CHAPTER 26

MĀORI

Revitalization of an Endangered Language

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1. INTRODUCTION

TE REO MĀORI, the Māori language, the indigenous language of Aotearoa New Zealand, is one of the most well-known endangered languages and is regularly included as a case study in the international language revitalization literature (see, for example, Fishman 1991; Benton and Benton 2001). This is partly because Māori language revitalization efforts, which began in the early 1980s, have been at the vanguard internationally. Having achieved a degree of success, the Māori language occupies a special position amongst the languages of indigenous peoples as an inspiring example of how a position of endangerment can be counteracted. As with all endangered languages undergoing revitalization, Māori is unique with respect to some aspects of its situation but also has similarities and innovations which resonate with other groups working to revitalize their own languages. This chapter gives an overview of the history of both the decline and revitalization of Māori, along with a discussion of knowledge acquired over the thirty-year period of revitalization efforts with the aim of providing information that may be of use in the revitalization efforts of other endangered languages. In accordance with print-style standards in New Zealand the English plural suffix *-s* will not be used on Māori words.

2. DECLINE

The history of the Māori language and its contact with a language of colonization, in this case English, parallels the experience of many endangered languages. The language of the colonizer, after a period of relatively stable bilingualism, comes to be seen as a necessary means of advancement in the dominant culture. A generation of passive bilinguals emerges, followed by generations who do not know the heritage language. At some subsequent point, when the extent of language loss is realized, a move toward language regeneration is begun.

After European discovery of New Zealand in the seventeenth century, whalers and sealers, along with missionaries, began sustained engagement with the Māori populace from the early 1800s. After the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi between Māori and the British Crown in 1840 mass British immigration soon led to European domination and the formation of Western political and economic power structures.

The gradual shift from Māori to English as the language of Māori homes was detailed by Benton (1991) in a sociolinguistic survey of 6,470 Māori households in the mid-1970s. Results showed that from 1900 on centres of Māori population closest to larger towns and cities were affected by language shift sooner than remote heartlands and that by 1955 most Māori communities were raising their children as English-only speakers.

One of the main prompts for this community shift to English was the education system. There are numerous accounts of Māori children from the late nineteenth century onward being corporally punished for speaking Māori in school. The colonizing mind-set advanced by the schooling system denigrated the Māori language and contributed to an internalization of negative attitudes among the Māori populace. Thus, in the middle of the twentieth century increasing numbers of Māori parents started shifting toward speaking the colonizers' language with the knowledge that a good grasp of English made it easier for their children to secure jobs, especially highly regarded positions in government departments.

After World War II Māori families were attracted to urban areas by the promise of jobs and money. Urbanization was rapid; in 1956 the majority of Māori (76%) lived in rural areas, but by 1976 most (78%) had moved to towns and cities. This has been described this as one of the most rapid urban migrations of any sizable ethnic population in human history (Gibson 1973).

This urban shift meant generations of young Māori were being brought up away from the *marae* ("meeting place"), the hub of the rural Māori-speaking community, leading to a loss of language and culture. By the 1970s the main domains for the use of Māori had receded to the marae and the church. It was in this decade that the seeds of discontent which led to the current Māori language revitalization movement were sown.

3. REVITALIZATION

The beginnings of the Māori language revitalization movement can be traced back to the Māori activist group Ngā Tamatoa in the early 1970s. *Ngā Tamatoa* ("the young warriors") was a group of young Māori, the majority city-raised and university-educated, who became empowered by the worldwide civil rights and black consciousness movements of the era.

In 1972 Ngā Tamatoa presented a petition to Parliament lamenting the state of the Māori language and urging the government to provide teacher training to enable the Māori language to be taught in schools. The government agreed to this request and the date of the petition's presentation to Parliament became known as Māori Language Day, soon becoming the Māori Language Week that is now celebrated annually.

As Kāretu wrote:

> It seems ironic, and yet not surprising, that all the efforts being expended in the revival of the language are by those whose loss has been the greatest and who are painfully aware of how great that loss is. (Kāretu 1993, 225)

This genesis of the Māori language revitalization movement parallels other places where young, urban, deracinated individuals have been the prime movers behind language revitalization.

Probably the most influential development in the language revitalization movement in New Zealand has been the Māori immersion preschool initiative, *kōhanga reo* ("language nests") (King 2001). This program has been successful in raising a new generation of Māori children as speakers of the language and has led to the development of Māori immersion education in both English medium schools and Māori-controlled *kura kaupapa Māori* ("Māori philosophy schools"). The concept has also been replicated by many other endangered indigenous language groups, most notably the Hawaiians. Most descriptions of kōhanga reo emphasize its role as a language revitalization initiative although those in charge of the movement have always insisted that it was much more.

3.1. Kōhanga Reo

Kōhanga reo arose from a radical new direction in the Department of Māori Affairs. In 1977 Kara Puketapu took over the leadership of the Department, whose role at the time was to promote "the social, cultural and economic well-being of the Māori people" (Puketapu 1982, 2). But in the urban situation where Māori unemployment and crime were becoming major issues, Puketapu decided that the Department needed to take a more active role to empower Māori development.

The *Tū Tangata* ("stand tall") program worked with communities to devise programs in response to community needs, thereby reversing the usual operating procedure of government departments which implemented policy from the top down. Another revolutionary aspect of the program was that Māori culture and language were to be seen as not part of the problem but as part of the solution. At the Tū Tangata conference of elders in 1981 Māori language became one of the main focuses. Concern about the state of the language, heightened by the work of activist groups such as Ngā Tamatoa, was confirmed by Benton's sociolinguistic survey, the results of which were known to leading Māori present at the conference. Conference participants were informed that few, if any, Māori children were being raised as speakers of Māori. Not only did the conference make language revitalization an "urgent target," the elders came up with a strategy to make it happen—they wanted "Māori-speaking supervisors to run day-care centres on maraes" (Hayes 1982, 3).

The first kōhanga was opened a few months later. The idea spread rapidly throughout the Māori community, with centers opening up on marae, in community halls, and even in private homes. By the end of the year there were 107 kōhanga, and three years later, 337. All were set up with the aim of fully immersing Māori children in the Māori language; that is, the Māori language would be the medium of communication and instruction.

Iritana Tāwhiwhirangi from the Department of Māori Affairs was given the responsibility of leading the new movement. A National Trust was set up to channel government funding to kōhanga. Each kōhanga was to be autonomous so parents would develop, among other things, transferable management skills and experience in collective decision-making. Tāwhiwhirangi has been staunch in maintaining that kōhanga was a Māori development initiative rather than a child-care initiative, or solely a language revitalization initiative (Tawhiwhirangi 2014).

Kōhanga members started to use the word *whānau* ("extended family") to describe the collective grouping of parents forming around each centre. Traditionally the word *whānau* referred to descent groups, but since the 1970s the meaning of this word has expanded to include groupings where "the central principle of their recruitment and operation is *not* descent (*whakapapa*) but commitment to one or more common purposes (*kaupapa*)" (Metge 1995, 292).

Despite the stated aim of having young children learning Māori from native speaking elders, from the beginnings of the movement the majority of teachers and adults in daily contact with the children were second-language speakers. The numbers of kōhanga continued to increase in the 1980s and early 1990s, the growth peaking in 1993 with 14,027 children attending 809 kōhanga.

Before the advent of kōhanga only about 20% of Māori children had been attending preschool, about half of the rate for non-Māori children. Participation rates have steadily increased over the last thirty years and by 2016 95% of Māori children entering school have participated in some form of early childhood education.

3.2. Te Ataarangi

Before the kōhanga reo movement began, Katarina Mataira and Ngoi Pēwhairangi had designed and implemented a successful Māori language teaching scheme for adults based on the Silent Way system of language teaching. Te Ataarangi involves small groups who are taught through the medium of Māori. Students do not use books; instead cuisenaire rods are used by the teacher to illustrate concepts and sentence patterns. Students listen, look, and speak by repeating what the teacher says (Muller and Kire 2014).

Te Ataarangi worked within kōhanga to teach adults the Māori language and was seen as an integral part of the kōhanga reo experience. The program spread throughout the country and continues to be a popular method of learning Māori.

3.3. Schooling

As kōhanga reo blossomed in the early 1980s, parents started reporting that kōhanga graduates were losing their Māori language within months of entering English medium primary schooling. In response, parents began setting up kura kaupapa Māori so that their children could continue to be immersed in the Māori language during compulsory schooling. The first kura kaupapa Māori was established in 1985 on an urban marae in New Zealand's largest city, Auckland. By 1998 there were sixty-one such schools throughout the country. At present there are seventy-three kura kaupapa Māori, twenty-four of which have *wharekura* ("secondary schools").

At first these schools operated outside the state system, but in 1999 they were recognized in the Education Act. Kura kaupapa Māori receive state funding and teach the Māori-medium curriculum *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa* (Ministry of Education 2016b) and, as with all New Zealand schools, each has an elected Board of Trustees comprising parents and community members.

In 1993 kura kaupapa Māori established a national collective, Te Rūnanga Nui o Ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori which requires that each school adheres to *Te Aho Matua*, a set of guiding principles citing the importance for the school to support the physical, spiritual and emotional needs of the child and its *whānau*.

The challenge of providing Māori immersion schooling for kōhanga reo graduates also increased parental demands for the formation of immersion classes or units within English medium schools. While many of these units deliver the curriculum in Māori 81–100% of the time (designated as Level 1 immersion), a number of these classrooms teach children with lower levels of Māori immersion. Level 1 programs are generally regarded as the most effective both linguistically and educationally (May 2013).

In 2017 there were 14,260 Māori children receiving their education in Level 1 programs, with 52% of these children being in kura kaupapa Māori, indicating that this is the preferred option for Māori immersion schooling.

A continuing challenge for the kura kaupapa Māori movement has been retaining children since many move to English medium schools for their secondary schooling in order to avail themselves of the wider range of subject choices at schools with larger enrollments.

Nevertheless, on average, Māori students in Māori medium education leave school with higher qualification levels than Māori students not in Māori medium education (Ministry of Education 2016a, 21). Māori language education is reasonably well served by Ministry of Education curriculum guidelines and an increasing array of teaching and pedagogical resources available on Te Kete Ipurangi website. Māori is also taught as a subject in New Zealand secondary schools.

There are also a number of post-secondary schooling Māori language and Māori immersion education options including three Māori tertiary institutions: Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, and Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi.

In Benton's research during the 1970s the marae and the church were the two strongest Māori language domains. One of the major successes of kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori has been to add school as another domain for the language. It is ironic that the education system which precipitated the loss of the Māori language is now the primary site for its revitalization (Benton 1986).

3.4. Media

Another important thrust in the revitalization of the Māori language has been delivered via broadcast media. The first dedicated Māori language radio station began broadcasting in Wellington in 1983 during Māori Language Week. In 1987 Te Reo Irirangi o Te Upoko o Te Ika began broadcasting full-time. Other regional stations soon followed, staffed by volunteers using whatever equipment they could obtain. Alongside this community action, legal cases were also made arguing that the Government had responsibilities toward the Māori language, and from 1990 onwards government broadcasting funding bodies began allocating broadcasting frequencies and providing money for *iwi* ("tribal") radio stations (see Matamua 2014 for a detailed history and analysis). Today there are twenty-seven bilingual iwi stations throughout the country, six being self-funded. Unlike many of the other Māori language revitalization initiatives, most stations are located outside the major urban areas, fulfilling a vital community function in spread-out rural districts. (See Te Rito 2014 for an account of the history one such station.)

An impact study in 2010 (Te Puni Kōkiri 2011b) found that 28% of Māori had listened to at least one iwi radio station within the previous twelve months. Eight percent of adult Māori respondents were listening to iwi radio daily. The survey also found that listening rates were higher among Māori language learners, indicating that the stations have a useful role in providing support and language exposure for those learning the Māori language.

Because funding for the stations arose from claims regarding the Māori language, iwi stations are funded according to their percentage of Māori language content, thus incentivizing higher Māori content levels.

With regard to television, the first regular program was a weekday Māori news program called *Te Karere* ("the messenger") which was first broadcast in 1982. Initially five minutes long it has gradually lengthened to a twenty-five-minute program. From its inception *Te Karere* presented the Māori news in Māori, not the news in Māori. Other documentary-style programs in Māori gradually followed throughout the 1980s (see Stephens 2014 for more details). Frequencies for a Māori television channel had been allocated in the early 1990s with the knowledge that a dedicated television presence would be highly valuable for the status and revitalization efforts for the language (Benton 1985; Grin and Vaillancourt 1998).

Māori Television began broadcasting nationally in 2004. The channel's target audience is extremely broad: children to adults, Māori and non-Māori. The station has developed a reputation for innovative, engaging, and quality programs. At present children can watch the cartoons SpongeBob SquarePants and Dora the Explorer in Māori and there is a wide and ever-changing range of news, reality, drama, sport, talent quest, and documentary programs. The channel also regularly broadcasts programs which teach the Māori language. Much of the broadcasting is in Māori, but some is in English. In 2008 Māori Television launched a second channel, Te Reo, which is Māori language only.

There has been increasing ownership of portable digital devices in recent years with studies indicating that 15–24-year-old Māori have higher levels of ownership and use of various forms of digital technology than their non-Māori counterparts (Te Puni Kōkiri 2010). Encouragingly, this group are keen to access Māori language and culture content on the various technology platforms. There are already a number of Māori language apps available.

4. GOVERNMENT

The language revitalization literature notes that while a grassroots determination and action is vital for successful language revitalization, it is also important to achieve outcomes in wider society which affirm the status of the language. Efforts on this front began with one of the earliest and successful Waitangi Tribunal claims in 1985 which argued that the Crown had a duty to protect the Māori language.

The Māori Language Act was passed in 1987, making Māori an official language of New Zealand and establishing the Māori Language Commission, which became known as Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori ("the rope binding together the Māori language").

With the aims of promoting the Māori language and developing language policy, one of the main tasks of the Commission in its first decade was to produce vocabulary for the nascent Māori immersion education programs. Since Māori had not been a medium of educational instruction for over 100 years, words for the scientific and mathematical curricula, in particular, were needed, along with educational terminology (see Harlow 1993 and Keegan 2005 for an explanation of the processes used in the formulation of this vocabulary).

By this time there were many places to learn basic Māori language skills and the Commission decided to address the need to provide higher-level language-learning opportunities for the new generation of adult speakers. The Māori Language Commission began running week-long *kura reo* ("language schools") at various marae around the country. Since the early 1990s the Commission, in conjunction with various tribal groups, has run three or more kura reo annually. The target group is teachers as well as those in the broadcast media.

Founding Māori Language Commissioner Tīmoti Kāretu saw the need to establish another venue to nurture those who had advanced to a higher competence in the language. In 2004, twenty-five invited students from around the country were inducted into Te Panekiretanga o Te Reo Māori ("The Institute of Excellence in the Māori Language"). Participants fly from around the country once a month for intensive weekend live-in seminars. The eleventh intake was admitted into the program in 2015 (see Gloyne 2014 for more details).

Calls for an overarching and cohesive national language policy have been made regularly (for example, Waite 1992; Human Rights Commission 2008; The Royal Society of New Zealand 2013) but have not yet received a government mandate. Despite this, several Māori language strategies have been released. The first, adopted in 2003, had a twenty-five-year vision that:

> by 2028, the Māori language will be widely spoken by Māori. In particular, the Māori language will be in common use within Māori whānau, homes and communities. All New Zealanders will appreciate the value of the Māori language to New Zealand society. (Te Puni Kōkiri 2003, 5)

An updated Māori language strategy was published in 2014 (Te Puni Kōkiri). That Māori is the only language for which New Zealand has any strategy reflects the fact that Māori sits atop a well-established hierarchy of minority languages in New Zealand (de Bres 2015).

The 2014 strategy also introduced the rationale for changes to governance structures to be enacted in a new Māori Language Act, which would see the formation of an independent entity, Te Mātāwai ("the source"), to oversee the Māori Language Commission and Te Māngai Pāho (the Māori broadcasting funding authority). The formation of Te Mātāwai was recommended by a panel of tribal language experts who had been commissioned by the Government to review the Māori language sector (Te Puni Kōkiri 2011a). Richard Benton notes that:

> the proposals were criticised by some Māori groups and leaders for undermining the significance of the language for the nation as a whole, and for effectively handing over responsibility for the language to iwi organisations concerned primarily with commercial interests. (Benton 2015, 105)

Nevertheless the Māori Language Act was passed in 2016 and the process for setting up Te Mātāwai's board has been initiated. The board comprises thirteen members from tribal, education, and broadcasting organizations.

5. HOME AND COMMUNITY

With strong beginnings in the education sector, information about the importance of supporting the use of Māori in the home started to be articulated from 1995 onward. As Pawley notes,

> Mother tongue command of a language cannot be learned in school; the child must start by hearing and imitating native speakers using the language naturally during his or her early childhood. (Pawley 1989, 17)

Of concern were results from the National Māori Language Survey which showed that nearly half of Māori adults surveyed never spoke Māori at home and only 14% of respondents used Māori on a daily basis (Te Puni Kōkiri 1998, 49).

From 2000, emphasis on home and community support has come to be the main focus of government and tribal language strategies and the Māori Language Commission has invested significant funding on initiatives to support home and community language use. Since 2004, $1.5 million per year has been allocated to Te Ataarangi to deliver the Kāinga Kōrerorero ("speaking homes") initiative which works with families to increase language use in the home. Each family must have a highly proficient speaker and the national network of mentors work with the families to offer language tips and strategies (see Muller and Kire 2014 for more details).

Since 2001 the Māori Language Commission has administered the Mā Te Reo fund which provides $2.5 million annually to community organizations to support Māori language projects, such as running language camps, devising language plans, or producing language resources. The rationale is to support initiatives which are community designed and led since these are more likely to be successful.

The other government department with a major responsibility for the Māori language is Te Puni Kōkiri (Ministry for Māori Development). Te Puni Kōkiri produces a wide range of surveys on many aspects of the Māori language, all available on their website.

6. TRIBAL INITIATIVES

While most initial Māori language revitalization strategies emerged from a pan-Māori, urban base, one organization that has had a long-term community focus is a tribal grouping from the southern portion of the North Island. In 1975 this tribal confederation devised a twenty-five-year development strategy aimed at rejuvenating their marae and communities and improving the educational outcomes of their children (Winiata 1979). With few speakers under the age of 30, the revitalization of the Māori language was a chief objective of the program whose aims were largely channeled through the development of the tribes' own tertiary education facility. Te Wānanga o Raukawa opened in Ōtaki in 1981 and pioneered the concept of *wānanga reo,* language camps for adult learners. These camps address the importance of intergenerational transmission by normalizing the Māori language as a means of communication between adults in a range of everyday settings, thus patterning behaviors which can be applied to home and community situations (King 2006). The concept of wānanga reo spread throughout the country and were the model for the *kura reo* mounted by the Māori Language Commission and other tribal and educational groups.

It wasn't until the late 1990s that other tribal groups started to organize their own language initiatives and strategies. This is because most tribes have spent a lot of political focus and time in the last quarter of the twentieth century in presenting claims to the Waitangi Tribunal, predominantly over the loss of land. As these claims have been finalized, tribes have used the settlement proceeds to set up tribal infrastructure with commercial arms, and many are also now formulating and enacting tribal language strategies.

The first major tribal group in the post-settlement phase to engage with language revitalization was Ngāi Tahu, whose tribal area encompasses most of the South Island, and whose loss of language was more advanced than on the North Island. In 2000, Ngāi Tahu launched a twenty-five-year language revitalization initiative that has the home as the main focus. *Kotahi Mano Kāika—Kotahi Mano Wawata* ("a thousand homes—a thousand dreams") aims to have 1,000 Ngāi Tahu Māori speaking homes by 2025. The tribe's language strategy unit runs regular language schools and has a wide range of resources available on their Kotahi Mano Kāika and Generation Reo websites.

There are now increasing numbers of North Island tribal groups producing strategies and initiatives. These strategies all put a focus on the support of tribal dialects as tribal identity becomes increasingly important in the post-settlement era. This is despite the fact that the majority of Māori live in urban areas, usually outside their dialect areas. Furthermore, most new speakers learn Māori from second-language speakers, resulting in a certain amount of dialect leveling (Keegan 2017).

7. CURRENT SITUATION

A question about language use has been included in each quinquennial census from 1996 onward. Currently 21.3% of the Māori population of just under 600,000 report being able to speak conversational Māori (a reduction from the 25% reported in 1996). Māori comprise 15% of New Zealand's population of 4.5 million. Just under 4% of non-Māori report being able to speak the Māori language. However, the self-reported responses give no indication of how well the person speaks Māori.

Te Puni Kōkiri conducts a survey on the health of the Māori language after each census with the most recent indicating that 14% of Māori adults assess themselves as being able to speak Māori "well" or "very well" (Te Puni Kōkiri 2008). The age group which has the highest proportion of Māori speakers are those over 65 (of whom 39% report being able to speak Māori). However, this is a substantial drop since 1996 when 53% of Māori aged 65 and over reported being Māori speakers. This decline reflects the fact that the cohorts of older fluent speakers are rapidly dying out.

While these numbers may look less than optimal, it must be remembered that had the language question been included in earlier censuses, we would have been able to track a substantial increase in the reported ability to speak Māori among those who were under 40 years old in the 1970s, before revitalization strategies were enacted. The fact that we now have Māori speakers in all age bands throughout the Māori population is a dramatic increase although concerns persist regarding the low levels of high-fluency speakers (Bauer 2008).

The late 1980s and early 1990s were the heyday of kōhanga reo with centers attracting over half of Māori enrollments in the early childhood education sector. However, since 1997 kōhanga has lost its preferred option status. In 2014 there were 455 kōhanga and just under 9,000 children (a decline of 36% in enrollments since 1993). One consequence of the falling enrollments in kōhanga reo is that the proportions of children reported as being able to speak Māori has been declining in the younger age groups: from 22% in the 5- to 9-years age band in 1996 to 17% in the 2013 census. Overall, the intergenerational transmission rate for Māori is 44%, that is, if a child is living in a household which contains a Māori-speaking adult there is a 44% chance that he or she is also reported as being able to speak Māori (King and Cunningham 2017).

Decline in the popularity of kōhanga reo is undoubtedly due to a number of reasons, including location and hours of service. There are also concerns about the operational and governance structures of kōhanga which have changed little since the beginnings of the movement. In addition, there are other Māori immersion centers offering a service similar to kōhanga reo. These centers appear to be attracting Māori urban professional parents who prefer a Māori immersion program that focuses on child development rather than *whānau* development (King and Gully 2009). There were thirteen such centers throughout New Zealand in 2015.

Internationally, there has been much attention recently on "new speakers," that is, speakers "with little or no home or community exposure to a minority language but who instead acquire it through immersion or bilingual programs, revitalization projects or as adult language learners" (O'Rourke, Pujolar, and Ramallo 2015, 1). By this definition, most current speakers of Māori under the age of 60 are "new speakers." As in other parts of the world, there have been some tensions in the relationships between new speakers and older fluent speakers who grew up and were socialised in Māori-speaking communities.

Unsurprisingly, new speakers of Māori speak Māori differently from older fluent speakers. The phonology of New Zealand English has affected their pronunciation of Māori (Watson et al. 2016) and there have also been some changes in the syntax of the Māori language, also due to the effect of English (Harlow 1991; Kelly 2014). In addition, because of the large vocabulary expansion required for the Māori language education system, new speakers often use vocabulary unfamiliar to older fluent speakers (Christensen 2003, 49). All of this can lead older fluent speakers to express dislike toward the speech of new speakers. Hōhepa quotes an elder as saying, "if that's the language of my grandchildren, better that it be allowed to die" (2000, 2). In particular, highly fluent new speakers who have attended Te Panekiretanga o Te Reo Māori courses are often teased for using a register of Māori that places emphasis on idiomatic, metaphorical speech and use of obscure vocabulary which many elders are not familiar with.

Nevertheless, new speakers are pervasive in the education and broadcasting arenas, outnumbering older fluent speakers by fifteen to one (Christensen 2003, 49). Consequently, Māori has not been too greatly affected by the sort of purism which is often espoused by older fluent speakers and which can undermine revitalization efforts (Dorian 1994). In recent years, visits to New Zealand by Ghil'ad Zuckermann and his descriptions of revivalistics have led to increasing acceptance that languages change and adapt, especially when in contact with other languages (Zuckermann and Walsh 2011). Regardless, despite any tensions, the speech of older fluent speakers is still regarded as the exemplar to which most new speakers aspire.

With regard to New Zealand more generally, there are many aspects of Māori language and culture which have become emblematic for New Zealand identity. One is the *haka* ("danced chant") performed by the New Zealand Rugby Union team, The All Blacks. Since 1999, through the controversy caused by singer Hinewehi Mohi singing the National Anthem in Māori at a international rugby match, CDs sent to all schools have resulted in new generations of New Zealand school children becoming confident in singing the first verses of both the Māori and English versions of the anthem (in that order) and this has now become the customary delivery at all official events.

It has been noted that the most distinctive aspect of New Zealand English is the number of words borrowed from the Māori language (Deverson 1991, 18). While we cannot be sure how many Māori words are recognized by New Zealanders who don't speak Māori, Deverson (1984) estimated the number would be about forty to fifty. This has since been revised upward by Macalister to seventy to eighty (2004), indicating that wider society may be becoming more familiar and accepting of the Māori language and aspects of Māori culture. An increase in tolerability (de Bres 2008) is one of the aims of the current Māori Language Strategy.

7.1. Positives

Although classified as an endangered language (Catalogue of Endangered Languages 2015) the Māori language has several distinctive aspects which have contributed to its relatively positive position.

In contrast to many endangered languages, Māori is the only indigenous language of New Zealand. This makes it somewhat easier to lobby Parliament and government departments, and effect actions and strategies when resources and effort are not spread among a number of languages. The national educational system in New Zealand has also enabled schools to be established and funded relatively easily compared to other jurisdictions where elected district school boards have control of funding and curricula.

Māori language has also benefited from the terms of the Treaty of Waitangi. Successful claims to the Waitangi Tribunal have resulted in recognition of Māori as an official language and consolidation of the obligations of the Crown in Māori language revitalization (Waitangi Tribunal 2011).

Another positive factor is that the Māori language has an alphabet which has been largely agreed on since 1826 (Parkinson 2016, 37). Many other languages are not in such a fortunate position. Māori is also one of the most well-documented Polynesian languages, with a large number of dictionaries and grammars. Particularly useful in the digital age is the comprehensive online dictionary maintained by John Moorfield (www.maoridictionary.co.nz). Within the last ten years there have also been two monolingual Māori language dictionaries published, one for schoolchildren (Huia Publishers 2006) and another for adults (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori 2008).

Another important factor which benefits the Māori language is aspects of Māori culture itself. The epitome of Māori cultural expression is to be found on the marae in rituals of encounter. These interactions, in particular those of welcome (*pōwhiri*) and funeral farewells (*tangihanga*), are largely enacted outside and in public. The non-secretive nature of these ceremonial aspects and the traditions encapsulated therein, traditions that are mandatorily conducted in Māori, have led to them being incorporated into wider New Zealand society and involving interaction with non-Māori. Most educational institutions, as well as local and central government organizations, regularly hold welcome or celebration ceremonies which involve Māori protocols. If an actual marae is not available, the nature of the ceremonies allows most public venues to serve as temporary marae. It is common for visiting dignitaries and celebrities to be accorded a *pōwhiri* on arrival to New Zealand. These public and inclusive rituals no doubt contribute to why Māori culture is seen an important part of New Zealand identity (Albury 2015).

Another historical factor which has been of immense importance to the revitalization of Māori was the sociolinguistic survey work in the 1970s which generated the necessary momentum for the revitalization of Māori (Benton 1991). Since language shift away from a minority language usually occurs unconsciously at the micro-level, the results of research can be the catalyst which allows community members to become aware of the macro-view, leading to the conscious decision to attempt to maintain or revitalize the language.

Maori performing arts, or *kapa haka*, are an increasingly important part of Maori culture. Kapa haka involves groups of up to forty participants who perform a bracket of songs in the Māori language. Since 1972 there has been a biennial national competition for adult performers (now known as *Te Matatini*). Anecdotally, the conversational use of Māori among the judges and audiences at the regional and national kapa haka finals appears to be increasing. These competitions are important in that large sections of the Māori community attend as either competitors or supporters and all age groups are involved, thus providing an opportunity for normalized intergenerational interaction in the Māori language.

7.2. Lessons

Looking back over the last thirty-five years we can note several phases in the Māori language revitalization movement: disruption, institutionalization, and normalization.

The trajectory of these phases can be seen in Māori language educational initiatives. In the first phase, the existing order is disrupted. The education initiatives were an example of self-determination at the grassroots level involving young and older members of the community which disrupted both the trajectory of the numbers of children being raised as speakers of Māori and also the education scene. New communities of practice, *whānau*, formed. This phase is characterized by participants feeling a sense of breaking frontiers and of uniting in a common cause. In the initial phase of the educational initiatives many people were volunteers rather than paid employees.

After several years an institutionalization phase emerged where procedures and practices were developed. Employment contracts were set up and training procedures established. There is still a sense of group purpose, but it is often focused more on managerial aspects. Typically, at this stage government funding has been secured.

In the normalization phase the initiative becomes regarded as a normal part of life. Today all Māori children grow up in a world where kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori are present. Even if they do not participate in Māori immersion education, current generations can't remember a world where these initiatives didn't exist.

After thirty-five years the Māori language has become normalized in education and broadcasting domains and the concern is that complacency will hold back further gains. Of course, normalization doesn't necessarily lead to complacency; one possible outcome is that it becomes normal to speak Māori in certain situations, putting an onus on people to improve their language ability in order to participate.

In recent years both government and tribal groups have become concerned about complacency and have been developing new approaches to inspire vitality. There is now an understanding that it is necessary to regularly revise and recalibrate, not the targets necessarily, but the manner of approach, in order to encourage and support the speaking and learning of Māori. For example, the annual Māori Language Week has, since 2004, promoted a different theme each year. Since 2014, instead of focusing on just one week of the year the strategy has been to promote a new Māori word or phrase each week for the whole year, as a way to build up vocabulary and maintain a wider profile for the Māori language.

The Māori Language Commission is also diversifying their approach and strategies. For example, in 2015 they began funding *kura whakarauora* ("survival schools"). These two- to three-day workshops teach the basics of language planning and provide information and tools for attendees to take back and action in their communities.

The Ngāi Tahu tribe have found it important to regularly refresh and rebrand their language revitalization effort in order to maintain commitment and to encourage new involvement. Their tribal magazine *Te Karaka* ("the call") regularly profiles members who are learning and using Māori to encourage other families and support normalisation of the language.

In recent years there have been increasing efforts to encourage learners and speakers rather than castigate them. One mantra often used the 1980s and 1990s was: *me kōrero Māori i ngā wā katoa, i ngā wāhi katoa* ("speak Māori at all times and in all places") (Jenkins and Ka'ai 1994, 163). At the time this was an important and necessary edict to remind parents, most of whom were new learners of the language, not to switch to English. Experience had shown that if English was introduced into the environment it tended to remain. However, this stricture can lead to people feeling that they shouldn't even try to speak Māori if they can't make a full commitment. The purism associated with this mantra has evolved into a recognition that encouragement is needed.

One example of the focus on encouragement is the ZePA model (Higgins and Rewi 2014). An acronym for "Zero, Passive, Active," the ZePA principle is, no matter if you're at Zero levels, by gradually learning more Māori words you can become a Passive learner of the language and move toward becoming an Active speaker. This model emphasizes the lifelong nature of the learning experience and that even a little can start you on the way. While there is a tendency to shift leftward along this continuum (from Active to Passive to Zero), the idea is to encourage people that no matter where they are on the continuum to keep right-shifting.

7.3. Challenges

While there are many positive aspects of the situation in New Zealand which have helped in the maintenance and revitalization of the Māori language, there are still a number of challenges in the present environment, beyond the perpetual need for more Māori language teachers and teaching resources.

New Zealand's linguistic diversity is increasing with increased migration from India and China, particularly since 2009. The country's largest city, Auckland, with a population of just over 400,000 and 10% of the country's population, is now officially defined as "superdiverse" (Spoonley and Bedford 2012). Over 40% of Auckland's population was born overseas; there are 200 ethnicities and 160 languages spoken. While in New Zealand overall, Māori is the most commonly spoken language other than English, in Auckland it is now the fourth most common, behind Samoan, Hindi, and Mandarin. Cantonese is not far behind.

But paradoxically, there are some signs that the increasing multilingualism could be leading to a greater acceptance of New Zealand's indigenous language and culture as an essential part of the national identity. Unlike other languages, including English, the Māori language uniquely belongs in Aotearoa New Zealand. There also seems to be increasing acceptance of non-Māori speakers of Māori.

Another challenge is that there is not an accepted written standard for Māori. Māori has several mutually intelligible dialects with differences on the phonological, lexical and syntactic levels, but linguistically these differences are relatively small (Harlow 2007). The Māori Language Commission has provided useful orthographic conventions (Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori 2012). Also much written teaching material has been produced by older fluent speakers from one dialect area (Ngāti Porou), so that dialect has become somewhat normative. Written standards in language typically evolve gradually among those involved in a print culture. While there was a flourishing Māori print culture in the second half of the nineteenth century there have been few signs of its redevelopment in the current revitalization phase.

With the emphasis on tribal regeneration, dialect differences are becoming more important as part of expressing tribal identity. Some tribal material is beginning to use spelling to indicate pronunciation features of their dialect. For example, O'Regan from Ngāi Tahu (2014) writes with what is termed the Ngāi Tahu "k," where a merger between /k/ and /ŋ/ in this dialect is represented orthographically by using <k> for both what is <ng> and <k> in other varieties of Māori. If increased publishing by tribal groups begins to incorporate tribally based spellings this could negatively affect any move toward a standard (Keegan 2017).

8. THE WAY AHEAD

In his seminal work on reversing language shift Fishman (1991) gave a summary of the Māori language situation and noted that revitalization efforts should be more focused on level 6 of his GIDS scale, namely, embedding the language in the home, neighborhood, and community. Although this has been a strong priority since 2000, the first revitalization efforts in New Zealand were not concentrated on the home; rather it was the education system which became the prime focus. This stemmed from the idea that education initiatives were the most efficient and effective way of raising a new generation of Māori-speaking children. The focus on schooling initiatives did have a community aspect in the form of the *whānau* that built up around schools.

In other ways the revitalization measures in New Zealand have followed Fishman's interpretation. As we have seen, all the early efforts came from the bottom up, the ideas were formed at community level with volunteers and the pooling of resources and funding. In addition, the passion of the early pioneers were focused on ethnic and cultural goals, that is, self-determination and development goals with Māori language and culture at their heart (Fishman 1991, 18–21).

For the last sixteen years there has been a funding prioritization at the government and tribal levels on supporting home and community language use. However, there is very little mention of the importance of neighborhoods. While some tribes have considered forming physical language enclaves, the practical issues of forming Māori-speaking neighborhoods have so far quashed any such aspirations. However, a Māori-speaking neighborhood has formed in Ōtaki, a small town with a population of 6,000 in the lower North Island, where the Māori tribal tertiary education institution, Te Wānanga o Raukawa, is located. The population of this area is 34% Māori, double the New Zealand average. Commentators report that Māori language can be heard regularly on the street and in shops in Ōtaki (Smale 2016). This is the only current example of the reclamation of a Māori-speaking locale.

How successful has reversing language shift been in New Zealand? First, the answer rather depends on what success is (Hinton, Huss and Roche 2018). There have been few articulations of the macro-aim of Māori language revitalization (Christensen 2003). Some suggest it would be having large proportion of Māori being able to speak Māori (both Bauer 2008 and Ruckstuhl and Wright 2014 suggesting 80% or more). Some commentators have suggested working toward a situation where Māori would be the preferred language in particular domains (Chrisp 1997; Harlow 2003). However, the Māori Language Strategies have been careful not to make any definite statements regarding the desired numbers or percentages of Māori speakers.

In order to improve levels of engagement with the language, Hinurewa Poutu (2015, 385) notes that there is a need to "*whakacoolngia te reo*" ("make the Māori language cool"). New speakers of Māori have not typically been motivated by a desire to revitalize the language; rather they feel that the language revitalizes them (King 2014). Encouragingly, recent research indicates that new speakers are becoming motivated by the ability to participate in events where Māori is the main language of interaction (Te Huia 2015, 627). A real need to speak the language is the most effective motivation of all, so there is a need to harness the FOMO (fear of missing out) principle.

To date, the revitalization of the Māori language has had a good measure of success, but as Leanne Hinton notes, "success is not an endpoint but a process" (Hinton, Huss, and Roche 2018, 499) It's all about the journey, and, to invoke a Māori canoe metaphor, while not everyone will be involved along the way, inspired leadership will bring others on board. In Aotearoa New Zealand the main lesson has been: change is constant, so keep changing.

"A waka cannot change the winds, but it can change its sails to match" (Tarena-Prendergast 2016, 38).

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