicative approach, children spontaneously produce unique

utterances and do not just imitate adult language as behaviourists claim. He argued the 'problem' of interference is really a problem of ignorance. Moreover, in an interactional approach to language learning interference would be a relatively unimportant component compared with finding strategies for successful communication. Karmiloff-Smith (1979) suggests that imitating leaves unexplained why sometimes the child produces 'correct' forms initially and then overgeneralises a new procedure, producing 'incorrect' forms subsequently. Error was earlier believed to be interference. With this other paradigm (communicative) it is asserted that not all error is as a result of interference but merely reflects general development patterns in language learning.

According to Crystal (1987) the unexplained production of correct, and then incorrect, forms of language may be seen as an example of children extending their understanding of regular patterns of language. Crystal adds that in order to bridge policy and practice, pedagogues in bilingual programmes require a knowledge of linguistics in order to understand the sorts of regular patterns of language development that occur among bilingual children. Moreover, the identification of an over-generalisation of a structure for example, far from being error to be criticised, is arguably one of the most important states in the regular language development of both first and second language learners and could be viewed as an example of a child displaying a creative facility in his or her language learning pathway/s.

### *Examples BL3g, 3h and 3i*

The following are examples of possible 'over extensions' or 'generalisations' of rules. In the main, such generalised patterns could be seen as 'normal' language development in young children, that 'sorts itself out' eventually. In all the following examples the language being highlighted as possible over generalisations are in italics.

**Example BL3g**

**Toko:** Kei a au te pouaka. *Mō au*, māua ko Hinepau.

**Example BL3h**

**Awatea:** *Me a koe.*

**Example BL3i**

**Toko:** I hoko wana wēnei tōku Nanny mō tōku  
Māmā, the present *mō ia.*

**Involuntary Influence****Example BL3j**

However, when patterns appeared to become an involuntary influence of one language on the other, then that became a point of discussion among the kaiako. The following examples of the use of ‘or’ may be viewed as examples of involuntary influence. As the switch became a pattern it was decided to remodel the sentence without its use in an unobtrusive manner so that alternative ways of saying things would be presented.

Awatea would commonly say ‘or’. This was not a common phenomenon across all the children so may be it was just a phase or an involuntary influence.

**Awatea:** I te wā ka patai tētahi tamariki ka - ka um ka  
kite tētahi tama, *or pepi, or kōtiro, or kōtiro*  
tino iti *or.....*

**Awatea:** He tama tērā *or* he kōtiro?

**Awatea:** Noho ki te papa *or* i runga i tō turu.

## Discussion

This Chapter has so far explored the Māori language interactions occurring within an additive immersion programme in Kōhanga Reo. The extracts of conversations were selected to explore ideas about the development of critical awareness as young children in Kōhanga Reo were shown to be engaging in conversations which contrasted and connected aspects of Māori and English, both grammatically and communicatively. Some examples were highlighted of contrasts and connections within te reo Māori, and some interconnecting links with te reo Pākehā in different language domains—both people domains and place domains.

Finally, aspects of code switching were identified as either filling a gap or triggering as a natural phenomenon when languages are in contact for acquiring bilinguals or for emotive purposes with annotation as to what could be happening when the children use te reo Māori for a range of purposes or functions.

The next Section will discuss themes relating to biliteracy development and biculturalism. The role of the kaiako in creating a community of Māori language speakers and learners through the medium of the Māori language, with respect to surface and deep structures will be interwoven throughout the discussion and illustrated with examples of children's and kaiako talk. In particular, some of the learning/teaching strategies that were employed by the kaiako will be examined as part of the deep structure, touching on aspects of critical literacy (Ada, 1988; Macrine, 2002) and critical pedagogy (Dahlberg et al., 1999; Freire, 1972).

## Section II: Developing Biculturals

In the following Section I will overview aspects of pedagogy and curriculum in terms of structure in the following order:-

- 1) *Code Switching as a Tool in terms of the Principles of Reciprocal Teaching/Learning (BC1a-i).*
- 2) *Development of literacy/biliteracy (BC2a-c).*
- 3) *Development of a Tool to Promote Biliteracy (BC3a-j).*
- 4) *Development of Critical Literacy (BC4a-g).*
- 5) *Development of Bicultural/Bilateral Worldviews (BC5a).*
- 6) *Structure—Surface and Deep (BC6a-b).*

Using M. Durie's (2001) framework, links will be made as the children develop lexical, cultural and symbolic relationships in their Māori worlds, incorporating the balancing of non-Māori worlds in their formative years in terms of who they are as Māori children attending Kōhanga Reo and their language learning pathways.

### 1. Code Switching as a Tool in a Learning Environment

According to Arnberg (1987) the phenomenon of code switching is prevalent and can be used as a tool to promote critical language awareness. When children intersperse their speech with numerous lexical items from the dominant language of the community, the pedagogue can successfully overcome the phenomenon by providing alternative ways of saying things whilst showing understanding and good humour rather than a corrective stance being taken by the pedagogue. In both the behaviourist and communicative paradigms the pedagogue would do the same thing but in different ways. In the former the teacher would be in control of the language learning situation and insist on specific language behaviours whereas in the latter paradigm the child would be encouraged to take responsibility for his or her own language learning. In this paradigm children's individual personalities

obviously have to be taken carefully into account. It is important that the language does not assume any negative connotations for the children because that could cause frustration and resentment and have an adverse effect on their willingness to learn and speak Māori. Instead, children should be encouraged to speak Māori when their linguistic knowledge is not adequate to express their thoughts. If they struggle they can be helped with the right lexicon, and if this is done in moderation then the integrity of the learning context is maintained.

### *Example BC1a*

In the following sample, the conversation continues for quite some time, even though one of the children wants to cut it short to carry on with the ‘Kei a wai?’ game that is being played. However, the kaiako is particularly interested in responding to what another child is saying. The conversation is allowed to go on for some time so as not to interfere with its flow. This sample was selected because it has quite a high incidence of code switching, but the overriding purpose of the conversation was for the child who was relaying a past event. The particular activity ‘jogged’ the memory of the child who wanted to get the story out. There was some ambiguity in the child’s storying, interspersed with questioning and so the conversation was encouraged. The remodelling that did take place was very subtle, a crucial aspect in responsive conversations, so as not to get in the way of the child’s recollection.

**Hinepau:** Ka pēnei a—ka hopi tōna tinana, kātahi ka...  
mēnā kāre e haere ki te horoi, ka haunga.

**Kaiako:** Āe, ka haunga, ka mauiui hoki. Ka tino  
paruparu – mēnā ka raku tētahi i to kiri, ā, kāore  
koe i horoi, ka paruparu. Ka matemate haere.  
Ka haunga hoki.

**Hinepau:** Āe, ka haere mai ētahi mea, kātahi— ki roto i tō  
kiri (*demonstrates*). Engari kāore a Awatea i  
mate, ka wobble everyway and—every night.

- Awatea:** Kāore au i te rapirapi. I ētahi wā kei a au he ‘iti bite’ – he maha ki runga i aku waewae. He maha ki runga i aku tinana hoki.
- Toko:** Whaea, i *scratch* au tēnei, arā kei te...
- Kaiako:** I rapirapi tō ringa?
- Toko:** Āe, ki te hutuporo, anā ka *play* a Pāpā te hutuporo anā ka—
- Hinepau:** (*Interrupts*) OK koutou!
- Toko:** Anā ka mahi he ārani *bleed*.
- Kaiako:** Ne?
- Toko:** He ārani *bleed*.
- Hinepau:** (*Interrupts*) Kaua e pānui, turituri! Kei te hiahia au ki te— turituri!
- Awatea:** Turituri. (*Child trying to regain control of activity*).
- Hinepau:** (*Yelling*) Turituri!  
(*Meanwhile Kaiako is trying to have a conversation with Toko to get to the bottom of this ‘ārani bleed’*).
- Kaiako:** He ārani te tae? (*To others busy yelling*)  
Taihoa, whakarongo! I rongō atu ki tana kōrero?
- Hinepau:** Kao.
- Kaiako:** I te wā e tākaro hutuporo ana tana Pāpā, i rapirapi tana kiri, kātahi ka puta mai te toto, he ārani te tae o tana toto, he rerekē tēnā nē, he ārani te tae? He aha te tae o te toto?
- Hinepau:** OK, OK (*Hōhā with the conversation. Child wants to get back to game but listens*).
- Awatea:** I te wā i rapirapi ahau taku waewae i a Kaipaki i puta mai he toto whero.
- Kaiako:** Whero.

- Awatea:** Anā i tangohia te mea, taku mea.
- Kaiako:** Inā ka toto au, he whero te tae taku toto.
- Awatea:** I tango ahau i taku mea.
- Hinepau:** Āe, mēnā i puta au i roto i te --- i haere au ki te *rugby*, i taka, kātahi ka ...i hiahia au ki te rapirapi oooh, ehara e...he momo parāone, ooo.
- Kaiako:** Tō toto?
- Hinepau:** Kātahi ka (*makes a splat sound*) he momo parāone.
- Kaiako:** Nē?
- Hinepau:** Āe. (*Conversation continues*).

It was later explained that the ‘wobble every way and every night’ was a game that was played at that particular child’s house at bath time, where they would soap up their feet and ‘wobble’ about the bath tub. A finding of the pilot study done in conjunction with this study illustrated that for young children it is very difficult to code switch into Māori if they have learnt that activity or game in English outside of Kōhanga Reo, especially if it is played over and over again in one domain and the language has become automatic. To code switch from English to Māori in the above example of a phrasal code switch (*‘wobble everyway and—every night’*) the child would not only have to make a *conscious* effort to switch, but would have to at the same time invent a new word for ‘wobble’, indeed a difficult linguistic task given the aim of the conversation—the recollection of a past event. However, if the game were to be played in the Kōhanga Reo, then the language would be researched, perhaps invented, and ‘fed’ to the children, as in the introduction of a game played by school children to the Kōhanga called ‘bay-blades’, which the Kōhanga Reo children refer to as ‘potaka karawhiu’.

### *Remodelling Code Switches in their Use as a Learning/Teaching Tool*

According to Skiba (1997) even though switching may sometimes be disruptive to the listener when the speaker switches due to an inability to express her/himself, it does provide an opportunity for language development. It may simply be that code switching may be signalling the need for provision of appropriate samples or words. The listener/s (the kaiako which can sometimes include the children themselves as they take on teacher roles, as in the first example) are able to provide translations into te reo Māori, thus providing a learning and developing opportunity. This, in turn, may allow for a reduced amount of switching as time progresses. These principles were applied in the Kōhanga Reo and evidenced in the following examples.

#### *Example BC1b*

The following example illustrates a child taking on the role of the pedagogue and remodelling the switch.

**Hinepau:** I just only te kēmu.

**Awatea:** He kēmu noa iho (*as she is drawing*).

#### *Example BC1c*

The following piece was selected as an example of subtle remodelling where the child acknowledged the kaiako response (which was to provide the Māori word for scratch—rapirapi). The child then continued with the conversation.

**Toko:** Whaea, i scratch au tēnei, arā kei te...

**Kaiako:** I rapirapi tō ringa?

**Toko:** Āe, ki te hutuporo...

*Example BC1d*

The following example is more obvious when the child switched to English, it was remodelled, and the child repeated the remodelled language.

**Toko:** Kāore i a au.

**Kaiako:** Oh, kei ahau. Kia ora Hinepau mō tō tautoko  
mai ki ahau.

**Hinepau:** *Because—*

**Kaiako:** *Nā te mea—*

**Hinepau:** *Nā te mea* kei te tiro ki te kāri, anā ka pēnā.

**Awatea:** Kia tere!

*Example BC1e*

When the children themselves begin to question for meaning in context by asking for ‘kupu hou’ or vocabulary when there is a lexicon gap, that is a good example of an awareness of metalinguistics as seen in the following example where the children were having a conversation about word meaning in both Māori and English.

**Hinepau:** He aha te kupu kōrero (*mō te disgusting*)?

**Kaiako:** Māori mō tēnā?

**Hinepau:** Āe.

**Kaiako:** Wetiweti – mō te disgusting. Disgusting ko  
te mea Pākehā, ko te wetiweti ko te mea Māori.

### *Remodelling for Grammatical Accuracy*

#### **Example BC1f**

Saunders (1988) asserted that while grammatical accuracy must not be discarded as a goal, it should never take precedence over having the children using the language spontaneously and naturally for everyday communication.

**Hinepau:** Ka tatari mātou *mō* koe.

**Kaiako:** Ka tatari *ki* a ia.

### *Remodelling as a Strategy for Invented Language*

#### **Example BC1g**

**Hinepau:** Āe, ko tēnā mea (*indicates*).

**Toko:** Āe, ka haere māua nē rā Hinepau, ki te kite *wana*  
*wēnei* nē rā?

**Kaiako:** I kite koe *tētahi o ēnei*?

**Toko:** Āe.

### *Providing Prompts*

#### **Example BC1h**

Another strategy is to prompt the response in the right language. In the following example Hinepau holds the card up to give a clue so that they can match the picture with a corresponding picture on their board, as well as listen to what it is she is saying. In this way the child is providing a scaffold to make the game easier for the younger players.

**Hinepau:** Kao, kaua! (*Child growls adult*)

- Kaiako:** Māku e āwhina—te pānui.  
**Hinepau:** Ka pani ai a Roimata ki tōna ringa—  
**Kaiako:** *Hinu ārai rā.*  
**Hinepau:** *Hinu ārai rā - kei a wai?*

### *Pretending*

#### **Example BC1i**

One strategy used to cause children to think about the language they were using was when the kaiako pretended not to understand what the child was saying. This strategy was employed when the kaiako knew the child was not simply filling a lexical gap either in the concept or vocabulary, as in the following example.

- Kaiako:** I kite atu koe i ngā pae maunga hoki?  
**Hinepau:** Āe, i te *ice*.  
**Kaiako:** Ooo, he aha?  
**Hinepau:** Āe, i te *hukapapa*.

## **2. Development of Literacy/Biliteracy**

Arnberg (1987) argued that reading to the child is vital to the development of literacy skills. The child learns early on that books are important. Books are a major way of getting worldly knowledge, increasing vocabulary and learning new increasingly more complex language structures. Reading introduces children to new concepts, fantasy and can help children to gain a deeper understanding of their own feelings and experiences.

According to Crystal (1987) reading or language materials must be relevant or familiar to the children so that there is some comprehensible input. The language presented to children in the classroom should be compatible with the expectations

of the child and predictable, allowing for meaningful engagement. It should be neither too simple nor too advanced. When creating language materials, Crystal (1987) further argued that printed text is easier to read the more closely its structures are related to those used by the reader in normal speech so that the input is comprehensible. Reading material which presents children with unreal language therefore lacks predictability and prevents them from making use of the sequential probability in linguistic structure. Such reading material and the reading programs that employ them merely maintain the status quo in terms of asymmetrical power relations as children from families who have been reduced to minority status often are unable to make links with the text. They do not see themselves or their patterns of communication reflected in these texts or books and so do not engage them to any meaningful extent. In the Kōhanga Reo to reduce the differential between relevant and irrelevant texts, over the years a distinctive pedagogical approach was fine tuned. This interactive approach, a critical approach to literacy development, was implemented out of necessity in the absence of the availability of text. The lack of policy or refusal on the part of the Ministry of Education and their distribution agencies to support young children in Kōhanga Reo with the provision of texts made the Kōhanga Reo initiatives an imperative. It was decided to incorporate into the planned weekly curriculum a system of documentation, via the taking of photographs, where the children, sometimes in collaboration with others, could dictate their own texts. In this way hundreds of texts were created in Te Amokura. The following are examples of children dictating their own stories.

### *Example BC2a*

It was noted in the following selection that Hinepau changed her speech register to reflect the task at hand, dictation for the formal purpose of writing. She also made the comment that it was preferable to vary the text although she could not say why, just to vary it with different vocabulary, and introduced, in the final sentence of the following selection, “Kei te *hākoako* a Koro” an alternative word for happy.

- Awatea:** Me Whaea X, me Piki.
- Hinepau:** Kāore, kei te pēnei a ia (*demonstrates*).
- Awatea:** Kei te menemene a Pāpā Gavin.
- Hinepau:** Kao kao kao, me waiho - "Kei te menemene rātou".  
Me mahi 'different'.
- Kaiako:** Oh, me mahi tētahi mea rerekē?
- Hinepau:** Āe.
- Kaiako:** He aha i pērā ai Hinepau?
- Hinepau:** Mēnā ka ōrite, me tango anō.
- Toko:** Āe, titiro ki tana kanohi, nē rā.
- Hinepau:** Āe.
- Kaiako:** Nō reira he aha te āhua o tōna kanohi?
- Hinepau:** Kei te āhua - ki te kaukau.
- Kaiako:** Oh, nō reira "Kei te ...?"
- Hinepau:** Kei te kaukau a Papa Gavin...  
(*Continues – then an example of adding variance*)
- Hinepau:** Ko au. Kei te ...
- Toko:** Noho
- Hinepau:** Kao kao – "Kei te hākoakoa a Koro".

### *Example BC2b*

In the following example the child is again dictating text for a book. Through the preliminary discussion the kaiako has introduced the word 'hīnaki' and the child commented that *hīnaki* was a good word, to write it down.

- Hinepau:** Kei te tiki mātou te tuna.
- Kaiako:** Kei te tiki...
- Hinepau:** Kei te harikoa nā te mea i mau au ētahi tuna.
- Kaiako:** I te mau i a koe te hīnaki?
- Hinepau:** Āe i pēnei au – oh, kei ahau (*demonstrates*).

**Kaiako:** Nō reira ka taea e koe te kōrero kei te mau atu ahau i te hīnaki.

**Hinepau:** Āe, i te mau i a au ētahi hīnaki. Āe, tēnā kupu āe – tuhia!

**Kaiako:** Oh, taihoa – i wareware i a au.

### *Example BC2c*

In the following piece of dictation, the child is showing considerable interest in the actual mechanics of writing, reading as the Kaiako is going along, and commenting on short forms.

**Awatea:** I te piri wera. I te pū wera.

**Kaiako:** Kei te mahi pū wera.

**Awatea:** Āe

**Kaiako:** E tika tērā.

**Awatea:** Āe, pū wera.

**Kaiako:** Kotahi te kupu. E rua ngā kupu?

*(Awatea is observing the kaiako writing and reads the text after it has been written down. She then comments on the writing of the letter 'A' for the abbreviation of her name).*

**Awatea:** Āe pū – 'A' - he aha te take i tuhi te 'A' noa iho?

**Kaiako:** Āe e tika tāu - Awatea (*Kaiako writes the whole name*).

**Awatea:** Kei runga a Awatea...

**Kaiako:** (*noting the onset of a storm*) Oh, kei te marangai. - Kei runga...  
*(Awatea continues to dictate).*

**Awatea:** A Awatea (*pause*) i te taiapa.

### 3. The Development of a Tool to Promote Biliteracy

Young people progress through different states of literacy before becoming fully-fledged members of what F. Smith (1991) terms the ‘literacy club’. These states include interacting with books which allows children to handle them, examine them, turn pages, make sense of pictures and read them in ways that makes sense to them. There is no difference when young children are developing biliteracy skills. Therefore, included within the curriculum of Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo, is a programme of biliterate support that leads to a greater understanding of books and the relationship between individual letters, words and sounds. That support meant the development of a tool, an alphabet system (Te Arapū Māori) which had not been developed in such a way for use in Kōhanga Reo.

#### *Te Arapū Māori*

The arapū (a e h i k m n ng o p r t u w wh—sounded thus: a, e, ha, i, kei, eme, ene, nga, o, pi, ara, ti, u, wa, wha) was developed in order to support and promote the emergent literacy skills of bilingual children in Kōhanga Reo. In addition, the developers hypothesised that the use of the arapū would provide a means of exploiting and advancing the metalinguistics awareness of the children in Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo. It came about as a result of our frustration with the lack of such a tool that could be used in Māori medium education.

After many discussions between the authors over a number of years Maraea Hunia developed a list of named Māori letters. Further discussions in May 2000 led to the refinement of the list and the production of the final arapū. The arapū was then put to rhyme, rhythm and song thus forming an integral part of the resource. It was then able to be used as a learning/teaching tool, with lyrics by Kate Cherrington and myself, with an addition by Maraea Hunia. Young children enjoy rhythm and rhyme and they very quickly learn them (Campbell, 1996). After just two days the Arapū was being sung while the children were in the sandpit, on the swings, in, out and around about the Kōhanga Reo. It rapidly

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became a favourite with everyone—even recognisable in the sounds (humming along) made by our babies.

The Sesame Street television programme and the Sesame Street alphabet song, developed in the 1960's (J. Smith & Elley, 1997; Palmer & Fisch, 2001) was designed to help young children learn the alphabet, phonics and numbers with a target audience of children who were second language learners of standard English, and other children from all walks of life. Just as the development of the alphabet song and its use in the Sesame Street programme was controversial in the 1960s, (in terms of young children's educational development programmers began to realise preschool children were very able to pick up educational concepts thought to be for school aged children), so too has the 'Arapū' and Kōhanga Reo children's exposure to text been controversial in some sectors (by both policy makers and practitioners). However, because it had already been piloted and found easy to teach and learn, it was decided to continue with its use in Te Amokura Kōhanga.

It is interesting to note that the English alphabet is a highly visible part of early childhood education in Aotearoa. Alphabet books, friezes on walls, alphabet charts and posters, along with ditties, rhyme, and the Sesame Street song, are all part of an early literacy programme. Research suggests that these are important aids to help children learn phonemic contrasts using the pictures and words (Jenkins & Bowen, 1994). On-line research (for example 'Amazon.com') clearly shows the wealth of resource dedicated to this significant literacy tool. I am unaware of any controversy surrounding the exposure of young learners/speakers of English to the alphabet or the promotion of alphabet/letter awareness, particularly the use of the Sesame Street song, friezes or rhyme. Rather, the phonics versus whole language debate is more a pedagogical/political debate as to the 'best' method for the teaching of *reading and writing*. Likewise, the position of this research is that the development of a Māori alphabet (te arapū) for young children attending Kōhanga Reo should be viewed in the same vein as the English alphabet, as a relevant and useful tool to support Māori literacy and ultimately

Māori/English biliteracy. In any event, the debate is now too late in terms of should we, should we not, take on board this literacy tool. Approximately two hundred years ago Māori welcomed the alphabetic representation of te reo Māori, as evidenced by the speed with which print literacy was accelerated among Māori communities (Simon, 1994).

New Zealand's first book, '*A Korao no New Zealand*' was compiled by Kendall, printed in 1815 and intended for Māori readers. Recorded on the first page of that book is an alphabet, followed on subsequent pages by alphabetically ordered word lists (Kendall, 1815). Kendall naturally utilised the writing conventions with which he was familiar, and in doing so, the precedent was set—although his alphabet is significantly different from the Arapū.

#### *Rationale for the Arapū*

- I had tried to make a frieze with 'A ha ka ma na pa ra' but that meant we would have to have 55 symbols to represent each sound 'A ha ka ma na' is not an alphabet.
- The sounding out of consonants as consonant + schwa e.g., 'h' as 'hi'<sup>17</sup> when teaching/learning spelling means that a foreign sound (the schwa) is introduced into Māori. We believed that actively promoting a non-Māori sound in Māori medium education is less appropriate than the phonologically accurate arapū.
- The 'k', 'p' and 't' (sounded kei, pi, ti) are used for ease of transference between the English and the Māori alphabets. They ('kei', 'pi', 'ti') are all consistent with Māori phonology. They are also Māori words, as is 't' (tea) in English.

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<sup>17</sup> / hə / (International Phonetic Script) – the schwa sound being the clipped 'i' sound made as in the vowel sounded for the 'i' 'fish and chips'.

- The vowels remain consistent with the phonemes they represent so there is a one to one (grapheme/phoneme) relationship.
- The ‘eme’, ‘ene’ is borrowed from the Spanish alphabet and are similar to the English ‘m’ (em) and ‘n’ (en), again for ease of transference.
- All of the remaining consonants have an ‘a’ added – with the exception of ‘r’ (ara) which is nested between two vowels for flow and rhythmic effect.
- It is useful as a tool in the sense that (i) it is easy to learn and to retain/recall; (ii) it promotes letter/sound recognition; and (iii) it assists children when learning to spell (pūkupu) or decode words. It accelerates learning to read and write.
- The arapū is not a new concept. Letters have been given names in the English alphabet (aye, bee, em, en, are, double-you) and other alphabetic representations, e.g. the Spanish alphabet, the Samoan ‘tusi pī’ and of course the ‘alpha and the omega’ of the Greek alphabet.

In discussion at a Taura Whiri Kura Reo Māori (Māori Language School) one teacher commented “Isn’t that a pākehā thing to do?” This does not make it a ‘pākehā thing to do’. I replied to the effect that “Well yes, if that is what you want to call it. These are pākehā symbols representing our language. Ehara i te mea nō te ao Māori”. Our writing system was adapted from the English writing system (as the English writing system developed from the Greek and Roman systems) in the early 1800s by the missionaries and subsequent Māori language press releases at the time, covering all topical issues, helped to standardise Māori orthography (Benton & Benton, 2001). We are not about to reinvent the wheel, and we do want our children to learn to read, as quickly and effectively as possible. As Mason M. Durie (2001) stated at the Hui Taumata, “If years at school do not lead to some readiness to confront the world, and to participate

actively in it, then opportunities for Māori advancement will have been sacrificed.” (Opening Address, p.4).

We hope that the arapū and its song becomes as widely used among children learning to speak, read and write in te reo Māori, as has the Sesame Street alphabet song to the tune of ‘twinkle, twinkle little star’. When a kaumātua was asked “How did you learn the alphabet when you went to school?” he replied by singing the Sesame Street song, which had not even been invented when he went to school!

The following examples, taken from the data, reflect how the children incorporated their developing knowledge of alphabetic and word awareness and also their developing metalinguistic awareness into their activities in Kōhanga Reo.

### *Example BC3a*

In the selection below the mention of the letter ‘a’ prompted Awatea to create a little ditty, to the tune of the arapū. ‘A’ *mō te ānini* would be the equivalent to ‘D’ for *dizzy head*, which caused the rest of the children to laugh.

**Kaiako:**     Āe.

**Awatea:**    ‘A’ mō te ‘ānini’ māhunga e (*everyone laughs*).

### *Example BC3b*

In the following selection there is another example of a teina spontaneously showing letter recognition in a morning talk activity.

**Kaiako:**     He kupu āhua anō? Ka taea te whakamārama  
te āhua o te rā? He rā pai huarere? He rangi  
hukarere?

**Children:** Kao.

**Hinepau:** He rangi ū- a.

**Toko:** Ua. Ū mō te ua. (*Toko seeks out a picture to illustrate what sort of day it is*). U mō te ua.  
Tangohia tēnei mea (*directing Kaiako*).

**Kaiako:** Āe.

### *Example BC3c*

The following dialogue is another example of children incorporating the arapū into their activity with the children discussing and supporting one another as they carry out the activity.

**Hinepau:** (*Hinepau as she is writing, says*)

"Ko Tiii (*sounding the letters out loud as she writes*) - uuu, aa, kei – oops... I put a 'kei' there. Kei, o, i (*Using Arapū phonology*).

**Awatea:** Kei te pai.

**Hinepau:** Ko Awatea tēnei (*and begins to write tēnei*) tee...

**Awatea:** Ene.

**Hinepau:** Mmmm (*and continues to write*).

### *Example BC3d*

There were numerous examples of spontaneously singing the Arapū throughout the course of a day in Kōhanga Reo and documented in the data. The alphabet song is popular, as in the following example which is highlighted here because of the rippling affect it had on the rest of the children when one child commenced singing while she worked and others joined it, receiving a positive response in the end as the Kaiako listened and praised them.

**Hinepau:** He aha tērā kōrero? (*Hinepau continues*)

*reading something*) t-u-r-e-i (*sounding out the Arapū*).

**Awatea:** Ara aa e h i (*Awatea commences the alphabet song and Hinepau joins in singing it through to the end with everyone watching*).

**Kaiako:** Oooohhhh!

**Kaiako:** Rawe!

### *Example BC3e*

In the following sample Hinepau used the arapū as a strategy to assist with her reading text.

**Kaiako:** Hinepau, ka taea e koe te pānui mai  
i ngā tikanga?

**Hinepau:** (*Reads carefully sounding out letters*)  
Tiakina tāu teina.

**Kaiako:** Ka taea e koe te whakamārama mai te  
tikanga o tērā kōrero?

### *Example BC3f*

The next example of alphabet awareness shows how it was used to extend into other areas. Hinepau is at the computer trying to solve the problem of getting lower case letters as she had noticed that all the letters on the keyboard were capitals—something that the Kaiako had overlooked (that is the distinction between upper and lower case letters). It is obvious in the initial confused response by the Kaiako to the child’s question, “Where is the ‘a’ for the word Whaea, I don’t know where it is?” Hinepau clarified with a comment that “These are all capital letters on here” (referring to the keyboard). The kaiako then responded with showing her how to get upper case and lower case. Subsequent

conversation between the Kaiako revealed that they had taken for granted the detail that keyboards were all in capital letters.

**Hinepau:** Kei hea te 'a' Whaea - kāore au e mōhio

kei hea?

**Kaiako:** Titiro, mōhio koe kei hea.

**Hinepau:** Kāore.

**Kaiako:** Kia kaha te mahi.

**Hinepau:** Ko ngā pūmatua wēnei ki runga.

### *Example BC3g*

In the following extract, Hinepau attempts to distinguish between the two alphabetic systems she now knows in order to clarify for Awatea the phonological distinction between Wha-ite and White.

**Hinepau:** Ka pēnā. He roa tēnā mea. (*Refers to a book she is reading*). Hana White.

**Awatea:** Kao he 'wh' (*using arapū*) tērā. Hana Wha-ite

**Hinepau:** Kao, Hana White - see.

### *Example BC3h*

The following is a joint activity with Awatea and Hinepau. They have got together and drawn a picture. This was selected because it was a conversation that took place as the children were helping one another put text to their drawing. After a question from one of the children 'how do you spell ngā?' a discussion took place around the word and concept 'spell' in Māori. In a collaborative manner the invention of the word 'pūkupu' (from 'pūngākupu') to represent 'spell' was necessitated. Previously the kaiako had not made the finer distinction between 'write', and 'spell' until this specific question was asked by one of the children.

- Hinepau:** Kei te tuhi tuhi tēnā? E hia au te tuhi. Ka taea e au te tuhi (*ki a Awatea*) ki te taha o koe?
- Awatea:** Āe. Ka taea e koe. Ānei. Ko tēnei kupu (*Awatea moves around to show Hinepau and starts reading what she has written*). Awatea me Hinepau me Toko me...
- Hinepau:** Ka taea e au te tuhi? (*Awatea hands it over to Hinepau who starts writing*).
- Awatea:** Aa, a, me mmmm (*sounding out letters using arapū for Hinepau*) me Hinepau.
- Hinepau:** Me Toko.
- Awatea:** Awatea me Toko. How about ‘me Hinepau’? I mua noa atu tērā tētahi kōtiro, ko ... (*singing*).
- Hinepau:** Awatea, oops.
- Awatea:** Tuhituhi ‘a’, me ‘k’ (*sounding out letters using arapū*). Ko Awatea, ko Hinepau.
- Hinepau:** Nā. Mōhio koe tēnā kōrero?
- Hinepau:** Ok. (*Hinepau writes her name*). Whaea X, how do you spell ngā?
- Awatea:** Ng ng.
- Hinepau:** Ene, g – ngaaa. Nā Hinepau, nā Awatea ngā pikitia. Mōhio koe tēnā kōrero? (*Shows Awatea to see if she can read – then reads it to her*).

### Example BC3i

The following example of word invention illustrates a growing metalinguistic awareness by one of the case study children that language is fluid and flexible enough to be creative with, and, indeed that ‘words’ symbolically represent ‘things’. In response to a comment by the kaiako about the transliteration of the

word ‘drawer’ (toroa) being inappropriate because a ‘toroa’ was a magnificent bird, the albatross, the child made up an alternative word ‘toroapa’.

**Kaiako:** Kāore e pai taua kupu ‘toroa’ ki ahau, nā te mea ko te toroa he manuariki.

**Hinepau:** Me kī ‘toroapa’.

**Kaiako:** Āe, he rawe tēnā kupu ‘toroapa’ (*at which time the kaiako looked it up in the dictionary to find that it did not have another meaning so that it became the word used for drawer*).

### *Example BC3j*

Hinepau is dictating her book. The children have got used to reading everything around them and noticing other literary behaviours, for example different writing styles as in the following sample where Hinepau questions the writing style of the kaiako.

**Hinepau:** Kei te menemene au. Tuhi ērā!

**Kaiako:** Kei te menemene au? (*Hinepau nods*)

**Kaiako:** Ki te taha o te waiariki?

**Hinepau:** Āe –kei te menemene au anake. (*Hinepau watches the kaiako writing*). He aha te take ka tuhi koe kia pēnei? (*Hinepau demonstrates fluid motion*).

**Kaiako:** Ko tēnā te tuhi tere.

**Hinepau:** Kia pēnei (*demonstrates*).

#### 4. Critical Literacy

Macrine (2002) argued for a critical multicultural alternative to current paradigmatic perspectives in literacy teaching and learning models. Part of her argument was that the dualism that currently exists (phonics versus whole language learning) "...leaves little room for professional judgment of the literacy workers in the field, subverts the teaching process, subjugates our literacy workers/teachers, and ultimately hurts our children" (p.3-4). She further argued that a compartmentalised, decontextualised, rote, skills-based curriculum where children are taught *what* to know, not *how* to know, does nothing to enlighten children, and nor does it empower them or the pedagogue. Instead, children should be developing their own ideas and sharing them with others.

Moreover, Macrine (2002) added that the voices of all those involved in the process of teaching and learning literacy including the pedagogue, and their pedagogical needs, as well as the literacy needs of the students, must be heard. That involves recognition that literacy learning and teaching must be contextualised, culturally sensitive, inclusive of multiple literacies and acknowledges the complex relationships affecting literacy learning. It also involves a re-positioning of literacy activities, learning and teaching, in the broader context of language learning and aligned with the vernacular functions within the whānau setting, neighbourhood and community (of which Kōhanga Reo and Kura are a part) rather than continuing to decontextualise and abstract literacy acts. This would provide a challenge to the centre in contexts where diverse cultural perspectives are not recognised or reflected in the curriculum—a challenge to the dominant ideologies—and a resistance to the institutionalisation and commodification of literacy practices in classrooms where literacy has little relevance to children's lives.

In Aotearoa, in tandem with the de-centering of dominant ideologies is a re-centering of Māori ideologies in a transformative praxis, a challenge and a shift in

the power relations that currently exist. It is, therefore, a challenge and change at the structural level within education for Māori in Aotearoa. Macrine (2002) suggested that critical literacy is a theory-shaping practice and practice-shaping theory which allows for the integration of intellectual, socio-cultural and emotional aspects of learning. She added “This is accomplished by linking in-class and out-of-class experiences and by linking the teacher and the students in contextualized learning and knowing” (p.13). It is an attempt to give the students’ voice co-equal place with the pedagogue as they engage in a collaborative, humanist, mode of learning in the co-construction of knowledge.

A framework which elaborates a critical literacy approach to the education of culturally-diverse (usually bilingual) children/students is presented by Ada (1988) and based on the work of Paulo Freire (1972). Likewise, this approach is collaborative where children are encouraged to expand on their own experiences. She identifies four phases in what she terms the “creative reading” act, characterised by an interactional process that progressively opens up possibilities for articulation and amplification of the student/child voice. Any text can be the focus of interaction and the process is applicable to children at any level. She stresses the phases, although discussed separately, may happen concurrently or interwoven in a creative reading act. The framework as follows includes data from the study as illustrations.

*Framework for a ‘Creative Reading’ Act*  
*Phase One - The Descriptive Phase*

*Example BC4a*

The focus of interaction in this phase is on the information contained in the text—the where, when, how, who, why, type of questions with answers found in the text itself. These are the usual reading comprehension questions and, if discussion stays at this level, Ada (1988) suggests that the process then is a domesticating one with the readers passively receiving information and practising

a reading skill. The focus on this type of functional literacy is isolated from critical literacy.

In the following passage, after the children had chosen one of their favourite stories Hatupatu, they spent some time in a descriptive phase, where they would take time to say which parts they enjoyed about the story, and describe in detail the characteristics of Kurungaituku, the bird woman, and Hatupatu. The selection illustrates their descriptions.

**Awatea:** Āe pai ki ahau.

**Kaiako:** He aha te take he tino pai ki a koutou te pukapuka nei?

**Hinepau:** He tino pai ia (*refers to book*).

**Awatea:** He pai tana makawe.

**Hinepau:** He pai tēnei bit (*refers to book*).

**Awatea:** Pai ki ahau tēnei wāhi.

**Hinepau:** Āe ki ahau hoki.

**Toko:** Pai ki a au tēnei wahi (*refers*). I haere a ia ki te tiki ia.

**Kaiako:** (*Commenced reading book*). Tēnā, whakarongo mai. Ka pānui te pukapuka kātahi nā ka kite ko wai te wahine nei.

**Hinepau:** Ae.

**Kaiako:** Hatupatu. Ko ngā kōrero nā Ron Bacon rāua ko Manu Smith—

**Awatea:** Manu Smith – (*giggles*).

**Hinepau:** Will Smith. (*Kaiako continues reading*).

**Kaiako:** Ki tō whakaaro Toko, ko wai a Hatupatu?

**Hinepau:** Ko a ia.

**Toko:** Ko a ia

**Toko:** Āe (*stands and indicates picture in book*).

**Kaiako:** Koia (*refers to book*), koia a Hatupatu?

- Tamariki:** Āe.
- Kaiako:** Mmmm, tērā pea. (*Continues reading*).
- Kaiako:** Kei te kite atu koutou ētahi mea i roto i te ana nei.
- Awatea:** Āe
- Hinepau:** Te manu.
- Kaiako:** Kei roto pea te wahine manu.
- Tamariki:** Āe.
- Toko:** Tika.
- Kaiako:** (*continues reading*)
- Awatea:** Titiro ki ōna titis (*indicates*)
- Hinepau:** Ōna titis
- Awatea:** He roa ōna roimata (*indicates eyebrows*)
- Kaiako:** He roa ōna roimata? Ōna tukemata ranei.
- Awatea:** Ōna tukemata.
- Hinepau:** Ko tēnei te roimata (*indicates*).

*Phase Two – Personal Interpretive Phase*  
**Example BC4b**

After discussion of the basic information of the text, children are encouraged to relate it to their own life experiences and offer their own information. Pedagogue questions might include: What about you? Have you ever felt like that? Have you experienced that? What do you think? Ada (1988) contends that these types of discussions validate children’s experiences and helps develop their self-esteem. It also helps them to make links and to understand the learning that occurs in the critical reading act by interpreting text in the light of their own experiences and feelings. This sharing opens up identity options for culturally-diverse children normally suppressed in the transmission approach reflective of the dominant group’s notions of cultural literacy. This phase deepens children’s understanding of the text by grounding it in their experiences, feelings and their collective narrative which are their lives.

In the following exchange, after the Kaiako questions the children to the effect, ‘*What do you have to say about the book? What are your thoughts about the book?*’ Awatea commented that if Hatupatu had been caught, he would have been eaten at which stage they began discussing sizes. First, there was the problem if Kurungaituku had a small mouth, she would not have been able to eat Hatupatu, which leads them to comparing their own body structure in relation to Kurungaituku.

**Kaiako:** He aha āu mō te pukapuka nei?

**Kaiako:** He aha ōu koutou whakaaro mō te pukapuka?

**Awatea:** Mēnā ka hopu, ka kai.

**Hinepau:** Mēnā ka iti tōna waha, kāore e taea te kai...

**Hinepau:** Kore e roa tōku mea (*as she is demonstrating the length of her arms*).

**Awatea:** He roa tāku (*commenting how long her arm is*).

**Hinepau:** Roa tōku.

### *Example BC4c*

In the next selection, in response to the question ‘*Have you seen this place Awatea?*’ she initially responded in the negative and then explained that she had not been looking for Hatupatu. She began to embellish her response when Toko came in on the conversation and commented that he had indeed been to that place, that it was different and that the bird woman had been there.

**Kaiako:** Kua kite tētahi wāhi pēnei Awatea?

**Awatea:** Kao. Kāore anō au kia kite a Hatupatu  
ēngari kāre au e tiro. Arā i tiro ki a Hatupatu  
ēngari kāore ia e mohio kei hea ka kai ahau.  
I hiahia a ia ki te kai ēngari i oma au tino tere.

**Kaiako:** Oooh, kia kore ai ia e āhei ki te tiki i a koe?

**Toko:** I tiro au wana wēnei. I haere mai te

wahine manu.

**Kaiako:** I kite tētahi wāhi pēnei?

**Toko:** Āe he rerekē wahi.

**Kaiako:** He wāhi rerekē?

**Toko:** Āe i kite au...

### *Phase Three - Critical Analysis Phase*

#### *Example BC4d*

After comparing and contrasting with their personal experiences, children are ready to critically analyse any problems that have arisen in the text. The pedagogue might ask: How would you fix this problem? Are there any alternatives? What would you do? Why? This phase further extends children's understanding or comprehension of the text as well as other perspectives, and either confirm or challenge their own thinking. At this stage they are not only engaged in a process of knowledge generation but also a process of self-definition as they think through issues that affect their lives and perhaps resist external definitions of who they are or what they are thinking.

In the following exchange, the children were surmising, in the case of Hatupatu being caught, how he may have been devoured—through being cooked first in a pot, over a fire. But that that was not the case. In the end it was Kurungaituku who lost the battle. This discussion later led to a discussion about the 'patupaiarehe', the fairy people and where they dwell. It was noted that there were patupaiarehe living on our local mountain, Pirongia, which evolved into a project where the whole Kōhanga Reo journeyed to the mountain in search of patupaiarehe and to take photographs.

**Awatea:** Ēngari kāre ia e taea te kai.

**Hinepau:** Āe.

**Awatea:** Kao – he iti tōna waha.

- Hinepau:** Ki te tunu—ko tēnei te tunu - ka rau atu a ia i roto i te kōhua – me ahi a ia, kātahi ka tunu a ia kātahi ka taea te kai.
- Awatea:** Āe ka pēnei—ka mahi ki tētahi pune. Ētahi tāngata kino ki roto i tō puku, arā ka pēnei, ka mate a ia.
- Hinepau:** Ēngari kāore e taea te kai a Hatupatu. Ka mahue a ia mō Hatupatu.
- Awatea:** Āe i piti i a ia. Ko wai tōna ingoa anō?
- Kaiako:** Kurungaituku.
- Hinepau:** Āe i maumamahara i a ia.
- Awatea:** Āe i pīti a Kurungaituku. I wini a Hatupatu. Ko a ia te toa.
- Hinepau:** Āe i tunu te wahine manu.
- Awatea:** Āe. (*Continues reading*)
- Awatea:** He aha ai e koi hoki ōna waewae? Pea kei te tata raku. (*Pointing to picture and turning page on to look at next picture*).

### *Example BC4e*

The following was selected because it is another example of problem solving mixed with fantasy. Awatea commented how she would not have been caught because she is too fast and Hinepau commented how she could offer assistance to Hatupatu by fetching a knife and throwing it Hatupatu (presumably enabling him to finish off Kurungaituku). This selection finished with a comment about Hatupatu's invincibility because the birdwoman was simply unable to catch him.

- Awatea:** Kāre e taea ki te tiki ahau. Tērā te take he tere ahau.
- Hinepau:** Ēngari mēnā kāore ia e tere, ka taea te hiki.  
Ka wshshshsh.

**Hinepau:** Ka taea e au te awahi i a ia. Ka tiki au he naihi,  
ka whiua ki a ia.

**Awatea:** Kāore e taea e tērā manu te tiki i a Hatupatu.

#### *Phase Four - Creative Action Phase*

#### *Example BC4f*

This final stage is about translating thought, and/or discussion, into action. This is a problem-posing, problem-solving approach. After relating the story to their own experiences, critically analysing and coming up with possible solutions, they may decide to do something, thus extending comprehension into action or transformation and, as a consequence, gain an even deeper understanding of the situation. In the following dialogue between Hinepau and Awatea, Hinepau extended the storybook by re-storying with herself as the central character. She had been to Taupo for the weekend and recalled to Awatea how she had seen the stone. That much had in fact happened. She then proceeded to answer Awatea's incredulous questions about what she saw, and how she responded, with some embellishment.

**Hinepau:** Ka taea e au te mahi tērā ināianei. I haere au ki  
a Taupo. I te tiro au ki te, oi, toka (*draws round  
in the air*). Kei te pērā a ia.

**Awatea:** (*to Hinepau*) I kite koe i a Hatupatu?

**Hinepau:** Kātahi ka tiki au – ka tiro au i a Hatupatu.

**Awatea:** Arā i huakina koe? (*Demonstrates opening door*).  
I huakina koe i a ia? Ka huakina koe i a ia?

**Hinepau:** Āe.

**Awatea:** Āe rā ka kite koe he pai a ia?

**Hinepau:** Āe.

**Awatea:** Ka pēnei (*stands and goes to get book*). I kite  
koe kia pēnei te Hatupatu (*flicking through book*)

to get a comparison). Kia pēnei te Hatupatu  
(pointing to picture)?

**Hinepau:** (Standing to have a closer look at book, Hinepau  
nods).

**Awatea:** Aaah.

**Hinepau:** Kia pēnei a Hatupatu (takes book and looks at it).

**Awatea:** Ko Kurungaituku tērā.

**Hinepau:** Kao.

**Awatea:** Āe. Ko Kurungaituku.

(Both Awatea and Hinepau are jointly looking  
at the book at this stage).

**Awatea:** Kurungaituku (pointing to picture). Kāore e  
pai a Kurungaituku. Ko tēnā (pointing) i haere  
koe ki tēnā wāhi?

**Hinepau:** I kite au i a ia.

**Awatea:** Kāore tērā—i kohimuhimu ki te toka?

**Hinepau:** Ka pēnei au - Ka pēnei te toka (indicates) kātahi  
ka haere mai te wahine manu.

**Awatea:** Arā, ka oma koe tino tere?

**Hinepau:** Kao – Āe kātahi ka haere au ki te waka, nē Māmā.

**Awatea:** Nē?

**Hinepau:** (Nods).

**Awatea:** (Awatea approaches Kaiako for confirmation) Nē?

**Kaiako:** (To Hinepau) He aha te take i haere au koe ki a Taupo?

**Awatea:** (To Kaiako) I kōnā a – i hoki mai a Kurungaituku?

Kāore au i kite i a ia. Ēngari kua mate a Kurungaituku  
ināianei, nē?

**Kaiako:** Mmmm – ēngari i kite atu a Hinepau (going along with  
charade).

**Awatea:** Ka pēnei koe, ka pēnei a Kurungaituku aaaagggggghhhhhh  
(demonstrates scary bird) Ka pērā!

**Hinepau:** (Demonstrates again to scare Awatea, who backs up and

*sits on Kaiako. Hinepau then falls to ground).*

**Hinepau:** Kua mate.

**Kaiako:** Oooh, kua mate rā anō...

### *Example BC4g*

In the following the Kaiako reads the storybook of Hatupatu. At the juncture where Hatupatu is being fattened up to eat (“*Ka kainga e au*”) Awatea comments on the size of Kurungaituku’s mouth. Hinepau contributes to the conversation by commenting that, in any event, the flying woman is dead, went in to the mud, the hot water and so she is unable to eat Hatupatu. When asked to further reflect the children use a metaphorical expression ‘*Ko tērā tōna kai*’ to mean she got what she deserved because she should have been good.

**Kaiako:** He whakaaro āu Hinepau.?

**Awatea:** Ēngari kāre e tērā mea e taea ki te mahi pai.

**Hinepau:** Tērā pea he wahine kino a ia. (*Points to book*).  
Anā a Hatupatu (*indicates*). Hatupatu, wahine manu (*pointing*). Ēngari ka mate te wahine rere.  
Ka kuhu a ia ki te paru waiwera. *Ko tērā tōna kai*.

**Awatea:** Arā kāore e taea a ia te rere.

**Kaiako:** Nē? Arā tōna kai?

**Tamariki:** Āe.

**Hinepau:** Ko tērā tana kai.

**Awatea:** Āe, koirā tōna kai.

**Awatea:** Arā me mahi pai koe wahine manu. (*Book reading session continues. On completion of the reading, the children decided to act out the book and spontaneously allocated roles to the Kaiako who performed in accordance with the direction of the children*).

- Hinepau:** Ko koe a Hatupatu.
- Kaiako:** Ko au a Hatupatu?
- Hinepau:** Āe. Oh kao, kāore koe a Hatupatu. Ko te wahine kino (*indicates Whaea X*).
- Kaiako:** Ooo. (*Kaiako giggles*).
- Hinepau:** Āe. Ko Whaea X a Hatupatu. Ko tēnei a Hatupatu. Kei whea te pukapuka?
- Kaiako:** Kei kōnei.
- Hinepau:** Ko tēnei a Hatupatu (*Refers to book*).
- Awatea:** Āe. Arā ko...
- Hinepau:** Ko tēnei.
- Awatea:** Arā ko wai a Whaea X?
- Hinepau:** Ko Whaea X tēnā (*indicates Hatupatu*).
- Awatea:** Āe pai ōna makawe.
- Hinepau:** Ko tēnei a whaea X. (*Hinepau changes voice register to gruff voice*).
- Kaiako:** Oooh, te hanga weriweri hoki o te hanga. (*Kaiako starts acting out allocated role. Awatea gets scared and jumps on Kaiako's knee. Then both Hinepau and Awatea pretend to attack Whaea X, who is acting as Kurungaituku the birdwoman. She curls over and pretends to die*).
- Awatea:** Yaaaaay! (*Awatea jumps for joy, running back to sit on Kaiako*).
- Hinepau:** I taka koe i roto i te paru. He pai tērā kēmu X.

Subsequently the children were involved in the writing of a play about Hatupatu and the birdwoman, prepared the props, selected costumes and eventually performed it in front of other whānau members who came in especially to see the performance.

## 5. Development of Bicultural/Bilateral Worldviews

M. Durie's (2001) framework of bicultural development which has three concurrent goals, firstly, to live as Māori; secondly, to actively participate as citizens of the world; and finally, to enjoy good health and a high standard of living, meets the aspirations of many Māori people, including the whānau of Te Amokura. To live as Māori, among other things, means being able to access a Māori world, including language, culture and resources. According to M. Durie (2001) education is incomplete if Māori are not able to interact in Māori society. By the same token, a disadvantage occurs if fluency in te reo Māori has been achieved through education but Māori are then unable to actively participate as citizens of the world. "There is a wide Maori expectation that education should open doors to technology, to the economy, to the arts and sciences, to understanding others, and to making a contribution to a greater good" (p. 4). And finally, education should be about enabling Māori to enjoy good health and a high standard of living. M. Durie's framework provides the ideological clarification for the following Hatupatu project documented during the study.

### *Example BC5a*

Dahlberg et al. (1999) suggested [t]he work of the pedagogue consists largely of being able to listen, seeing and letting oneself be inspired by and learning from what the children say and do. It is important to keep the children's questions, hypotheses, theories – but also their fantasies – alive and to follow and study how they search for answers and make meaning of the world (p.137).

During the study the children exhibited considerable interest in the dramatic representation of Kurungaituku in the story of Hatupatu. Their interest would often culminate in their spontaneous acting out the parts which was obviously both thrilling and scary at the same time for them. They asked questions like "Why was Hatupatu in the bush alone anyway?"; "Who were his parents?";

“Where were they?” and clearly they felt very sorry for Hatupatu as evidenced in the following link in a dream with the orphaned Oliver Twist.

- Awatea:** Ka taea e au te rere (*demonstrates*).
- Hinepau:** Ā, ka taea e au (*follows*).
- Kaiako:** Pēhea i ngā moemoeā – inā ka moemoeā koutou, ka rere koutou?
- Awatea:** Āe i moemoeā au i a Hatupatu – he tino pai. He tangata rite ki a Oliver.
- Kaiako:** Nē?
- Awatea:** Āe.
- Kaiako:** Ko wai a Oliver?
- Awatea:** Mōhio ana koe – Oliver Oliver (*sings*). Mōhio koe.
- Kaiako:** Aaaa, te whakaari a Wārena.
- Awatea:** Anā i moemoeā tino tino kino – i puta mai tētahi noke ki runga...

### *Children Creating Curriculum*

“Curriculum can be built by the community together, making use of children’s interests and experience as a key impetus” (Rogoff et al., 2001, p.91).

In Te Amokura, as a result of the children’s discussions and questions, many of which we adults could not answer, a curriculum project began to emerge in much the same way as Rogoff et al. (2001) discussed by making use of the children’s interests and experiences. That project was centred on the topic of Hatupatu. In the case of all projects developed in Te Amokura, children’s literature is important. We proceeded to search out every version of the story of Hatupatu that we could lay our hands on in children’s books. We found four varied accounts of the story. In collaboration with the children, with their help, an ‘emergent’ curriculum began to take shape as we continued to make use of their questions, their interests and experiences. It was this collaboration of effort built on the

children's interests and the kaiako's planning and support which gave momentum to the Hatupatu project. It became a case of 'seizing the moment' (Rogoff et al., 2001) in order to capitalise on the children's interesting ideas that emerged in discussion. Together we built up a research/curriculum project which included a field trip complete with an interview of a tribal member knowledgeable in whakapapa (geneology) and tribal stories.

### *Setting the Stage*

We went on a journey to Hatupatu's rock (near Taupo) where he hid, and we hid, and retraced the movements of Hatupatu and Kurungaituku to Rotoiti, to Tapuaekura and finally, to Whakarewarewa where Kurungaituku was consumed in the mud pools. This process would bring the characters and teachings alive. It was living theatre. We used a method similar to what has been referred to as a 'project approach' (Edwards, Gandini & Forman, 1998) and content (using traditional tribal storying) of creating meaningful contexts (Rogoff et al., 2001) whilst also strengthening the community connections. Links to the community were made through the research which we did to fill the gaps in our knowledge and to share and create meanings and understandings. Rogoff et al. (2001) state "In a community of learners, everyone has a part to play in supporting the learning process. Children help plan and develop curriculum and are expected to be active participants and responsible learners" (p.91). Such was the case in the budding Hatupatu project as the kaiako were aware of making the most of the opportunities to respond to the children and the spontaneous events as they unfolded.

On our return we wrote our own play (whakaari), chose various roles (ngā kaiwhakaari), made the props (ngā utauta), turned the room into a theatre (whare tapere), and acted out the play in front of a real audience (te minenga). The project was documented in detail with the use of video, still photographs, anecdotes and children's stories. The success of this approach can be seen in the following documentation. After completing the project, in response to the

question “Are there monsters in this world?” by an older child in another domain (i.e., outside of Kōhanga), one of the Kōhanga children, Hinepau, responded thus;

**Hinepau:** I’ll tell you a story. It’s about killing somebody. It’s a real story. There was this boy and his name was Hatupatu and he was being chased by Kurungaituku, and Hatupatu came to a rock. And he said “rock, rock open up, open up”. And he went inside and Kurungaituku was scratching the rock and the rock opened up and Hatupatu ran and ran and then he came to a hot pool and he jumped over it and Kurungaituku fell into the hot water and she died. And I’ve been to the rock and it’s still open and I’ve seen the mud pools and they’re round (*demonstrates*) and they go bloop (*demonstrating*) (personal communication, italics added, 2001).

Hinepau’s demeanour was earnest—she was indeed recalling a ‘real’ event. What is interesting about this episode is that Hinepau chose to re-story totally in English. None of the activities of the Kōhanga Reo were carried out through the medium of English. Not long after that event the same child recalled the story again, this time in Māori, in the Kōhanga Reo.

**Hinepau:** Kātahi ka kōrero “Ko wai a koe?” “Ko Kurungaituku au”. Ka kōrero a Kurungaituku “I te hiahia he kai”. Kātahi ka kōrero i a ia “I te hiahia au he tangata”. I oma a Hatupatu. Kātahi ka kōrero a Kurungaituku “Ka kai au koe mō tōku kai” te kōrero o Hatu- aaaa Kurungaituku. Kātahi ka oma a Hatupatu. I tae mai a ia ki tētahi toka. Kātahi ka kōrero a ia, “E toka, e toka, huakina, huakina!”. Kātahi ka huakina te toka. Kātahi ka huna te toka i a ia. Kātahi ka haere mai a Kurungaituku ki te rapirapi i te toka. Kātahi ka haere – Kātahi ka huakina anō, ka oma a Hatupatu. Kua pau tōna hau ināianeī. Kātahi ka kōrero ki te papa, “E papa, e papa, huakina, huakina!”. Kātahi ka huakina te papa. Kātahi ka kite ia, kātahi ka rapirapi anō. Kātahi ka puta mai a Hatupatu. Tahī ka haere mai ki ētahi wai e koropūpū ana. I peke a Hatupatu i te tuatahi, ēngari i peke a Kurungaituku, i tae a ia i roto i te wai. Ko tēnā te mutunga o Hatu- aaaaa Kurungaituku. Kua mutu au...anā tana kai!

In this episode, not only is the contextual and cultural transition evident, but it also highlights how our stories, sourced in Te Ao Māori, are a Māori reality for our tamariki. Hinepau’s concept of a monster in the English version was not a dragon (as mine might have been at the same age) but a powerful bird-woman.

Here is a fine example of a child transitioning from one sociolinguistic domain, to another, from one language to another, from one cultural perspective to another, with relative ease. The example demonstrates a child actively engaged in what became a project stemming from creative reading acts, and children's engagement with text, to activities which involved play writing, physical construction of stage props and performance. Further, the example illustrated her deepening understanding of the text, in terms of a value judgment as to the actions of Kurungaituku culminating in her demise. Participation in the project enabled Hinepau to transition from one cultural domain to another, as is outlined in the goals of Durie's (2001) educational framework for bicultural development, evident in terms of her conceptual development of a 'monster' and, finally, her re-storying in two languages.

### *Bilingual/Bicultural Humour*

During the course of the study, when travelling through Tirau we passed my brother standing outside the shops. One of the children commented "Uncle X looks like a Mexican". I commented "Yes he does, when he was a boy we used to call him Pedro". Hinepau replied "*Pirau*" laughing. We realised she had made a joke, transitioning from one language to the other in what was a play with words, their sounds and their meanings, changing from one concept in one language (Pedro being the name of someone) to another in the other language ('*pirau*' meaning rotten). '*Pirau*' in te reo Māori phonologically sounds similar to the Spanish '*Pedro*'. Upon arriving at the marae the joke was retold to Peter who promptly replied, "That's a rotten joke" humourously transitioning from '*pirau*' back to the English '*rotten*'. Cross-language puns are not only a lot of fun, but, in the current selection, because of its interplay between languages and creative use of language which Hinepau, then only five years old, had triggered, it affirmed the learner's ability to play with language.

## 6. Structure—Surface and Deep Coming Together in the Programme

According to Rogoff et al. (2001) all well-run classrooms have highly developed internal structure/s that may be invisible to the uninitiated. They are underpinned by and consist of the philosophy and practices that help participants determine their own expectations and learning pathways. Central to the philosophy and internal structure of Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo is the expectation that te reo Māori would be spoken ‘i ngā wā katoa, i ngā wāhi katoa’—at all times and in all domains. Te reo Māori is the cultural medium of learning and teaching from a Māori perspective, using Māori pedagogies, generating Māori knowledge, and affirming Māori cultural values and ideologies. These internal (deep) structures are what Rogoff et al. (2001) refer to as the ‘cultural guidelines’ that surround the subject matter (surface structure) of the curriculum. The deep structure is embedded in the power relations between the kaiako and the children, and among the children themselves. It is within the relationships that are formed that children settle into familiar patterns of communicating and exploring their own thinking and learning. The deep structure is invisible, as are most cultural foundations, but underpins what happens in the interactions. It is about the ‘*how*’ children learn with other children, the kaiako and utilising the resources around them (p.49). It sets up the boundaries for communication, outlining when and how children and kaiako relate to one another throughout the day in Kōhanga Reo.

Bruner (1983) discussed the notion of ‘joint attention’ and language use being a means for interpreting and regulating culture. Baker (1993) suggested that a more effective classroom practice is one where teachers and pupils, working in concert with one another, negotiate meaning. It is this negotiation of meaning, not transmission of meaning, which ensures mutual understanding has occurred. Bruner (1996) also discussed the notion of ‘folk pedagogies’ and how it is the teacher’s conception of a learner that shapes the pedagogical style s/he employs. Moreover, it is important to recognise the child’s perspective in the learning process and the constructions that children themselves create in order to

understand and make meaning of their experiences. Bruner argues against an impositional teacher-controlled pedagogy in favour of one which helps children to understand better, more powerfully and less one-sidedly (p.56). According to Bruner children's learning is best "when it is participatory, proactive, communal collaborative and given over to constructing meanings rather than receiving them" (p.84).

Rogoff et al. (2001) assert that it is the internal deep structure of the programme that provides the cultural guidance for participants to determine their own expectations and learning pathways. Similarly, Bruner (1996) suggested;

[it is the] network of mutual expectations that is the matrix on which culture is constructed...Culture is probably biology's last great evolutionary trick. It frees *Homo sapiens* to construct a symbolic world flexible enough to meet local needs and to adapt to a myriad of ecological circumstances (p.184).

Furthermore, Bruner argued that it is *language* that permits the cultural construction and elaboration through human capacity for intersubjectivity. M. Hohepa (1999) came at the discussion from another angle when she contended the notion of *intersubjectivity*, a shared subjectivity, is an essential *foundation* of communication in cultural contexts. Both ideas acknowledge the shared nature of understanding and meaning-making going on in the learning and teaching process. Whilst the knowledge base of kaiako and children may be different, it is the power to negotiate meaning through dialogue that can be, and ultimately should be, equally shared. Therefore, reference to 'intersubjectivity' (Bruner, 1996), 'collaborative empowerment' (Cummins, 2000), 'reciprocal/responsive' relationships (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Carr, 2001), or 'mutual expectations' (Bruner, 1996) shared reference and so on, is also a reference to the deep underlying structure and substance of the learning/teaching moment. That is the meaning-making that goes on in children's minds and the impact it has on their lives.

Cummins (1999a, 1999b) argued that educators must attempt to create conditions of collaborative empowerment and interact with children in such a way that power is generated and shared through those interactions. Children's identity formation and critical inquiry are expanded as a result, rather than constricted. Dahlberg, et al. (1999) supported this notion of identity formation when she discussed children interacting with their environment and actively transforming their relationships with peers and the world of adults, things, events and, in original ways. She stated "In a sense children participate in constructing their identity and the identity of others" (p.59). Cummins (2000) argued further that change in the deep structure will come about only when educators walk into their classrooms with their own identities focussed on the transformation of societal structures which maintain unequal power relations between different groups of people.

Dahlberg, et al. (1999) suggested that centre-based settings are community forums where children and adults meet and participate together in projects of cultural, social, political and economic significance (p.7). This notion is similar to Bruner's (1996) notion of learning being effectual when it is participatory, proactive, communal and collaborative. A collaborative approach to teaching and learning emphasises building a programme on children's interests, where children's activities are planned in partnership with children, and adults also learn from their involvement as they foster children's learning. Furthermore, Rogoff et al. (2001) argue that it is the structure of the learning community itself, continuously subject to change due to changing interests and needs of communities, which influences the learning experiences of children. Therefore it is the role of the kaiako to determine which changes can and cannot be accommodated within the overall philosophy of the centre and theme of the classroom, without losing the integrity of the bigger picture. She also argues that this calls for a great deal of fluidity as well as a strong grounding in the overall picture (p. 56), or as those of us working in Kōhanga Reo would put it, 'being on to the kaupapa'.

An imperative in Kōhanga Reo is the commitment to its distinct ‘kaupapa’ or philosophy because of the multitude of distractions (and traps) that can get in the way. Apart from the language, care and education imperatives, there are many other current demands to meet corporate (market) models of provision with government (centralised) modes of accountability. Parents and children are seen less and less as members of a community and more and more as consumers of services. Kōhanga Reo then become captured as a resource for the market place instead of the means for RLS through the advancement of an indigenous, threatened, language and, as a consequence, promoting a national biculture. Therefore, a failure on the part of Kaiako and Kōhanga Reo whānau to recognise the important, highly political, role of Kōhanga Reo could also mean a failure to recognise the important, highly political, nature of the teaching act, and teaching/learning relationships between adults and children. A default to a ‘banking’ (disempowering) concept of education could result.

### *The Role of the Kaiako*

#### ***Example BC6a***

With parents as practicing pedagogues (kaiako), their active involvement in the curriculum design, implementation and assessment, there is a vested interest not only in terms of their own children, but the total community of the Kōhanga Reo at the local level and the politics of kaupapa Māori education at a national level. That means taking ownership of what is happening at Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo whilst also keeping an eye on the bigger picture, recognising strengths and weaknesses whilst working towards the revernacularisation of te reo Māori, advancing Māori-medium education and iwi Māori in Aotearoa.

In the following example the Kaiako (who is also a parent) saw beyond the needs of her individual child to all the children working together and, ultimately, the welfare of the whole Kōhanga Reo community. The Kaiako notes that the

children got off to a ‘different’ start to the day which leads into a discussion on what is appropriate behaviour during karakia.

**Kaiako:** Mōhio ēnei, ka tino mōhio, ka whāi atu ināianeī Whaea X. He tīmatanga rerekē, ēngari kua tau ināianeī. Kōrero mai anō ki a Whaea X e pā ana ki ngā tikanga o te karakia i ngā ata. (*Children start giggling*).  
(*To Hinepau*) X, ka taea e koe te kōrero mai ki ā au e pā ana ki ngā tikanga o te karakia?

**Hinepau:** Āe (*children laugh*).

**Kaiako:** He aha ngā whakaritenga?

**Hinepau:** Ka mihi, a ka mahi ētahi nui porohita, kua e pekepeke, kua e tango ētahi mea hei mahi poi.

**Kaiako:** He aha ai? He aha i kore ai e taea te pekepeke a taua wā?

**Hinepau:** Mēnā ka poi, ko tēnā te momo pekepeke.

**Kaiako:** Nō reira he aha te raru o tēnā mahi?

**Hinepau:** Mēnā ka pekepeke ā ka patai, kātahi ka mōhio mātou.

**Kaiako:** Āe, koirā ngā whakaritenga. He aha ngā tino tikanga o te karakia? Kia...

**Hinepau:** Noho tika me noho pai.

**Awatea:** Arā, mahi he porohita.

**Kaiako:** Me kōrero tahi tātou e pā ana ki te tīmatanga pai o te rā, nē?

**Tamariki:** Āe.

**Kaiako:** Tuku atu ngā reo whakamoemiti hei tīmatanga pai o te rā. Mmmmm? Mēnā e hiahia ana koe ki te kōrero, a, ka pekepeke

tētahi, ka kore e whakarongo, he pai, he kino rānei.

**Hinepau:** He kino.

**Kaiako:** He aha ai?

**Hinepau:** Tēnā te take, mēnā ka mahi tonu te paraka, ka peke kātahi ka omo—mēnā kua mutu te mihi ka taea te pekepeke.

**Awatea:** Āe i te wā ka hoki ahau me X ki te kura tino nui pea kua mutu te Kōhanga mō mātou. (*Awatea causes a shift of focus from what is appropriate behaviour for tamariki in Kōhanga Reo to moving on from Kōhanga Reo to Kura*).

**Kaiako:** Ooh, ā, ka aha?

**Hinepau:** Ka ono mātou, ka rima tonu a X because... (*looks at Awatea*).

**Awatea:** Tērā te take mēnā ka rima....

**Hinepau:** E toru a ia, kātahi ka huri ki te whā, kātahi ka huri au ki te rima, kātahi ka huri a ia (*looks at Awatea*) - tētahi anō, kātahi ka huri a ia, (*indicates Toko*) ka tatari mō te wā roa ki te rima.

**Awatea:** (*Directing remarks to Hinepau*). I te wā ka whitu māua ko X, pea ka haere mātou ki tētahi kura o Hana.

**Hinepau:** O Marian or St Josephs.

**Awatea:** Tērā pea ki tētahi kura ōrite ki a X me XS?

**Kaiako:** Tōku Māpihi?

**Hinepau:** Tērā pea – (*shrugging*). Kāore au e mōhio.

**Awatea:** Mōhio koe i a ia, nē, i te wā i haere a X me X ki tō mātou kāinga, arā me koe

hoki. Maumahara koe? (*Awatea changes topic to an event when older school children went to her home*). I te wā i haere mai a Kiri me Tiana ki taku kāinga, maumahara koe, i haere mai koe hoki, i te wā pāti?

**Kaiako:** Āe, i te mutunga o te tau.

**Hinepau:** I kōnā a X hoki. (*Hinepau remembers and continues with this event*).

**Kaiako:** Āe, me Hikitia.

**Awatea:** Āe.

**Kaiako:** Rātou ko Hikitia hoki.

**Awatea:** Ēngari ka whakatoī a X ki a mātou.  
E hiahia a X i ahau.

**Hinepau:** Kātahi ka awhi, kātahi - ko tēnā te whakatoī.

**Awatea:** Ēngari kāore ia – e pīrangī a ia ki te awhi i ahau ēngari kāore au e pīrangī te awhi. E hiahia ahau ki te haere ki te taha o Hinepau noa iho, me Toko me X. Koirā noa iho.

**Hinepau:** Kāore te awhi i roto i te moenga. Ka whakaaro ngā tamariki katoa i te kihikihi.  
(*Then Hinepau grins and covers her mouth as she is thinking before she raises a topic which is covertly forbidden*).

**Awatea:** Ēngari kāore au e pīrangī ki te kihi. Ka kihikihi koe hoki nē mum?

**Hinepau:** Ki a Pāpā X. I a mātou i roto i te waka i puta koutou ki waho, kātahi ka kihi me te awhi. Kātahi ka hoki mai ki te haere ki ballet. (*Tone turns into one of berating the adults*).

**Awatea:** Oh, pai ki a au, nē mum.

**Kaiako:** Aroha mai. (*Adult apologises to child for adult behaviour*)

**Hinepau:** Kāore mātou – Its disgusting tēnā!

**Kaiako:** Nē, nā wai i ki?

**Toko:** Oh, I going out. (*Hōhā with the topic*).

**Kaiako:** Nē (*everyone laughs*).

**Kaiako:** Toko – kua reri ki te haere ki te kai o te ata?

**Awatea and Hinepau simultaneously:**

Āe, me au hoki.

The children finished this conversation as they took themselves off to morning tea, which caused some laughter. This is really interesting as the children managed to hijack the discourse from a conversation asking them to reflect on their own behaviour to a shift in focus where the children were reflecting on adult behaviour. It ended with an apology from one of the kaiako involved in the conversation and more than just a little bewilderment at the clever twist in focus. The significance of the discourse, however, is a process which gives the children a chance to develop their speaking skills with respectful listening and turn-taking in a relaxed environment where they feel free to speak their minds and make a contribution. The above example is rather like a stream of consciousness as the children jumped from topic to topic although the central theme was maintained—that of reflecting on behaviour. The subtle change that took place in the shift of focus from child behaviour to adult behaviour was as if to say “While we are at it, what about your behaviour in this situation? Was that appropriate?” It was a questioning of the notion of who has the power to define what is appropriate. Such discursive practice demonstrates how children can be powerful thinkers and also exert control in situations which affect them.

According to Rogoff et al. (2001) teachers who view teaching in terms of the children being their learning partners will recognise the value of allowing children to follow their own topics of interest, in sharing personal experiences, and

spending classroom time working through problem-solving situations (p. 56). Kaiako will also realise the need for balance in terms of time between these valuable experiences and other aspects of the programme, adapting it to incorporate the immediate and long-range needs of children to suit. The goal of these types of interactions is for children to take more and more responsibility for their own learning behaviour so that they can exhibit control in the classroom, rather than the teacher being in control. The data contained examples of children taking responsibility and control, e.g., when they, in the kaiako's absence, commenced the programme by taking the maramataka for themselves or making suggestions for alternative activities when things did not go according to plan, or decisions relating to the programme. It also brings to mind an event when one of the youngest children in the Kōhanga Reo took responsibility one day as everyone was so engrossed in an art activity, making clay constructions, that time slipped away. This particular child, still a toddler, picked up a spoon and started to say the karakia kai (blessing the food), which is the start of a daily routine for morning tea. This act signaled to the kaiako that morning tea had been overlooked as time had slipped away and prompted everyone into action.

### *Example BC6b*

The following example illustrates children having input into the making-up of behavioural guidelines for the akomanga (learning room), through an activity designed to set some parameters of respect for one another's views, property and person. The extract was selected because of the collaboration taking place between kaiako and children but also because of the different courses the conversation took. The children dictated the guidelines, while the kaiako documented them. The children discussed ways of working with each other which prompted a guideline not to fight. This was then refined to include no hitting and no loud talking over top of each other, with a suggestion by one of the children to listen carefully instead. This suggestion prompted another child to raise the point that they should not sniff, that that was not healthy which triggered yet another topic about going off alone, leading to a fire safety topic, getting

electrocuted and so on. The kaiako showed an interest in this conversation because the children were reflecting on what they had learnt, and reaffirming their knowledge base on a range of subjects all related to appropriate behaviours and safety guidelines. What set out to be a discussion on setting boundaries for behaviour in the akomanga turned into much broader concepts of ‘things that are good for you and not so good’ including stranger danger, health and safety issues.

**Kaiako:** Hinepau?

**Hinepau:** He aha?

**Kaiako:** He aha te tikanga o te uruoro Hinepau?

**Hinepau:** Me piri ki kōnei me te kōrero (*demonstrates*).  
Me piri ki tō tīhate, me kōrero. (*Addresses another child*). Waiho! Āe, ka pēnei –  
me piri....

**Kaiako:** Kei te mahara koutou i ngā tikanga mō te rūma nei?

**Hinepau:** Āe, kua e tūtū, kua e tangi, kua e whāwhai, kua...

**Kaiako:** Oh taihoa, māku e tuhi. (*Kaiako writes Ngā Tikanga on board*).

**Awatea:** (*Reads as kaiako writes*) Tikanga.

**Hinepau:** Tikanga (*reads into mike*). Tuatahi – kua e whawhai.  
(*Kaiako writes what Hinepau has dictated, while Hinepau reads*).

**Kaiako:** He aha ai?

**Hinepau:** Mēnā ka whāwhai ka riri ngā kaiako (*Still speaking into microphone*).

**Kaiako:** Koirā te take kāore e pai ki te whawhai, nā te mea  
ka riri ngā kaiako?

**Awatea:** Kāore e taea te patu. Kāore e taea te patu.  
(*Kaiako writes*).

**Kaiako:** Ēngari he aha te take e kore ai e pai ki te  
whawhai—tū atu i te riri o te māhita?  
...Mō te aha te take?

- Hinepau:** Mēnā ka patu tō māhunga, patu tō puku, ka patu tō waewae, ka mamae...
- Kaiako:** Tētahi anō?
- Hinepau:** Me tuhi koe.
- Kaiako:** He rite tonu ki te whawhai.
- Hinepau:** Me tuhi koe, kia tere!
- Kaiako:** *(Complies with direction of the child by modifying first rule to include 'patu' and adds the following).*  
Kaua e whawhai, patu rānei. Tuarua?... He aha ētahi mea e pā ana ki te taringa?
- Awatea:** Kaua e ūmere!
- Kaiako:** Āe. Kaua e ūmere.
- Hinepau:** Kaua – oh – me whakarongo!
- Kaiako:** Uuu, āe. *(Kaiako writes down).*
- Awatea:** *(Observing Kaiako's writing and reads).*  
Me whakarongo!
- Kaiako:** Me āta whakarongo nē.
- Awatea:** *(Reads)* Me āta whakarongo!
- Hinepau:** Mōhio ana te tikanga o te ihu – kaua e pihongi  
*(Remembering a health theme to blow nose in the winter instead of sniffing).*
- Kaiako:** Āe.
- Kaiako:** *(Laughs)* Tika tonu.
- Toko:** Kaua e pihongi.
- Kaiako:** *(Then revisits writing)* Nō reira, kaua e ūmere  
*(pointing to words).* Me āta... *(Pointing while waiting for a response).*
- Hinepau:** *(Reads)* Whakarongo!
- Kaiako:** I a tētahi e kōrero ana he aha te tikanga tika?
- Hinepau:** Me whakarongo!
- Kaiako:** Tētahi anō – whakaarohia! Tētahi anō?
- Awatea:** Kaua e haere ko koe anake?

- Kaiako:** Ki hea?
- Awatea:** Ki te toa – ki te rori. (*Reflecting back to storytelling*)
- Kaiako:** Āe he tikanga tēnā, ēngari he tikangā mō te rūma nei?  
...Tērā pea tētahi e pā ana ki ngā taputapu o roto nei.  
Mēnā ka haere ki te hautūtū ki tētahi mea, he aha te mahi i te mutunga?
- Awatea:** Ka hoki mai tētahi hiko, ka puta tētahi ahi.  
(*Awatea was reflecting back to an activity the children participated in about room safety and fire hazards*).
- Hinepau:** Ahi—ka puta mai te ahi.
- Kaiako:** Mēnā...
- Hinepau:** Mēnā ka tūtū ka puta mai te ahi.
- Kaiako:** Oh āe. Mēnā ka raweke te hiko. Nō reira ko tērā tētahi tikanga rawe rawa atu. Kaua e raweke te hiko.
- Hinepau:** Kaua e, kaua, kaua, kei a au he, he mea tino tino tino, kāore e pai. Kaua e tiki tētahi naihi – kaua he rau atu ki roto i tētahi tētahi mea tōhi. Kaua e pērā. (*Demonstrates*). Ka pakaru te mea tōhi kātahi ka chg chg chg pppppp.
- Awatea:** Ēngari kāore e taea te kai.
- Kaiako:** Ēngari ka hiko tō tinana hoki, ka pakaru tō tinana pea.
- Awatea:** Āe.
- Kaiako:** He aha te mīhini tōhi?
- Awatea:** Me me me me purua ētahi paraoa ki roto i tētahi mea, arā, ka tatari noa iho – he pai tērā.
- Kaiako:** Mmmm.
- Hinepau:** Mēnā ka pēnei (*demonstrates*) kua reri. Mēnā ka ch ch kātahi ka haere mai ki runga, ēngari kātahi ka tango. Kaua just, mēnā, mēnā ka

haere tonu, kua e purua ētahi naihi ki roto  
kātahi ka hiko tō tinana.

**Awatea:** Ka pakaru hoki tō tinana.

**Hinepau:** Āe.

**Awatea:** Kei te tata pakaru tērā atu tangata – tērā mea  
pepa - ki runga i te pepa. Maumahara koe  
um – maumahara koe Whaea X?

**Kaiako:** Maumahara au i taua pepa.

**Awatea:** Mmmmm. He um dangerous.

**Kaiako:** Tino aitua. (*Conversation continues along  
these lines*).

## Conclusions

The question guiding the overview of children's conversations in contexts which are meaningful to them relates to children's developing bilingualism, biculturalism and the role of adults in terms of their relationships to the participant children. Specifically, how might context and its structure provide a setting for children learning to speak te reo Māori (as a first/heritage language) in culture, enabling them to participate in a Māori world? How might context, content and kaiako make a difference?

## The Relationships of Language and Culture

### *A Cultural Relationship*

According to Fishman (1996) this is the most important relationship between language and culture, as it gets to the heart of what is lost when a language is lost and that is most of the culture itself, which is expressed in the language. When you take a language away from its culture

...you take away its greetings, its curses, its praises, its laws, its literature, its songs, its riddles, its proverbs, its cures, its wisdom, its prayers...When you are talking about the language, most of

what you are talking about is the culture. That is, you are losing all those things that essentially are the way of life, the way of thought, the way of valuing, and the human reality that you are talking about (p.81).

Baker (1993) stated “The taste and flavour of a culture is given through its language; its memories and traditions are stored in its language” (p.56). When these are taken away what is left? The culture starts to gradually decline because there is no other way of handing it on or expressing it than through its language (Fishman, 1996).

### *A Symbolic Relationship*

The symbolic relationship is also another deep relationship between language and culture, in that it stands for that whole culture, including its members. According to Fishman (1996) if we say about a language that it sounds harsh, then that is because we think the people are harsh. If we say that it is primitive, then it is because we think the people are primitive. In the minds of the speakers and the minds of the outsiders the language represents the whole relationship between the language, its speakers, and the culture. That is, “...the whole economy, religion, health care system, philosophy, all of that together is represented by the language” (p.82). In other words, a language tends to symbolise the whole culture, its people and its country.

In this country, the English language (and culture) is the language that symbolises achievement and success, status and power. Te reo Māori remains threatened. It lacks status and power. What does that mean for Māori people, culture and resources? Why are the ‘value-added’ linguistic and cultural, social and economic, benefits of bilingualism and biculturalism not recognised? Why does there seem to be a subtractive approach to languages (other than English) and so much resistance (still) to hearing te reo Māori, (and other languages) spoken here? The latest language debate in the country is the ‘English’ only test for prospective (mainly Asian) immigrants and a provocative debate at that. But why not include some knowledge of te reo Māori and the Treaty? That is still an unthinkable

proposition in mainstream Aotearoa. What does the continued threat and potential loss of te reo Māori mean for the whole country? If, after Baker (1993), Māori/English stable diglossia and bilingualism is threatened (and it is), instead of addition there would be subtraction; division instead of multiplication. That is an accurate summary of the ongoing relationship between Māori language activists and others in Aotearoa—long division.

After Fishman (1996) when you talk to people about what the language means to them they talk of deep relationships between the Gods and Humankind, of creation, *‘I te tīmatanga ko te Kupu, ko te Kupu i te tīmatanga’* *‘Nā te Atua anō te kupu, ko te kupu anō te Atua’*, of its substance to people, *‘Ko te Reo te Mauri o Te Tangata’*, of its significance to humanity and relationships, *‘Ko te kai o te rangatira, he kōrero’*, of the depths of reverence, *‘Tōku Reo Tōku Ohooho, Tōku Reo Tōku Māpihi Maurea, Tōku Reo Tōku Whakakai Mārihi’*. Moreover, according to Fishman (1996), people talk of the ‘sanctity’ and ‘holiness’ of their language when they discuss its meaning. When the relationships of language and culture are interfered with there is a deep sense of loss and longing, something being wrong, often accompanied by a moral imperative to do something about it. As he said “Woe to the people who have lost the sense of holiness, where nothing matters, and woe to the people who have lost a commitment one to the other” (p. 83), and it is that that is lost when a language and culture is lost. It is that moral imperative of linguistic and cultural survival that drives RLS efforts in Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori. The relationships between language and culture, as presented by Fishman (1996) can be merged into visions and aspirations of what it is to lead a meaningful life (indexical relationship); to live a life where one’s culture is accessible and intact (cultural relationship); and a life where one’s identity is whole, one’s right and ability to live with good health, spirit and a sense of well-being in place, and one’s rangatiratanga is in tact (a symbolic relationship); a turangawaewae.

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*Becoming Bilingual/Bicultural*

The concepts applied to reciprocal teaching/learning suggested that a use of code switching in the classroom would provide for a common bilingual phenomenon to be seen as an acceptable means of communication which affords language learning opportunities and promotes critical awareness. The case study children felt comfortable switching languages within purposeful meaningful conversations as the data demonstrated. A positivistic/scientific approach to language learning/teaching is an attempt to eliminate code switching (controlling the language behaviours of the children in a behaviouristic approach to teaching/learning language) and would just reinforce the silence and passivity of powerlessness that that approach engenders, rather than creating conditions that encourage children's talk to flow thus fostering their confidence to identify with, and think critically about what is going on in their worlds. The interactional approach taken by Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo was explored with a view to illustrating how it promoted the development of critical awareness as young children demonstrated a sense of agency and how the interactions were operating within the children's zones of proximal development. Their engagement in the interactions showed how children were developing a command of te reo Māori for a range of purposes and the thinking processes that were also occurring.

*The Development of Critical Literacy*

Using Ada's (1988) framework as a theoretical construct was useful as it is about a process which is an active, co-construction of knowledge. This co-construction of knowledge is central to the children's learning as they are encouraged to actively engage with what they are learning (Ada, 1988). One simply cannot understand messages without acting on them either internally (by thinking about them) or externally (doing something about them). Phase one of the framework was merely descriptive, but phases two and three, the interpretative and analysis phases, represent the internalised action on the text (the thinking about them). The final phase four is a shift of the internalised action (the thought) into external agency (the action) during the co-construction of knowledge in a real context

which is meaningful to those engaged in the creative literacy act. In the data examples it was the writing and performance of a play in the Kōhanga Reo which is the context of social interaction. Phase four of Ada's framework can also provide for an emergent curriculum. As children engage the text, through their discussions and posing questions, kaiako and children can be guided into ongoing research projects as they seek to deepen their understanding, problem solve or find answers thus further guiding the creative literacy act. This process becomes more than just individual children thinking in isolation. It is about children and adults actively engaging with one another in a deepening understanding of the text and a transformation of their realities as a result of the issues arising out of the text.

In the dominant approach to literacy, minority children are not necessarily encouraged to voice their realities (Ada, 1988; Cummins, 2000; Macrine, 2002). Rather, they are expected to take on board the dominant view point of who they are. That process is dehumanising. In a creative reading act, in terms of identity formation, when children actively voice their own opinions, their thinking, their stories, they are also actively voicing their own realities. It is this process that can present as a challenge to the unequal power relations as alternative perspectives and ways of operating are activated.

### *The Deep Structure – Role of Kaiako*

A critical tenet of the internal deep structure of the Kōhanga Reo is the centrality of children, their whakapapa, and their ownership of the programme—their involvement for real purpose. This is facilitated by the kaiako as children are encouraged to plan, question, problem pose, problem solve and are involved at the structural level of operating. Dahlberg, et al. (1999) argue that children should be included in the making-up of rules (or cultural guidelines) in order to have a sense of ownership, to be key agents in the process, enabling them to make the connections between the cultural guidelines and relevance those guidelines have to their lives. According to Dahlberg et al. this sense of 'agency' plays a pivotal

role in the learning process because it is an active role. When agency is aroused the learning becomes meaningful to the learner and is enabled (or disabled) through the deep structures of the programme. Furthermore, Dahlberg et al. argued that agency and structure are actually inseparable (p.13-14) and that this deep internal structure comes together in the role of the kaiako and the folk pedagogies that the kaiako hold.

## **Chapter Summary**

This chapter explored the data with a view to examining its functional relationship of language used in the interactions to the revernacularisation of te reo Māori. The examination uses examples of what language users say and do in the creation of a community of speakers located at Stage 6 on Fishman's (1991) GIDS Scale. It has continued to explore the centrality of the relationship of language to culture. What is lost when a language is lost? The culture itself with all its expression is lost. With impositional language decline comes cultural decline. Cultural decline is a gradual decline, and until such time as the culture begins to rebuild, albeit perhaps using different forms of expression, such decline is made manifest in the social and cultural dislocation of its members. Even so, much is irretrievably lost when a language is lost—in real human terms, linguistically, culturally, socially, politically and spiritually. RLS is a moral imperative to intervene in such dislocation. The overview of the pedagogical approach used by Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo, together with the data analysis in this Chapter is an attempt to look at the nuts and bolts of such an intervention.

Data analysis was divided into two sections. The first section dealt with some broader themes related to bilingualism and the oral language acquisition of te reo Māori by children in Kōhanga Reo with examples. The second section looked at some teaching strategies employed in the language revernacularisation process. It looked at aspects of print literacy and biliteracy through the development and use of an alphabetic tool, te arapū, and also the theoretical construct of critical

literacy. These were incorporated into the study with a view to the development and promotion of a Māori/English biculture which is the social reality of our children attending Kōhanga Reo.

Chapter six is a discussion of the findings and will draw the conclusions of the study together.

## CHAPTER SIX

### “Kia Mate Rā Anō a Tama Nui Te Rā”

(Nā Te Wharehuia Milroy, 2001)

He taonga tuku iho  
Te reo Māori  
Te reo Rangatira  
Me tautoko te kaupapa  
Ki te whakanui i te reo  
I Aotearoa nei  
Ka whawhai tonu rā  
O tātou whānau rā, mō te nui o tō tātou reo  
Tautoko te reo Māori  
Tautoko te reo Māori  
Whakahokia te reo tuatahi  
Ki tēnei whenua

(Note: this waiata was written by the late Te Piki Kōtuku Kereama encouraging the promotion of te reo Māori as the official language of Aotearoa)

**Introduction: Ki te whei ao, ki te ao mārama, haumi e, hui e tāiki e!**

This study draws together the ways in which reversing language shift (RLS) imperatives in Kōhanga Reo can be seen in terms of wider attempts to arrest the impact of language loss. This study has shown that a reinstatement of Māori ways of saying things, doing things, thinking and being, underpinned by Māori values, beliefs and practices, whilst balancing the demands of the dominant culture (indeed a very delicate, difficult and at times distressing, balancing act) guided

and shaped praxis. This balance is vital to reinvigorate vernacular functions. This study also provides further clarification of focus for RLS efforts in Kōhanga Reo. Chapters four and five explored the infrastructure (internal operations) of Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo in an examination of the meanings created by the children in the revernacularisation effort. More specifically chapter four explored meaning-making in the children's daily interactive experiences. It made links to the indexical relationship between their use of te reo Māori and Māori culture in terms of the cultural understandings produced. Chapter five continued to draw on the data to explore interactions with reference to meaning making and also some broader themes relating to RLS among whānau in Kōhanga Reo. In addition, it continued the discussion of the connection between language, culture and Māori identity through the regeneration of te reo Māori as a language of the whānau and as a vehicle by which the cultural values which include Māori spirituality are passed on intergenerationally.

This chapter will firstly discuss the findings of the data included in chapters four and five. The focus of the discussion will be how the context might provide a structure (process and agency) for children learning te reo Māori as a *vernacular*; to access a world that is Māori; and to live and identify as Māori. The discussion between language, culture and identity is continued. Secondly it will draw the revernacularisation themes together in a manner which articulates the mechanics of revernacularisation in Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo with regard to an intervention praxis in language (and cultural) shift. Finally, some judgments are made drawing the study to a conclusion.

This study represents and reflects upon 18 years of intense involvement at the flaxroots level and for many of my colleagues currently working in Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori the issues highlighted herein will have a familiar hue as much of the terrain covered is theirs. The terrain is often rugged, but the centrality of language which provides the structural supports and direction helps with navigating that terrain. Te reo Māori provides a mechanism for our spiritual journey and is our cultural identifier which gives voice to our dreams and

aspirations for our children who are Māori living at the interface between te ao Māori (Māori world) and te ao whānui (wider world). It is this journey which is the heart and soul of this thesis.

## **FINDINGS**

### **Themes—Chapters Four and Five**

#### **A Lexical Relationship between Language and Culture – Meaning-making**

According to Bruner (1975), meaning-making is a social construction which involves children in intersubjective social interactions with others (children and adults). Meaning-making is an interpretation of what goes on, perceptions and thinking about interactions with others and the world. It is not an inert inactive fixed entity to be deposited in children's minds in 'mindless', 'contextually disembedded' acts.

Meaning-making is central to the pedagogy of Kōhanga Reo as we want young children to use te reo Maori in order to think, to learn, to make sense of and to broaden and deepen their understanding of the Māori worlds in which they live with an ultimate goal of reversing language shift. This in turn would lead to a stay of the encroachment of colonialism into the socio-cultural lives of Māori people. Fishman's (1996) theoretical framework of the relationship between language and culture provided an analytical tool for this study in terms of the indexical relationship representing a meaning-making relationship of language to culture. It allows us to understand more fully that relationship and its implications for reversing language shift (RLS) in Kōhanga Reo. As in the relationship of an index to its book which signifies where the book provides its content themes, its key elements and their whereabouts, likewise a language indexes its culture. It provides a key to its cultural understandings and practices, its internal operations and it also allows its speakers to learn and engage with each other in the cultural environment with its resources. This indexical relationship was identified as being the relationship between the language used and the meanings that it produced through its use of vocabulary, idioms and metaphors in everyday interactions. That is the one-to-one correspondence between what is said and the

meaning made at the interactional (cognitive, physical and emotive) levels in socio-cultural contexts (Baker, 1993).

The children of Te Amokura were involved in meaning-making through using language in everyday communicative and purposeful activities which provided them with the tools and resources to explore and express their ideas and feelings; to question what was happening or going to happen and explain; to negotiate and make predictions; to reflect and fantasize; to teach and to learn from each other; to exercise a measure of power as they each took on leadership roles, showed initiative, made decisions and articulated their own positions and self-assertiveness both in te reo Māori and English. They are early infant and child bilinguals developing measures of communicative fluency enabling them to use te reo Maori across the many language domains documented and for specific purpose.

### **Developing Bilinguals**

A deepening understanding of and facility with two languages in a language programme which encourages children to focus on language provides them with opportunities to become ‘language detectives’ (Cummins, 2000). In Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo the children learned to detect the subtleties of difference in meaning and perspective as they compared and contrasted between te reo Māori and English. The pilot study documented discussions with children making links between an ability to speak Māori and identifying as Māori. ‘If people spoke Māori, they were Māori’ and they strongly identified themselves as Māori even though it was pointed out to them that they could speak English as well. The study demonstrated how children were encouraged to participate in conversations about language and identity, to sing songs about language and identity, to participate in activities about language and identity and to reflect on their own language learning pathways and identity. It was demonstrated how, in Te Amokura, it was central to the philosophy to help children become aware of the importance of their language development. Discussions among children, and

between children and adults, were included in the analysis as they compared and contrasted te reo Māori and English.

### **Critical Awareness for Creative Thinking and Improved Metacognition**

Children's ability to read and speak the word and the world in two cultures, two languages (to be bilingual and biliterate) also develops a bilateral awareness (an awareness of differing world views) enabling them to blend those world views in unique and creative ways. They are bicultural in a very real sense, with an ability to 'shift and drift' between cultures, between two worlds which intersect at times and at other times are quite distinct. The constant in all the 'shift and drift' is who they are as Māori, their whakapapa and tūrangawaewae that positions them wherever they are, in whatever cultural context, as Māori. It is their facility with language/s which enables them to negotiate other worlds and their developing awareness of the dynamics of mind and culture. The case study children are what I have termed 'developing biculturals'. They demonstrated an ability to 'jump outside of the box' so to speak, in terms of their thinking and world views as they contrasted between identities and languages and domains. As a consequence, it is argued here, there are fewer constraints on their ability to be creative thinkers and creative speakers when their metacognitive abilities are fine tuned through language/s use. Research suggests that when children do not have the conventional words they need they fill the linguistic gap with alternative words (Saunders, 1988) e.g. a four-year old using the word 'sprinkles' for 'freckles' (Strickland & Morrow, 1989). The case study children not only 'filled the gaps' with alternative words but invented words, or collaborated in the invention of words, for cross-cultural concepts e.g. 'toroapa' for drawer and 'pūkupu' for spell.

In some ways monolingualism can promote one way of looking at the world because only one language is used to represent the world. It promotes a unilateral, individualistic way of speaking, thinking and being, as if each person was an island unto themselves locked into one mode of understanding experience. Bilingualism promotes alternative and hence multiple readings and

understandings of experience. Therefore increased cognitive and metacognitive awareness through bilingualism can provide the much needed skills of versatility and resourcefulness to cope with today's rapidly changing technologies and societies.

### **Code Switching as Pedagogical Tool**

Code switching, the conscious use of two languages simultaneously or interchangeably, is appreciated by many sociolinguists as a 'natural' part of developing bilinguals' language acquisition. Indeed, research suggests that code switching is a commonly occurring phenomenon.

Whilst some kaiako in Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori continue to take the 'error to be eradicated' stand by correcting a code switch as an error, some kaiako may prefer to take a neutral stand or argue that it is a non-issue or insignificant, simply a reality. Code switching is a significant feature in terms of children's bilingualism, to be used as a learning/teaching and assessment tool in terms of their language learning pathways.

This tension represents the debate between what Baker (1993) identifies as the structural (code switching viewed as error) approach versus the communicative (code switching viewed as natural) approach to language learning. Therefore how the behaviour is interpreted and responded to will impact upon pedagogy and praxis in Kōhanga Reo, perhaps even the ultimate goal of RLS. The communicative approach emphasises meaning-making in meaningful situations. The view that it is a 'natural' part of a bilingual child's language acquisition was seen as a major breakthrough for those of us working in Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo because it legitimated a phenomenon that some pedagogues had previously thought to be deviant or error, and allowed a more relaxed attitude to the behaviour. Moreover, it was capitalised on in that it was incorporated as a language learning/teaching strategy in Te Amokura and as an assessment tool as it gave the pedagogues an insight into children's perspectives, thinking and

understanding. Therefore, it is argued here that the 'error' or 'fence-sitting' views are a failure to appreciate the significance of code switching and what it means in terms of language learning and teaching with wider implications for RLS and teacher education.

Furthermore, the structural pedagogical approach is not only negative and inhibitive but also counter-productive as the children's language behaviour is externally controlled by those who seek to alter or correct their language. The locus of control is outside of the child/ren where a focus is the elimination of a phenomenon in children's daily interactions rather than the meanings that are generated by the children themselves. If they become reluctant speakers of te reo Māori, their overall Māori language acquisition may also be impeded and so too their learning conceptually through the medium of te reo Māori. This would undoubtedly impact negatively on the RLS goal of Kōhanga Reo.

The communicative approach seeks to capitalise on the use of code-switching by listening to and valuing the language that the child brings to the situation and responding in a manner which seeks to deepen the child's understanding of the world within a unique cultural context. The latter is consistent with Vygotsky's (1978) theoretical construct of operating within the child's zone of proximal development. It allows us to understand the child's immediate language needs, pathways and growth. Therefore the use of code switching as a language tool provides scaffolds in the language learning environment of Kōhanga Reo.

The central concern of this study was an examination of what actually was happening and what it all may mean with some children (infant and child bilinguals) in the sociolinguistic cultural context of Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo. What was of value in this space at this time for those children involved? It is from that position (where the children were at), viewed positively, that kaiako efforts were focussed on fostering an awareness of language which can and does cause change over time. As documented in the data, children's proficiency in te reo Māori developed as they became confident, competent users of the language.

This study shows that the positive acceptance of (mostly single word) code switching by kaiako and incorporating its use as a teaching/learning tool actually enhanced and was expected to speed up language learning as children's speech was supplemented and meaning-making was not compromised. The interactions remained relevant and located within the children's own zones of proximal development and it became apparent that particular code switches were no longer needed (e.g. 'spell') as the children's speech developed. Positive acceptance also reduced the embarrassment factor, referred to as the 'affective filter' (Krashen, 1982) when the child did not know the word. In addition, it valued and capitalised on the knowledge base that the children brought with them to Kōhanga Reo, in this way building on their prior knowledge—an important component of the distinct philosophy of Te Aho Matua (Education Review Office, 2003). In other words, use of code switching as a pedagogical tool caused a shift in the children's zone of proximal development as their oral language and understanding was strengthened. The two languages in this sense are to enrich each other rather than subtract from each other. The operational Kōhanga Reo programme, therefore, is consistent with additive bilingualism with cumulative aims, rather than subtractive bilingualism with assimilative aims.

### **The Development of Biliteracy**

Bruner (1996) described culture as being biology's last great evolutionary trick by freeing homo sapiens to construct a symbolic world (through language). The construct of symbolic worlds (cultures) through the use of language/s can be further elaborated to include the many and varied graphic representations of language-in-culture in the form of 'print' and other culturally representative symbols (e.g. kōwhaiwhai [painted scroll symbols], tukutuku [ornamental panels signifying different natural phenomena], whakairo [carved representations of histories]); and in the presentation arena whaikōrero (oration), haka (performance) and so on. These symbols all form part of the resplendent 'whāriki' or weaving that shapes the mind and, of course, provides a foundation to the complex critical

literacy and biliteracy functions. These ‘critical’ functions are concerned with shaping human lives (Freire, 1972) and, as a consequence, have an underlying political agenda of societal transformation. The development of print literacy being representative of oral language and thought is an important mode of meaning-making in today’s societies. It must follow, therefore, that the development of biliteracy (dual print literacies) in Kōhanga Reo is equally important.

Saunders (1988) suggests it is important that bilingual children are made aware of their heritage language having its own literature and writing conventions because print literacy development extends and enriches language use. Biliteracy development, therefore, is a component of additive bilingualism and should be reflected in RLS programmes in Kōhanga Reo. Reading and story-telling with children are important activities. They develop vocabulary and give the children models for increasing syntactical complexity (Elley, 1987; Howe & Johnson, 1992; Strickland & Morrow, 1989). In the same way that Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo promotes balanced bilingualism, it also promotes balanced biliteracy and a deepening understanding of two different syntactical structures. Saunders further states “[i]lliteracy in one of a bilingual’s languages represents a considerable loss to the individual and to the community as a whole” (p. 198). Illiteracy or an imbalance in print literacy between an *acquiring bilingual’s* languages in Kōhanga Reo would then have a wider impact on RLS efforts. Fishman (1996) suggested that print literacy creates communities over time and space. It is intergenerational in that print speaks from people who are no longer alive and talks to people who have yet to be born. So too do Māori forms of oral literacy represented in our *whaikōrero* (orations), *mōteatea* (laments), *ngeri* (rhythmic chants), *pepehā* (charms or witticism), *hakerara* (poetic lilt), *whakatauki* (proverbs), *whakapapa* (histories) and so on. Māori are doubly blessed, i.e. additive bilingualism. Therefore the development of literacy tools in order to promote biliteracy is the focus of the following.

The Sesame Street song, ‘*a b c d e f g*’ etc to the tune of ‘*[T]winkle twinkle little star*’ was introduced into Te Amokura by a four-year-old very fluent Māori language speaker. This provided us with a base to produce our own alphabet song (te arapū Māori) as a literacy tool. It not only proved to be an effective literacy tool, but was very popular with the children. Subsequent songs and activities were also developed in collaboration with the Kōhanga whānau around that tool with a view to promoting children’s biliteracy skills.

The development of the tool as resource (te arapū, see Chapter Five, examples BC3a-i) was essentially the development of a list of named letters in the order of the standard Māori dictionaries. It was rapidly incorporated into the Kōhanga programme in an effortless way to assist the children’s emerging literacy/biliteracy skills. It is noted here that the design and use of this tool was as a support to promoting young Māori speaking children’s literacy development. Its implementation in Te Amokura was not separately the ‘focus’ in the literacy programme, but rather was used in a wider context, as one of many activities, promoting literacy. There are equally or perhaps more important skills to be developed in programmes with RLS aims.

In Kōhanga Reo the development of conversational speech in oral literacy, also a precursor to print literacy skills is central to its philosophy and must always remain fore-grounded. In Te Amokura, however, it is considered that print literacy is also important. Research suggests that oracy is what underpins subsequent print literacy development in young children as children’s language is enriched (M. Hohepa, 1999). For that reason, in Te Amokura the primacy of oral language development is critical, but it is also connected to other literacy acts e.g., story telling, reading and writing books, and performance (whakaari, kapahaka) where words are used to create worlds of meaning, hence the development of Te Arapū. However, since the language found in books is different to oral language (Cummins, 2000; Strickland & Morrow, 1999) exposing children to as many varieties of texts and storytelling is also related to, and supports, the development of reading and print literacy skills. It is argued here that without such a tool to use

as a support in the development of print literacy skills for Māori speaking children, they may be disadvantaged. Its promotion among the network of Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori to which Te Amokura belongs has seen its rapid incorporation into their literacy, biliteracy programmes and it is hoped that with common usage the tool may become a convention with young Māori bilingual children.

### **The Development of Critical Literacy**

Te Amokura promoted critical language awareness among the children by providing them with opportunities to compare, contrast and reflect, and also to discuss current issues and topics relevant to their lives through the use of te reo Māori, interaction with text and action beyond the text. The examples BC4a-g in chapter five illustrated children being involved in creative reading acts. They highlighted how the children integrated those interactions into their dreams, their fears, their feelings, their imaginative thinking and their lives. The data discussed children's interaction with text and how they developed their own ideas and understanding around the topics they shared with one another, e.g. the notion of Hatupatu being an orphan 'just like Oliver Twist'<sup>18</sup>, and questions about his 'whakapapa' which led to a fully-fledged project. This project was complete with a research component and subsequent inquiry. The children's own stories and representations reinforced their critical literacy awareness as they wrote and dictated books and performed plays.

Of relevance for Kōhanga Reo is the argument put forward by Ada (1988) that the more closely the structures of printed text are related to those used by children in normal speech the easier it is for them to gain access to literacy and to respond in a critical sense. Further, reading material which presents children with meaningless language lacks predictability, prevents them from making use of the sequential probability in its structure, thwarts meaningful engagement and

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<sup>18</sup> The children had recently been to see the live musical 'Oliver Twist' at a local primary school.

possibly threatens future interaction with books. This sequence can have a long term negative impact not only on children's language acquisition but their life long learning.

The dearth of suitable Māori story books has been an ongoing concern for many of us working in Kōhanga Reo. As documented in Chapter Two Māori biliteracy as well as bilingualism is clearly a political issue in Aotearoa, not a linguistic one. One of the regular responses by publishers, shops, government agencies and so on is that the numbers of Māori do not satisfy supply and demand issues when it comes to Māori language publications. However, that attitude is slowly changing as future projections position Māori in a stronger position demographically. Nevertheless, the paucity of books has meant a concerted focus of effort to produce an array of books on each and all of the activities and projects that the children in Te Amokura participated in. Furthermore, it is argued that because these books are relevant to the children, they are about them and often incorporate their dictated stories, ideas, values and understandings, art work and photographs; their critical literacy skills were enhanced as a consequence.

## **An Analysis of the Structures of Te Amokura**

The wider question guiding the examination of RLS through the 'revernacularisation' of te reo Māori in Kōhanga Reo relates to the functions or roles of more experienced people in context. Rogoff et al. (2001) discussed the notion of surface and deep structures. The surface structure includes the curriculum planning and resourcing or those aspects of structure which bring everyone and everything together in the one space and time in a particular socio-cultural context. How that curriculum and the resources are then utilised causes the shift from the surface structure, enveloping them into a deep structure.

This thesis has been concerned with those aspects which build on the deep structure or the infrastructure because of its central focus on issues to do with pedagogy (critical), praxis (implementation combined with reflection in terms of

transformation) and children's power (shift from powerless). Reversing language shift with these dimensions foregrounded have been the 'stuff' of this study and articulated further in the following structural analysis which takes into consideration the context of Te Amokura including its philosophy as well as the roles and functions of kaiako and tamariki (including the wider whānau), curriculum in terms of its development and documentation.

## **The Context**

An unfaltering commitment to the philosophy of Kōhanga Reo and its RLS goals together with an ongoing analysis of what that means in practical terms has helped to create a space which is a 'safe haven' for te reo Māori in a wider monolingual context. A co-constructionist theoretical perspective which is fostered within the Kōhanga Reo positions the children as rich, creative thinkers. They are co-constructing their own theories about who they are in relation to their environment, their peers, adults and resources. This theoretical perspective underpins the practice and is reflected in the sorts of responsive relationships that are developed between adults and children. The work of the Kaiako operating within a co-constructionist theoretical perspective is what provides the pedagogical supports at the structural level of the Kōhanga and is reflected in the lives and learning of the children.

Children learn language in social interactions with people. They learn the sounds and structures of language through talking with and listening to others in situations where language occurs naturally (Bruner, 1983; Wells, 1986). They learn new vocabulary and the structures of language when they hear and use them frequently in collaborative discussions in a range of meaningful activities and contexts (Nelson, 1997). They learn language through engagement or joint attention with others in intersubjective relationships (Bruner, 1995). Through these relationships with others they create meaning and gain deeper understandings of who they are and their environment (Dahlberg et al., 1999). Children have a learning disposition for shared reference, participating in real,

interactive, meaningful activities (Carr, 2001). It is the basis of this learning disposition which both underpins and constitutes language learning and a deepening understanding of the child's environment. When the children are positioned in a Māori world, where they are able to participate in real, interactive, meaningful activities through te reo Māori, revernacularisation is the result. Reversing Māori language shift and consequently contributing to Māori cultural advancement are some of the wider implications. Therefore the active involvement of adult Māori-speaking whānau (that is kaiako, pedagogues, parents and other members of the Māori community) is central to the philosophy of Kōhanga Reo and RLS. It helps to create an environment which is Māori, and supports the learning dispositions of the children and their language learning.

Adults play a critical role in children's learning in terms of their responsiveness to children's needs and ideas, the scaffolds they provide and the nature of teacher/learner relationships that are cultivated (Bruner, 1995; A. Smith, 1999). Rogoff et al. (2001) refers to the process of incorporating the children's ideas and perspectives into the curriculum of the classroom as 'emergent curriculum'—a step beyond the act of providing the human resources responsible for organising space, resources, activities and perhaps an impositional curriculum. It is the provision of new learning and teaching opportunities for children in the exploration and creation of knowledge by them and which are relevant and connected to them. Implementing a fixed pre-packaged curriculum and assessments may sometimes mean valuable learning opportunities are lost as it is easy to overlook young children's theories, perspectives and pedagogical possibilities without a special focus in that direction.

In Te Amokura there would undoubtedly have been missed opportunities now and then, but an assortment of positive responses from the adults was evident in the data. Such responses and attentiveness were given to encourage the children to continue to articulate their positions and perspectives. The use of utterances such as "oooo, mmmm, oh, nē, nē rā" with positive feedback and persuasive intonation not only encouraged children into joint attention or discussion, but signified that

they took the children's theories about the world, their thinking and their ideas seriously (Bruner, 1995). This also encouraged children to reflect on their own theories, to listen and accommodate the theories of others, and perhaps to cement or modify their own as meaning-making competencies were activated. Comber (2000) refers to working with children's resources, including their knowledge of popular culture and taking seriously the cliché of working with 'what they bring to school', including the wider whānau 'funds of knowledge' as 'permeable curriculum'.

In Te Amokura, there is an understood malleability of curriculum to suit the needs of children, rather than the reverse, moulding children to suit the manipulability of curriculum. The Patupaiarehe (fairy goblin-type creatures) project is a good example. As a result of interaction with text, ongoing discussion and elder's stories of Mangumangu Taipo, Ngā Maeroero and the like, the children became engrossed in an emergent curriculum design where they carried out their own local investigations complete with their own cameras for documentation. Their ideas or constructions were taken seriously as everyone became involved in the exploration. Their learning was centralised in the 'here and now', in their 'zones of proximal development', with some unanticipated results as is often the case when working within an emergent design. The ideas and thinking of young children and the part that plays in their own learning and development can frequently be undervalued or unrecognised if not given special attention. It is part of the deep structure of Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo that encourages the kaiako to exhibit a willingness to go with the thinking and theories of the children and work the curriculum around them, wherever possible.

### **Kaiako Seizing the Moment**

According to Rogoff et al. (2001), spontaneous 'emergent' curriculum makes use of many different resources and often takes everyone into new and exciting realms. It is a chance to feed children's fantasies and imaginations, and places children in powerful positions where their perspectives are noticed and supported.

It is this *structure* of the context that provides this depth as children are viewed as being rich and powerful, not empty vessels to be filled up (Freire, 1972). Rogoff et al. (2001) discussed the notion of ‘in your face learning’ from when children first became immersed in a project. As children work collaboratively, brainstorm, take the initiative, make decisions, plan, discuss, question, analyse, organise and problem-solve, they are *learning and creating curriculum*. Furthermore, that children in later life, who have had years of experience designing and creating curriculum in this way become more self-assured and adept at decision making, problem solving, and creative thinking.

The data highlighted that book reading sessions were a great time to answer questions and encourage conversation. Kaiako did not hesitate to stop and go with the topics of conversation that the children raised during those times. Recognising them also as important learning moments is vital, especially when it comes to regenerating oral language as opportunities open up to extend children’s ideas and thinking. M. Hohepa (1999) also found that books provided good models of language and new grammar. They supported Māori oral literacy development—a foundation for later print literacy development. They can transport children to other places and times (real and imaginery) beyond their everyday worlds. Their worldly knowledge base is thus broadened (Saunders, 1988). In Te Amokura new topics of interest often came up for discussion as the children made links with their own personal experiences. The emergence of new curriculum and vocabulary developed during these sessions may not have been identified if the kaiako had not listened to children’s comments, questions and followed them up. Kaiako value the role of ‘hui’ or ‘conversations’ with and alongside children and the mutual respect that it engenders.

### **Kaiako as Active Listeners and Thoughtful Speakers**

Rogoff et al. (2001) commented that when adults make visible their struggle to transform their teaching through conversations among other adults both away from and in front of children, and with children, it gives children a chance to learn

how adults recognise their problems, ask for help from others, and experiment to improve. In this way it gives children an opportunity to become active listeners, speakers, thinkers. The use of the term ‘adult’ in this context is deliberate. It represents all those people who may use different referents for their roles—pedagogues, parents, facilitators, teachers, kaiako and so on. That is, those terms are used to represent the same thing—adults engaged in teaching/learning interactions with children—which avoids drawing any distinction between more ‘expert others’ or ‘adults’ on false distinctions or labels according to credentials.

The provision of positive feedback in participatory activities and the nature of that feedback from adults and peers who are active listeners and thoughtful speakers to the initiatives made by children make a difference to their learning and to their understanding of what it is to “be a learner” (Carr, 2000, p.53). The adults in Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo encouraged children to become critical language detectives as many of the conversations made visible were about language. This was highlighted in Example BL1b where a conversation took place between the kaiako about the mixing of the two languages. This led to the children having input about the structure of the language, illustrating the difference between Māori and English through their remodelling of language. In this way, the children are also given the opportunity to, and experience of, helping others to learn, which in turn aids them in learning about teaching relationships and also allows them to take on more leadership roles. This not only contributes to children’s learning but to the overall RLS goals of the creation of a community of language users and learners.

### **Kaiako as Reflective Practitioners and Researchers**

Dahlberg et al. (1999) argued that the role of the pedagogue (kaiako) should also include a research role where the pedagogue is seen as a reflective practitioner: a thinker who seeks to deepen her or his understanding of what is going on and how children learn through documentation, dialogue and critical reflection. In Kōhanga Reo RLS is not easy. Given that in the 1950s and 1960s just one percent

of Māori children starting school had te reo Māori as their mother-tongue and that those children are now the parents and grandparents of the children currently in Kōhanga Reo, the intergenerational aim of RLS is sometimes cumbersome, wearying and at times seemingly impossible. But being able to reflect on history, and with the benefit of hindsight, the whānau of Te Amokura were able to resist the forces that could prompt a default back to outdated methodologies of the past and shape contemporary curriculum priorities. From my observations and networks around the country, many of the kaiako in Kōhanga Reo are second language learners and speakers of te reo Māori—part of the 99% of Māori starting school in the 1960s with English as their mother-tongue. Therefore, in order to support the children’s language learning pathways, research and strengthening one’s own Māori language is an imperative. Reflection and ongoing ideological clarification is also important. Every interaction and new project or activity is a potential language learning opportunity for children (and kaiako). Some knowledge of linguistics, how children learn language and ongoing professional development in the area of kaiako language development is prioritised in Te Amokura. Discussions in front of and alongside children in terms of code switching, lexical gaps, inventive language and research are commonplace. The examples of inventing words like ‘pūkupu’ (spell), after a child raised it in context, ‘toroapa’ invented by a child for drawer, and looking up words e.g. ‘tōhīhī’ (puddle), tohetaka (dandelion), ‘te tō a Papa’ (gravity) are as a result of discussion, reflection and research. These types of episodes were a common occurrence in Te Amokura and often took place in collaboration with or in front of the children. In this way the process was made visible.

### **Emergent Curriculum and Links to Identity**

An emergent curriculum that includes the children’s views and perspectives ultimately builds on who it is they are, and what they think of the world. Rather than trying to construct a world for them in their minds and shaping their identity to conform to a pre-determined (teacher) idea of who they are or what it is they should be, the children are given the freedom and inclination to shape and develop

their own minds and identity. There is a clear shift in the notion of curriculum being fixed, static or something out there that is pre-determined, pre-packaged and spoon fed to empty vessels, to curriculum being creative, connected to children's lives and contributing to children's own notions of who they are. This notion of an emergent or permeable curriculum is important for all levels of education as it engenders a sense of belonging to the learning community and ownership of the learning process.

### **The Role of the Tamariki and Whānau in the Development of Curriculum**

Carr (2000) offered the following critique of the role of children

Clearly, an understanding of the children's perspective on their learning can only make sense in relation to the local opportunities to learn... the children's perspective are inseparable ingredients in the chemistry of the teaching and learning process and that the teaching and learning process consists of complex reciprocal constructions and transactions (p.53).

Te Amokura is concerned with designing collaborative or communal ways of negotiating curriculum and meaning making with children which includes the contexts of their backgrounds or whānau. That is, it is concerned with the relationships of whanaungatanga which extend wide and are extremely varied. Māori are not one homogenous group in terms of social, cultural, political or economic circumstances—nor single minded in terms of aspirations related to things Māori (G. Smith, 1997). Whanaungatanga is a process of bridging the diversity of how we make connections or relate to one another, bound up with the notion of 'whakapapa'. It is this notion of inter-connectedness 'a-whānau', 'a-hapū', 'a-iwi' that provides the foundations for a collaborative approach to curriculum design. It is not about pedagogues or kaiako giving to parents a decontextualised, unproblematised curriculum that they will implement with the children. The wider whānau enters into reflective and analytical (albeit both challenging and rewarding as multiple perspectives are mediated) relationships

with Kaiako, in terms of what it is the children are doing, what they are saying and the ways in which they all relate to one another.

Instances of the incorporation of children's perspectives as part of a developing or emergent curriculum were highlighted in the data (BC4g). Judgments about the pedagogical work undertaken in terms of how meaningful or otherwise it is to all those who are participating in the activities of the Kōhanga Reo and how the pedagogical work could be improved upon, are made in collaborative conversation with all the participants rather than in isolation. Everyone, children and wider whānau, are viewed as both learners and teachers, as in the concept of 'ako' which conceptualises this dual reciprocal relationship between teaching and learning. All are encouraged to take part in the reflective and analytic relationships of teaching and learning. The whānau has a say, contributes and takes responsibility for the learning and teaching processes.

G. Smith (1995) argues that the success of Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori has been because of the revitalisation of the whānau structure and practices, and the potential of the whānau to intervene in Māori educational crises. In Te Amokura everyone has an important part to play in the creation of a community of Māori language speakers and learners. It is this idea of 'community' that is promoted, rather than a relationship of 'service' where there is an expectation that the Kōhanga Reo is there merely to 'provide service for payment'. Te Amokura is 'kaupapa' driven, not 'consumer' driven; pioneering not profiteering. Public policy (especially in the area of government early childhood rules and regulations) may often cut across this type of philosophy or 'the Kaupapa'. G. Smith (1997) argued "[g]overnment funding comes at a 'price' for Māori in that they immediately subject themselves 'into' a more 'structurally determined', economically dependent, existence" (p.110). Frequently the introduction of public policy culminated in the whānau of the Kōhanga Reo revisiting and reflecting on the distinct RLS philosophy of Kōhanga Reo and how policy was mediated. At one stage the Kōhanga Reo coined a new term which described the imposition of state structural controls associated with licensing and funding, the

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movement of Kōhanga Reo from one government department to another and the issues regarding globalisation, curriculum and credentialing as the ‘manacle-isation’ of Kōhanga Reo. It was felt by many of us working in the field that these issues stifled growth and contravened the Kaupapa of *tinu rangatiratanga*. It was also believed the Kōhanga Reo movement was being marshalled back into the dominant Pākehā decision-making frame of early childhood, which may cause a default back to a ‘technical transfer’ type pedagogy regulated and controlled by ‘Poneke’ (Wellington)<sup>19</sup>. The government bureaucratic type of transfer model feared has been referred to as ‘factory model’ provision with pre-determined outcomes and maintenance of the status quo in terms of the asymmetrical power relations between Māori and Pākehā.

Broadfoot (2000) drew a distinction between explicit and implicit forms of learning and their implications. She argued that pedagogues need to cultivate more intuitive approaches to learning and teaching, where children get a chance to cultivate expertise where they wish. Children’s constructions are thus determined to be ‘implicit’ learning involving choice, judgment, problem-solving and creativity which are meaningful and emotional. This notion supports the idea of an emergent ‘shifting and drifting’ curriculum meeting the needs and serving the interests of children and their whānau. Too rigid an approach to curriculum development and implementation can inhibit the creation of knowledge and learning. “The magic and mystery of emotion which can bring the whole process alive is subsumed to the necessity of covering the syllabus and doing what is required for the exam” (Broadfoot, 2000, p.214).

Rather than worrying about consumer-driven factory model curriculum (the hours, who pays, who has responsibility, who is teaching what, and what are perhaps irrelevant outcomes) ‘kaupapa-driven’ praxis is one where the concern is shared, supportive, enlightening and empowering, and most of all transformative. That is, it is concerned with strengthening identities and making a difference to people’s

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<sup>19</sup> Capital city where central government is housed.

lives or transforming their realities and not the maintenance of inequitable power relations and outcomes. How the particular activities, relationships and interactions contribute to identity as Māori, accessibility to Māori language and values, Māori ways of speaking, thinking, and behaving and ultimately '*tino rangatiratanga*' for children and their learning are the heart of the determination.

In many ways the whānau involvement and language policies are difficult to mediate in today's world and often it means a struggle to avoid the pressure of becoming a regular 'early childhood centre', kindergarten, crèche, pre-school, or 'drop-off' centre. Te reo Māori revernacularisation is totally reliant on the support of whole whānau, neighbourhood and community, if the RLS goal is to be achieved and te reo Māori is to survive as a vernacular. As Fishman (1996) pointed out, no language ever lived in an institution, unless of course that institution is the whānau, hapū, iwi. If the language is taught as a subject, in a pre-school or school, with little or no relevance to children's daily lives, it will soon be forgotten. The response to the whānau and language policies in Te Amokura was to develop policy to encourage young parent/s and extended whānau to bring in babies from birth. If children came in as older speakers of English they significantly altered the language dynamics of the Kōhanga Reo.

It is taken for granted that every child in this country will learn to speak English. Not so with the official language of this country, te reo Māori. Te reo Māori is threatened, and so, too a distinct culture. The 'whānau' involvement policy means being selective in a sense, to those who consciously choose to be actively involved in the RLS movement in the revernacularisation of te reo Māori, especially if we want successful outcomes. It means a collaborative effort, working with whānau who have a likeminded commitment to those aspirations. Collaborative curriculum development and assessment is dynamic and ongoing. It is critical and connected to the children, their whānau knowledge and all their life experiences. It is a shifting curriculum, engaging the gaps, resisting the traps — traps which can sometimes cause a default to dominant cultural values, pedagogies and assessments through a translated curriculum and further

colonising our Māori language. The whānau model engenders a sense of empowerment and ownership by all in the construction, co-construction and creation of knowledge. Te Amokura seeks to support the growth in communities of Māori language speakers and learners—which belong to our tamariki, and to which our tamariki belong.

## **Small Groups**

Many working in the field of early childhood education consider relationships to be the fundamental organising strategy, and small groups to be the most favourable (Dahlberg et al., 1999; Rogoff et al., 2001)—likewise for Kōhanga Reo. Small groups allow for constructive conflicts resulting from the exchange of different actions, expectations and ideas which transform the individual's cognitive experience and promote learning and development (Dahlberg et al., 1999). Rogoff et al. (2001) argued that placing children in small groups facilitates learning because there are not strong relationships of authority or dependence. According to Hemara (2000) it seems that within the formal setting of the Whare Wānanga in traditional Māori society (The Houses of Learning) small groups were the preferred option as there was often more than one adult to student. On many occasions in the Kōhanga Reo the children were outnumbered as the adult/child ratio was very high, especially when our kuia and koroua (elders) were involved. In small group arrangements there are more opportunities for constructive conflicts where problem solving situations between the children can easily be facilitated. Many opportunities were extended which allowed the children to work in pairs or small groups in order to explore and interpret the surrounding world. The surroundings were, by design, rich in text and the children were encouraged to interpret or reinterpret those surroundings and to take responsibility for their own learning and constructions. They debated, contradicted, and argued over the issues constantly. On reflection, it appeared to the kaiako involved in the research project that maybe this seemingly incessant arguing was one of the 'down sides' of working with such small groups because conflict seemed to be highlighted. In retrospect, however, a return to the data

revealed different patterns and perspectives emerging. What became apparent was how all the children, tuakana and teina alike, took turns at contradicting or challenging, negotiating and weaving in and out of leadership roles. It is more likely that children in large groups simply do not get the chance to participate in such interchanges, probably because of the size of the group. So too the opportunity to exercise problem-solving techniques and to turn-take leadership roles is diminished with increased group size. In such circumstances where student numbers can sometimes be prohibitive to one-on-one interactions, the practice can often be more about management, controlling behaviours and delivering a fixed curriculum than about facilitating children's learning in meaningful activities. The opportunity to weave in and out of leadership roles and increased problem-solving conversations in small groups then contributes to the RLS goals of TKR.

### **Guided Participation in Rich, Meaningful, Purposeful Activities and Real Language Domains**

These days the learning experiences of young children in centres and schools may often be disconnected from real-life events because they are distinct in that their purposes and goals are different to perhaps what happens in their homes. However, in Te Amokura a different pedagogical approach arose as the Kōhanga sought to provide authentic experiences with meaningful language in the 'daily communicative' lives of the children. This was largely due to the realisation that in the home domain the English language occupied greater space than in the Kōhanga Reo; often it was the dominant language especially if there were older siblings in the home who were into popular culture—unless of course the families banned all television, computers, videos, radios and English speaking relations and friends from the home—a highly unlikely event. The practice in Te Amokura often meant planning and organising activities or contexts to target specific 'home' or 'community' language in 'authentic and meaningful' ways; for example cooking with a 'hakari' (or shared meal) as an outcome was a regular activity enjoyed by all. This type of activity would enable the children's language to

cement and built on the daily interactional activities, thus broadening and deepening their experiences. Guided participatory learning in real community activities (Rogoff, 1990; 1995) was the norm for Maata in the pilot study. Many societies still operate in this way where young children may have the responsibility of gathering food or contributing in some way to the upkeep of the family or community, thus contributing in a very real sense to their collective wellbeing. However, we take our children out of their homes and bring them together in centres. This of itself does not pose much of a problem in terms of 'mainstream' provision in Aotearoa where the language in the communities and centres is English and the majority of children arrive with the 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu, 1990, 1991) and language of the classroom. However, for Kōhanga Reo it does pose a difficulty. Because there is an emphasis on language regeneration of a threatened language, no longer a community language, the Kōhanga whānau have to seek out opportunities for the children to engage with the community of Māori speakers. Such opportunities were, and continue to be, limited, due largely to the decline of native speakers (and Māori language domains) throughout Aotearoa.

Te reo Māori does not have a single language community where, for example, interactions or daily communicative activities of buying and selling at the local shops, within the work sphere or in education circles, in leisure activities for example at the local swimming pool, movie theatre, or even over the back yard fence, are through te reo Māori. There are isolated pockets of committed Māori language RLSers or language activists, but te reo Maori is a minority language and struggling without, I would argue, a physical community or neighbourhood (complete with employment opportunities) anywhere in Aotearoa where there is an appreciable number of speakers. For Kōhanga Reo the language of the centre should approximate that of the home and neighbourhood. This is a very difficult proposition when many of the Kōhanga Reo are pepper potted within English speaking neighbourhoods, urban and rural. The need for contingency between home and Kōhanga is all the more reason to have, as part of the fabric or structure of the Kōhanga Reo, a whānau based operation with an emergent curriculum

where all efforts are made to research and seek out those activities (and speakers) which can fulfil the role of contingency with the home and community. For example, in Te Amokura every endeavour was made to get the children out into the community, to experience te reo Māori functional in as many and varied a domain as possible. Whānau members were encouraged to participate on these outings, which invariably gave the Kōhanga a one-to-one adult/child ratio. Plenty of one-to-one adult/child interaction provided for much variety and excitement to the programme. Trips were planned to places where there was either a speaker/s of te reo Māori or prior research was carried out where whānau members ensured activity with access to te reo Māori and mātauranga Māori. To illustrate, trips to the snowy mountains of the national park, the national museum of Te Whanganui-a-Tara or the native forests of the Whirinaki were preceded by the composition of songs, storytelling and recalling histories, complete with whakapapa connections of those whānau members from those districts and therefore a 'connectedness' to the whenua.

A curricularly truncated (Fishman, 1996) approach to language revernacularisation in terms of impositional curriculum and a failure to provide meaningful contexts or lack of connectedness for children runs contrary to RLS goals. Indeed, Māori cultural advancement would also be hindered. In Kōhanga Reo the young children are the 'target' group for the regeneration of te reo Māori as a first, native language. The onus is on the Kōhanga whānau to ensure that their experiences are made meaningful and authentic in order for them to make as many connections as possible between the language they are acquiring, their introduction into Māori culture, their identity as Māori and memorable life experiences within a Māori world view. This approach will ensure rich Māori-centred curricula for rich children.

The meaningful activities then must be vibrant and relevant, with involvement or participation by children for a real purpose if we are to create purposeful, meaningful communication in a common endeavour of building and strengthening

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communities of Māori language speakers which support the RLS aims of Kōhanga Reo.

### *Pedagogy Māori*

The relationship of language to pedagogy for TKR is complex in a neocolonial era. According to Hunia (personal communication, 2002) reliable documentation regarding pre-contact Māori pedagogy are scarce, although opinion is abundant, and anecdotes of more recent learning experiences abound. However, it is generally agreed that kaumātua and peer groups played an important part in children's learning, with older children assisting with the teaching, care and supervision of younger children. Children's perspectives were considered imaginative and valued (Hemara, 2000). Children were encouraged to be adventurous and to make use of their social and physical environments to play and learn (Makereti, 1986). Liberty was tempered with cautionary tales and tapu, and some suggest that physical punishment of children was unknown before the arrival of the European. This was indeed my late grandmother's view who said words to the effect "You just need to use words, and once you see the tears dripping, then you know you have made the point", a sentiment echoed in the whakatauki (proverb) "[W]aiho, mā te whakamā e patu" (Leave well alone, let shame be their punishment). My late mother also corroborated this view, recalling her first recollections of physical punishment being when she was enrolled into the Native School system in the early 1930s.

It is also generally agreed that children learnt by watching and listening and participating in authentic activities, committing knowledge learnt in those activities to memory. This ensured its accurate reproduction as it was intergenerationally learnt and passed on (Nepe, 1991). Such highly developed memorising powers amazed pakeha scholars like Best (1923) who documented "Ignorant of any form of script...the Māori depended entirely on memory, on oral tradition, on verbal teaching, in reserving all prized lore' (p. 5), and Rose (1985) who accorded 'superhuman' status to the remarkable ability of Māori to

accurately record with the use of the memory. Such feats of the Māori are also referred to by Tā Apiranga Ngata in *Ngā Mōteatea* (Ngata & Te Hurinui, 1988), and other commentators.

Māori knowledge has its origins in the metaphysical realm and the structuring, organisation and passing on of that knowledge is what Kaupapa Māori pedagogy is all about in Kōhanga Reo. According to Nepe “It is the process by which the Māori mind receives, internalises, differentiates, and formulates ideas and knowledge exclusively through te reo Māori” (1991, p. 15). Colonisation has interfered with those processes. Western ideology and schooling has positioned Māori people as ‘deficient’ or even genetically flawed (Bishop, 2001); Māori culture as demonising, Māori language impoverished and therefore a hindrance to learning, Māori pedagogy invalid, illegitimate or even non-existent, and Māori children in mainstream education have often been confined to the realms of ‘problems’, ‘failures’ or ‘special needs’ (L. Smith, 1999). Earlier this year, as a tribal member of the Ngāi Tahu early childhood focus group, I had to defend the position that Ngāi Tahu pedagogy was alive and thriving after a statement appeared in the early childhood strategy to the effect that there was no Ngāi Tahu pedagogy. The deficit legacy largely remains and is testament to the insidiousness of colonisation and the hegemonic stranglehold that it can have over indigenous cultures.

That Māori education is still in crisis is nothing new. According to G. Smith (1997) the remedial programmes designed to intervene have frequently produced the deficits they are supposed to reverse because one of the overriding problems continuously overlooked (perhaps conveniently) is what he terms the ‘war of position’, the war we have at the structural level. Simply put, whose interests are being served at the structural level, the level of policy and politics which underpin the practice? Whose perspective dominates and, concomitantly whose interests and perspectives are subordinated? How are those structural underpinnings reflected in asymmetrical power relations between people?

Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo is about collaborative empowerment and has evolved out of an awareness of the need to effect change. Interactions are organised with children so that power is generated through those interactions both at the intrapersonal level (the individual level of appropriation) and the interpersonal level (through guided participation). Where a mainstream educational process has locked us into a position of powerlessness, Kōhanga Reo as a transformational alternative has begun to reverse that position through positioning children as powerful, as co-creators of curriculum and as active meaning-makers.

The operationalisation of tino rangatiratanga (and its linguistic component - RLS), through its politics (Māori cultural knowledge and linguistic variations as valid and legitimate), pedagogy (ideas of reciprocal and responsive learning/teaching and assessment) and praxis as process (including context and content) is the substantive thread that consolidates and forms the structural foundations upon which children's lives in Te Amokura are shaped. It is a reassertion of Māori ways of reading and knowing the world which are distinct and unique to 'te iwi Māori'.

### **Pedagogical Documentation**

When using the term pedagogical documentation, after Dahlberg et al. (1999), it refers to two related parts of documentation—the *process* and the *content* of that process. The *content* of the process is what it is the children actually do and say, and is the data in this study. It is the material which documents with the use of video, notes, photographs and so on, what the children have said in interactions with each other and adults, what they did, their work and how they have used the environment.

Within the data there was the specific pedagogical documentation around the project Hatupatu to which I now refer. The content of that pedagogical documentation was what happened in the interactions with the storytelling texts of Hatupatu and Kurungaituku. The discussions that ensued and the curriculum that

emerged in terms of the field trip with its own documentation, the art works, the drama presentations, the dictation of children's story books, and the re-storying also formed part of the content.

The *process* of pedagogical documentation was the use of the material (the interactions with the books and the use of the children's questions through the initial discussions) to reflect on those discussions with other pedagogues and parents who were not involved in order to plan and implement a research field trip around the project to follow up on the children's questions and interests. It was considered that following up of the children's questions and perspectives would assist the children to extend their thinking over a longer period and give them a range of experiences which would help to deepen their understanding of the Māori knowledge, connections and values implicit in the stories. This process culminated in a wall scape, dramatic representation, art works, written story books and re-storying by children.

## **From the Margins to the Centre**

### **The Cultural and Symbolic Relationships between Language, Culture and Identity**

According to Fishman (1996) the *cultural* relationship is the most important relationship between language and culture as language creates the culture and is created by the culture. It is a language-in-culture-in-language relationship. The language is a symbolic representation of all that is thought and done, whilst at the same time through thoughtful articulation shapes what is thought and done. It is this centrality of language to culture that gets to the heart of what is lost (Fishman, 1996) when a language is lost. That is the culture itself, its values and beliefs, its knowledges and pedagogies. It is the culture in its entirety which is expressed in the language.

In his critical text *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* Freire (1972) discussed notions of verbalism and activism. He argued that talk without action and reflection is sheer verbalism. Action without talk and reflection is mere activism. Reversing language shift (RLS) is as much about socio-political and cultural conscientisation (with constant re-positioning as power relations between two differing world-views are contested) as it is about language revernacularisation. Societal transformation is what underpins RLS. Through the regeneration of the language those cultural values and beliefs which are significant and of importance to Māori, which are distinctly Māori and validate Māori ways of doing things, thinking, knowing, occupy space in the lives of those who speak the language and their lives are re-positioned from the margin to the centre. Māori children's lives are important but for so long they have not been treated so in schools and even in the wider society.

The *symbolic* relationship is also another deep relationship between language and culture, in that it stands for that culture and its members. That is, a language tends to symbolise the *whole culture*, its *people* and its *country*. Māori people are the tangata whenua of Aotearoa and a millennium culture (Walker, 1990). A legally binding treaty was signed between the chiefs of the various hapū (tribes) and the crown (representing the reigning Queen of England and her subjects at the time of its signing) in recognition of Māori as tāngata whenua in Aotearoa and guaranteeing fundamental human rights. Among those rights is the right to speak Māori, made official under the Waitangi Tribunal, 1987 (Waite, 1992a). However, how that Treaty has been played out in the lives of all those who occupied the lands has had different outcomes for the different cultural members of the two distinct groups represented by the signatories to that Treaty—the Treaty partners. We in Aotearoa all live with that legacy today, whether we are conscious of it or not. Part of that legacy, aided by legislation, has resulted in a predominant common-sense, taken-for-granted, attitude of 'one nation, one people' which, in real terms, has meant 'one Pākehā nation, one English speaking people'. That notion has become so embedded into the fabric and psyche of society in Aotearoa, that its persistence is omnipresent. It is the monolith of monoculturalism and

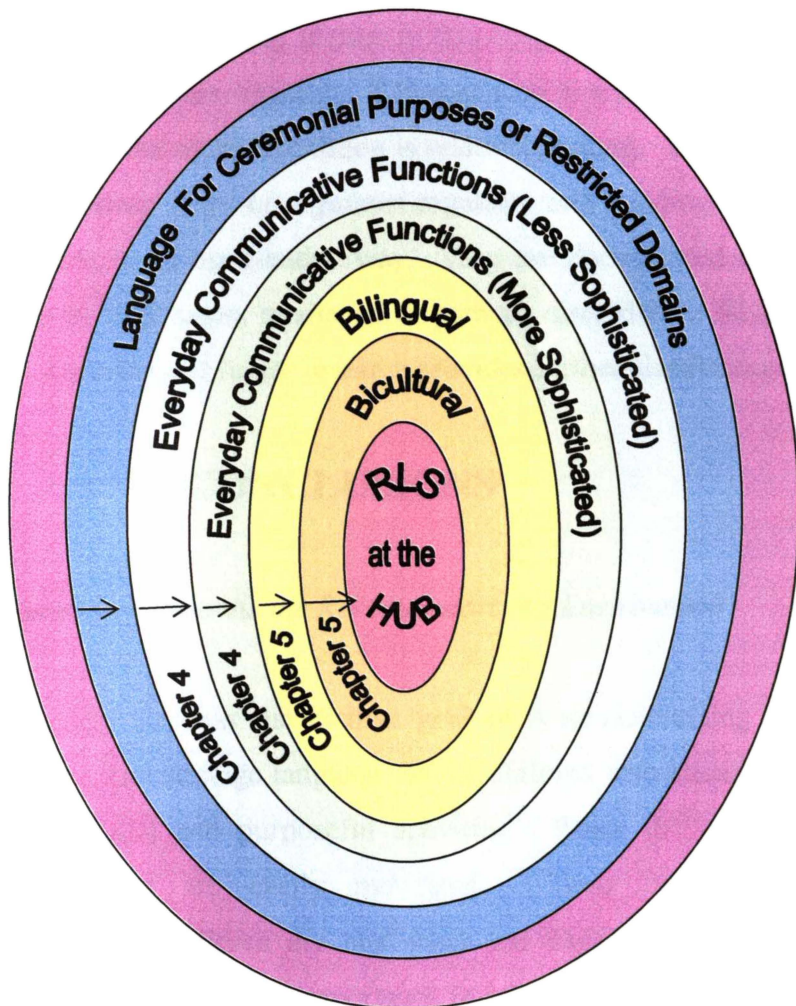
monolingualism which derides accommodation of alternative ways of thinking and knowing and change. As a consequence, in contrast to the socio-linguistic situation at the time of the signing of the Treaty, an overwhelming majority of the descendants of the two distinct cultural groups represented at the signing of the Treaty speak English, now a dominant majority language. Relatively few of either speaks te reo Māori, now a threatened minority language. The scales of justice have become lopsided. The cultural loss, the language loss, and loss of identity to those members of the group represented by the Chiefs who were signatories to the Treaty has been colossal with far reaching affects. That is the legacy we all live with in an unbalanced society. Kaupapa Māori and RLS is an attempt to balance the scales vis-à-vis a language-in-culture solution.

This language-in-culture solution to the problem is what underpins Fishman's stages of reversing language shift in his graded scale of the severity of intergenerational dislocation. This scale assists with locating and prioritizing the areas to support and the places to target energies and resources in circumstances where a language has become threatened. This study positions RLS efforts in Te Amokura at stage six, the pivotal stage, where intergenerational transmission of language-in-culture is in the settings of the homes, families and neighbourhood-communities. Whānau development is central to the kaupapa of RLS in Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori. It is also central to the Kaupapa of societal enrichment through the advancement of Aotearoa's bicultural/bilingual identity in accordance with the Treaty and is reflected in the philosophy and pedagogy of Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo.

The following diagram, Figure 3, illustrates the reversal of language shift as te reo Māori (alongside its speakers) seeks to operationalise the RLS aims by creating more domains and a move to re-centre those domains. It does so through its regeneration as a daily interactional language at the 'hub' of society, in families, homes, and neighbourhood communities. In the case of Te Amokura, it provides a space where families can come together with the common aim of inter-generating te reo Māori in the lives of the children within the whānau. That is, the

language becomes inter-generational as illustrated in the data chapters four and five, as the cultural beliefs, thinking and practices are made meaningful in their lives, rather than remaining marginalised or by being reserved for ceremonial and other perhaps ritualistic flourishes every now and then.

**Diagram showing RLS from the margins to the centre**



**Figure 3**

This chapter has thus far explored aspects of structure, pedagogy and praxis in Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo and the data relating to the case study of three children in Te Amokura. It has also explored aspects of the relationship between language, culture and identity, as well as the importance for reversing language shift (RLS). It articulates culturally what is lost when a language is lost and provides some ideological clarification as to the areas of focus for reversing language shift (RLS) efforts in Kōhanga Reo in terms of its pedagogical approach to children's language learning. The constant ideological clarification woven into the fabric of Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo formed the deep structure within which the mechanisms of RLS were embedded. Those mechanisms are succinctly drawn together in the following concluding section to this chapter and thesis but are by no means concluded. They are ongoing. Kōhanga Reo is a language nest, with hatchlings. The movement as an institution is relatively young. The concluding themes involve 'revisiting' lines of argument regularly and building on them as part of the case study in an open-ended way. They are documented only in as much as they may be built upon, re-shaped or perhaps discarded as RLS efforts are progressed in Aotearoa and future research provides further clarification.

## CONCLUSIONS

### *Reversing Language Shift vis-à-vis the Revernacularising Environment*

Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo has the distinct goal of revernacularising the first language of Aotearoa (the heritage language for the children who attend Kōhanga Reo) through meaningful and purposeful activities. When the activities are purposeful the children are easily motivated. Their interest is real. Concomitantly, when the children are motivated and their interest is real and valued there is an obvious sense of importance in what it is they are doing and saying. When they are challenged to think and reflect on what it is they are doing and saying, and how what they do and say impacts on others and their environment, they are able to make further connections between their learning environments, their thinking, their actions, the decisions they make which all

contribute to their future well-being, strengthening their learning pathways and their 'rangatiratanga'. They become self-motivated because they are *active speakers and thinkers*, engaging and interacting with people, places and things, as opposed to being docile receptacles being fed abstract non-sense lesson-like information which may have little relevance to their life experiences.

Language flourishes best in language rich environments. As children learn language in Kōhanga Reo through interactions with others they are participating in constructing their own Māori world views and identities whilst also shaping those of others. There is a need for adults who are fluent in te reo Māori, able to communicate with children who are positioned as sophisticated language learners able to communicate at sophisticated levels and adults who are also able to provide models of complex thinking in te reo Māori. Adults and children thus make invaluable contributions to the revernacularising environment. The overall aim of this study has been to participate in and reflect on such a revernacularising environment in order to examine some of the identifiers of language revernacularisation.

Reversing language shift through the revernacularisation of te reo Māori is as much about transformation of Aotearoa society as it is about the transformation of Māori societies with all its complexities and diversities. Māori society and Māori people are not one homogenous group (L. Smith, 1999). What may be relevant to one tribe may not be relevant to others and so local actions providing local solutions (Fishman, 2001a, 2001b) is the best way to cater for the diversity among Māori language speakers across the country both in terms of fluency and dialects, and to introduce changes into the larger structures of power. In this way we avoid solutions which are simply impositional and lack relevance, and which further oppress and exploit Māori (sometimes even cause disunity among Māori) by reducing Māori identity to a single and constant position. Acknowledging and respecting our diversity among iwi Māori is a central tenet to Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis.

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### *Working at the Interface between Two Worlds*

In his closing remarks at the Hui Taumata Mātauranga held recently in Taupo, M. Durie (2003) provided further supports or clarification to the Māori Education Framework developed in 2001 at the first Hui Taumata Mātauranga. M. Durie suggested that while Māori experience similar fortunes and misfortunes to other New Zealanders (though perhaps many Māori experience more than their fair share of misfortunes), the distinguishing characteristic was not necessarily material hardship, or life-styles, or lack of motivation, or culturally non-responsive school environments or impaired access to education – to a greater or lesser degree many New Zealanders may face those barriers which could impede learning. However, the essential difference is that *Māori live at the interface* between two worlds, between te ao Māori (the Māori world) and te ao whānui (the wider global society). Further, M. Durie asserted that this did not mean socio-economic factors were unimportant, but it did imply that, of the many determinants of educational success, the factor that is uniquely relevant to Māori is the way in which Māori world views and the world views of the wider society impacted on each other. Sometimes those world views impacted in ways that left a lot to be desired.

### *Language-in-Culture-in-Language*

The relationships between language and culture, as presented by Fishman (1996) merge the visions and aspirations of our tipuna and are championed in M. Durie's (2001) Māori education framework of what it is to lead a meaningful life (an indexical relationship); to live a life where one's culture and identity is accessible and intact (a cultural relationship); and a life of well-being, as tāngata whenua in a bilingual/bicultural Aotearoa with Māori access to resource and tūrangawaewae (a symbolic relationship). Both M. Durie's (2001) and Fishman's (1996) frameworks share a considerable degree of understanding with many of us working in Kōhanga Reo, and its schooling counterpart, Kura Kaupapa Māori.

*Kia marae*, to live as Māori, is as much about language and identity as it is about culture and tradition. This study argues that intergenerational Māori language transmission raises self-assured young people who self-identify as Māori. Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo centralises the role of language to identity formation and ensures access to oracy and literacy in te reo Māori with increasing complexity. *Kia rongo ngā hau e whā*, to participate as citizens of the world from a position of self-assurance, strength and a disposition to be able to move confidently and competently between te ao Māori and te ao whānui is part and parcel of having a bicultural identity and heritage. *Kia ora*, to enjoy good health and a high standard of living, are the aspirations of te iwi Māori and reflected in past trade agreements with manuhiri where it was envisaged Māoridom would advance with the provision of a ‘good life’ or ‘a life worth living’. A good life may not necessarily be the ‘well-being’ that suits all but which includes children being given the possibility of and responsibility for entering into dialogue with others about what suits them, their desires and needs.

Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo provided opportunities for children to enter into such discussions about what they wanted to do, how they wanted to operate, what they preferred and what they wanted to know, through intersubjective discussion and debate. Choice is an important component of a pedagogy which values children’s decision making, because without different options or choice, children do not get to develop decision-making strategies or practice in making choices and judgements. An inability in this area would mean an inability to actualise and self-determine those things that are important to them, that may constitute a ‘good-life’ and are tantamount to exercising their ‘rangatiratanga’.

The thesis explored some of the decisions children made in order to understand or make meaning and sense in their daily interactions with others. As the variety of examples showed, almost every interaction provided an opportunity for learning through language in cultural contexts if the children, with purposeful engagement in activities and where there were adults around to encourage their attempts to

participate, who tried to understand their interactions and who responded with helpful feedback.

### ***Tino Rangatiratanga - Te Piko o te Māhuri, Tērā te Tipu o te Rākau***

This thesis positions children as being powerful and having some measure of control over their own language learning and use. According to Broadfoot (2000) some of the skills and attitudes that should be fostered which would enable students to meet the challenges of a rapidly changing world should include an awareness of self as a basis for setting targets and developing self-reliance; the capacity to choose rapidly and effectively between options; and creativity, being the capacity to generate new solutions to new problems. As change agents, powerful children can and will make powerful decisions and change as they assert their Māori world views, rather than clinging to the determinant world views of others or even those of a bygone era. That change for their psychological, sociocultural and economic wellbeing not only benefits te iwi Māori, but the nation. Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori have promulgated a revolution of sorts against the ways of old privileged Pākehā knowledge. The maintenance of a changed view is in furtherance of the wider aims of tino rangatiratanga—about taking control of our own lives. In Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo this is afforded by the encouragement of children to ‘think’, to ‘speak’ and to ‘do’ for themselves in order to take responsibility for, and be critical about, the decisions they make. According to Dahlberg et al. (1999) children can potentially thwart, challenge or question the dominant ways in which children may have been constructed in the past (e.g. as ‘tabula rasa’ to be imprinted upon by others) by entering into the activity of shaping their own subjectivity, by thinking about their own thinking and acting on that. Further, that if knowledge is no longer viewed as an accumulation and reproduction of facts, but as perspectival and open-ended, then knowledge can be viewed as an open-ended conversation, privileging no party and seeking neither consensus nor a final truth. Constructing identity not in essentialistic but pluralistic terms through a pluralistic pedagogy implies that

children can be connected to many different and shifting ethnic groups in multiple ways.

### ***The Additive Aims of Kōhanga Reo***

Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo provides a pluralistic programme with pluralistic goals because of its additive aims of bilingualism (Holmes, 1984). Te reo Māori, a minority language, is the language medium with an interactive communicative approach to language learning and teaching. Its prime goal is to reverse the shift in Aotearoa among Māori people to speaking English, largely because of the huge losses that are experienced with language loss and the impact that language loss has on its speakers. This whole situation of reversing language shift is very complex, but complex purposes give us children using complex language. As with the dualism in the phonetics versus whole language debate we also have a dualism in preferred language learning ideology, pedagogy and methodology. If we at Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo were insistent on grammatically correct sentence structures all the time, I believe the children might not communicate with meaningful fluency at all. They would become very reluctant speakers of te reo Māori because the control of their language learning and speaking is located *outside* of themselves, rather than *within* where the language used is for meaningful purpose. This is not the case with the children in this study. The study highlighted examples of children using the Māori language for complex, creative and powerful purposes.

The data in this study revealed that the three case study children were part of a community of learners and speakers of te reo Māori who were able to take on different perspectives through discussion, debate and reflection. This study has outlined how they were intrinsically motivated, displaying abilities to make choices, argue, explain, give directions, reassure, console, collaborate, be creative, imagine, predict events, support one another in the decisions that were made at times whilst also taking a position to stand up for their own choices at other times. They could handle new information and situations with critique, view their own

experiences in the light of others and take on different views and roles. In view of an ability to transition confidently and competently between te ao Māori and te ao whānui, the case study children were able to transition with ease between te reo Māori and English. There was no polarisation of the languages they were accessing in terms of either/or, one or the other language learning programmes. The additive approach supported both their languages because both languages had a place in the children's lives and were valued. The idea of the children being able to participate in the world of Māori with Māori world views was valued. Their ability to move within the wider world and participate through the medium of English was also valued. They were not locked into a pedagogical style which rigidly became a dualism with an either/or approach, but one that is about building bridges or creating pathways allowing people to move in and out as they pleased.

In this thesis, the focus is on their Māori world language and identity. In that respect, this thesis is a contribution in terms of providing information about the Māori language use of children in Kōhanga Reo and supports the finding that Māori language is in the process of becoming a vernacular.

The thesis explored some of the decisions children made in order to understand or make meaning and sense in their daily interactions with others through the use of te reo Māori as the vernacular. As the variety of examples showed, almost every interaction provided an opportunity for learning through language in the unique cultural context of Kōhanga Reo. If children are provided with purposeful engagement in activities where there are adults around who encourage their attempts to participate, and who try to understand their interactions and also respond in positive ways and with helpful feedback, then revernacularisation is the result.

According to Rinaldi (1998) children's potential is stunted when the endpoint of their learning is formulated in advance. What I have tried to do in this study is capture the richness of children's lives and the inescapable complexity of concrete experiences in Kōhanga Reo, taking into account a context in which whānau

(including extended whānau) all work together in emergent curriculum projects with RLS as a central aim. I have not captured a process where children merely reproduce or regurgitate pre-formatted, decontextualised language, but instead a process where children create language and knowledge for their own purposes, for powerful purposes and for meaningful purposes. The case study children were shown to use language in creative ways. This study positions them as children who are cognisant, creative, confident, competent and connected. They are rich, powerful learners in the process of fulfilling their potential.

### *The Politics of Kōhanga Reo*

Kōhanga Reo with its RLS aims is not just about language regeneration per se. It is about language, Māori culture as a living construct and Māori people identifying as Māori, actively engaged in communities offering many opportunities and possibilities. It is political in nature and humanistic in its course (cause) of action. RLS in the whānau, home and community is about social and cultural engagement by people in their daily lives. It assumes an active interest in the times we live, in our environment socially, politically, physically and spiritually. TKR is about the revernacularisation of te reo Māori and the reconstruction of the knowledges and cultural identities Māori children own. As a consequence of the re-growth is the intergenerational continuity and reversal of the shift from te reo Māori to English. An understanding of learning as a process of construction, of building on or modifying what is already known, is the form of transformation which occurs at the personal level. The wider politics of RLS and relationships with others is the form of transformation which may also be occurring at a wider societal level. In short, RLS in Kōhanga Reo contributes to societal transformation in the following ways:

- (i) Kōhanga Reo as a site for *conscientisation* (Freire, 1972; G. Smith, 1997), where the pedagogical work of RLS through the revernacularisation of te reo Māori is situated within a wider context of unequal power relations, and consequently access to resource, between Māori and Pākehā.

- (ii) Kōhanga Reo as a site for *resistance* where Māori endeavour to function in a manner which is consistent with Maori ways of operating, Māori cultural values underpinning the operations and where children are positioned as powerful bilingual decision makers, not empty vessels.
- (iii) Kōhanga Reo is a site of *transformation* through RLS and engagement at the personal level which has implications for engagement at the level of whānau and the wider societal levels as sociolinguistic cultural domains are strengthened, extended and transformed.
- (iv) Kōhanga Reo as a site for the *creation of safe spaces* that value the language/s base and knowledge/s that the children come with and which continues to foster those through a range of experiences
- (v) Kōhanga Reo as a site for advancing children as *critical thinkers*, challengers and, eventually, as practitioners where they would rise to the challenge of intergenerationally passing on these skills.
- (vi) Kōhanga Reo as a site where children are bilateral with an ability to think ‘*outside the square*’ and where they learn to respect the views and perspectives of other people and the places they inhabit.
- (vii) Kōhanga Reo as a site where children can be and are involved in *cultural projects of interest*.
- (viii) Kōhanga Reo as a site where the participants are able to engage the split or *interface* between Māori cultural knowledge and values and Pākehā cultural knowledge and values.
- (ix) Kōhanga Reo as a site where the construction of the child is as the rich powerful seed sown from Rangīātea, and therefore is a *descendant of the Gods*.

The whānau of Te Amokura Kōhanga Reo understands that it operates within the wider early childhood sector. However, even though this structure has limitations for Kōhanga Reo as it often does not take into account the specific unique RLS focus of Kōhanga Reo, the specialist language needs of the children and their whānau; it does consider that the early developing needs of young children are paramount. Kōhanga Reo also operates within a wider context *unique* to Māori

where Māori are positioned at the interface between worlds, *te ao Māori* and *te ao whānui*. It argues that an increase of the spaces or domains at the interface is what is struggled for in the RLS movement and kaupapa Māori educational alternative of *Kōhanga Reo* and its extensions. The history of colonisation in Aotearoa has not positioned Māori in an enviable position as an indigenous nation. There are still some difficult issues to be grappled with, especially, as touched on, when it comes negotiating the space at the interface, policy development and leadership issues. According to M. Durie (2003), as a consequence of the differing world views between *te ao Māori* and *te ao whānui* it is important that the intersections between those world-views are fully appreciated so that the space can be negotiated *wisely*, and not with the sledge hammer lumbering into action. Furthermore, that the *interface* is not merely a product of the education system and nor is it confined to matters of education but is the culmination of many forces—historical and contemporary; socio-cultural, spiritual, psychological and political. This thesis explored some of those forces.

The sociocultural imperatives for reversing language shift through the revernacularisation of *te reo Māori* and the creation of a community of Māori language users is so eloquently encapsulated in the metaphor '*Kahikatea tū i te uru*' contained within the following discerning words of our kaumātua, Te Wharehuia Milroy, who said:

## KAHIKATEA TŪ I TE URU

Ki te tū takitahi tēnei rākau, e kore e toro ngā pakiaka hohonu rawa atu i roto i te whenua, ēngari e toro whakapae kē ana, nā reira ki te pūhia e te hau marangai e kore e taea e te rākau te tū pakari atu ki taua hau marangai. Pēnei te āhua o tēnei rākau. Ki te tū i te uru e kore e taea te turaki noa e te marangai, e piri tahi ana nā te mea e toro ana ngā pakiaka o tēnā, o tēnā, ki tēnā rākau, ki tēnā rākau ā me te aha?, e piri tahi ana e pupuri tahi ana tētahi ki tētahi.

Waihoki, ki te titiro ake tātou ki te whānau, ka pērā anō te āhua o te whānau. Ki te kore te whānau e piritahi, ka noho wehewehe te

whānau, he noho pērā me te kōrero rā ‘[T]ērā te tangata ka tū koia anake he kai nā te ahi’.

Mēnā ki te noho tahi ki te noho piri te whānau e kore e taea te wāwāhi noa, ēngari i roto i tō rātou piritahi, e taea ai e rātou te kite i ngā pakaritanga o roto i a rātou anō. Otirā e taea ana te tū maia, te tū pakari atu ki te ao whānui. Nō kōnā ki a tātou katoa e tohu ake ana tēnei pērā anō me ngā manu e noho mai ana ki roto i tēnei rākau.

Mehemea e tū takitahi ana, e rua, e toru noa ngā manu. Ki te tū takimano, takitini rānei, ngā rakau nei, arā noa atu te tokomaha o ngā manu e noho ana, e waiata tahi ana, e kōrero tahi ana ki a rātou.

E te iwi e te whānau, kia pērā tātou me te kahikatea tū i te uru, mō ake tonu atu. Inā hoki ki te ngaro tō tātou reo, pērā me te rakau e tū takitahi ana, ā, he mate tēnei nō te ao Māori. Otirā, ki a tātou katoa, ki te noho takitini tātou, ka ū ki te kaupapa, kia pēnei te whakaaro ake “Kia mate rā anō a Tama-nui-te-rā, kātahi ka ngaro tō tātou reo (Te Rere a te Amokura, in press).

## **KAHIKATEA TŪ I TE URU (Translated M. White)**

If the Kahikatea stands alone, because its root system does not extend deep into Papatūānuku but is shallow rooted, it is not able to withstand the force of strong winds. But because this tree stands in a grove, with entwined and interwoven root systems, the trees all support one another and, therefore, are not able to be tossed about or blown down by force winds.

In a like manner, if we take the whānau-so too should be its characteristics. If the whānau is not working together as a collective or in a supportive fashion, then the divisions within the whānau can become so great that its members flounder. That is to say “no person is an island unto themself”.

If the whānau is all ‘on board’, working towards a common goal and ‘in synch’ with each other, then it is difficult for it to be split and undermined. It will have an inner strength, enabling its capacity building and it will be a thriving enterprise in today’s global village. Correspondingly, we may also use the analogy of the

birds that nest in the Kahikatea. If there were but a few trees, there would be but a few birds. However, living as they do in the grove, we have not just one or two single birds but gatherings or flocks and we have not just a lone chime in the wilderness but chorus.

E te iwi, e te whānau, let us be forever like the Kahikatea grove, steadfast and committed. Should we lose our language, then, like the Kahikatea standing alone, our time would be at hand and extinction inevitable, impacting not only on Māoridom but the whole of humankind. Therefore, to each and every one of us, if we are united in thought and committed to the cause of Māori language regeneration, then we must think in this manner: that until our ancestor *Tama-nui-te-rā* ceases to shine, then, and only then, must we accept that our language will finally expire.

### **Final Thoughts**

We have arrived at the crossroads where we can indeed look forward to pathways where all the children of this land can walk with dignity, respect and pride in whom they are and from whence they have come. These children who participate in the Kōhanga Reo movement will be our future leaders, our future rangatira, our Tino Rangatira.

***‘Kia mate rā anō a Tama-nui-te-rā’***

## GLOSSARY

āe	yes
Amokura	a fantastic bird
Amokura Kōhanga Reo	Amokura language nest
Aotearoa	Land of the Long White Cloud, New Zealand
Ataarangi	methodology of learning/teaching te reo Māori
awa	river
e tika	right
hakirara	lament and poem
hapū	sub-tribe
he kanohi kitea	a face to be seen
he purapura	seedling
hinengaro	mind
hoki	return, also
hōmai/homai	give to me
hui	meeting
hui taumata	summit conference
iwi	tribe, people
kapa haka	performance
kai	food
kāinga	home
kaimoana	sea food
ka pai	well done
karakia	prayer, incantation
kaiako	teacher
kaumātua	elder
kaupapa	philosophy
kete	basket
kihikihi	locust
koha	gift
kōhanga reo	language nest
kōrero	talk
koro	elder (male)
kōrua	you (two people)
kuia	elder (female)
kura	school
kura kaupapa Māori	kaupapa Māori immersion schools
mā	colour white
māmā	easy, mother
Māoritanga	Māori culture
marae	formal Māori gathering place
matua	father

maunga	mountain
mokopuna	grandchild
nuku	move
Ngāi Tahu	Tribal group, South Island
Ngāti Māhuta	Waikato tribe
Ngāti Maniapoto	King Country tribe
Ngāti Pikiao	Bay of Plenty tribe
Ngāti Pūkeko	Bay of Plenty tribe
ngeru	cat
oriori	lullaby
pā	traditional fortified site
pākēhā	non-Māori New Zealanders
pakeke	adult
pānui	read
papa	ground
papakāinga	homeland
Papatūānuku	mother earth
pēnā	like that (over by you)
pēnei	like this (here)
pērā	like that (over there)
poi	ball on end of string
poti	boat, kitten
pōtiki	last born
ranga	weave
rangi	sky
Ranginui	Sky Father
rāhui	ban, prohibition
tāne	male
Tāne Māhuta	God of the Forest
tama	son
tamaiti	small child
tamariki	children
tāngata whenua	people of the land
tangihanga	funeral
tauparapara	chant at the beginning of a speech
Te Aho Matua	guiding philosophy of Kura Kaupapa Māori
teina	younger sibling, child or novice in terms of expertise
Te Puni Kōkiri	Māori department of government
te reo	the language
Te Taura Whiri	Māori Language Commission
tikanga	custom
tīmatanga	beginning
tinana	body
tino pai	very good

tino rangatiratanga	self-determination, autonomy
titiro	look
tohunga	expert
tori	cat
tuakana	older sibling, child or more expert other
tūrangawaewae	a place to stand
tūturu	real, native, authentic
waiata	song
wairua	spirit
waka	canoe
wānanga	institution of higher learning, discuss in depth
whāea/whaea	mother
whakairo	carving
whakamā	shy, reserved, shame, embarrassment
whakapapa	geneology
whakarongo	listen
whakatauaki	proverbial saying according to someone
whakatauki	proverbial saying
whānau	family (including extended)
whare	house
whāriki	flax mat
whatumanawa	inner heart, core
whenua	land

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