HEI TIMATANGA KORERO
Maori Language Regenesis and Mihinare Clergy

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I give thanks to the Creator for the many blessings I have enjoyed on this research journey and in whom all things are possible.
To all those people who have helped me to complete this thesis, I offer my sincere thanks to you all. I do not wish to name individuals in case I leave out others equally deserving of mention. However, I would especially like to thank the bishops, clergy and laity of the Bishoprics of Aotearoa and New Zealand, and the staff of the University of Canterbury and the National Library of New Zealand.

Finally, I hope that the research reported here will contribute to Maori language regenesis and to efforts for endangered languages elsewhere in the world.

Noho ora mai i raro i nga manaakitanga a to tatou Kaihanga.
This thesis is about Maori language regenesis and the role of the Maori Anglican Church. It draws upon current research into language endangerment, language revival, language revitalisation and language reversal from an international socio-linguistic perspective. In particular, it explores Fishman's (1991) reversing language shift model within the context of the Maori Anglican Church. This model emphasises the critical importance of inter-generational language transmission in the home, family, neighbourhood and community.

It is clear that for almost two hundred years the Maori Anglican Church has supported the development of the Maori language. Maori print literacy, Maori language synods and church board meetings, the Maori Anglican Church schools and tertiary institutions, and the conferences of the Te Aute College Students' Association (later known as the Young Maori Party) have all contributed to a tradition which has built the foundation for the Church's more recent efforts to lobby for kohanga reo, kura kaupapa, iwi radio stations and Maori television. The review of the Church's history provides signposts to guide it in its selection of short, medium and long-term Maori language goals.

In-depth interviews with twelve senior clergypersons furnish insights into the use of the Maori language in the contexts of the home, neighbourhood and community as well as the Church. These recordings also canvass their attitudes to the language in general, as well as their aspirations for the future. The research methodology explores
a holistic approach to interviewing which has emerged as a developing Maori analytical tool.

The thesis concludes by making three major recommendations on how the Maori Anglican Church might continue its Maori language planning and policy-making, and thus contribute to Maori language regenesis. Without these new initiatives, the Maori language within the Church may well become a language like Latin which is used in church services but is not a vibrant vernacular.
INTRODUCTION

"I te timatanga te Kupu, i te Atua te kupu, ko te Atua ano te Kupu."

"In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and Word was God."

(Ko te Paipera Tapu 1992:197)

This thesis is about Maori language regenesis and the role of the Maori Anglican Church. Chapter one discusses Maori as an endangered language and the possible responses of Te Hahi Mihinare (the Maori Anglican Church). Chapter two reviews the Church’s historical involvement with the Maori language over almost two hundred years, and chapter three examines the research methodology. The concluding chapter outlines suggested priorities for future action.

It is clear that since the earliest times in the Judeo-Christian tradition, language and religion have been inextricably connected and interdependent. From the point of view of the scriptures, without God, without religion, language would not have been created and the diversity of languages that exists today would not be evident. In the creation stories, as outlined in the Book of Genesis in the Bible, God created the heavens and the earth and distinguished between the various species of plants, animals and birds. God brought the beasts of the field and birds of the air to Adam who gave each living creature its name (Genesis 2:19). God also spoke to Adam warning him not to eat fruit from a particular tree and that a female would be created as a companion for him. Adam also speaks in God’s garden, as does his wife, Eve.
The power of language for good and evil is revealed when the serpent deceives them both. Here are the earliest links between language and Judeo-Christian religion.

Furthermore, in Genesis chapter 11 it is reported that the whole earth had one language, a single set of words. Later, the account informs us that God was unhappy with the pride of those who built the tower of Babel and so from these early times He created different languages for diverse cultural groups. In Haugen's (1987:1-4) opinion, the story of Babel contains a set of blessings. He sees diversity as a blessing.

The beginning of the Gospel according to John is cited in the caption above. 'The Word' can be interpreted here to mean God, Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit, and, according to these sources, God created all languages, including English and Maori.

Thus language and religion have been closely connected throughout the ages. In the Anglican Church tradition, it was in the sixth century that St. Augustine returned to England the language of Latin, which had been lost. This language again became the language of wisdom and scholarship. Indeed, Latin was the preferred language of the Church for many centuries (Wardhaugh 1987:66). Earlier in the Roman Empire a knowledge of Latin meant the possibility of gaining status socially, politically and materially (Wardhaugh 1987:9). In England, from the time of St. Augustine religious factors were important in the spread of Latin. Such factors can also lead to the decline of a language. In the Roman Empire, the Greek language was seen as the language of culture but it was opposed by Christians at that time. This opposition was a major factor that led to an abandonment of that language in Roman areas (Wardhaugh 1987:10). Last century English missionaries were more willing than the French to use local vernacular languages in efforts to save souls. Here the religious factor can be seen as hindering the spread of English that might otherwise have taken
place. However, romanised scripts were introduced by English missionaries for writing in these local languages, which was certainly beneficial for the rapid spread of literacy in the Maori language.

In the early nineteenth century, most Maori were monolingual speakers of the Maori language, a language with an ancient history. Related to over 500 languages spoken by more than 200 million people throughout the Pacific and Asia, Maori is classified linguistically as an ‘Austronesian language’ (Benton 1991:1). It is possible that those who settled in Aotearoa-New Zealand from eastern Polynesia may have spoken slightly different dialects. While there were some distinctions in pronunciation and words, Maori dialects were in general mutually understandable from one end of the country to the other. Over the centuries, Maori had developed methods of communicating complex messages through a rich oral tradition manifested in such forms as oratory, storytelling, poetry, dance and genealogy. Not only were Maori highly adept within this oral tradition, but they also used depicted traditions such as whakairo (carvings) and tuhituhi (paintings). It was within this context that the Anglican Church arrived in Aotearoa-New Zealand. Prior to the arrival of Europeans and the English language, Maori language was the only language spoken anywhere in the country, at home, in the wider community, in educational and work domains, as well as regional political spheres.

Two hundred years later the situation is quite different. Today Maori is an endangered language. According to the National Maori Language Survey which was held in the mid 1990’s, only 8% of Maori adults now speak Maori at a highly fluent level (National Maori Language Survey n.d.:34). This survey also found that the
three major domains where Maori is most spoken are the school, the marae and the church (National Maori Language Survey n.d.:51-52). This result tends to confirm earlier findings based on major research undertaken in the 1970's:

The responses overall to questions about language use from the 4136 household heads we interviewed who were fluent speakers of Maori ... revealed only two domains where Maori was still generally secure, the formal aspects of marae procedures, and (less markedly) certain religious observances (Benton 1991:9).

Although there are some real differences between the two surveys in terms of methodology and analysis, both reveal that in the spiritual domain, a relatively high percentage of Maori adults use Maori.

Since the Church is a major Maori language domain and there had been no case studies involving the Maori Anglican Church and the current state of the Maori language, this thesis explores that topic. As an ordained minister in the Maori Anglican Church, I am particularly well situated to undertake this project. In chapter three there is a detailed account of my own background and why I came to focus on the Church, as well as the encouragement I received from Church leaders.

I need to explain that I refer throughout this thesis to Anglican Maori and the Maori Anglican Church. The former term is based on the belief that a person is born a Maori and then becomes Anglican. This was clearly the case for thousands of converts last century, and I still believe it is true today. The latter term, Maori Anglican Church, was selected for the same reasons. The Anglican Church as a body arrived in Aotearoa-New Zealand last century and its Maori branch was subsequently
established. I had hoped to cover both clergy and laity perspectives on the Maori language, but due to constraints, discussed in chapter three, it has been only possible to concentrate on clergy.

The first goal is to review the Maori language as an endangered language and strategies for language regenesis. Both these areas are treated in chapter one. The contexts largely involve the Maori Anglican Church. The second goal is to review the historical roles of the Church concerning the language. In chapter two there is an attempt to review the historical signposts, which will assist future planning and development. Goal three involves making recommendations to Maori Anglican Church authorities about the Church’s future role regarding the Maori language. An attempt will be made in the concluding chapter towards outlining some possible priorities for future action. Goal four aims at making the results, findings and recommendations available to individuals and organisations involved in the regenesis of the Maori language and other languages. Additional goals, not part of this thesis, will be addressed in a future publication which will also take account of information not treated formally in this study, for example, the results of the questionnaires mentioned in chapter three.

Because some, beyond Aotearoa-New Zealand, with interests in language regenesis or language in religious contexts, may wish to read this thesis, I have assumed that the reader may have a limited knowledge of Maori language and culture. With respect to the Maori methodologies employed in this thesis, points may appear to be laboured for those who have a greater knowledge of the Maori world, but for others with no experience with these things, it is important to specify them. Maori words are
generally underlined and accompanied by English translations in brackets where appropriate.

Part of the title, Hei Timatanga Korero, means literally “as a beginning talk.” One of the twelve senior clergypersons interviewed in the course of the investigation said that he saw the thesis as a beginning resource for the Church to review (Clergyperson L). I also hope that this thesis will stimulate discussion within and beyond the Maori Anglican Church. I see it very much as a beginning for me. Notwithstanding the Church’s two hundred years of involvement with the Maori language, I suspect that some of the ideas raised in this thesis may be new also to others. It is also a beginning in the sense that only twelve senior clergy were interviewed. I am aware that this is not fully representative of the whole Church in terms of age and gender. The interviews in this study also did not include laity.

Another part of the title is Maori Language Regenesis. I was introduced to the notion of ‘language regenesis’ by a journal article written in 1993 by Christina Bratt Paulston, Pow Chee Chen and Mary C. Connerty entitled Language Regenesis: A Conceptual Overview of Language Revival, Revitalisation and Reversal. They argue in this paper that “language revival, language revitalisation, and language reversal constitute three separate phenomena, subsumed under the concept of language regenesis” (Paulston, Chen & Connerty 1993:275).

‘Language revival’ is linked to efforts to bring new life to a dead or dying language. Hebrew can be regarded as the most successful example illustrating this. For such revival, first, there needs to be an old language to be revived, which portrays the
group’s illustrious past. Second, there is a need for a means of communication. A dead language has been defined “as one which (1) has no native speakers, (2) is not used in everyday communication by a speech community, and (3) does not undergo normal processes of change” (Thomason 1982). Applying these criteria, Paulston et al. (1993) believe that “Maori is another group whose language has been termed ‘revived’; yet there was never a generation without native speakers who kept the language alive.” While this statement may well hold true for some tribes such as Tuhoe and Ngapuhi, it is certainly incorrect for a high number of western and southern tribes. I would argue that there are now Maori communities where there are no native speakers, Maori is not used in everyday communication and the language is not undergoing a normal process of change. In other words, I disagree with Paulston et al. and rather regard ‘revival’ as a perfectly legitimate term to describe what is happening to the language in some Maori communities.

‘Language revitalisation’ can refer to actions or attempts to increase the vitality of a language already in use. In this situation, according to Paulston et al., there are still native speakers who are living, the language is used as a means of daily communication and it is going through normal processes of change (Paulston, Chen & Connerty 1993:280). They also see national identity as a major feature. However, I believe that this term can also be applied to certain sections of Maoridom. I do not agree with Paulston et al. that revitalisation requires nationalism. With only about one hundred and sixty nation states in the world but six thousand languages, many language communities trying to strengthen their languages are doing so without the need to think of ‘nation’.
The third term is ‘language reversal’ which “focuses on circumstances in which one of the languages of a state begins to move back into more prominent use” (Paulston, Chen & Connerty 1993:281). The first type of reversal is ‘legal reversal’ where a change of law increases the status of a language. It is usually preceded by a shift in political power and the recognition of economic advantage. It can be debated that such a reversal occurred in Aotearoa-New Zealand when its government in 1987 recognised Maori as an official language.

The second type of reversal has been termed ‘reversal of shift’ “where a language, which appears to be disappearing, has a renascence and is saved from extinction by increased use” (Paulston, Chen & Connerty 1993:282). Maori can be regarded as an example of this kind of reversal. However, whether the reversal of shift will succeed is questionable.

I believe that the term ‘language regenesis’ is an appropriate one for use in the title of this thesis as different Maori language communities experience revival, revitalisation and reversal. I agree with Paulston, Chen and Connerty (1993:285) that these categories are not exclusive. I think that ‘regenesis’ is a suitable cover term especially in a Church context. It signals that there is a diverse range of Maori language contexts in the Maori Anglican Church, namely, situations requiring revival, revitalisation and reversal, and that there is a need to re-create or reconstruct Anglican Maori-speaking communities.

Reviewing history has important implications for language regenesis. Not only does this process provide insights into the reasons for the decline of a language but it can
also furnish signposts to guide future development. When such history is examined in the light of language regenesis models, it becomes clearer what constitute possible short, medium and long-term goals. It is important that the Maori Anglican Church recovers or searches its memory to understand implicit and explicit language planning and policy-making which has occurred over almost two hundred years. Such a comprehensive task is beyond the scope of this study. However, it is possible in this thesis to focus mainly on highlights or selected major Maori language developments affecting the Maori Anglican Church. While the review is not exhaustive, it should furnish insights into a range of Maori Anglican initiatives that have existed concerning the Maori language since early in the nineteenth century. Hopefully it will continue a sense of tradition which will provide a solid base for future Maori language developments.

Descriptive research and method and its application have emerged as significant foci in contemporary sociolinguistics. Issues of language endangerment and regenesis are regarded as major sociolinguistic phenomena. The applied side to this kind of research is language planning which involves intervening in the development of a language. Deliberated interventions could mean that the Maori Anglican Church will continue to undertake the twin processes of Maori language planning and policymaking. In this thesis the locations of all those who participated in the research process are reviewed. A holistic model for the conduct of interviews is also examined. The constraints of the study serve to provide a broader context for the evaluation of its findings.
The major conclusions, which it is hoped will contribute to language regenesis interests in general and in particular the role of the Maori Anglican Church in Maori language regenesis, include the following:

(1) It is clear that the Maori language is endangered and that a non-governmental organisation such as the Maori Anglican Church, and more specifically its clerical members, has a role to play in language regenesis.

(2) It is also acknowledged that for almost two hundred years, the Church has contributed towards language regenesis through its governmental bodies, educational institutions, pastoral care and church services. A review of its history reveals a tradition which serves as signposts for the future in terms of selecting short, medium and long-term goals.

(3) In terms of methodology, the location of the researcher and informants is placed at the core of the study. This approach to interviews explores a holistic model which can be seen as a developing Maori analytical tool.

(4) Three major recommendations to the Church attempt to outline a few crucial developments to be undertaken well and early.

I now turn to discuss Maori as an endangered language and how the Church might respond.
In most parts of Aotearoa-New Zealand the Maori language is dying or in a state of advanced decay. There are very few communities where Maori is transmitted from one generation to another in the home, family and neighbourhood. Where parents cease to pass on their language to their children, a language becomes endangered. Indeed a culture can become also seriously weakened. The Maori language can be seen as an example of such an endangered language. The Maori Anglican Church is faced with deciding whether to allow the Maori language to remain largely a liturgical or ceremonial language, or whether to support more strenuously the language becoming a language of everyday communication in the community.

This chapter begins to examine the Maori language as an endangered language from the perspective of the general linguistic literature on language endangerment. It also focuses on language regenesis and explores Joshua Fishman’s reversing language shift model which gives priority to returning the endangered language to the home, neighbourhood and community. In addition there is some brief coverage of the twin processes of language planning and policy-making in the context of the Maori Anglican Church.

1.1 Maori language endangerment

Today there are about 6,000 living languages. According to Michael Krauss (1992: 7), if present trends continue “the coming century will see either the death or the
doom of 90% of mankind’s languages.” He compares this situation with the biological world and concludes that the threat to the world’s biological diversity is valid when compared to linguistic diversity. Yet he observes that much more is being done to ensure the survival of animal species than is being done for languages. Furthermore, Krauss believes that professional linguists should be not only documenting endangered languages “but also working educationally, culturally and politically to increase their chances of survival” (Krauss 1992:9). He asserts that linguists must learn from biologists and conservationists about organising, maintaining, lobbying and promoting. It is interesting to note that the Summer Institute of Linguistics, a Christian organisation responsible for translating the Bible into indigenous languages, is regarded by Krauss as the group which is doing more than any other to assist endangered languages. To date this organisation has worked on over 1,200 languages.

What, however, is an endangered language? According to Bobaljik and Pensalfini, an endangered language can be defined roughly as “a language that within a few generations will have no speakers left” (1996:8). However, both these scholars claim that it would be more accurate to view endangerment as a kind of continuum with so-called “safe” languages such as English at one end, and extinction at the other. Wurm (1996:1) has defined as endangered or potentially endangered “any language...which is not learned any more by children, or at least by a large part of the children of that community (say at least 30 per cent).” Large-scale intergenerational transmission of a language is required if a language is not to become endangered. Bobaljik and Pensalfini claim that there are many variables to consider when deciding whether a language is becoming endangered. One is the number of
living speakers – although good numbers alone are not enough to keep a language alive. Another variable is geography and the location of these living speakers. According to these scholars language endangerment is always accompanied by an earlier drop in the socio-economic status of the living speakers. It is associated with the oppression of one group by another (Bobaljik & Pensalfini 1996:12). Parents cease to pass on their languages to children where there is also active repression, neglect or even where there is an effort to preserve a language such as in Ireland. Parents may decide that they do not want their children to suffer the kind of humiliation and pain which they themselves experienced. They may simply not be aware of language endangerment or have fatalistically accepted it (Karttunen 1995:6). The negative beliefs and stereotyping of majority-language speakers can raise concerns and be destructive for minority-language speakers (Karttunen 1995:14). The attitudes of speakers can be adversely affected by such negativity, destruction and intolerance.

Does it matter that 90% of the world’s languages may not survive beyond 2100? Clearly Krauss has already indicated above that it is important for professional linguists to become involved in language regenesis. In other words, he believes that it does matter if such a high percentage of languages disappear within a century, and that there is a need for linguists seriously to rethink their priorities or preside over the disappearance of 90% of their field (Krauss 1992:10). It is also interesting to note that Wurm postulates that there are two theories about language. One maintains that the differences between languages are minor and that all languages are fully intertranslatable - both are fallacies. Those who subscribe to this theory do not view the disappearance of another language with concern. The second theory believes that
each language “reflects a unique world view and culture complex…” (Wurm 1996:5). Here a diversity of languages is regarded as a vitally important asset and resource. The loss of a language is seen to be “an irretrievable tragic loss to valuable and important human knowledge” (Wurm 1996:5). Wurm also believes that bilingual or multilingual individuals have intellectual and emotional advantages over those who are only monolingual.

Linguists and speakers of endangered languages claim that the loss of a language also means the loss of a culture. In other words, the loss of a language is not simply the loss of vocabulary: it is the loss of a worldview (Karttunen 1995:11). Indeed the loss of linguistic diversity is seen to be linked to a loss of intellectual and cultural diversity (Woodbury 1993:101). Anthony Woodbury has defended the proposition that when a language dies, a culture dies. He asserts that there are three major reasons to support his contention. First, language is closely linked with cultural identity. If a language is lost, then the long term cultural identity of an ethnic group is threatened. Second, the loss of a language means also the loss of the knowledge that language uniquely expresses. Third, the loss of a language will mean the loss of the verbal arts e.g. poetry, storytelling, chants. The oral tradition of an ethnic group is largely dependent on a knowledge of the language. Loss of language “spells the direct end of some cultural traditions and is part of the unravelling, restructuring or re-evaluation of others” (Woodbury 1993:109). A loss of language has a very high cultural cost. The maintenance of language diversity can be seen as crucial to the maintenance of cultural diversity. Language endangerment can be seen as an indicator of a cultural endangerment. It can be argued that linguistic and cultural diversity supports and enhances intellectual diversity. If an eco-system is to survive,
then diversity is vitally important in the biological world (Bobaljik & Pensalfini 1996:21-22). This perspective believes that “the rights of individuals to equal treatment and opportunity, irrespective of ethnic affiliation,” is the central issue in the preservation of endangered languages and cultures. Given the impact of colonisation on indigenous cultures, it is no surprise that languages and cultures are being lost when people wishing to escape from poverty assimilate to the coloniser’s language and culture (Bobaljik & Pensalfini 1996:22). (For further discussions on linguistic human rights, see Skutnabb-Kangas, Phillipson & Rannut 1995).

According to Sasse, about half the known languages of the world have disappeared over the last five hundred years (Sasse 1990:1). Theories concerning language death continue to be of grave concern and therefore continue to develop, giving greater insights. “It goes without saying that we will not be concerned here with cases of extinction of languages due to the sudden extinction of speech communities. The case where a language disappears because all of its speakers die or are killed does not provide any linguistic interest” (Sasse 1990:1-2). Dead languages do not mean a language like Classical Greek which survives today as Modern Greek. In discussing the reasons for language death, it has on occasion been speculated that a language may die because it becomes impoverished structurally to a level where it becomes inadequate. In other words, changes in phonology, morphology and syntax, as well as in the lexicon, lead to extinction. However, Sasse maintains that a full study of language death will have to include a historical analysis of the extra-linguistic factors, e.g. cultural, sociological, economic and religious factors, a sociolinguistic analysis of the community’s speech behaviour such as domains of languages and styles, as well as attitudes and a structural description of language spoken by
different speakers at different stages in longitudinal studies (Sasse 1990:7). Sasse believes that it is extra-linguistic factors which impact on speech behaviour, leading to structural changes. Such a process is initiated by a decision (conscious or subconscious) not to continue transmitting the language to new generations. When parents decide not to speak the endangered language to their children, then a language shift occurs where the new introduced language replaces the indigenous language. As the result of socio-economic or socio-psychological pressure and often negative attitudes, members of the minority speech community give up their language (Sasse 1990: 10). Typically language death occurs in bilingual situations where one language gradually dies out while the dominant language lives. Speakers are forced to learn and speak the dominant language for use in domains where the indigenous language cannot be used (Sasse 1990:11).

What has happened to the Maori language is that in many tribal and urban areas in New Zealand, language transmission has been interrupted. Indeed, in some regions there has been a process of language decay where serious linguistic disintegration has occurred. In other words, those who did not acquire Maori from their parents or grandparents exhibit an imperfect knowledge of the language. What has happened to Maori in many regions in the decay phase is, to use Sasse’s words, that “an amorphous mass of words and word forms, stereotype sentences and phrases, formulaic expressions, idioms and proverb...are imperfectly known and whose functions are poorly understood” (Sasse 1990:14). The generation of speakers that emerges as a result of interrupted language transmission can be called semi-speakers. Such a speaker never acquires the proficiency of a full native speaker of the language (Sasse 1990: 5). “Many semi-speakers avoid speaking a language in which they
cannot easily express themselves and which they conceive of as bastardized, pidginized non-language” (Sasse 1990:15-16). Maori language in many parts of New Zealand, especially the southern and western regions, can be regarded as an example of language death where regular communications in Maori have ceased. There is clearly, however, still a residual knowledge of Maori language used for group identification and ritual purposes.

Sasse’s language death model has three major phases. Firstly, there is a language shift where Maori becomes a second language and English is the first language of Maori people. Secondly, language decay occurs with the emergence of semi-speakers, and structural incompetence is evident. The third phase involves language death where there is no communication or creativity in the endangered language, or language replacement where speakers are fully proficient in English (Sasse 1990:20). Maori has moved beyond phase one to phases two and three where revitalisation and revival become very difficult. The establishment of kohanga reo (immersion preschools) can be regarded in terms of Sasse’s model as an extreme case of generation skip where the oldest generation still speaks the language, the middle generation oscillates between semi-speakers and zero, and the youngest generation acquires language anew (Sasse 1990:20).

Campbell and Muntzel (1989:182ff) have described two kinds of language death which could be used to describe the Maori language situation in general. First, there is gradual death where speakers shift to a dominant language. This is by far the most common situation.
Such situations have an intermediate stage of bilingualism in which the dominant language comes to be employed by an ever increasing number of individuals in a growing number of contexts where the subordinate language was formerly used (Campbell and Muntzel 1989:185).

The proficiency of speakers is largely determined by age as well as by attitude and other factors. In other words, in many Maori language situations, especially in the Maori Anglican Church, it is the more elderly who are the most competent speakers. The second category which is relevant to Maori is the bottom-to-top death. Here the language has been lost from the home, the neighbourhood and community as an everyday language but has been retained often somewhat precariously in religious or ritual contexts. Campbell and Muntzel describe a language situation at the last stage where a hymn of praise had been performed, but finally even that was lost. A characteristic of this kind of death is that those who know the prayers or rituals may be unable to translate them accurately, or are unable or are severely limited in the use of the language for any other purpose outside these religious contexts. In the Maori Anglican Church there is evidence of both kinds of language death.

Language attrition means that a person's competence in a language is diminished in comparison to fully competent native speakers of the language. Such a process has occurred as the result of the Maori language acquiring lesser prestige than English. In the twentieth century there has been a generational shift towards the language of greater prestige, namely, English (cf. Andersen 1982:88). Weinreich (1963:79) has defined prestige in this situation as "the value of a language in social advance." For bilingual speakers English has caused Maori to become restricted to communication
with other speakers at the school, marae and church – the three major domains where Maori is most used (National Maori Language Survey n.d.:51-52). According to Andersen (1982:88), dying languages are “by their very nature, restricted in use by many speakers. As the number of speakers of a language dwindles, the use of the language also diminishes.” For a dying language like Maori, as the opportunities to speak, read and write Maori have decreased, there has also been a corresponding decline in a person’s Maori language competence. One indicator of this process is a reduction in a speaker’s ability to be spontaneous and expressive in Maori. Second language learners exhibit such speech behaviours and are seriously limited in the range of uses to which they can put the Maori language. The language learners’ own attitudes about their limited ability in the language can increase the difficulty of maintaining the language. Insecurity on the part of such learners may lead to avoidance of domains where the language is used. To remedy this situation, fluent competent speakers of Maori need to lift the proficiency of the second language learner with rewarding and comprehensible interactions (Andersen 1982:111-112).

Vakhtin (1992:57) has designed a seven-point scale which measures the degree of a person’s language competence. At the top is the individual who speaks the language fluently and beautifully and is an expert in classical language and folklore. At the other end is the person who does not know the language at all. A person’s competency in a language will be influenced by whether the language has been acquired in early childhood, youth or adulthood (Vakhtin 1992:60-61). Clearly, post-World War II urban migration and a strong integration ethos has meant an almost unavoidable shift to English in most contacts with non-Maori New Zealanders (Fase, Jaspaert & Kroon 1992:5). The majority of Maori families in the 1950’s and
1960's moved from rural areas predominantly populated by their own relatives to urban situations. As a consequence, the use of Maori dropped drastically. In order to understand the processes of language maintenance, loss and shift fully, it is necessary to understand "the changes in language choice in intra-group communication" (Fase, Jaspaert & Kroon 1992:7).

1.2 Maori language shift

Language maintenance is focused on the choice of language in interaction with group members. The issue of language shift is largely related to the group while language loss is related to the individual who is losing the ability to use the language (Fase, Jaspaert & Kroon 1992:8). While we have canvassed largely the negative side of the language maintenance / language shift continuum by reviewing some studies on endangerment, death, loss and attrition, it is now time to review studies which concentrate on the more positive sides of revival, revitalisation and reversal. For Fishman language shift occurs because of "increasingly unequal power in the competition for material, social and cultural dignity and self-regulation" (Fishman 1992:397-398). He believes that it is impossible to understand language shift if the tragedies of whanau (families) and communities who want their children to walk down their own ethno-cultural path are not acknowledged. Furthermore, he claims that schools are not in a position to guarantee language maintenance, largely due to biases and problems in society. According to Romaine (1989:375), the importance of religion and home as domains can emerge as a decisive factor in language maintenance. However, Fishman maintains that the language-ethnicity-religion matrix means that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts (Fishman 1992:401). He also claims that religion, like education, is not itself sufficient for language
maintenance. For Fishman the “struggle for reversing language shift is part of a struggle for a better life, just as much as is the struggle for language shift” (Fishman 1992:403). Clearly such a struggle has both religious and educational dimensions.

The problems of maintaining the Maori language are so serious because in most parts of Aotearoa-New Zealand there is little Maori language intergenerational communication within the home, neighbourhood and community. The shift to using English is very advanced. Reversing language shift (RLS) is the topic of an influential text written and published by Joshua Fishman at the beginning of the 1990’s, and is applicable to the Maori situation. It attempts to address a very painful situation, namely the impending death of the traditional language of a speech community, a process which for Fishman can be seen as a social injustice (Fishman 1991:3). It would seem that a democratic country such as Aotearoa-New Zealand can contain people who are blind to the needs of Maori for linguistic regenesis. While Fishman counsels against risky conflict with authorities, he also advocates cultural pluralism, diglossic bilingualism, demographic concentration and strengthening ethnic families and communities, as well as overt promotion of RLS. He advises “patient and diligent concentration on the ‘home’ before serious attention and scarce resources are devoted to the higher order spheres: such as the workplace and media (Fishman 1991:5). In other words, it is vitally important to return the dying language to the home, neighbourhood and community first. The community here may well include the local Maori Anglican church. It is at this local level that inter-generational transmission of Maori language is most likely to be successful. While such efforts are difficult, they are crucial. One of the reasons why it is so
difficult is that Maori culture does not now significantly dictate or influence the daily lives of most Maori – a high percentage of whom now dwell in urban areas.

Indeed, RLS resists being programmed or planned, not only because its would-be planners and programmers are frequently poor in resources and weak in numbers, but because it is initially necessary for the weak in numbers and poor in resources to tackle some of the most elusive behaviours and interactions of social and communal life (Fishman 1991:8).

It can be argued that the Maori Anglican Church in terms of its planners and programmers is poor in resources and weak in numbers in the face of the difficulty of changing the emphases of daily informal life in order to reverse language shift.

Fishman claims that if organisations such as the Maori Anglican Church are to be successful in their RLS activities, then those individuals who make up the group will need to work in concert. In addition, as with most planning processes it is not possible to predict unanticipated events or side effects beyond the control of the RLS organisers (Fishman 1991:10). He asserts that RLS efforts should only be done after careful consideration of “the goals, prospects and circumstances of the prospective venture” (Fishman 1991:10). Without such processes, and given the emotions, values and ideals of the stakeholders, there are likely to be major ruptures and difficulties which could do great damage to the Maori language cause. Not all Maori Anglicans will necessarily support efforts to reverse language shift. Many may claim that it is too late, since at least 90% of the Maori population now do not speak fluent Maori. However, Fishman maintains that something can be done for each language – no matter how advanced the state of decay (Fishman 1991:12). The Church then is
faced, therefore, with the problem of deciding which language functions to tackle first, bearing in mind the importance of inter-generational transmission at the community level. How such a goal may be attained will be influenced by the varying philosophical stances of those involved in RLS activities. Indeed in the Church context it may be influenced by differing theological perspectives. No perspective will have a monopoly on truth on any issue and the issue of RLS is no exception. Another argument against reversing language shift is that Maori can be Maori without Maori language or Maori can be Maori through English (Fishman 1991:16). Worldwide there are many instances where the shift to another language, such as English, involves also profound cultural change. However, as discussed earlier, there are compelling reasons to claim that when a language dies, a culture dies – at least substantial and crucial aspects of it die. Certainly if a language is weakened, then a culture is also likely to be weakened. The weakening of the Maori language has led to a weakening of Maori culture. RLS then involves for the Maori Anglican Church also the task of cultural reconstruction. While Maori may be Maori through genealogy or descent, they are likely to be more Maori culturally in their preferences in a Western-orientated majority culture if they are Maori speakers.

Why should the Maori Anglican Church be involved in RLS processes? Unlike a few linguists or teachers, the Church will become involved not only for language maintenance reasons, but also for certain ethno-cultural goals. In addition, both linguistic and ethno-cultural goals will need to fit within the broader mission of the Church – namely the goals as set out in the Anglican Consultative Council document known as ACC 6 and included in the Church’s Constitution (1990:4). Proclaiming the Gospel and nurturing believers through the Maori language could in certain
contexts make the work of the Church more effective in terms of achieving its mission. Likewise, the Church could respond to the Maori language needs of its clergy and lay people through loving service. Such services may well mean spiritual, mental, physical and social support for those who are prepared to establish Maori-speaking homes, neighbourhoods and communities. In addition, the Church has already sought to transform unjust structures in society which oppress the Maori language – part of God's creation. In the next chapter there is discussion by a senior clergyperson concerning the Church's efforts to lobby the government to support Maori language educational and media initiatives. Maori language is symbolically linked to Maori culture – parts of which are expressed, implemented and realised through the language, e.g. prayers, proverbs, greetings and history – indeed, most of the non-material culture (Fishman 1991:24).

RLS in the Maori context raises questions about the desirability of Maori identity. It can be argued that there is an element of ethnocentrism in preferring to be a member of a particular cultural group. Through socialisation and enculturation it becomes natural to prefer to be with Maori and to be concerned for the welfare, language and culture. "Culture becomes hallowed, not only because religion is a part of culture but because cultural norms and expectations have about them the aura of right and wrong, of morality, decency and propriety" (Fishman 1991:30). While the beliefs and attitudes of Maori may vary from one Maori to another and one time period to another, a level of consistency and coherence is needed for inter-generational transmission (Fishman 1991:30). The Church, in order to support RLS, would need to accept that the maintenance of ethnocultural and ethnolinguistic differences are neither 'parochial' nor harmful. It is not planned here to discuss identity issues in
Aotearoa-New Zealand has accepted the notion of cultural difference. This situation arose within the context of a new Constitution for the three branches of the Anglican Church in the southwest Pacific. This bilingual Constitution not only deals with cultural identity issues but language matters as well. As the Maori Anglican Church contemplates its response to RLS, it will be necessary to develop an understanding of historical and current processes which have led Maori people to speak mostly English in the 1990s. It is necessary to appreciate such processes before undertaking effective RSL efforts (Fishman 1991:55).

Fishman maintains that it is necessary to know the illness or level of language decay before offering any cures or solution (Fishman 1991:87). He developed a very useful scale where a high rating indicates a lower level of intergenerational transmission and language maintenance. Stage 8 includes some communities where only slight amounts of Maori are used by socially isolated elderly speakers and Maori needs to be “reassembled from their mouths and memories and taught to demographically unconcentrated adults” (Fishman 1991:88). There are some areas, mostly in the western and southern parts of Aotearoa-New Zealand, where there are very few native speakers of Maori today. However, due to a history of literacy and the use of audio and video recorders, there is already a large corpus of Maori language material. For example, Ngai Tahu in the South Island have only two or three native speakers still living but efforts are already underway to collect as much data as possible concerning the Ngai Tahu dialect to allow a process of reclamation to take place. For those tribes where language decay is advanced, a good deal of sensitivity is required on the part of the Church in its delivery of services to ensure that local
language and cultural needs are met, as well as encouraging the build up of a core of people who have some knowledge of the Maori language.

In stage 7 most users of Maori are “a socially integrated and ethnolinguistically active population but they are beyond child-bearing age” (Fishman 1991:89). Here elderly Maori speakers are still living in homes, neighbourhoods and communities among their own English speaking children, grandchildren and neighbours. No longer able to bear children, such speakers are able to contribute only by their example at hui, marae, schools and churches. It is important for the Maori Anglican Church to recognise that these elderly native speakers are a very valuable resource (Fishman 1991:90). The major goal at stage 7, which is the most common stage throughout Aotearoa-New Zealand, is to gain a younger group of Maori as second language users who are potentially parents. It is vitally important that the Maori Anglican Church is aware that, despite the use of Maori in church services, formal language for welcomes at church gatherings or intergenerational visiting, the real steps toward RLS involve the re-establishment of young families of child-bearing age in which Maori is the normal medium or co-medium of communication in the home, family, neighbourhood and community (Fishman 1991:91). There is a need to encourage the setting up of rangatahi (youth), tane (men) and wahine (women) groups as well as matua (parent) groups. In other words, occasional liturgical worship, baptismal services and funeral services in Maori are RLS means, but not ends because these services are not sufficiently intergenerationally continuous. However, if such continuity does occur not only in church services but also at marae ceremonials and funerals, then useful links will be forged with young Maori. If it does not occur, then Maori-speaking elderly Maori Anglicans who attend church
services, hui and tangihanga will do so simply as a means of social interaction and expression for their own gratification.

Stage 6 focuses on the attainment of inter-generational informal oralcy in Maori and its demographic concentration and institutional reinforcement. What this actually means is that Maori is transmitted from generation to generation in a family setting. Maori is then the normal language of informal, spoken interaction while English is used for more formal and technical domains. What is also required is demographic concentration in neighbourhoods and communities for short or long periods of time. Maori at this stage becomes also the language of interfamily interaction, in other words, "interaction with playmates, neighbours, friends and acquaintances" (Fishman 1991:93). It includes the local Maori Anglican Church as well as other cultural and recreational organisations which involve also informal daily life. Fishman (1991:93) acknowledges that it is difficult to plan. However, the Maori Anglican Church could, according to this model, facilitate, foster and encourage families to use Maori in their homes, neighbourhoods and communities. Even where it is not possible for Maori speaking households to live in close proximity, there are a range of strategies which the Church could initiate or support to increase communication between such households, e.g. the formation of support groups, the production of Church-oriented Maori language taped stories, songs and games, RLS awhi whanau (social services for families). The latter suggestion could offer a forum for sharing tactics and strategies as well as difficulties and problems. Indeed stage 6 is crucial in providing a solid foundation upon which schools, churches, media and workplaces can build. It is not possible to skip this stage. Without this stage "all else can amount to little more than biding time" (Fishman 1991:399).
Maori language literacy in home, school and community is at the heart of stage 5 of Fishman's model. Here literacy acts as a kind of psychological and cultural glue drawing together Maori language speaking families, neighbourhoods and communities through the publication of newsletters, magazines and books. It is also needed to act as a counter-weight to pro-English language perspectives which constantly influence RLS communities. The Maori Anglican Church has encouraged Maori language literacy among clergy and lay people through its regular church services and schools of learning. As we will discover in chapter 2, the Church has had a long history, going back to the early nineteenth century, in the promotion of literacy among Maori, especially Maori language literacy. It is sufficient at this point to note that once stage 6 has been captured, stage 5 is the next important step. However, what is important for stages 8 to 5 is the dedication, organisational ability and hard work of those who support Maori RLS.

Stage 4 involves Maori language in pre-schools, primary schools and secondary schools that meet the requirements of compulsory education laws. Most education through the medium of Maori language, or schools which teach Maori as a subject several times a week, is government controlled and funded from taxes (Fishman 1991:100). Fishman distinguishes between schools such as kura kaupapa (Maori language medium primary schools) in which Maori RLS supporters have more control, and mainstream schools where Maori is taught as a subject for several hours a week. There are a number of kohanga reo (Maori language medium pre-schools) which have strong links with the Maori Anglican Church. There is only one Church bilingual primary school, which is located in a major urban area in the South Island.
This is a one-teacher school with very small numbers of children. Again the Church has a history in education, beginning in the nineteenth century with mission schools and then secondary boarding schools. These developments will be reviewed in greater detail in chapter 2. It has not been possible to gauge the extent to which Maori Anglican clergy currently contribute to kohanga reo, or kura kaupapa Maori, or kura Maori (the few Maori language medium secondary schools). However, given the Church’s support of Maori language medium instruction in the past, there would seem to be a number of possible ways in which strong links could be forged with such educational institutions. Such links could provide a win-win situation whereby schools could benefit from the presence and support of adult Maori speaking clergy and laity and the Church could pursue its mission. There are, of course, risks and gains associated with government funded education. The risks include being influenced by government policy and reward systems, as well as the possibility of the imposition of budget cutbacks. If the Maori Anglican Church is seriously involved in the Maori language community, then it may well wish to become much more involved in providing Maori medium education both in terms of contributing financially to such schools, as well as pursuing aspects of its mission.

At stages 6, 5 and 4 it is possible for the use of Maori language to occur in the workplace. However, stage 3 on Fishman’s scale involves interaction, using Maori in the lower work sphere, but between Maori and non-Maori speakers. The economic variable, according to Fishman, should neither be over-estimated or under-estimated. However, “its co-ordination and development from the point of view of strengthening Xish [X in our case is the Maori language] demographic and political power is an important desideratum at all steps” (Fishman 1991:103). Here Fishman
makes a distinction between work spheres which are Maori-controlled and staffed seeking to meet the needs of the non-Maori market and non-Maori controlled work spheres which seek to meet the needs of the Maori market. In the former situation, it is possible for Maori to interact with each other in Maori. In the latter case it may be possible to request that non-Maori deliver their service in Maori. This would also include local non-governmental or governmental offices. It is possible that the Maori Anglican church may well be able to seek more equitable or just Maori language usage. In other words, it may be able at this level to transform unjust work structures in order to make Maori language usage safe in the workplace. If it is not possible to experience success at this level then “stages 5 and below always undergo stress and will always be exposed to unavoidable and uncontrollable influences that tend to counteract their own vision of Xmen-via-Xish [Maori identity-via-Maori language]” (Fishman 1991:104). It could be argued that Maori RLS supporters will be better rewarded in the short to medium term by concentrating on stages 6 – 4.

Stage 2 focusses on Maori language usage in lower governmental services and mass media. According to Fishman, few RLS movements reach either stage 2 or 1, which involves some use of Maori “in higher level educational, occupational, governmental and media efforts (but without the additional safety provided by political independence)” (Fishman 1991:106-107). In Fishman’s opinion, it is rather premature to aim at these upper levels while intergenerational transmission of Maori has not yet been achieved in the home, neighbourhood and community.

Fishman, in summarising his views on the Maori language, asserts that there are a number of complicating factors: “the small number of remaining fluent speakers,
their relatively meagre resources, their advanced age and the general atmosphere of antipathy and racism that they so often encounter in the mainstream" (Fishman 1991:246). He contends that there is too much emphasis on what the government can do for Maori language and culture, resulting in a lack of self-reliance and of planning. In other words, a non-governmental organisation like the Maori Anglican Church has a major role to play in terms of drawing upon its own human, spiritual and financial resources, as well as taking part in planning processes. It could indeed be argued that the Church, given its history and mission, is well placed to assist the further development of kohanga reo, kura kaupapa and kura Maori successes into more effective intergenerational transmission processes at stages 6, 5 and 4a. Whether it has the will or the inclination to move down this track is another issue.

1.3 Maori language planning

I now turn to examine the notion of language planning, which is a specialised branch of the sociology of language. “It is concerned with planned behaviour toward language or languages, or, more technically put: with the planned allocation of resources to language or languages” (Fishman 1991:337).

In this context resources refer not only to finance, but also to time and people power. It sits alongside other forms of planning such as educational planning, industrial planning, resource management planning, and so on. In Aotearoa-New Zealand, the government has set up a body called Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Maori (Maori Language Commission), to promote the use of Maori as a living language and as an ordinary means of communication. It is clearly involved in language planning activities.
The model which Fishman has constructed involves language planning processes, especially language status planning which seeks to allocate scarce resources to foster the use of the endangered language in the home, neighbourhood, community, school, workplace and so on. In defining language planning Robert Cooper (1989:31) has explored the following question: Who plans what for whom and how? In terms of who is involved in language planning, he asserts that it involves not only government authorised agencies, but also other agencies and individuals. Indeed, the Maori Anglican Church, if it chose, could be one of these language planning agencies. In attending to the what part of the question, the answer involves not only status planning as defined above which focusses on the recognition of the importance or position of one language in relation to others (Cooper 1989: 32). It also includes language resources, or corpus planning, which refers to efforts to find a new vocabulary, spelling and orthography. The Maori Language Commission sees as one of its tasks “lexical expansion work including the production of glossaries,” in order to fulfil one of its goals, namely “to increase the rate at which the Maori language develops so that it can be used for the full range of modern activities” (Maori Language Commission, n.d.). In answering the for whom section of Cooper’s question, it would appear that language planning is directed not only towards national or international groups but also smaller entities, such as ethnic and religious groups, and ultimately even whanau (families). Indeed, Cooper gives an example of language planning by a Jewish congregation (Cooper 1989: 36). He acknowledges that the same planning processes which operate at macro-levels also operate at micro-levels as well. In discussing the how question Cooper asserts that systematic, rational, theory-based planning can be useful.
And if the study of language planning is prescriptive, i.e. the determination of what kinds of activity will optimize the desired outcomes at a given cost, then a conception of language planning as systematic, theory-driven, and rational is appropriate (Cooper 1989:41).

Cooper sees language planning as deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others. Language planning can be both a help and a hindrance. It must be focussed clearly on problem solving rather than problem creating. Endangered languages, such as Maori, require status and corpus planning that is helpful to RLS goals rather than a hindrance.

It is not easy to compare Maori to church Latin or Koranic Arabic, since it is not only the Maori Anglican Church, but also the state, which is involved in intergenerational transmission. The term “church” here refers to both the central authority as well as the local unit (Fishman 1991:361). It is inappropriate to describe Maori as a religious classical (Fishman’s term, 1991:360) among Maori people because religion is concerned with ‘eternals,’ whereas Maori is also intended to be a vernacular and a mother tongue. However, in some areas of New Zealand where Maori is no longer spoken, bilingual church services including English are more prevalent. Here Maori begins to take on some of the features of a religious classical, namely, Maori is learned especially by adults merely by virtue of repeated use in religious services and is not expected to be spoken as a mother tongue. Maori can also be seen as a heritage language where it is home-supported but school based. Children are prepared to perform powhiri (welcome ceremonies), or action songs for school concerts, especially at primary school and less so at secondary school. Long term
prospects for intergenerational transmission of such heritage languages are not hopeful with advanced decay at the level of the home and the neighbourhood. Religious classicals and heritage languages, however, can serve as models because of their clear, consensual rationales (Fishman 1991:365).

There may well be a number of Maori Anglicans who believe that schools rather than homes are the more appropriate venues for Maori language learning and teaching. As the influence of the home and the church have declined, much more faith has been invested in the education system, which has a captive audience of children over 10-13 years. However, Fishman has major doubts about placing such faith in schools.

The unsuitability and the inefficiency of tackling societal problems via reliance on the school becomes even clearer when one realises that the power and role of the school to influence the home-neighbourhood-community complex...has itself become weaker and more peripheral in the life of its own proper primary clienteles: pupils and their parents (Fishman 1991:370).

This does not mean that initiating second language learning, literacy acquisition and formal language as well as encouraging better attitudes and higher levels of commitment are not valuable. However, despite the pluses outlined, there is still a need for pre-school, early childhood as well as out-of-school and post-school reinforcement from the home-family-neighbourhood and community which also fosters cultural identity. At each of these stages the Church potentially can assist such reinforcement. In urban areas, however, child-care helpers and others, such as
after school programmes, will need to be involved in any effective RLS activities affecting the home. To depend largely on the school such as has tended to happen for Maori in this country will not produce the kind of intergenerational transmission which is crucial. It is in the pre-school years that the Church could provide parents with birthing instruction, parenting instruction, child care provision and child health provision in Maori at the lowest possible price and to the largest number of recipients. Here, the provision in Maori of new family services could be offered by a branch of the Maori Anglican Church (Fishman 1991:378).

Fishman believes that probably “only a very few and very fortunate RLS movements will succeed in ‘putting it together.’ Dedication itself will not make the difference. More and more, it will be the shrewd pursuit of appropriate priorities that will differentiate between ‘also rans’ and those who have a real chance of coming out ahead” (Fishman 1991:380). The Maori Anglican Church is faced with the decision whether to allow Maori in the medium to long term to become a religious classical language like Latin or whether to support more strenuously Maori language as a vernacular or mother tongue. If it opts for the latter situation, then it will need more than the wisdom of Solomon in order to pursue shrewdly the appropriate priorities in order to achieve RLS. Assisting intergenerational transmission of the Maori language in the home, family, neighbourhood and community, however, is clearly one of these priorities.

Yet, according to Fishman (1996:188), given the level of language endangerment in many parts of Aotearoa-New Zealand, serious attention also needs to be directed towards an archival collection which contains the recordings of Maori language
clergy and laity speakers. Such recordings, audio, visual and printed, will provide a body of data so that future first language and second language speakers will have useful models in terms of phonology, lexicon and grammar as well as Maori tikanga (culture). It may also further down the track assist inter-generational transmission so that Maori becomes the mother tongue of vibrant speech communities (Fishman 1996:189). It is perhaps wise to record these largely elderly speakers sooner rather than later. Building oral history and cultural archives will provide invaluable resources for the great-grandchildren of these speakers (Fishman 1996:191-2). It would be useful to record Maori-speaking clergy and laity talking about their life stories and faith journeys. Since it is very difficult to teach the vernacular or informal oral language, it would be also helpful to record pairs or groups of clergy or laity speaking this kind of language. Institutions, such as the Maori Anglican Church, are able to organise the Maori language for their various formal services and welcoming rituals or ceremonies. Yet re-vernacularisation, which can be seen as the opposite of institutionalisation, involves changing society and its institutions such as the Maori Anglican Church. “That is, informal society must change its way of living during the long stretch from one generation to the next” (Fishman 1996:193). Such changes will need to come about as the result of consensus decision-making. Clearly there would need to be worthwhile gains in terms of status, friendship or affection to mention a few. “Reversing language shift efforts on behalf of the inter-generational mother-tongue transmission is community building, that is what is essentially required, in and through the beloved language” (Fishman 1996:196). It is a possibility that the Church could assist and support the process of Maori language community building. However, such support and any gains made are unlikely without a level of pain and without a level of planning and policy-making.
1.4 Maori language policy-making

Throughout the world religions have influenced language policy. For example, in Wales the Welsh language and non-conformism combined to resist the spread of the English language and the Church of England (Schiffman 1996:64). Another example occurs in Canada where Roman Catholic French clergy see the English/French language differences as an added advantage for the Roman Catholic Church. Yet a further example is Poland where the Polish Catholic Church has survived by supporting the Polish language. For coverage of religion and language policy in the United States and elsewhere, see Schiffman’s (1996) Linguistic Culture and Language Policy. Aotearoa-New Zealand is no exception in terms of religion having an impact on language policy. In chapter 2 there will be a brief historical exploration of the role of the Anglican Church in language policy-making in this country. While it can be argued that language is a cultural construct, it can be further asserted that language policy is primarily a social construct (Schiffman 1996:276). However, every language policy is also culture-specific as it evolves, works or does not work.

The real challenge in the study of language policy is that there are so many variables to be dealt with, and that simplistic notions or one-note theories cannot hope to capture the complexity that is language and linguistic culture (Schiffman 1996:280).

The point about such a large number of variables is echoed in Grenoble and Whaley’s exploration of a typology of language endangerment. The Maori Anglican Church will need to investigate past and present policies, which have led to Maori language endangerment, as well as future policies, which will lead to Maori language
regenesis. It will also be necessary to probe both macro-variables which are indicative of features shared across large numbers of endangered language situations and micro-variables which are unique to each speech community (Grenoble & Whaley 1998:28). When examining Grenoble and Whaley’s version of Edward’s model, we see that religion is only one of many variables and not necessarily the most important. Indeed, “the reality of economic pressures has the potential to override all other variables” (Grenoble & Whaley, 1998:38).

Language policies may well also exist at local, regional, national and extra-national levels. Grenoble and Whaley (1998:49) credit the strength of Maori language revitalisation programmes in Aotearoa-New Zealand on the macro-level to the issue of language density (i.e. it is the only major language in contact with English) and a shift in governmental educational policy. On the micro-level, it has been credited to the strong commitment among the Maori community to its language and culture. Three crucial issues emerge from the Grenoble/Whaley model. First, economics is seen as the major force affecting the Maori language. Second, Maori have access to their language and culture as well as to English. Third, motivation can influence Maori communities to support RLS efforts or otherwise (Grenoble & Whaley 1998:52-54). All these issues, as well as others, will need to be taken into consideration as the Maori Anglican Church considers its future plans and policies for the Maori language.

Given the complexity of the factors associated with language endangerment and regenesis processes, there are real risks involved in Maori language planning and policy-making at both the macro and micro levels. We have already mentioned
above the importance of community building. Language planning and policy-making can assist such building. “Every language needs an idea - a goal and a vision above the mundane and the rational - to keep it alive” (Fishman 1989:397). In the context of the home, neighbourhood and community the Maori Anglican Church could promote goals and a vision to keep the Maori language alive as a vernacular. Indeed, it could provide language policies that “must maintain a fine balance between directness and indirectness . . . between vinegar and honey” (Fishman 1989:399). It is a very delicate balance, which may lead to smiles or tears, to triumphs or defeats. I now turn to review the Church’s historical involvement with the Maori language over almost two hundred years.
CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL SIGNPOSTS

For almost two hundred years the Maori Anglican Church has made a major contribution towards Maori language regenesis. Its support has ranged from developing a writing system to publishing and from teaching to policy-making. The importance of these efforts is "by no means purely historical, for knowledge of the past has implications for language survival in the future" (Griffith, Harvey & Maslen 1997:14). Indeed, when Fishman’s model is applied to the past work of the Maori Anglican Church in the field of Maori language, it becomes clearer what constitute possible short, medium and long-term goals. A review of historical highlights hopefully will serve to signpost future Maori language developments for the Church.

This chapter begins to examine the historical roles that the Maori language has played in the Maori Anglican Church since the arrival of Christianity in this country. Such a task could clearly constitute a major study on its own and so this overview focuses more narrowly on selected major Maori language developments affecting the Maori Anglican Church over almost two centuries. It is not an exhaustive study, but rather provides a historical context which it is hoped will be a useful backdrop for analysing the contemporary attitudes and values of Anglican Maori towards the indigenous language of this country. Hopefully it will also provide a history which will show that the Church has been involved with the Maori language for a lengthy period of time and that, despite its somewhat mixed motives at times, it has attempted to support te reo Maori (the Maori language).
To achieve this goal, it is necessary to review the Church’s early involvement with the language, including the development of its orthography, as well as its publishing record. The chapter also examines the use of Maori language at early synods and Church board meetings as well as the Church schools, the Maori theological colleges and the Young Maori Party. Recorded speeches and interviews with senior clergy furnish additional historical viewpoints. While it has already been pointed out that this review will not be exhaustive or comprehensive, it should, however, assist the reader to gain insights into a range of Maori Anglican initiatives that have existed concerning the Maori language since early last century. Equally important, the review may also continue a sense of tradition which hopefully will serve as a foundation for future Maori language developments for the Maori Anglican Church. I begin this survey by focussing on the development of Maori print literacy and the attendant responses of Anglican Maori.

2.1 Maori print literacy

Anglican Maori educational historian, Kuni Jenkins, has written a thesis entitled Te Ihi, Te Mana, Te Wehi o Te Ao Tuhi: Maori Print Literacy From 1814 – 1855: Literacy, Power and Colonisation which explores the development of print literacy among Maori in the early 1800's and the role it played in the broader processes of colonisation. Her study is particularly centred on the cultural and political impact of print literacy on Maori people. Anglican Maori early last century were encouraged by missionaries to believe that reading and writing in the Maori language allowed humans to contact God directly. It was a selling point which persuaded Maori “to believe in the necessity of print literacy” (Jenkins 1991:34). God’s Word would
provide the means to join the ranks of the Supreme Being and to have access to real power. Certainly many Maori saw that God's Word provided an opportunity to control and manipulate the God of all Gods. Access to such powers proved to attract Maori to the printed word which was a new phenomenon early last century.

Early missionaries, however, believed that mastery of print literacy skills would also assist Maori to gain access to Western policies and values. From a missionary viewpoint, the teaching of print literacy was a method whereby Maori could be transformed into 'civilised' beings (Jenkins 1991:9). For Maori the written word was "the key to the new world with all its evident power" (Parsonson 1967:44). However, it can be argued that the missionaries failed to deliver to Anglican Maori access to all the benefits of this new world (Parsonson 1967:57). I do not propose here to discuss in any great detail the processes of learning to read and write in English. However, it should be acknowledged that print literacy for Maori began with English, and earliest attempts by Maori to master this language were not very successful. It became clear to missionaries that they would need to learn Maori if they were to be effective in the mission field.

To begin learning the language of Aotearoa–New Zealand meant developing an orthography for Maori words and sounds. Without an orthography, learning Maori effectively would prove to be a very difficult task. Church Missionary Society (CMS) teacher, Thomas Kendall, who was one of the first Europeans to learn the Maori language, attempted to develop an orthography based on the English alphabet (Jenkins 1991:29). Kendall was motivated to learn Maori not for its own sake but for the purposes of preaching the Gospel (Binney 1968:13). In 1815, in Sydney, he had
published the first work (in English) which contained reading lessons in English and
‘the New Zealand language’: A Korao no New Zealand; or, the New Zealander’s First
Book; being An Attempt to compose some lessons for the Instruction of the Natives.
It was largely a vocabulary and phrasebook to enable the missionaries to
communicate with Maori (Phil Parkinson personal communication). Five years later,
Kendall wrote another text except for the syntax, which Cambridge University
professor Samuel Lee developed. Waikato, a Ngapuhi chief, probably assisted with
the vocabulary as his English was sufficiently fluent. The CMS published in 1820 the
finished work: A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of New Zealand. This
text was intended for use in England, and in the missions and settlements in Aotearoa­
New Zealand. About 750 copies were printed, mostly in English for use by Pakeha.
However, a further edition in Maori was intended for use by Maori. This consisted of
a selection of extracts of the grammar arranged as reading lessons and printed on
separate cards. It was the first publication written entirely in Maori (Parkinson
1995:25). Initially among the missionaries there was considerable opposition to the
new 1820 orthography because of its complexity. However, by 1826 it had been
accepted with modifications by a committee of missionaries (Binney 1968:164).

The missionaries had realised early that to achieve their ends, they would have to
introduce their ideas to the Maori through the Maori language (Binney 1968:184).
The Word of the Bible did not arrive in Aotearoa-New Zealand culture-free. Indeed,
English culture was inextricably intertwined with the Gospel. For Maori to gain
access to this Word of God, it would be necessary for new meanings to be added to
extant Maori words and where this was difficult, to transliterate English, Hebrew or
Greek words and modify them to accommodate the sounds of the Maori language.
This process of planning a Maori corpus, or language resources, was designed to make the Western world, especially the British world, much more available to Maori. It was part of wider colonising practices where becoming Christian began to mean becoming culturally Anglican (Jenkins 1991:37).

The response of Anglican Maori to missionary teaching was mixed. Initial attempts to teach Maori students solely through the medium of English failed (Jenkins 1991:34). Efforts to teach Maori through their own language made much more favourable progress. As discussed earlier, part of this success can be attributed to the notion that print literacy allowed Anglican Maori access to God’s power. It can be argued that a measure of the demand for print literacy can be gained by the number of Bibles sold during last century and the numbers who attended churches in order to learn the new literacy skills. However, this statement needs to be qualified as there is abundant evidence that the demand was ephemeral in the 1830s, when print literacy was established, and it faded in the 1850s (Phil Parkinson personal communication). Jenkins manages to capture the essence of Anglican Maori responses in the early 1830s:

> Seeing marks on paper that can ‘talk’, that ostensibly have specific meaning, that elicit responses, that preserves the Word accurately, that lasts through time and space, that can be repeated in its sameness from one person to another must have seemed like a miracle in itself (Jenkins 1991:38).

By late 1834 there were many Maori who acted as teachers of reading and writing (Hamilton 1970:100). The missionaries “no longer controlled the dissemination of their teachings” (Hamilton 1970:103). The production and distribution of books and
the opportunities to learn how to read them led Maori to take more interest in the work of the missionaries. Yet it could be unrealistic to assert that all who could read or write were sincere Christians (Hamilton 1970:278).

Another Church Missionary Society (CMS) missionary who attempted to use Maori language print literacy as a means of persuading Maori to accept Western cultural processes and values was the Reverend William Williams. He continued the work of Thomas Kendall by developing a more effective written form of Maori language as well as a better schooling system. Williams assisted with the recording and translation of business matters into both languages, as well as with translating the New Testament into Maori (Phil Parkinson personal communication). His brother, the Reverend Henry Williams, was a major player in translating into Maori the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. He translated the words ‘other properties’ in the drafts of clause 2 of the Treaty as ‘taonga’. He read the draft document and translated the Governor’s speech on 5 February 1840 to the audience which included the Maori chiefs. It was the use of the word ‘taonga’ in clause two which the Waitangi Tribunal, over 140 years later, used as justifying the need for the Crown to protect the Maori language (Waitangi Tribunal 1986:29). The experience of print literacy early last century would prove to have positive yet unseen benefits. It was through the missionaries that Maori became a written language, which would eventually assist its preservation for the future. Not only would it assist with preservation, but also regenesis.

Jenkins (1991:134) does not believe that the introduction of print literacy between 1814 and 1855 was, at least in the short term, in the best interests of Maori people. Instead it became the major process that colonisers adopted to minimise Maori
resistance to the real intent of colonisation - that of taking over the resources that had formerly been under Maori traditional ownership (Jenkins 1991:134). While many of the missionaries may have been well-intentioned or idealistically wanting Maori to be equal with other races, their literacy programmes, according to Jenkins, led to oppression and disempowerment. When Anglican Maori emerged from such programmes, they were “uncritical, mystified, passive readers with a non-empowered view of their changing world” (Jenkins 1991:137).

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to document the processes which led to the CMS producing four substantial books in addition to broad-sheets and other material including small books of lessons. The four large works were the New Testament of 1837, the Prayerbook of 1839-41, the Williams Dictionary of 1843-44 and the Old Testament of 1841-1856 (Parkinson 1995:1). Nor is it possible to review the important roles played by missionaries such as, the Reverend William Colenso and the Reverend Robert Maunsell. However, it can be noted that while there was a demand for books last century, few Maori, or non-Maori, were prepared to pay for them. It was only through subsidies from the Government or religious societies such as the British and Foreign Bible Society, The Society for Distributing the Prayerbook and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge that major texts were kept in print (Parkinson 1995:14).

The tradition of printing and publishing the Bible and Prayerbook has continued through this century. A Maori language concordance was published in 1990 and the following year a bilingual edition of the New Testament as well as a bilingual version of the Bible in 1992. In 1970 a bilingual text entitled The New Zealand Liturgy/Te
Tikanga Whakahaere Karakia mo Aotearoa was published. A New Prayer Book, He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa was produced in 1989. This prayer-book was different from earlier prayer-books, which were a Maori translation of the Book of Common Prayer 1662. These earlier books were bound together with the Psalms of David and came to be commonly known by Anglican Maori as the Rawiri – the Maori translation of David. The full title can be found in the bibliography (Te pukapuka o nga inoi 1951). The new prayer-book, which included communion services in Maori, attempted to indigenise the language – in other words to include Maori imagery and thinking (Walters 1996:72).

In any discussion of Maori Anglican publications it would be remiss not to mention the Maori language periodical which first appeared in 1898 under the title of He Kupu Whakamarama. This publication, which was edited by the Reverend Frederick Bennett (later the first Bishop of Aotearoa), provided guidance on scriptural interpretation especially to those without access to Maori ministers. It also contained miscellaneous news, obituaries, letters, prohibitionist articles and addresses by the Bishop of Waiapu to the Maori Anglican Church. Later this periodical came to be known as Pipi-wharauroa and then Te Pipiwharauroa. Its focus became more secular in that it included discussion of the impact of current issues of the time on the church. It also printed literary works such as poems and important foreign news. A frequent contributor was Sir Apirana Ngata, distinguished politician. Te Pipiwharauroa was superseded by a newspaper in 1913 - Te Kopara, which in turn was replaced by Toa Takitini in 1921. These Maori language publications served to encourage the discussion of significant religious and secular issues. For over thirty years they
served to meet the demand in mainly rural Aotearoa-New Zealand for Maori Anglican Church and other news.

One of the challenges facing the Maori Anglican Church is to develop new literacy programmes in Maori language where Maori are critical, enlightened, active readers with an empowered view of their changing world. In other words, Anglican Maori as they struggle with issues of Maori language revival and revitalisation, or reversing Maori language shift, can critique their literacy tradition and learn critical approaches as part of decolonisation processes (Jenkins 1991:138). While this tradition has been described as meagre by Joshua Fishman, he also acknowledges that Maori language literacy could play a potentially ideologising, energising and unifying role “in the formation of stronger intercommunal ties and in the development of a distinctly Maori modernity” (Fishman 1991:239). The Maori Anglican Church could extend the functions of its existing bodies or create new institutions to teach Maori language literacy to Maori children and adults. It could also be possible for the Maori Anglican Church to establish, by itself, or in partnership with other interested parties, printing and publishing companies to produce Maori language books, journals and newspapers for sale. Such companies could publish not only biblical and historical information but also critical analyses of pressing social, cultural, political and economic issues which empower Anglican Maori. An increasing amount of this publishing in the medium to long term could be in the Maori language.

In the twenty-first century in its attempts to reverse Maori language shift, the Maori Anglican Church could be committed to a use of print literacy, which is empowering. Last century the Anglican Church produced thousands of copies of the New and Old
Testaments, as well as the Prayer Book and the Williams Dictionary (Parkinson 1995:1-14). The Maori Anglican Church could produce thousands of Maori language texts which promoted its mission (an issue which was introduced in chapter one) and which could assist the process of returning the Maori language to the home, neighbourhood and community. Margie Kahukura Hohepa in her doctoral thesis, Hei tautoko i te reo: Maori language regeneration and whanau bookreading practices, encourages the possibility of whanau (families) reading Maori language texts to their children or grandchildren. The Maori Anglican Church could supply some of these texts. We will return in the concluding chapter to Hohepa’s thesis. Now I turn to the Maori language synods and Church board meetings prior to World War I.

2.2 Maori language church conferences and meetings

By Letters Patent dated 27 September 1858 the Diocese of Waiapu was formed. On 3 April 1859 William Williams was consecrated Bishop of Waiapu by Bishop Selwyn (Rosevear 1960:48-50). This new Diocese included the Bay of Plenty and the East Coast. Hawkes Bay remained part of the Diocese of Wellington except for the Maori districts in northern Hawkes Bay, namely, Nukutaurua, Wairoa and Mohaka (Rosevear 1960:50). In the late 1850’s there were few Europeans living in the Diocese. The overwhelming percentage of inhabitants were Maori. It was initially regarded by Bishop Selwyn as a missionary diocese. Selwyn was keen to ordain suitable Maori who were well-versed in scriptures in the Maori language (Rosevear 1960:54). However, at the time of the formation of the new Diocese, there was only one ordained Maori clergyperson, Rota Waitoa, who was based at Kawakawa (later called Te Araroa) on the East Coast of the North Island. Although the Anglican Church’s Constitution of 1857 made provision for diocesan synod or regional church
conferences, it was not until 1864 that Bishop Williams called together the first synod at Waerenga-a-hika, Gisborne. It had taken some time to prepare the mostly Maori clergy and lay persons for the synod and its procedures. Given the nature of the Diocese it was not surprising that its business would need to be conducted in the Maori language. I turn now to a review of the scope of these Maori language church conferences.

At the first Synod held on 3-5 December 1861 there were three Europeans present, the Bishop and two English clergymen, and twenty Maori consisting of three clergy and seventeen lay persons-most of whom were recognised chiefs in their own right. In his Maori language presidential address the Bishop canvassed a number of important matters such as the erection of church buildings, the appointment of clergy, the financing of clerical positions and the establishment of schools. He also offered those at the Synod an opportunity to raise any matter for consideration (Diocese of Waiapu 1862:6).

The business of Synod was transacted in Maori. This included the motions and other organisational matters such as the consideration of standing orders and the election of a Standing Committee. It is interesting to note a motion by the Reverend Rota Waitoa that requests the translation of church laws into the Maori language:

That the Standing Committee be requested to select those Statutes of the General Synod, which concern the native portion of the Church, and also to translate the same, that the natives generally may understand the regulations, which have been made for the government of the Church (Diocese of Waiapu 1862:25).
The official records of the first Hinota or Synod contain also the Reports of three committees, regarding the establishment of a standing committee, the payment of marriage and other fees and financial and other support to ministers. Although it took a while to become familiar with synod procedures, it was not long before Maori clergy and laity became accustomed to the new protocols (Prenter 1972:35).

The success of the first synod conducted entirely in Maori is reflected by the greatly increased numbers of lay people who attended the second one in 1863. Most of this increase in laity participation was due to the arrival of the Bay of Plenty Maori leaders. The Bishop in his major address acknowledged those who had undertaken long journeys to attend synod. He also raised issues concerning the setting up of parishes. Attached to the official records of this synod are the statutes for the election of nominators, and the nomination of pastors to parishes, the duties of church wardens and vestrymen and standing committee. The Standing Committee’s report mentions that various General Synod statutes had been translated and printed in the Maori language. The report of the committee to investigate the state of Endowment Funds sets out a number of financial matters. Although the Bishop intimated that a synod is a novelty for Maori and that doubts had been raised concerning the success of the first attempt, it is clear by the end of the second synod that the Maori language has proven to be a language quite capable of meeting the requirements of synodical government. In his concluding remarks Bishop Williams expressed the hope “that when we separate we all may have reason to acknowledge that it was good for us thus to have been brought together” (Diocese of Waiapu 1863:50).
The third synod began on 2 March 1864. The Bishop in his presidential address placed the synod in the context of turbulent times. “The native Church in New Zealand is at this period like a vessel tossed by the violence of the storm” (Diocese of Waiapu 1864:29). The Land Wars had commenced in Waikato. The number of lay persons present was lower than the previous synod because those from Tauranga in the Bay of Plenty had become involved in the war. The Bishop outlined the effects of the war on the various parts of the Diocese of Waiapu. Attachments to the minutes of synod included the finances of the Endowment Funds and a statute to provide for the constitution of a Standing Committee.

The disastrous effects of the Waikato War on Tauranga and the East Coast were again the major focus of the Bishop’s speech at the fourth and last diocesan synod conducted entirely in Maori. “The effect of this war has been to hinder the prosperity of the Church” (Diocese of Waiapu 1865:25). However, it was not all doom and gloom. The Bishop also mentioned that four parishes had completed their endowments and two of these were seeking recognition as fully constituted parishes. If the resolutions of the 1865 Synod are examined, it can be seen that Maori clergy and laity were accustomed to the protocols and procedures of synod and were quite capable of proposing and seconding motions.

Another synod in the Waiapu diocese was not held until 1872. However, Native Church Boards were established in 1868 by General Synod to supervise the work of those who were ministering to Maori. Again like the synods it consisted of both Maori and English clergy as well as Maori lay persons. “Although theoretically subordinate to Diocesan Synod, these Church Boards did in effect manage their own
affairs, which is a measure of the degree of autonomy of which the Maori church was by then capable" (Prenter 1972:36). The first Maori Church Board meeting was held at Gisborne on 31 October 1870. It seems that Maori were more relaxed and at ease at the Maori Church Board meetings than the synods. While Maori clergy retained their rights to seats in the diocesan synod, this was not the case for Maori laity. English became the language of synod with the increased number of European settlers in Hawkes Bay, which had been added to the Diocese of Waiapu’s region. Maori, however, was the language for business transacted at the Maori Church Board meetings. I now turn to scrutinising the minutes of the Maori Church Board meetings from 1870 to 1914 in order to examine the scope of such meetings in terms of the use of the Maori language.

At the meeting held at Pakowhai on 11-12 December 1872 mention was made by Bishop Williams of Maori resistance to the teaching of English at Waerenga-a-hika (Diocese of Waiapu 1873:7). At the Board meeting in 1883 there was a request to the Bible Society for certain parts of the Bible to be printed in Maori (Diocese of Waiapu 1884:6). The following year there was a further request for the publication of a Maori language map to show the parish boundaries of the Parishes of the Diocese of New Zealand (Diocese of Waiapu 1885:5). In 1886 there was a motion that the Bishop request the Bible Society to attach the chapters and the verses to the side of the Bible similar to the English Bible (Diocese of Waiapu 1887:7). In 1888 the fact was outlined that the above request had been forwarded to the Bible Society in England personally by the Bishop who attended the Lambeth Conference, a gathering of Anglican Bishops throughout the world (Diocese of Waiapu 1889a:3). At the second board meeting in 1888 after this Bishop had returned to New Zealand, he observed
that the English language and customs were good for Maori children— not so that such children should become Pakeha (Diocese of Waiapu 1889:6). In 1890 the same Bishop was moved to comment that most Maori were still not fluent in the English language (Diocese of Waiapu 1890:6). The proceedings or minutes of the Board meeting were written in Maori beginning with the roll of those who were present and including also the Bishop’s address, resolutions of the meeting and the financial report.

At the Maori Church board meeting held at Te Kaha in December 1890 it was moved that a word of warm greetings be sent to those who taught the children on Sundays in order to acknowledge their good work. It was also requested that the motion be printed in English and then distributed to the teachers (Diocese of Waiapu 1891:10). It can be argued that while Maori was still the medium of business for the meeting, it did not restrict the operations of the board. If there was a need to communicate in English, then a pragmatic approach was adopted. Such a communication was rarely recorded in over forty years of meetings. It posed little difficulty to the board. It certainly was not regarded as a reason for switching to English during the course of the meeting.

In one of the last Church Board meetings attended by Bishop Stuart in 1893, he commented on the thought of some of the pupils of Te Aute to visit different regions to encourage their peoples to adopt good living conditions. He also made a prophetic statement that small streams feed the large rivers. “Ko nga manga ririki enei e whangai nei i nga awa nunui.” However, by small streams, he meant the schools in the villages where Maori clergy and laity had come from. He attempted here to
recruit children from such village schools for Te Aute College, St. Stephen’s School and Hukarere College. Furthermore, he asserted the importance also of the role of Sunday Schools in the children’s spiritual education (Diocese of Waiapu 1893:7). It is interesting to note a motion which blesses the intention of Te Aute College students to pass on their knowledge to those dwelling in ignorance (Diocese of Waiapu 1893:9). The above remarks of the Bishop and the motion predate the Te Aute College Students’ Association, which was established by Sir Apirana Ngata and others. At the Board meeting in 1897 Bishop Williams referred more directly to a meeting of Te Aute College students and friends for the betterment of Maoridom (Diocese of Waiapu 1897:4). Later we will explore the work of the Association especially its views on the Maori language.

The presidential address of Bishop Williams at the Church Board meeting held at Raukokore on 22-23 April 1898 is typical in its wide-ranging remarks concerning developments overseas and within the Maori Church. Firstly, he mentioned a number of overseas matters, namely his attendance at the Lambeth Conference of Anglican bishops which was held in England, the death of a former Bishop of Melanesia and the publication of the New Testament in Maori. Secondly, closer to home, he focused on issues concerning Christian marriage, the consumption of alcohol and the role of tohunga (Maori priests). Finally, he closed with some comments on clergy welfare and the state of their investment funds (Diocese of Waiapu 1898:3-5). It is interesting to note that as a result of the Bishop’s address and discussion at the meeting two motions were passed which discouraged Church members from visiting Maori priests and from drinking alcohol at church gatherings (Diocese of Waiapu 1898:7).
Those taking part in the Church Board meetings were initially small in number. For example, at the 1872 meeting held at Pakowhai, Hawkes Bay, in addition to the Bishop there were only three ordained clergy and seven lay persons. Twenty years later at the meeting held at Manutukea in 1893 there were eleven clergy and eighteen laity from the Gisborne region, six clergy and seventeen laity from Hawkes Bay and six clergy and eleven laity from the Bay of Plenty. This was the second united Church Board meeting which was known as the Hui Topu. The first Hui Topu took place in 1890.

Maori congregations had by now become increasingly interested in the work of the church especially as the number of ordinands increased... and so took great interest in these gatherings at which church and cultural activities were inter-woven (Prenter 1972:40).

At the Hui Topu in 1911 at Waiomatatini over 1000 Maori attended. The activities included the licensing of twelve lay readers. Not only was Maori the language of the meetings, but the hui was controlled and organised largely by Maori (Prenter 1972:41). At the ninth Hui Topu at Ohinemutu, Rotorua, in 1914 the Bishop of Waiapu raised the issue of unity within the Anglican Church in New Zealand. He rejected the notion that there were two churches (Diocese of Waiapu 1914:7). He commented further on the importance of knowing English or Maori so that the two peoples could grow into one church. He planned to explore the possibility of teaching the Maori language to some of those who were attending St. John’s College.

It was not only the Diocese of Waiapu that conducted its Maori Church Board meetings in Maori: the same also occurred in the Diocese of Auckland. In 1872 the Archdeaconry of Waitemata held its first meeting at Hauraki. It gathered again at the
same place in 1874. There were four clergy including the Bishop and thirteen lay persons. At the third assembly of the Maori Church held at Parawai, Hauraki, on 28-30 March 1887 there were thirteen clergy present (including the Bishop) and twenty-five lay persons. It is interesting to note the Bishop of Auckland’s request that Maori children be allowed to learn to write and speak the English language (Diocese of Auckland 1887:6). At the sixth assembly in 1895 clergy were encouraged to teach the customs of the faith (Diocese of Auckland 1895:9). The following year the Bishop in his address encouraged Maori clergy to read English (Diocese of Auckland 1896:5). In 1897 it was acknowledged that many Maori children had learnt English and therefore had gained access to educational texts which would not be translated into Maori. However, it is interesting to note that the Archdeacon of Waikato also encouraged Maori not to reject their language. “Otira, kaua e whakaparahakotia to koutou ake reo” (Diocese of Auckland 1897:22). As in the addresses of the Bishop of Waiapu, there is mention of concerns about health matters including the consumption of alcohol. In 1902 the Hui Topu which was held in Auckland encouraged Maori to learn English (Diocese of Auckland 1902:6). In 1912 the Bishop of Auckland encouraged Maori clergy and their children to learn English (Diocese of Auckland 1912:7).

Clearly the synod and Church board meetings held with Maori as the language of communication posed a challenge to Church authorities. Yet Anglican Maori rose to meet this challenge successfully. While the records of the proceedings and minutes provide very useful models in terms of language, what signposts do they offer with respect to concerns that become important in present and future language regenesis? It could be argued that the Maori Anglican Church could hold its national biennial
runanganui meetings entirely in Maori within twenty-five years. If the Maori language was quite capable of meeting the requirements of synodical government last century, it could be asserted that it could again be possible to hold runanganui meetings with Maori as the language of communication.

According to Joshua Fishman's model this degree of regenesis could be seen as operating at stage 1 or the upper reaches of Church government. Maori language regional church conferences, or Hui Amorangi, on the other hand, could be seen as an example of stage 2 at work, namely, lower level church governmental services. While the records of the Maori language church meetings provide a source of inspiration, are they a priority in the short or medium term? For Fishman the pursuit of stages 1 and 2 "may represent little more than the pursuit of a will-o-the-wisp i.e. a pursuit that is 'of no consequence to language survival and growth if the fundamental process of [intergenerational] transmission is cut off'!" (Fishman 1991:224) In other words, Fishman is advocating that initial efforts ought to focus limited resources on the efforts of kohanga reo, kura kaupapa and bilingual schools which provide opportunities for developing Maori language speaking homes, families and neighbourhoods as well as Maori literacy at stages 6 and 5 respectively. The Maori language synods and church board meetings prior to World War 1 provide glimpses of a long-term vision – a source of inspiration for the future. However, given limited church resources, it could be argued that there are more important priorities for the short and medium terms. Since Fishman propounds the virtues of building on the achievements of kohanga reo and kura kaupapa, we now turn to review briefly Maori language in the context of Maori Anglican schools and tertiary level educational institutions.
2.3 Maori Anglican schools

It is well documented that the early missionary schools used Maori as the medium for the learning of scriptures, as well as for reading and writing. The Native Schools Act of 1867 reversed this situation as it required that learning and teaching take place in English (Kaa 1987:87). For over sixty years the Maori language had no place in the state education system. It was neither a subject nor a medium of instruction (Kaa 1987:56). It was only in the late 1920’s and 1930’s that there emerged in the curriculum some elements of Maori language and culture. There were many Maori parents who felt that the teaching of English should remain a priority. It is against this background that we explore the innovative role of the church schools in promoting the Maori language. “It was in the Anglican and Catholic schools that Maori was first introduced as an academic subject” (Benton 1981:190). Let us now, however, begin to review the policies and programmes of the Maori Anglican Church schools.

Te Wai Pounamu Maori Girls’ College was founded in 1909 north of Christchurch. Its initial purpose was to promote Christianity among Maori women and in Maori homes of the South Island (Gudgeon 1998:78). The major focus of the curriculum was to prepare the students for domestic duties, as well as teaching reading, writing and mathematics. Through the staff, Pakeha cultural dominance ensured that the Maori language had no valued place in the life of the school (Gudgeon 1998:98). Maori language during the early years of the College was forbidden around the school – a ban which a number of Maori parents supported (Gudgeon 1998:101). The emphasis was placed on good middle class pronunciation of English (Gudgeon
1998:108). Even in the 1930's the learning of English was a major focus. While the use of Maori language was not encouraged by staff members, it appears that the singing of Maori action songs was accepted (Gudgeon 1998:141). However, during the 1950's the Maori language was taught by a Pakeha staff member. An application form of the early 1970's requests information about the prospective applicant's ability in Maori language (Gudgeon 1998:183). For a number of students in the 1970's and 1980's one of the positive aspects of the College was the opportunity to learn Maori language, history and culture. Over the years Te Wai Pounamu gained a very good reputation for the quality of its cultural group's singing, action songs and poi (Gudgeon 1998:187-9). The College, however, was closed in 1990 amid considerable controversy. The official Anglican view was that financial difficulties led to the closure.

Despite early efforts to suppress the Maori language, it can be argued that Te Wai Pounamu College was for many years the only school in the South Island that consistently taught the Maori language. At the time of its opening most Maori children in the South Island had begun to lose the use of the Maori language and spoke English (Ojinmah 1989:97). However, from the 1930's Maori language began to be used essentially only as the language of entertainment until it became in the 1940's a fully-fledged curriculum option. While the quality of the Maori language teaching could be questioned, it is clear that at least two generations of Maori girls received instruction in the Maori language which for a number was a highlight of their secondary education. We now turn to a boys' school in Auckland whose history has some similarities to but also major differences from Te Wai Pounamu College.
St. Stephen’s School, or Tipene in Maori, is the oldest existing school in New Zealand (Old 1974:5). It was founded in 1844 by a missionary, the Reverend George Adam Kissling, as a school for girls. Boys were included as early as 1855 when male candidates for ministry training were brought in from “the most remote areas of the North Island to study English and Maori . . .” (Old 1974:35). Kissling was especially keen on Maori pupils learning to write in Maori. The school syllabus clearly stated that such learning should take place. By 1895 students were expected to translate English into Maori and Maori into English (Old 1974:50). However, it was not until the 1930’s that the Education Department suggested that Maori should be a subject for a majority of the students as St. Stephen’s gradually became a secondary school.

It was during the 1950’s that St. Stephen’s was able to secure the services of Mr Hoani Waititi as a teacher of Maori language from the third to the seventh forms. Mr Waititi was responsible for developing teaching materials which eventually became a well-known series of textbooks called Te Rangatahi. These textbooks were a major resource for secondary schools teaching Maori in the 1960’s and 1970’s. His other notable contribution was that of reviving the St. Stephen’s Maori Concert Party which toured nationally and overseas. In 1962 a report produced by the Commission on Education in New Zealand recommended that the Maori language be introduced to all pupils. Years earlier St. Stephen’s had already achieved this goal, with Maori language being one of the basic subjects taught at all levels.

The teaching of the Maori language as an academic subject has satisfied the demands of parents over many years. However, there now appears to be another demand as
kura kaupapa, or Maori language medium school, graduates and others seek total immersion classes at the secondary level. According to information from the school authorities in August 1999, the school’s strategic plan includes the establishment of such classes which will operate under the pedagogy of matauranga Maori (Maori knowledge) and will, as a consequence, involve whanau processes.

Queen Victoria School’s beginnings can be traced back to 1844 when it existed as a day school. Eventually it became the St. Stephen’s Native School for Girls. Initially a major focus was the instruction of the students in the English language (Taua 1983:28). It was decided in 1887, however, to establish a school for Maori girls to be called Queen Victoria School. The Young Maori Party, which included Sir Apirana Ngata, voiced its approval of the new school. Queen Victoria School for Maori Girls was opened in 1901 by the Duke and Duchess of York. It was located in Parnell, Auckland (Taua 1983:50).

A Maori language teacher, the Reverend W. Panapa (later the second Bishop of Aotearoa), was appointed in 1936 (Taua 1983:95). A year later a teacher of Maori arts and crafts was also appointed. As mentioned above it was in the 1950’s that Mr Hoani Waititi taught Maori at all levels. While it was not a core subject, it was still available as an option. Like St. Stephen’s, Queen Victoria School was an innovator in the teaching of Maori language and also produced well-trained cultural groups that toured nationally (Taua 1983:115).

In a telephone conversation with a senior staff member of Queen Victoria School in August 1999, it was confirmed that Maori language is still being offered as a subject
However, these had ceased due to a change of staff. One of the recurring concerns of all the church schools at times has been the shortage of suitably qualified and experienced Maori language teachers. Let us now move south to the Hawkes Bay church schools.

Hukarere School was opened in 1875 at Napier. As in Te Wai Pounamu Maori Girls’ College and Queen Victoria School, the aim was to prepare Maori girls for careers as wives and mothers. A major focus was to improve the students’ knowledge of English which was regarded in the early years as the only language to be spoken. “Maori was ‘tapu’ at Hukarere . . . Each day at school we would be asked if we had spoken any Maori and those who owned up would be given lines to write out: ‘I must not speak Maori’” (Jenkins & Matthews 1995:29).

English was the medium of instruction. Early this century teachers believed that to teach English effectively the Maori language should not be allowed in schools. However, from the 1930’s there was a move to reflect aspects of Maori culture (Jenkins & Matthews 1995:36). While the Education Department did not agree to the teaching of the Maori language per se, this did not prevent the Maori Principal, Miss Mere Hall, from teaching Maori at the introductory level (Jenkins & Matthews 1995:36). By 1947 the teaching of the Maori language had been approved and was regarded as part of the core curriculum. In 1938 the Reverend Puti Murray was enrolled at Hukarere. She arrived like a number of other students as a Maori speaker (Jenkins & Matthews 1995:65). Anita Moke, a former member of Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Maori, the Maori Language Commission, was enrolled in the late 1940’s as a
student. Her view was that at that time the majority of girls, 85%, were fluent speakers of Maori (Jenkins & Matthews 1995:68). Pare Richardson, a leading layperson in the Maori Anglican Church in the Manawatu and Rangitikei region and a Maori Language Lecturer at Massey University was a student in the 1950’s: “I was a fluent speaker of Maori at home but I wasn’t allowed to use it at primary school. Hukarere gave me back my language . . .” (Jenkins & Matthews 1995:69). As in the other church schools, national cultural tours promoted the school (Spence 1975:48).

From information given by a senior staff member of Hukarere School in August 1999, it is clear that over 50% of the school roll had a kura kaupapa background. A large number of these students came from Flaxmere near Hastings. There were total immersion courses for form three and four students, but fifth and sixth form pupils were taught bilingually. Apparently in the immersion courses there is thematic teaching along the same lines as in kura kaupapa schools. Let us now turn to Hukarere’s brother college.

Te Aute College was founded in 1854. Like the other Maori Anglican boarding schools, the medium of instruction was English. Even at the turn of the century students still found English to be a difficult subject (Alexander 1951:96). All the textbooks were written in English and so a good command of this language was necessary (Alexander 1951:104). During the first quarter of the twentieth century, government education policy had “attempted to divorce the Maori from every aspect of his culture, whether good or bad” (Alexander 1951:151). This policy meant that the Maori student after leaving school spoke fluent English while in almost all Maori homes Maori was the preferred language. However, in 1927 Maori was made a
compulsory subject and four years later “the Government made the Maori language essential for all Government scholars” (Alexander 1951:188, 155).

Over the years Maori has been taught as a subject at all levels. In more recent times most of the students have been second language learners of Maori. As in the other Maori Anglican Church schools, results for Maori language in public examinations have lifted the overall academic results of the students. Also the cultural tours have assisted not only the promotion of the college, but also the students’ language knowledge.

From a telephone conversation with a senior staff member of Te Aute College in August 1999, it appears that the Maori language is a compulsory subject until the end of the fifth form. All students are expected to sit School Certificate Maori. A special course has been organised for those students who arrive in the fourth and fifth forms. For eight years at the third and fourth form levels there has been a choice between a mainstream Maori language class and immersion classes across all but three subjects.

Te Aute College has a total teaching staff of fourteen. Six are fluent Maori language speakers who are involved in the mainstream and rumaki or immersion programmes. One of the main obstacles impeding the development of immersion classes beyond the third and fourth forms has been the lack of staff who are both competent as speakers of Maori language and as teachers in such curriculum areas as science, physics and mathematics.

The five Maori Anglican Church schools have made major contributions to the teaching of Maori language. Although the initial focus was the learning of English as
a second language, it was not until the 1930's that certain aspects of Maori culture, namely singing, action songs, haka and poi, became acceptable to education and school authorities. By introducing Maori into their curricula in the 1920's, 1930's and 1940's, these schools can be regarded as innovative leaders. In the case of the Auckland schools this innovation extended to teaching programmes and practices, as well as the production of textbooks for teaching the Maori language. Each school has also developed its cultural groups to a level worthy of touring both nationally and internationally. Many teachers of Maori language in primary, secondary and tertiary educational institutions were products of these schools.

In the 1990's there have been moves to continue this tradition of innovation. Total immersion classes at junior levels have been, or are about to be set up at each school. The shortage of fluent, well trained and experienced teachers at the senior levels has been seen as impeding progress. Clearly the development of kohanga reo and kura kaupapa has encouraged the establishment of such classes. Not all those working at such schools, however, would credit the Maori Anglican Church as fostering these recent innovations. In some quarters there is a feeling that the Church has not been as pro-active as it could have been to promote the learning and teaching of the Maori language. How widespread these feelings are is difficult to gauge without an extensive survey. However, it can be argued that since the 1920's the church schools have collectively lifted the mana (status) of Maori language within educational and other domains.

According to Fishman's model, the Maori Anglican Church has supported for a number of years type 4b schools, namely, schools that teach a little Maori. Fishman
describes such schools as “totally ineffectual at best and harmful to RLS at worst” (Fishman 1991:243). Efforts by church schools to move towards Maori as the medium of instruction are still at an early stage for three of the four. The establishment of over fifty kura kaupapa or Maori language medium primary schools has created a challenge for these schools. Te Aute College appears to be leading the way with well-established total immersion classes at the junior levels. If the Church schools tend towards type 4a schools that teach in Maori, this will already build upon creation of physical and social Maori space, i.e. use of Maori art work, Maori cultural styles of pupil-teacher and pupil-pupil interaction and Maori powhiri (welcoming ceremonies.) If the Maori Anglican Church is committed to RLS then a more concerted move to type 4a schools will occur.

2.4 Maori Anglican tertiary institutions

In 1883 Te Rau Kahikatea College was established in Gisborne by the New Zealand Mission Trust Board. The main aim of the College was to act as a Maori theological institution for the whole of the North Island (Rosevear 1960:162). Te Rau Kahikatea was the first Anglican theological institution to appoint a Maori as a tutor. The Reverend Reweti Kohere of Ngati Porou (a major tribe from the East Coast of the North Island) used both Maori and English as media of instruction. He was an ex-student of Canterbury College, University of New Zealand, who became concerned that all the teaching was done in Maori, which limited the fields of study (Plane Te Paa 1995:67). By 1907 the instruction was partly in Maori and partly in English – a situation which the Principal, the Reverend F.W. Chatterton, supported. He acknowledged in 1912 that a number of students were still encumbered by their lack of English (Plane Te Paa 1995:135). In the new Te Whare Wananga o Te Rau
Kahikatea established at St. John’s College, Auckland, in 1992, Maori language has been taught as a subject at three levels preparing students for Maori ministry. English has been the main medium of instruction. However, the College has been innovative in developing a computerised language laboratory for the learning of the Maori language not only by its students, but also by the Church as a whole.

The Bishopric of Aotearoa, Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa, set up its tertiary level institution, Te Whare Wananga o te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa (Te Whare Wananga) as a registered private training establishment in 1995. It began to deliver courses to both clergy and lay people in 1996. The delivery sites called Taapapa were established in Kaikohe, Rotorua, Napier, Otaki and Christchurch. The headquarters are located at the Bishop of Aotearoa’s office in Rotorua. Te Whare Wananga receives funding from a church education trust. Its mission statement is “to offer quality education within tikanga Maori” (Te Whare Wananga o te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa 1999:5). The curriculum is placed within a Maori and spiritual context. In other words students largely focus on studies about their tribe and Christianity.

Although the courses “demand effective bilingual communication skills” they are mostly taught with English as the medium of instruction (Te Whare Wananga o te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa 1999:9). In the achievement of this goal Te Whare Wananga ascribes value to the following: tikanga rua (bicultural development) and Maori language as principles of the Treaty of Waitangi (Te Whare Wananga o te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa 1999:10). Staff and students who are competent in matauranga Maori (Maori knowledge including the language) are encouraged to become involved in research. Te Whare Wananga expects that a substantial number
of its research publications will be produced in the Maori language. Masters theses
are expected to be written in Maori:

> Engagement with other communities of learning will be subject to
> these limitations. Scholars who are not familiar with the Maori
> language will need to gain access through the services of translators
> and interpreters and assume the risks associated with the use of the
> resulting approximations (Te Whare Wananga o te Pihopatanga o
> Aotearoa 1999:12).

It is interesting to note that a prerequisite for admission to Te Whare Wananga is a
basic command of the Maori language, which is assessed by the Kaihautu (Manager
of the Taapapa or Regional centre) or his/her nominee at the time of enrolment. If
the student does not have a sufficient knowledge of Maori language, he or she may
be required to attend preparatory courses offered by the Taapapa or another
institution. “The emphasis on acquiring fundamental Maori language skills is
important; students must be prepared for the rigours of total immersion language
courses” (Te Whare Wananga o te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa 1999:40).

The level one Maori language or Reo course aims “to provide students with a total
Maori language immersion environment in which their written and verbal language
skills can be practised and demonstrated” (Te Whare Wananga o te Pihopatanga o
Aotearoa 1999:69). Students are expected to attend three one week residential
immersion hui during the year. There are a list of eleven tasks which students are
expected to complete competently. These include reciting prayers by memory,
singing and explaining traditional poems, speaking for five minutes about an
important issue and participating in committee meetings. Students are expected to spend a specified amount of time on preparation for language activities to take place at the immersion hui. 290 learning hours have been provided for this course.

The 200 level course has a similar number of learning hours. Twelve learning outcomes include organising a church service, formal oratory for men, reciting genealogy, teaching at other educational institutions and organising promotional activities. There are three residential immersion hui. The 300 level course also has similar hui and learning outcomes, including debates, leading discussions on spirituality and answering questions on marae protocol. At this level students are required to undertake self-directed language studies between each immersion hui. Preparatory activities are also expected to be completed prior to each hui.

Te Whare Wananga o Te Rau Kahikatea teaches Maori language as a specific subject within its degree programme. On the other hand, Te Whare Wananga o te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa has opted for immersion-based courses with specific learning outcomes. These courses have drawn heavily on the Maori language programme of Te Wananga o Raukawa; a government funded Maori tertiary institution based in Otaki, a township north of Wellington. I was Director of Language Studies for seven to eight years at Raukawa and was involved in drawing up the list of learning outcomes about twelve years ago. A hui (meeting) was held to which were invited students, teachers, elders and community members to discuss a draft list of tasks that they could reasonably expect students to be able to complete competently at the end of nine one-week residential immersion courses spread over three years. After the list had been discussed, it was my job to decide which tasks could be tackled at which
levels. A difficulty with the task-based approach was deciding what was meant by the term ‘competently’. In other words, it was not easy to decide what was expected from students in order to know that they had achieved a pass. Each Taapapa at present appears to decide what it means by the term ‘competently’. There does not appear to be a level of national consistency in terms of what is meant by each learning outcome and its competent achievement. Given the importance of returning the language to the home, neighbourhood and community, it is not difficult to question the usefulness of or priority given to some of the tasks from the viewpoint of this criterion. Te Whare Wananga o te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa at some point in the future may wish to review the list of tasks at each level in terms of their usefulness for ministry and mission and in light of Fishman’s model for language regenesis. A major plus with the immersion-based programme is that it encourages Maori language as a medium of instruction. Given the total number of hours, almost 900 over three years, it is better placed than most mainstream tertiary level Maori language programmes to achieve potentially higher levels of fluency. The review mentioned above could also apply to the Maori language programmes of Te Rau Kahikatea.

2.5 The Young Maori Party

The Te Aute College Students’ Association held its first conference in February 1897. One of the objects of the Association was to influence Maori public opinion in a desire towards a better standard of living. “It has been sought, under God, to draw out what was best in the Maori nature, to mould and strengthen the Maori character that it might stand in the battle of life” (Te Aute College Students’ Association 1897:3). Initially in 1891 about twenty older students had met to form a body called “The Association for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Maori Race.” This body
was to consist of Te Aute boys, Maori chiefs and Maori clergymen, Maori members of Parliament and European sympathisers. The aims of the Association were to suppress the use of alcohol among Maori, abolish injurious customs and to improve Maori health (Te Aute College Students’ Association 1897:4). Although not successful in achieving these goals, the Association formed the background to a series of conferences between 1897 and 1910 which were to have a major impact on the welfare of Maori. It is the intention of this brief historical review to glean the attitudes and concerns of this important group of innovators towards the Maori language.

The specific objects of the Te Aute College Students’ Association were two-fold:

1. To keep up communication between past and present students of Te Aute College.

2. To aid in the amelioration of the condition of the Maori race physically, intellectually, socially and spiritually (Te Aute College Students’ Association 1897:7).

The members of the organising committee included Apirana Ngata (later Sir Apirana), Peter Buck (later Sir Peter) and Reweti Kohere (later the Reverend). These three went on to distinguished careers in politics, academia and the church. A condensed Maori language version of the conference was made available.

At the third conference it was clearly proclaimed that the Association was “essentially a Christian association and not a mere effort at social reform…” (Te Aute College Students’ Association 1899:5-6). At the next conference in December 1899 there was a discussion about whether there were Maori tikanga (culture) worth preserving. Both
Apirana Ngata and Reweti Kohere agreed that there was a considerable amount of Maori tikanga that was worth preserving. Ngata felt that with certain modifications to haka that both haka and poi (kinds of Maori dance) should be sanctioned (Te Aute College Students' Association 1900: 11,13). However, it was at the sixth conference held in early 1902 that the issue of the preservation of the Maori language arose. In the introductory notes and comments section of the Conference Report the writer regards the preservation of te reo Maori (Maori language) in its original purity as unlikely:

Under existing circumstances, you can no more preserve the purity of the language than you can preserve the purity of the race. If things go on as at present, both must eventually be absorbed. It is sad to think that it must be so, but it is inevitable. May it be many a long year before Maori is swallowed up in English...(Te Aute College Students' Association 1902:3).

It was also suggested at this conference that Maori should be made a subject in the Maori secondary schools and a pass subject in pre-entry University examinations. The teaching of the Maori language in both church and state schools can be traced back to this conference. Clearly already at the beginning of the twentieth century, there were concerns among Anglican Maori about the survival of the language.

At a supplementary meeting to the eighth conference held in Gisborne, the Reverend H.W. Williams outlined the process of translating and printing the Bible in Maori since 1827. He discussed the difficulties experienced in this work. In referring to Mr. Williams' address, Apirana Ngata said "that a great deal of their language was taught
to them through the Maori Bible, as there was no such thing as Maori literature” (Te Aute College Students’ Association 1904:11). Here Ngata is referring to the lack of written literature. Later he was to publish volumes of Maori oral poetry known as Nga Moteatea.

The compiler of the Report of the Tenth Conference held in Rotorua in 1905-1906 was Frederick Bennett, later the first Bishop of Aotearoa. He writes that as “the main object of the Association’s existence is to influence and mould Maori Public Opinion, the proceedings at the Conference were conducted mainly in the Maori language” (Te Aute College Students’ Association 1906). It should be noted that the First Conference had been held entirely in English (Te Aute College Students’ Association 1907:5).

It was in this context that a very interesting and at times heated debate took place in Tama-te-Kapua Meeting House on the afternoon of Wednesday, 27 December, 1905.

Mr. John Thornton, principal of Te Aute College, began by claiming that the Maori language would not survive beyond two more generations. He tempered his remarks by saying that he was not favouring the abolition or death of the Maori language. While conscious of the aroha (compassion) of the Maori people towards their own language, he believed that the English language should be learnt as the vernacular. He did not know how to prevent the loss of the Maori language (Te Aute College Students’ Association 1906:5). Apirana Ngata responded by focussing on Thornton’s statement about the demise of the Maori language: “Ki tuku titiro he mea whakangoikore tene i te ngakau.” Literally, this statement could be taken to mean: “In my view this is a thing to make the heart weak.” He propounds instead the virtues
of being bilingual. Henare Wepiha, a Te Rau Kahikatea student, then expressed his sadness about Thornton’s words on the disappearance of the language. He disagreed with Thornton’s prophecy. Towards the end of his speech he requested that a Maori kaumatua (elder) be sent to Te Rau Kahikatea, the Maori theological college, to teach Maori language to the students. The Reverend F. Chatterton, principal of Te Rau Kahikatea, also declared his disappointment or sadness concerning Thornton’s statements. While he supported the motion to translate English books into Maori, he concluded with a comment encouraging Maori to hold on to their language (Te Aute College Students’ Association 1906:6).

Pirimi Mataiawhea, a chief from Te Arawa and an Honorary Member of the Association, informed the gathering that what Thornton had said was similar to comments made by Governor Grey to King Potatau. He poured a little oil on to troubled waters by claiming that what Thornton said was an attempt to strengthen everyone to seek wellness for all people. He finished by challenging those present to search unstintingly for such health (Te Aute College Students’ Association 1906:7). Mataiawhea’s statement would have carried considerable weight given the fact that he was a Te Arawa chief speaking in the main tribal meeting house of his people. Given the context of the comments of this influential and knowledgeable lay person, the Anglican Church and the Maori people were being offered a very serious challenge. The next speaker, Taekata, tended to agree with the previous speakers.

Pirika Miroi, another leading layperson, also did not see a contradiction between the motion and what Thornton said. He stated that children should be sent to school to learn Pakeha knowledge first. Furthermore, he believed that those present should be
anxious about the loss of the Maori language, but he thought that such concerns will lead to the growth of the language as a taonga. He pointed to Apirana Ngata as one who was very knowledgeable in both languages. The Reverend Timutimu Tawhai followed on by proposing that both languages be learnt together. Thornton responded to the previous speakers by saying that he had been under attack but was pleased with the depth of the responses especially from his pupils. However, he revealed that he was not afraid to return to his initial remarks that the Maori language would disappear in the future but that it was also a very good thing to retain it (Te Aute College Students' Association 1906:7-8). Eventually the following motion was passed by those present: “Ko te motini kua pahitia nei mo te whakamaori i etahi o nga pukapuka a te pakeha, kia tukua atu ki te Komiti o te ‘Pipiwharauroa’” (Te Aute College Students’ Association 1906:35). This can be translated into English as: “The motion passed concerning the translation into Maori of some English texts, was referred to the Committee set up in connection with the ‘Pipiwharauroa’.”

It is interesting to note that the next Conference in 1907, the eleventh, which was held in Gisborne, was also almost entirely conducted in Maori (Te Aute College Students’ Association 1907:5). The next one was held at Orakei. The New Zealand Herald commentator believed that the Maori language should be replaced by English as the “common tongue of the native race” (New Zealand Herald, 25 Feb. 1908). At the 1910 meeting of the Southern Division of the Young Maori Party (the name change occurred at the previous year’s conference), there was a plea by Mr. Wiri Erueti for perpetuating the Maori language. Also at this conference the Hon. Apirana Ngata gave an address on the Maori language. He criticised the younger generation who were abusing the Maori language by using inappropriate suffixes and too many words
to express an idea which could be conveyed verbally in a more concise way (Young Maori Party, Southern Division 1910:12).

In reviewing the conferences of the Te Aute College Students’ Association which later became the Young Maori Party, it is clear that most of its members were keen to retain the Maori language as a taonga (valuable object) – just as there was a considerable amount of tikanga (culture), worth preserving. The Association saw itself as a Christian organisation called to assist with improving the lot of the Maori. Its approach was essentially holistic in that it realised that to be successful such a goal needed to be approached on a number of levels, namely, physically, intellectually, socially and spiritually.

The second major point that can be gleaned from this review is that whatever future is predicted for the language, there will always be an element of controversy. Just as John Thornton’s prophecy that the Maori language would cease to exist within two generations led to a heated debate in 1905, it can be expected that the Church will have a prophetic role – a vision for the language which may or may not be acceptable to other Maori. However, just as the Association’s objective was to influence and mould Maori public opinion, the Church has also the role of marketing the Maori language to Maori.

Third, in terms of Fishman’s model, while conferences were held mainly in Maori, they can be viewed as similar to the synods and church board meetings. Such national and regional church meetings conducted in Maori are a medium to long-term goal.
Again the short to medium term aim is to return the language to the family home, neighbourhood and community.

Finally, it is not possible to preserve the purity of any language. All living languages change and must borrow from other languages. However, it is important to try to maintain a good standard of language or what could be termed communicative efficiency. Apirana Ngata was concerned with the level of language used by younger generations. It could be argued that, given the number of native speakers and good second language learners in the Church, useful monitoring devices, such as the Maori language courses at the Church’s tertiary educational institutions, already are in place.

2.6 Senior clergy perspectives

In 1964 a hui was held to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the first Christian church service in Aotearoa-New Zealand. At the Marsden hui there was a discussion among prominent Maori and Pakeha clergy and laity about the place of the Maori language. This discussion followed a paper presented by Canon Hohepa Taepa on the state of Maori society at the time. Recordings of the event were made available by Nga Taonga Korero, Radio New Zealand’s Maori and Pacific Sound Archive.

The Archbishop of New Zealand, the Most Reverend Norman Lesser, opened the discussion by asking whether the Maori language was dying out. Canon Taepa outlined why he believed that the Maori language would survive. Mr Hoani Waititi, who taught Maori language at St. Stephen’s School and Queen Victoria School, continued the discussion by talking about the need for the language to adapt to new concepts including new technology. He also gave credit to the Anglican Church
schools for teaching the Maori language. In addition Mr Waititi also highlighted the lack of Maori language teachers. He was followed by Archbishop Lesser who asked about the use of the Maori language in the home. In response Hoani Waititi acknowledged that schools can only accomplish so much. It was important that Maori was spoken in the home and that the parents supported the work of the schools to teach the Maori language. The Reverend Kingi Ihaka (later Archdeacon Sir Kingi Ihaka, Maori Language Commissioner), also from Te Aupouri believed that it was not the Church’s responsibility to pass on the language; he argued that it was the parents. The final speaker, an unidentified Maori minister, claimed that clergy did have a role as a teacher of the Maori language by using the language of the Bible.

During 1998 I interviewed twelve senior Anglican Maori clergy concerning the Maori language. How these interviews were conducted will be examined in the next chapter. This group of interviews included a number of bishops and canons. The youngest was born in 1941 and the oldest in 1915. Most were aged in their late sixties and early seventies. Only one of those interviewed was a woman. There were three distinct groups. First, most of the clergy are native speakers. Second, three understood the Maori language as children but did not speak it. Third, two were not brought up with the language. All but one were born in the North Island. However, there was a good spread in terms of tribal affiliation and geographical distribution.

Following on from my discussion of the debate at the Marsden hui in 1964, most of the clergy were exposed to the Maori language in their homes. Not only were their homes Maori speaking, but Maori was the language of the neighbourhoods and communities of which they were members. “During that time at home we spoke
Maori, still spoke Maori when I came home from school, round the home and round with the neighbours, visiting the neighbours, we always spoke Maori” (Clergyperson C). In the home of one of the informants there was strong parental encouragement to speak Maori:

... I guess until I went to primary school, the only language I ever spoke was Maori. We spoke a little bit of English, but our father was insistent that we spoke Maori at home all the time … So the use of te reo Maori was an everyday thing! (Clergyperson B).

In another home English came to be regarded as the third language:

... my parents spoke nothing but Maori. English was, could I say, a third language. You might probably say, well what did they speak beside that? Well they ... Maori was number one, and when they got annoyed it was obscene, and after that the Pakeha came out but Pakeha was very broken. Okay, so I call that the third language [laughs] (Clergyperson F).

For many informants the neighbourhood and community included the Maori speaking marae in rural areas:

Tangihanga (funeral) was part of our family life. The marae was across the road, so we as children we were all part of that, the whole family went to a tangihanga. We worked and lived for the marae… (Clergyperson J).
Of the twelve senior clergy interviewed, seven were Maori speakers as children. However, for three other clergy Maori was heard in the home because it was spoken by parents or grandparents. These clergy grew up with a passive knowledge of Maori. In other words they could understand but not easily speak Maori.

So we were brought up in an English speaking home. Maori was also spoken but it was the second language. So while our parents were fluent in Maori, they spoke to us in English … they would ask a question in Maori at times and we’d respond in English. But we could all go to a hui and sit down and listen to a Maori oration and follow it completely but (sic) unable to participate in any conversation unless it was either in English or a mixture of both (Clergyperson A).

Clergyperson A believes that the reason why he was brought up in an English speaking home in the 1920’s was that it was thought that the Maori people were going to die out and the government policy was assimilation which meant English-medium education.

An informant, clergyperson I, who grew up in the South Island, recalled that:

In 1935 we had kaumatuas and elders who could converse in Maori, but they chose not to speak Maori to the younger generation. They wanted us to learn English and become proficient in the English language. Because they said that is where your food and work would come from.
Clergyperson I and C were exposed to little Maori in their childhood and grew up speaking and understanding only English. While the majority of the informants came from Maori speaking homes, there was a diverse range of responses to this phenomenon.

It is interesting to note that several interviewees spoke of church services being held in Maori daily in their homes. In one home prayers were said every night after dinner:

And everybody said prayers together. Now we didn't go into any special place in the house. If we were all in the sitting room, we said prayers in the sitting room. If we were sitting around the dining room table, we said the prayers around the dining room table...It was quite a natural part of the whanau (Clergyperson B).

The children in clergyperson B's family were taught to read the Prayer Book very early in their lives. The informant can recall at the ages of seven and eight leading Psalms 23, 100 and 121 and prayers at the evening home service.

Clergyperson C describes how Maori was the main language spoken in his home. The language was almost exclusively Maori because his mother found difficulty in talking English. He also says that services were held in the home: "We had our services in the home, in the morning and the evening. The custom of that time in the homes of the Christians of that time was always in that manner..." (Clergyperson C).
It appears that morning and evening services were held every day among Mihinare families especially in the eastern and northern regions. “It was part of my whole life and wasn’t anything different at all. It was just part of living, really, at that time, not an optional extra [laughs]” (Clergyperson J). In at least one of the English speaking homes karakia (prayers) were held:

As a child I was brought up in a Christian home and I was set a Christian example. In our home karakia and prayer was of the primary thing every day and every night. And out of the home, within the community the same thing applied. So you see, you were sort of born to it (Clergyperson A).

It seems that in many Maori speaking homes, there was a copy of the Rawiri, the Maori translation of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer. This book was also used for all Sunday services. Almost all the clergy interviewed recall attending services conducted only in Maori.

When we went to church there was no English spoken; none whatsoever, except oddly when we went to Sunday school. They taught Sunday school in English. My father was one of the Sunday school teachers, and I think for him it was an opportunity to exercise his knowledge of the English language (Clergyperson B).

In the 1920’s, 1930’s and 1940’s while the services were conducted in Maori, there was only one communion service a month. On the other Sundays morning prayer consisted of the psalms, two lessons, a sermon and hymns. (Lessons here mean
scriptural readings). The Rawiri and the Bible were the main working tools of Anglican Maori ministers in those years.

We used the Rawiri and that was, of course, where the Maori language was first put to writing. It was the first formal Maori and it was a very, very fine book from the point of view of Maori language, that and the Bible of course. Those were the first two books in the Maori language that arrived, and that’s a contribution you know that I don’t think the academic world gives sufficient recognition to. The early contribution of the church to the language of the Maori people … It ought to be promoted (Clergyperson A).

Services were held on Sundays at a church or in a whare puni (main meeting house in a village or a marae). According to clergyperson A, the congregation, however, did not use their prayer books because they had already memorised the prayers. Clergyperson J maintained that the minister would lead also without a book. Often a line was chanted by the priest and echoed by the congregation. This echo method was described by the informant as the catechist method. There were full-bodied responses to the karakia or prayers. Psalms were chanted in a monotone. One informant recommended attending Ringatu Church services because they reminded him of Maori Anglican services in the 1920’s and 1930’s.

Several informants mentioned the importance of hymns.

The amazing thing to me that I remember mostly about was the hymn singing. I enjoyed, I loved singing, and for me hymns had a special attraction for … And also amazing was that the people, the
congregation, the Maori congregation seemed to take more part in the services... (Clergyperson H).

Clergyperson H also commented on the semi chant of the litany, which he maintained can be very moving in a service.

Clergyperson C still recalls the sermon of a famous Maori Anglican preacher, which he heard as a ten year old. It was based on Psalm 42:1. Clergyperson K also remembered another Maori preacher who wanted to include some English words in his Maori language sermon. This, however, was met by the congregation clearing their throats. The implication was that such inclusions were not approved by those who were present. Furthermore, clergyperson A recounts also the limited use of English during and after the service:

But the language of the early services – the Rawiri with a spluttering of English that the old people couldn’t handle very well. It always was a source of amusement to us that, the old people after the service, they would discuss the sermon, you know, and they’d use both Maori and English and they would get all their metaphors mixed up (Clergyperson A).

An example of such a mixed metaphor is given by clergyperson A: “... everything is ahead of you and if you want to succeed, you must put your foot on the first rung of the ladder then paddle your own canoe...”
Sermons could be analysed and challenged. Elders also offered assistance with the pronunciation of certain Maori words (Clergyperson K). Indeed one clergyperson related the story of an elder who knew that he, the minister, found it difficult to speak Maori. This elder followed him out of the church after one service. He was asked in Maori to open his mouth, which he did. The elder spat into the minister’s mouth and then said – “you’ll find it easier now to speak Maori’. I’ve never forgotten that and then it turned out that way” (Clergyperson A).

After the Second World War the Rawiri was still used as the main prayer book. However, it became increasingly more difficult to obtain.

The church did not feel it absolutely necessary to make this book available. You heard stories that during the Second World War all the lead plates had been lost in the blitz in London, so on and so forth – well maybe they had (Clergyperson G).

Since the Rawiri was again published in 1951, this would tend to negate the above claim.

While the Rawiri was widely respected as an outstanding example of Maori translation of a collection of services in one book, it did have some deficiencies, namely, it did not include services for Maori events such as takahi whare (tramping the house after a funeral), or hura kohatu (the unveiling of gravestones) (Clergyperson K). In North Auckland and elsewhere parts of the Rawiri were republished. In the Diocese of Waiapu new Maori service books were produced by experienced clergy (Clergyperson G). In 1989 the new prayer book of the Anglican Church was published, namely, A New Zealand Prayer Book: He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa;
... the opportunity to translate those parts of the new New Zealand Prayer Book into Maori – again (sic) was not a strict translation of the English but rather we used Maori thought patterns and thought forms and imagery to capture what the English was trying to say ... it's become popular... (Clergyperson L).

The new Prayer Book has been republished several times. One informant commented that it would have been “to our detriment if we had a Prayer Book that did not include the Maori Language. I thought that ... Maori must be part of that in order to be the true Anglican Prayer Book from Aotearoa New Zealand” (Clergyperson J). Another informant claimed that the new Prayer Book was sometimes too verbose or wordy and that the Maori prayer of consecration in the Rawiri was far superior to the one in the new Prayer Book. (Clergyperson H).

Clergyperson F recounts a further criticism from those who say that they do not like the Prayer Book because it does not allow the congregation to pray from the heart: “... what I say to people who say that, is here you have the Prayer Book, all the words are beautiful, what you and I have to do is put the spirit into it ...” This informant asserted that the Prayer Book helped to bring Maori spirituality into the Anglican Church. Clergyperson L termed it “capturing the wairua Maori in our worship.” Furthermore, clergyperson I claims that Maori language services bring a peace of mind, a spiritual dimension: “They're getting a spiritual dimension that you can't get from the English language, where Maoris are concerned ...I can’t explain it, but I know it’s so lovely...” It was the use of Maori language in the services which attracted Clergyperson F into the church.
Clergyperson B tries to use the Maori language as much as possible in his services. He encourages Bible readings in Maori provided the readers have an English translation on paper:

I encourage them to use it because I happen to think it’s an important role of the church to keep the language alive. The written word, the written Maori, was where the church first made its mark ... it’s because of that I like to insist that people use as much of te reo Maori as possible.

The same informant believes that one of the strengths of the Anglican Church has been to encourage ordinary people to use language that was once the preserve of the tohunga or priests. He claims that the effects on people praying in Maori are not always appreciated. Yet clergyperson G maintains that ministers need to be aware of the amount of Maori language known by those attending the service and to “take the congregation with them.”

Clergyperson H claims that each tribe has its own style of worship. He argues that on the whole the services are still regarded as tapu throughout the Bishopric of Aotearoa. This informant also senses, however, that the majority of Maori still feel sometimes the services are too long and would prefer them to be completed within ten minutes.

Several clergy were critical of those taking part in Maori language services:

Sometimes I get very sad when I hear sometimes that those who are conducting the worship, the way that it’s done, not only the mistakes that they make in language, but the way that the whole service is
conducted, as though you are rushing it, rushing through it, and the enunciation of words are unclear (Clergyperson H).

Clergyperson B tends to support the above perspective: “Instead of muttering prayers, as if they were mantras that ought to be muttered anyway, is to say them with feeling and with meaning…” Clergyperson F criticised the pronunciation of the Maori language by some Maori clergy as “being a bit hard on the ears.”

Learning the Maori language is a task which today faces not only many Maori clergy but also lay people especially those who are younger. Clergyperson E recounts that a very elderly kaumatua encouraged his children and mokopuna (grandchildren) to learn the Maori language by reading the Maori language Bible. This informant also supported students attending hui or gatherings of Maori to hear the language. Another informant, clergyperson H, challenges Maori:

I think if Pakehas … like I mean when you look at those early missionaries, like the Williams, they learnt Maori, and they knew Maori. If those people can do it, I think Maori should do it and become fluent, very fluent…

Furthermore he credits the missionaries with the writing system for Maori, the introduction of reading and the translation of the Bible and the Prayer Book into Maori. Clergyperson C recognises also the work of the Williams family to evangelise the Maori people by placing the gospel in the cultural, spiritual and social context of the Maori people in the nineteenth century.
It is really quite amazing to consider that they dedicated themselves so very fully to that teaching that they were able not only to learn that language in that short time but to be able to provide the basis for te reo Maori ...the Williams dictionary...

Not all Maori congregations, however, are completely supportive of the liturgical use of the Maori language. Clergyperson C describes a meeting which took place in his pastorate in the 1990’s. He recalls questions from some of the younger members of the congregation who were asking about the use of listening to te reo Maori. “We sit there through all of that and we just listen to it and it’s all going over our heads and we don’t know what is being said and we are not being nurtured.”

This informant acknowledges that there is truth in the above comments. However, he continues by saying that those people who make these comments, when confronted by their Maoritanga, invariably go looking for the language.

They know they’re Maori, and they know that te reo is a taonga.

They also quite often try to deny that, but as we so often see, deep down, and as they themselves so often illustrate, that they are really…and they’re always saying it, ‘I wish I could talk Maori.’

Clergyperson C maintains that it is the responsibility of both the tribe and the church to ensure that the Maori language is taught to all its people.

Over the last twenty years the Maori Anglican Church has advocated the maintenance and revitalisation of the Maori language.
Te Hahi Mihinare was to the forefront of the establishment of kura kaupapa, kohanga reo – it actually emanated out of a motion that came within our Runanga that we should approach the Government, and so our first presentation was made to the Muldoon Government, which actually took it up and ran with it and established the kohanga reo system, the kura kaupapa...(Clergyperson L)

Clergyperson L also confirmed that the church supported the iwi radio system and Maori television:

And so we put funding from our own resources into radio and later we swung in behind the whole television drive – to have a Maori television where the teaching of language and the customs and all those things connected with Maori could be done.

The role of Te Whare Wananga o Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa is also acknowledged by clergyperson C as a place where Maori language is taught.

In addition to the role of the Maori language in church and marae services, two clergy also mentioned the importance of te reo in terms of pastoral care. Clergyperson E used Maori in the course of social work: “… but when we were counselling families I would say ‘excuse me, I want to speak Maori to this family. I would talk Maori to the family, reprimand them and work (sic) very very well.” Clergyperson C also tells the story of a visit to a hospital where he was requested by staff to communicate with a woman who was unable to speak. This woman had been badly scalded by hot water,
... and yet she was able to respond quite well to me by signs and by actually mouthing, though not producing voice, such parts of the service like the amens and the Lord’s Prayer, illustrates the strength of ... the depth that te reo Maori can have on people in crisis...

In conclusion, for Clergyperson D, the Maori language is God’s gift which needs to be used in a God-given way. He argues that “maybe we’ve got to develop our spirituality, the spirituality of our language, ne!” Clergyperson F also believes that Maori is a God-given language. However, clergyperson C takes an additional step by stating that he believes that God must care about the state of the Maori language. Clergyperson H argues that the highest purpose for the Maori language “is in worshipping God, to glorify God in worship.” Worship here involves not only reciting scripture and sermons but also the singing of hymns and the prayers. It is interesting to note that clergyperson K, however, claims that the Church’s primary purpose is to communicate the gospel. If Aotearoa-New Zealand became French speaking overnight, then the Church would need to offer French medium services. He believes that all languages belong to God.

2.7 Policy-making

The reasons for the high level of Maori language endangerment are well documented by Benton (1981). Government policies resulted in discrimination against the language in matters of public policy in areas such as education and broadcasting. Acts of Parliament such as the Education Act of 1867 led to a loss of political power for Maori (Christensen n.d.:2). In addition, commonly held beliefs by Maori and non-Maori did not support Maori language maintenance. When examining the Maori
Anglican Church schools, we discovered that speaking the Maori language was discouraged or banned outright because it was seen to be interfering with learning the English language. Negative attitudes towards the Maori language were held by both Maori and non-Maori. Some Maori parents were happy that Maori language was banned at school; non-Maori staff members discouraged its use. Since World War II there has been a process of rapid urbanisation of Maori which meant that inter-generational transmission of the language was disrupted. In other words, parents and children were removed from the linguistic and cultural influence of grandparents and marae (Christensen n.d.:3).

For almost two hundred years the Anglican Church has been involved in implicit and explicit language policy making. The missionaries made a series of policy decisions concerning the introduction of Maori language print literacy. Selected texts were published by CMS missionaries as part of wider strategies to convert Maori to Christianity. Maori language church conferences were held to discuss major church and secular issues. A conscious policy was adopted to conduct business in the Maori language to ensure that Maori clergy and laity were part of decision-making processes. The Young Maori Party also decided at times to conduct its business in Maori so that it could reach a wider audience. Maori Anglican secondary schools, on the other hand, chose to ban the use of Maori or limit its use until decisions were made to establish the language as a separate subject or medium of instruction. At the tertiary level similar decisions have been made concerning the teaching and learning of the language.
Waitangi: The Report of the Bicultural Commission of the Anglican Church on the Treaty of Waitangi was published. The Commission appended eighteen recommendations to its Report. It resolved that training for ordination required Maori language and cultural studies of sufficient depth to ensure the capacity to conduct fluently all the services in Maori as well as being able to perform well on marae and in other Maori settings (Bi-cultural Commission of the Anglican Church 1986:26).

There were other Maori language resolutions, including the study of Maori language and culture at all Anglican educational institutions, as well as support for kohanga reo and an improved bicultural broadcasting system. Eventually the Anglican Church in Aotearoa-New Zealand and Polynesian agreed on a new constitution which was first adopted in 1990. It was a bilingual constitution – written in both Maori and English. In any interpretation of the meaning of the wording of the Constitution due consideration is to be given to both the English and Maori language versions.

Let us now return to Fishman’s model, which was described in the first chapter, to consider what we have seen. Clearly the new Constitution involves Church government at the national level. Earlier in this chapter it was decided that holding national Maori language church conferences would fit into stage 1 (higher level educational, occupational, governmental and media efforts); the same is true for the Constitution. It provides a source of inspiration for the future, as well as a source of validation for the language at national and international church levels. Mass media such as national Maori language church newspapers also fit at this level. Regional Maori language church conferences could be seen as an example of stage 2 at work, namely, lower level church governmental services and mass media. If Maori language
services were available at the regional Maori Anglican Church headquarters, these could be interpreted as operating at stage 3 of Fishman’s model. Maori Anglican Church schools that continue to offer Maori as a subject are an example of a 4b school. On the other hand, if these schools choose Maori language as a medium of instruction, then such schools could be categorised as 4a schools. If the Church establishes facilities for voluntary Maori language literacy acquisition, this would secure stage 5. Te Whare Wananga o Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa is well placed to assist such a development.

The most important stage is 6, which is focussed on developing Maori language speaking homes, neighbourhoods and communities. The Church has a large number of senior clergypersons who were raised as native speakers and who experienced Maori medium church services in their homes, churches and marae. Such a resource is invaluable as guides for those who were brought up in English speaking communities but who now wish to return the Maori language to their homes, neighbourhoods and communities. Without major inroads into stage 6, the church will largely remain at stages 7 and 8 where the Maori language speakers are either beyond child-bearing age or socially isolated, and Maori needs to be re-assembled and taught to adults. In especially western and southern areas of Aotearoa-New Zealand there is a need to reclaim regional dialects. An example is the Ngai Tahu tribe which has lost almost all its native speakers. It will need to reconstruct its language. The Church could play a role here in not only the process of dialect reconstruction but also by encouraging the use of the dialect in its church services.
STAGES OF REVERSING LANGUAGE SHIFT

MAORI ANGLICAN CHURCH

1. Bilingual Constitution, Maori language church operations, national Maori language church conferences, national Maori language church mass media.
2. Local/regional church government Maori language services, local/regional Maori language church conferences.
3. Local/regional Maori language work spheres among Maori and non-Maori.
4a Maori language medium church schools and pre-schools.
4b Maori as a separate subject in church schools.
5. Voluntary Maori language literacy – imparted by church educational institutions.
6. Maori language medium services in homes, neighbourhoods and communities.
7. Recognition of Maori speaking clergy and laity.
8. Reconstruction of dialects and dialectal church services.

FIGURE 1

In applying Fishman's model, we are able to see what are clearly stage 1, 2 and 3 activities which constitute medium or long-term goals. We can also see that the Church is well placed to build on its tradition to assist developments at stages 4, 5 and 6. I now turn to examine the research methodology.
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Theories are accorded different levels of importance depending on the scientific field. Sociolinguistics has focussed on descriptive research and on method and its application. As Coulmas (1997:6) says,

Methodological questions concerning the delimitation, collection, and processing of empirical data have therefore been much more in the foreground than theory construction. Survey sampling, participant observation, questionnaire design, interview ... techniques ... have been developed or adapted to fit language data.

It has also been argued that sociolinguistic method is largely empirical because it deals with speech – a phenomenon which is observable. This does not imply that research conducted by sociolinguistics is atheoretical. Certainly sociolinguistic research has produced numerous plausible theories. A huge diversity of phenomena researched by sociolinguists, however, has led to this plurality of methodological and theoretical approaches. A single universal sociolinguistic theory has not yet eventuated, nor is it likely to.

One major sociolinguistic phenomenon is multilingualism, which includes issues of language endangerment and language regenesis. This research also has an applied side, namely,

language planning, an area of particular importance for a proper understanding of the intricate relationships between society and
language, because it has to do with society's deliberate intervention in the course of a language's development (Coulmas 1997:10).

If the Maori Anglican Church is to continue to follow the path of deliberate intervention in terms of Maori language regenesis, in other words to undertake language planning and policymaking, then it will need to engage in "fact-finding" to ascertain the problems "as viewed both by persons who will execute the plan and by persons who will be the targets of the plan" (Rubin 1971:218). It also involves knowing about the attitudes, in the case of this thesis, of Maori Anglican senior clergy towards the Maori language. It is this context which has determined the methodologies and how they have been used in the research for this thesis. This context can be defined as a sociolinguistic one. It can also be defined as Maori. This thesis accepts Maori research processes as a reality and places the experiences of the researcher and the informants at the core of the study base. It acknowledges that the locations of the researcher and informants are important. It also acknowledges the locations of those who initially supported the research as well as those who considered its ethical perspectives.

This chapter begins by examining my personal and professional experiences as well as my attitudes to Maori language revitalisation. It also canvasses the initial level of Maori Anglican support for the research project as well as the constraints of the study. The processes of the University of Canterbury's Human Ethics Committee are then discussed. Next the locations of the researcher and those senior clergy who participated in the interviews are analysed in holistic terms consisting of four dimensions: spiritual, mental, physical and social. (The whare tapa wha, or four sided model, can be seen as a developing Maori analytical tool.) After the
interviews, the experiences of the researcher and respondents concerning the creation and administration of a written questionnaire are reviewed. After examining the archival and miscellaneous sources, I then proceed to investigate a taxonomy of Maori research which also helps to locate this thesis methodologically.

3.1 Researcher experience and attitudes

As mentioned earlier in this chapter the location of the researcher is important. As it has become customary for Maori researchers to let others know their context by situating themselves in terms of family, genealogy, education and geographical origins, it is relevant for me to do so here. However, before doing so, I acknowledge a Maori proverb: “Ehara ma te kumara e korero te reka.” This proverb can be loosely translated as: “It is not the job of the kumara to talk about its sweetness”. In traditional Maori society humility was considered a virtue.

I was born in 1952. My great-grandmother, who was born, according to family tradition, in the 1880’s, was alive at the time of my birth. She was in her early eighties and a fluent speaker of Maori. According to family stories, she was a stalwart of the Anglican Church, the Rangiatea Pastorate based in Otaki. The minister at Rangiatea Church would cycle from Otaki to Poroutawhao and then on to Porokaiapia, the name of the Nicholson homestead north of Levin – a town about 100 kilometres to the north of the capital city, Wellington. Here he would take a service in the Nicholson home – to which the extended family or whanau would be invited. There are many family stories about this kuia (respected elderly woman). Apparently every morning and afternoon she would recite aloud her prayers, some of which were learnt by rote from the Rawiri, the Maori Anglican prayerbook and
psalter (Te pukapuka o nga inoi 1951). This recitation would take between twenty to thirty minutes. As a baby I lived in the same remote farmhouse as the kuia. This was essentially my introduction to the topic of Maori language and the Maori Anglican Church. In 1953 sadly my great grandmother died as a result of injuries sustained in a road accident.

In the late 1950’s my family migrated to Christchurch to take advantage of work and educational opportunities. As neither of my parents were fluent speakers of Maori, I was brought up in an English speaking household. English was also the medium of instruction in the primary-, secondary- and tertiary-level educational institutions that I attended. My next major contact with the Maori Anglican Church occurred in 1970. At that time I was an eighteen year old student at the University of Canterbury studying law, New Zealand History and English. I was also a member of the University’s Maori Club, which decided that it did not support the closing of Te Wai Pounamu Maori Girls’ College by the Anglican Church. (Te Wai Pounamu is one of the five church schools reviewed in the previous chapter). As the result of negotiations with the Church which included a recruitment campaign, the College remained open until it closed in 1990. I was aware in the 1960’s that the College students learnt Maori as an academic subject and also had a very good reputation for performing Maori action songs and poi. As a result of meetings with the Church I met the Maori Missioner, the Reverend Mark Mete, who was originally from North Auckland.

At the age of eighteen I left the family home in Christchurch and shifted to Wellington. I enrolled as a student in Maori language and Linguistics at Victoria
University. As I was completing my degree over three years, I was also very involved with a student group called Te Reo Maori Society, the Maori language organisation. Koro Te Kapunga Dewes, my Maori language lecturer, was from Ngati Porou, a tribe based on the East Coast of the North Island. His children, Cathy and Whaimutu, were members of Te Reo Maori which supported two petitions to Parliament in the 1970's, namely those seeking the teaching of Maori in schools and also more Maori language on television. Te Reo Maori essentially acted as a lobby group in the nation’s capital. This group lifted my consciousness of Maori language revitalisation issues. My studies in sociolinguistics with Professor Janet Holmes also increased my awareness. During my initial three years at Victoria I also attended tribal schools of learning with Ngati Raukawa – a tribe based to the north of Wellington. It was during this time that I met an elder of Ngati Toa, Te Ouenuku Rene, who often raised concerns about Maori language on the marae of southern North Island tribes. He would ask the following question: “Tera te Atua e patai ki a tatou: ‘Pewheatia e koutou te reo rangatira i hoatungia na e au ki a koutou’?” This question could be translated to mean in English: “God will ask us. ‘What did you do with the language I gave you?’” Such a challenge served to inspire and guide those of us who were committed to language regenesis.

After Victoria University, I trained as a secondary teacher at Auckland Secondary Teachers’ College and then taught Maori language at Wainuiomata College in the mid 1970’s. I returned to Victoria to complete a one year post-graduate course in second language teaching. During the 1980’s I coordinated the Maori studies programme at Whitireia Community Polytechnic (then Parumoana Community Polytechnic) and taught courses on Maori language and Maori language policy and
planning at Massey University in Palmerston North. I was also Director of Language Studies at Te Wananga o Raukawa, then the private Maori university, at Otaki, for seven years. It was here that a seven day residential Maori language total immersion course was developed. This was a tribal self-help regenesis project carried out with the support of those from Maori speaking tribes. It was this language programme which would later be adopted by the Bishopric of Aotearoa’s own tertiary institution – Te Whare Wananga o te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa – a development referred to in the previous chapter.

In 1985 I was awarded a Winston Churchill Fellowship and travelled to the United States and Canada to research second language course design, teaching methods and materials development. One of the major issues that the trip raised for me was that “however well the courses are designed they are affected by social, political and economic conditions in the outside world” (Nicholson 1987:6). At the East-West Center, University of Hawaii, I became much more aware of the importance of language planning, ie. planning to revive or revitalise the Maori language. Linked to this issue is the importance of research to prove the value and effectiveness of language revival or revitalisation programmes.

During the 1970’s and 1980’s I attended many Maori Anglican Church services at churches and family marae. Most of these services were bilingual. The amount of Maori depended largely on the composition of the congregation. However, in the 1980’s I detected that more Maori language began to be used during services. During this time I spent six years as Synodsperson and ten years as a member of the Rangiatea Pastorate Vestry or church committee. In 1992 I resigned as a lecturer at
Massey University and moved with my family to St John’s Theological College in Auckland for four years. Here I studied for a bachelor of theology degree. When I left Massey, I mistakenly thought that I should leave all my Maori language interests behind and focus on biblical studies and theology. This did not work. At St John’s I wrote essays entitled *Theological Perspectives on the Revitalisation of the Maori Language, Gospel and Culture in the Context of a Theology of Mission: Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa and Maori Youth* and *Maori Language Revitalisation and Pastoral Counselling*. In my third year, I was ordained a deacon and in my final year I taught several Maori language courses at St John’s College because of the illness of a staff member.

On leaving St John’s College I expected to undertake full-time work in the Church. This did not happen. Instead I was appointed to a tenured position as a lecturer in the Maori Department at the University of Canterbury. In the second year of my position I began to write this thesis in an effort to upgrade my qualifications and to advance the language revitalisation work of the Maori Anglican Church. I decided that I would draw upon my sociolinguistics and church backgrounds in choosing my topic. I was also very aware that, according to the 1995 National Maori Language Survey, the church was one of three major social contexts where the Maori language was used (National Maori Language Survey n.d.:11). I did not know of any other research efforts concerning the Maori Anglican Church and the Maori language. As a lecturer in Maori society I was already acquainted with some of the history of the Anglican Church concerning the Maori language. Sadly, I was also familiar with the negative attitudes of some Maori and non-Maori students towards the Church. It is my hope that the historical perspectives in this thesis will present a more balanced
picture of the past contributions of the Anglican Church towards the language and
signal outlooks for the future. Also it is hoped that the interviewing and recording of
the thoughts, opinions and wishes of senior clergy will provide a valuable resource.

Clearly, the Church is of major importance in language regenesis, as one of the three
main domains where Maori language is most utilised today. The last chapter
confirmed its lengthy association with and support for the Maori language which
began early in the nineteenth century. Therefore I believe that the Church has a major
role to play in any planning processes concerning the Maori language. Hopefully
this thesis will offer useful suggestions to assist the Church as it contributes towards
these processes, as well as document what it has done and the role it is currently
playing. The thesis may possibly be of help if it can contribute towards deterring the
Church from pursuing certain unproductive, or even detrimental, courses of action, in
addition to promoting appropriate future options.

3.2 Maori Anglican Church support

Given the structure of the Maori Anglican Church, I realised at the outset that it
would be important to gain the support of senior clergy. It was very helpful to
arrange an early meeting in August 1997 with Bishop John Gray, Bishop of Te
Waipounamu based in Christchurch. Also present was my thesis supervisor,
Professor Lyle Campbell. Bishop Gray affirmed the thesis topic in principle,
supplied a letter of introduction and also gave $1,000 to assist with research costs. I
appreciated very much this kind of moral and practical support. It was also
gratifying to see this level of commitment to the matter of reviving and revitalising
the language on the part of this Church leader. At the time of my meeting with the
Bishop, I had been a member for one year of the South Island Board of Management for the Bishopric of Aotearoa’s tertiary level institution – Te Whare Wananga o Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa.

In December 1997 I met in Rotorua the Bishop of Aotearoa, Bishop Whakahuihui Vercoe, who agreed to support the thesis. I initially explained to Bishop Vercoe my own personal background and philosophy concerning the thesis. Bishop Vercoe is the senior Maori Anglican bishop in Aotearoa-New Zealand. I was very grateful to receive his verbal support as well as a supportive letter of introduction. In addition, I also received the support of Mrs Pare Aratema, Te Kei, Chief Executive Officer, Te Whare Wananga o te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa. Again I appreciated the moral support I received from both Bishop Vercoe and Mrs Pare Aratema.

In addition to senior clergy and administrative staff, I also met with Anglican Maori academics in Auckland. Again it was helpful to meet informally with Canon Hone Kaa, a lecturer at Te Whare Wananga o Te Rau Kahikatea, St John’s Theological College, and Ms Kuni Jenkins, a lecturer at the Department of Education, University of Auckland (her thesis on Maori print literacy is cited in chapter two). Both were supportive and encouraging when I explained the topic of my thesis. They seemed pleased that I planned to record the views of senior clergy. Indeed they both felt that it was important to record the elderly as much as possible for posterity. Both were happy for me to proceed with the thesis despite the fact that I am a second language learner of Maori.
I was very conscious in choosing this topic that I am not a native speaker of Maori. As indicated earlier in this chapter, I started learning Maori as an eighteen year old. I was also aware, however, of the high level of language endangerment evident in the southern and western regions of Aotearoa-New Zealand. For example, in the South Island there are only two or three native speakers of Maori still living in the largest southern tribe, Ngai Tahu. As a member of those tribes whose language is at the weakest levels in comparison to northern and eastern tribes, I was also again conscious of the fact that I would be interacting with those whose tribes were relatively strong culturally. However, neither of these concerns weighed heavily with those Church authorities cited above. I took heart from this.

3.3 Constraints

Initially I had planned to confine the study to the South Island. However, I was encouraged to extend the scope of the thesis to include the whole country. Undertaking a national case study was problematic in that I was based in the South Island and that there was clearly a need for extensive data-gathering visits to the North Island. However, I attempted to include as much business as possible in each trip north. In 1997 I undertook two major visits to the North Island. The first trip included research with the Bishop of Aotearoa and others in Rotorua and St John’s College for meetings and research at the College’s Kinder Library. The second involved visiting the Massey University and Victoria University libraries. In 1998 it took three trips to the North Island to tape-record senior clergy and one lay person. Again I managed to combine visits to the Kinder Library at St John’s College in Auckland, as well as the National Library of New Zealand in Wellington. Last year (1999) there were two major trips to clergy summer schools to complete the
questionnaires, as well as two trips to the National Library. It has not been inexpensive gathering the data for this study. However, without such trips it would not have been possible to complete this thesis.

In addition to the expense of travel, there was also the cost of accommodation. I was very fortunate to be able to stay with fellow clergy and relations or at the St John’s College flats. This helped considerably to defray those costs. However, I did not fully appreciate at the beginning of my study, the time that would be involved in transcribing in English and Maori about fourteen hours of tapes. This proved to be a major undertaking as will be seen later in this chapter. It was necessary to hire persons to assist with the task of transcription. This happened as the result of inexperience and also the encouragement to record as many senior clergy as possible. To the constraints of location, finance and inexperience can be added time. This thesis has taken three years at part-time status to complete. The first two years were completed while employed full-time as a lecturer in the Maori Department at the University of Canterbury. With increased teaching hours in the second year it became clear to me that I would be unable to finish the thesis while employed as a full-time lecturer. Without resigning from my position at the University of Canterbury, I would not have been able to submit this thesis by the due date. At the end of the first two years I estimated that I had not yet reached half way. I should have been two-thirds along the track. It was necessary to find part-time employment so that I could devote sufficient time to the thesis. Working at least two days a week as a Visiting Lecturer at the Christchurch College of Education and occasionally for the Maori Anglican Church, I have been able to give more time to the thesis. I have
needed to hone my time management skills during the course of completing this thesis.

3.4 Human Ethics Committee

In January 1998 I realised that I needed to interview senior clergy as soon as possible, especially since I had learnt that some were not very well. I was given considerable support and advice by Canon Rose Parker concerning approaches to the Human Ethics Committee at the University of Canterbury. Parker, then a lecturer in the Education Department of the University and a fluent speaker of Maori herself, had agreed in 1997 to act as a co-supervisor. Her assistance with completing the Committee’s application form as well as the covering letter, information sheet and consent form was invaluable. Regrettably in 1998 Ms Parker’s health deteriorated and she was unable to continue her work at the University.

In late January 1998 I applied to the Human Ethics Committee for approval to undertake an oral survey “with respect to in-depth discussions.” I planned to visit senior clergy and laity in the Maori Anglican Church in their offices and homes. I undertook to ensure that the data collected would also be locked in a secure cabinet to which I had exclusive access. In the draft information sheet I stated that the clergyperson or layperson to be interviewed was invited to take part in research for a master’s thesis which would examine the attitudes of Maori Anglicans towards Maori language maintenance. I also wrote in the sheet that the involvement of subjects would require a two to three hour discussion of their personal experiences and/or views of the impact of the Maori Anglican Church on the Maori language. Rarely did the recorded interview exceed one and half hours.
I intended with their permission to audiotape their contributions, transcribe them and forward copies of the transcript to the informants for correction and approval. I assured each person recorded that the identity of participants would not be made public without their consent. To ensure such anonymity and confidentiality, I stated that in addition to academic standards of ethics, Maori ethical principles would be respected and observed at all times. For example, the research must benefit the subjects under study and the subjects must be guaranteed such control over the research process, content and publications which would confirm their anonymity and confidentiality. In practice, I declared that pseudonyms would be used and that as discussed earlier the confidential data would be locked in a secure cabinet to which I would have exclusive access. Furthermore the information sheet said that with the approval of the informant the raw data could be destroyed at the end of the project.

I also enclosed a draft copy of the consent form which each informant would be requested to sign. The consent form briefly stated that the informant had read and understood the description of the above-named project and on this basis agreed to participate as a subject in the project. He or she also gave consent to the publication of the results of the project with the understanding that anonymity would be preserved and guaranteed. There was also an understanding that each informant might at any time withdraw from the project, including the withdrawal of any information that he or she had provided.

In December 1998 I approached the Ethics Committee again for an extension to the earlier project which they had approved. This time I planned to take a questionnaire around the Maori Anglican summer schools to be completed by Maori Anglican
clergy and laity. It was only before Christmas that the draft questionnaire had been completed. The opportunity to gather as many responses as possible from the summer schools seemed too good an opportunity to let pass. It meant that I would be able to gain a suitable sample in a very expeditious way. In other words, it seemed cost effective to visit those summer schools where clergy and laity would be gathered. I enclosed a copy of the draft questionnaire and an adapted information sheet. Two days before Christmas I received approval to proceed with the questionnaire.

Although both applications required time and effort, it was worthwhile in that I was forced to think through the processes that would be involved with gathering data by audiotape and by written questionnaire. I was fortunate that Ms Rose Parker advised me initially on how to apply to the Ethics Committee. Given the time constraints, without this support I have some doubts that I would have been able to proceed with the interviews. The Committee itself was very helpful with both applications.

I can see the need for the application process so that the researcher and the informants are kept safe. It ensured that the information provided to informants when asking for their consent was adequate and appropriate. In other words that there was a standard in terms of fully informed consent. It also ensured that the project which involved human subjects was supervised by suitably qualified personnel and that confidentiality of information was assured at all stages of the research project. It also meant that the thesis must accord with legal requirements such as those of the Privacy Act. This includes minimising any risks associated with participation. Finally the research project needed to accord also with the Treaty of
Waitangi. Later in this chapter aspects of Maori research philosophy and methodology are discussed.

3.5 Interviews

In the last chapter under the heading of Senior Clergy Perspectives we examined some of the viewpoints of the twelve senior Anglican Maori clergy who were interviewed concerning the Maori language. Generally initial telephone calls were followed up by letters confirming appointments and also enclosing copies of the thesis goals and references from Bishops Gray and Vercoe. For the first eight clergy interviews, I attempted to take notes while the informant was speaking. Later I ceased to do this and preferred to maintain much more eye contact with those being interviewed. After each of the interviews I wrote up fieldnotes in a large exercise book. In most cases I was able to write up observations and how I thought and felt about the interview process within twenty-four hours of the interview. However, this was not always possible. In two of the interviews I was able to write down my thoughts and feelings only about a week after the event. Clearly, in these situations my recollection of the interviews was less fresh and probably less detailed than if I had been able to write within twenty-four hours. Although it required some discipline to keep a journal, it has proved to be well worth the effort. The advice I received early on at a thesis supervision meeting to keep fieldnotes has proved to be invaluable.

In the 1980's a perspective of Maori health gained general acceptance. It was a four-sided health model, later called whare tapa wha (four sided house) (Durie
1994:1969). “Briefly, the whare tapa wha model compared health to the four walls of a house, all four being necessary to ensure strength and symmetry, though each representing a different dimension: taha wairua (the spiritual side), taha hinengaro (thoughts and feelings), taha tinana (the physical side), taha whanau (family)” (Durie 1994:70). The most important of these four dimensions is the taha wairua.

According to Durie (1994:71) “it implies a capacity to have faith and to be able to understand the links between the human situation and the environment.” Spiritual can also be defined to cover emotion, a set of values, what is revered and cherished, and what buoys up a person’s spirit, state of mind and well-being. The emphasis on spirituality accords not only with the whare tapa wha model but also with the dominant discourse globally concerning indigenous rights, linguistic rights and issues of linguistic and cultural self-determination encoded in the various declarations of human rights (See Skutnabb-Kangas, Phillipson & Rannut 1995). An example is the 1993 United Nations Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Part III: Culture, Religion and language. Such declarations recognise the importance of the spiritual dimension and the overall impact this has on linguistic and cultural loss and regenesis.

It is because of this emphasis on spirituality in a holistic framework that this theory has been chosen to assist with the analysis of the twelve clergy interviews. Also in the Information Sheet there is a sentence which states that: “In the performance of the tasks and application of the procedures there are no foreseeable risks.” The whare tapa wha theory allows the researcher to check out whether there were any spiritual, mental, physical and social health risks to the informant. It has been adopted and developed as a Maori analytical tool.
Under the heading of spirituality, there were five aspects which were examined.

First, the spirituality of the interviewer was assessed. In other words, what was the level of taha wairua of the researcher when undertaking the interview? Generally speaking it was good in that I was aware of the importance and role of spirituality and in harmony with the context in which I found myself. There were several interviews, however, where I did not feel entirely comfortable. During these times, I suspected that the informant had reservations about the research or the researcher. This meant that I was a little more anxious than should have been the case. On the other hand, in several interviews I felt spiritually uplifted and very encouraged to continue with the research. It is interesting to note that this occurred mainly in interviews with the more elderly clergy. The second aspect was the spirituality of the
informant. As might be expected from interviewing those involved in the Church, most were spiritually aware and feeling at ease in their context which was generally their home or office. There were two informants who seemed a little anxious. One of these confessed that he felt he could talk better without the tape-recorder being present. He was able to give information better on a discussion basis. As I gained more confidence with the interviewing process, I felt more spiritually at ease and this may have been sensed by the informants.

The third aspect focussed on karakia (prayer) as an indicator of spirituality. In traditional Maori society most major events began with a prayer. In at least three-quarters of the interviews there was a karakia at either the beginning or end of the interview or both. Often the informant indicated a desire to pray. Most of the prayers were said in Maori. This was the fourth aspect reviewed in an attempt to link the spiritual dimension with the Maori language. Those who did not pray in Maori were generally the same people who declared that their knowledge of the Maori language was limited. The fifth and final aspect of the spiritual dimension was the recollection of the spiritual development of the informant and where this intersected with the Maori Anglican church and the Maori language. All the interviewees were encouraged to share their own personal stories in order to provide a context for those who would later read transcripts or excerpts of the interviews. Some focussed more on regional rather than national histories of the Church, while others covered both. It could be argued that this final aspect provided the least amount of useful information in terms of analysing the interview process. Each of these aspects are limited, but taken as a whole, they give a general perspective on the spiritual dimension of the interview.
Taha hinengaro involves the expression of thoughts and feelings. Such expression is regarded by Maori as being important for good health. The Maori way of thinking has been described as holistic. Synthesis influences Maori thinking more than analysis. In other words, instead of dividing into smaller and smaller parts which is the analytical approach, synthesis takes Maori "into wider contextual systems so that any recognition of similarities is based on comparisons at a higher level of organization" (Durie 1994:72). Health is then seen as an interconnected, interrelated whole. Healthy Maori thinking emphasises synthesis over analysis. Maori tend not to draw sharp distinctions between the spoken word and feelings.

The first aspect of the mental dimension focuses on the concerns of the interviewer, which involves both the spoken word and emotions. On comparison there were some similarities and differences among the interviews. Generally I was aware that it was a privilege to be able to record these informants who were all people of considerable standing in their various communities. I was concerned that the interviews should go well and that it was a rewarding process for the interviewees. Linked with this was my concern that each person who was interviewed gave informed consent to participating in the process. In other words that the undertaking was ethical. I was also conscious of the fact that my technical knowledge in terms of operating the Sony DAT recorder was inadequate and that, if I made mistakes, I could waste the interviewee's time by not recording sections of the interview.

The concerns of the informant were the second aspect. Generally speaking, most of those interviewed had few concerns and were well prepared and keen to be as helpful
as possible. Two were unhappy that I did not have a pre-prepared set of questions. Another was anxious about academics profiting from Maori research. Two were particularly aware that their time was limited and voiced their apprehensions. I attempted to allay these concerns by explaining the reasons for an unstructured interview, i.e. to allow the informant to decide what were the major issues and questions within the parameters of the thesis goals and how to respond to them. I also explained that it was the aim of the research to benefit the interviewee, the Maori Anglican Church and the wider community. I tried to make the best use of the limited time for the interviews.

The third aspect of the mental dimension was the education of the informant especially where it intersected with the Church and Maori language. Almost all the interviewees spoke of their secular and religious education in order to provide a useful context for the discussions. To some extent they were credentialling themselves as participants in the project. This aspect overlapped with aspect five which focused on personal history. In retrospect it could be argued that aspects three and five could be combined although there is a case for separating out education in connection with the Church.

The choice of language was the fourth aspect examined. Most of the interviews were conducted largely in English. Sometimes the mihi (greetings) and the karakia were said in Maori. The informants were given the choice of which language they would prefer the interview to be conducted in. Clearly those who are fluent speakers of Maori generally spoke more Maori in the course of the interview. Two chose to speak equally in Maori and English. One decided to speak almost exclusively in
Maori. Without a doubt this was the most challenging interview because not only did the interviewee speak Maori quickly but he also expected that I would ask a series of questions in Maori. In retrospect, as a non-native-speaker the more Maori that was spoken in the interviews, the more apprehensive I became as I struggled to understand and follow the interviewee.

The physical dimension or taha tinana centres on bodily health. The first aspect of this dimension focused on the bodily health of the interviewer. Generally I was well for almost all the interviews. I managed to pace myself during the major trip to the North Island. I was aware that if I became physically ill that I would not be able to complete the interviewing process as successfully as I wished. However, after three late nights in North Auckland I started to feel run down and tired and was starting to cough. This affected one of the interviews in that I felt sleepy and ill. The interview did not go well. It was good to stay at St John’s College in Auckland where I was able to have two early nights. The bodily health of the informants was the second aspect. Most of those interviewed were elderly and so I was aware of varying levels of physical health. I sensed in two of the interviews that the informants were tired and so I tried not to prolong the interview process unnecessarily. In none of the interviews did I feel that their health seriously impeded the interview or vice versa.

The third aspect concerns the time and length of the interview. The majority of interviews took place in the afternoon at times agreed to by the informant. Two took place in the evening after a busy day for both interviewees. I did not feel in most of the interviews that the time of the interview impacted negatively on the process. There was only one interview which took place in the late evening where I felt that
the person being interviewed was starting to tire. Most of the interviews took more than an hour to complete. Due to limited time one of the interviews lasted for only three quarters of an hour. The longest interview was almost two hours. The length of the interviews was largely dictated by the informants. Again I do not believe that the length of the interview impacted on the physical health of the informant.

The setting of the interview was the fourth aspect examined. In almost all cases the location was decided by the informant. About two thirds chose to be interviewed in their homes, while a quarter preferred their offices. One was interviewed in a tribal health centre. In none of these situations did I perceive that the setting negatively affected the physical health of the informant. In fact I believe that informants felt more relaxed when speaking in familiar surroundings. In some of the interviews other members of the informant’s whanau (family) were present in the house or at the office but any interruptions did not significantly impact on the interview.

The final aspect of the physical dimension was the operation of the recording equipment. There has already been some discussion above about the interviewer’s technical competence in terms of operating the Sony DAT recorder. My limited ability to use the equipment did not upset any of the interviewees. About half the informants used the pause button to collect their thoughts and to prepare for the next section of the interview. In none of the interviews did the operation of the recorder cause any person to suffer physically. In only one interview did I suspect that the tiredness of the informant was linked to anxieties about being recorded.
The final dimension, *taha whanau*, involves the role of family and society (Durie 1994:73). The family or extended family is the main Maori support system in which care is provided physically, culturally and emotionally. Each member of the whanau is dependent on other members for this care. There is a high level of interdependence.

The first aspect of the social dimension to be reviewed is the interviewer and informant relationship. I suspect that a major reason why all the interviewees agreed to participate in the project was that I, my whanau and tribe were known to each of them. I met at least three of the participants in the early 1970's. Every informant knew that I had been a student at St John's College, the Anglican theological college or its Maori college, Te Rau Kahikatea. Also they knew that I was an ordained member of the Maori Anglican Church. Clearly I was seen as an insider and a "known quantity." Generally speaking, I had a good relationship with each of the informants even though most were not members of tribes that I am personally associated with. There was one interviewee whom I did not know very well. This may help to explain a level of anxiety on both our parts during the course of the interview. Although I had a good relationship with another of the informants, I detected a level of ambivalence towards the research project. While he supported the subject of the research, I suspect that he felt the interviewer would be the main person to benefit from the exercise. Since he is also engaged in research for a degree, it would be surprising if this were not the case.

While the relationship of the researcher and interviewee was the primary one, there were often others who were present during part of the interview. This is the focus of
aspect two. In over half the interviews the informant's spouse was also seen. My relationship with each of these persons was good. Certainly such relationships did not adversely affect the research process. In the other interviews, family and friends as well as office staff were present during the interview process. Again this presence enhanced rather than detracted from the whole process.

Aspect three of the social dimension centres on the nature of the initial verbal interactions between the researcher and the subject. In most of the interviews formalities were kept to a minimum. Greetings were followed by small talk and social pleasantries. In half of the interviews the informants were keen to begin straightaway and were aware of time constraints. One of the interviews took place in a tribal health centre. The informant stood to greet me formally and then I replied. This was followed by karakia. The formalities in this context reminded me of home visits of school teachers which I had experienced in remote parts of North Auckland twenty-four years earlier. Customs there dictated that a formal welcome was followed by a cup of tea (usually a meal), discussion on different topics of the day and then business. It would take at least an hour before the visitor and hosts began to discuss the actual reason for the visit.

In several cases the informants wanted, however, to begin discussing issues concerning Maori language and the Church as soon as possible. In almost all the interviews, I managed to examine the goals of the thesis and then to review the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee's Information Sheet early on in the interaction with the interviewee. All were happy as a consequence to give informed consent and to sign the Consent Form. There was only one exception.
This was due to time constraints and the informant was later sent the Information Sheet and Consent Form which was signed and returned. He was not as concerned as the interviewer that this happened. Regrettably in this particular interview there was also no time to mihi (greet) the informant at the start of the interview.

Before recording began, I explained to the participants that each interview had been different. Some preferred to speak directly to the recorder while about half wished to be prompted. As discussed earlier, I tried to explain the reasons why I did not have a prepared structured interview. As mentioned, I know that at least two interviewees were disappointed that this was the case. I also tried to request that after I had announced on the tape the name of the informant, the date of interview and the location, and offered brief greetings that it would be good if they could speak about their personal backgrounds in order to provide a context for the interview. Most were happy to comply with this by replying to the greetings and then speaking about their own backgrounds.

A further aspect of the social dimension was manaakitanga (hospitality). In over half the interviews I shared a meal with the informant and his wider whanau. In four situations I had either morning or afternoon tea. It was only in one case that little hospitality was offered and this may have occurred as the result of meeting not long after an evening meal. Manaakitanga in Maori culture is generally seen as an expression of goodwill and friendship. There are other cultural reasons for offering food which relate to tapu but these will not be discussed here due to space constraints.
The fifth aspect concerned the nature of the interview and whether it enhanced or damaged the relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee. As mentioned above the aim was to encourage the senior clergyperson being interviewed to set their own agenda within the confines of the thesis goals and to dictate the shape of the discourse. Most, however, requested that there be a level of prompting. It is clear from the transcriptions that some interviews were less structured than others. It is also evident that informants did digress or stray from the topic from time to time. Again I became aware of the similarity as well as the diversity of the interviews. Initially I had expected everyone to accept an unstructured interview. Later I discovered that each interviewee had pre-conceived notions of the shape of the interview. I tried to accommodate the diversity of approaches in order to gain as useful an interview as possible given the constraints which were discussed earlier in this chapter.

In almost all the interviews I do not believe that the process damaged the relationship. However, in one interview I was asked early on for my views on Maori language and the Church. I responded by saying that I was unable to share my views at the beginning but would be happy to share some ideas after the recording had finished. I felt that it was a genuine request and that to have denied it would have been unacceptable to the interviewee in terms of reciprocity. After the recording had been completed, I stated that I believed it was not enough simply to be a language learner anymore. In other words, that given the level of Maori language endangerment every language learner is potentially also a language teacher, planner, policy-maker, marketer – in short, a language development manager. This model may have been interpreted by the informant as a pitch on my behalf for a teaching
position at the institution where this interviewee worked. There was silence in response to my ideas. I interpreted this to mean disagreement. I believe that this disclosure on my part may have damaged my relationship with that particular interviewee.

A holistic approach has been taken in terms of analysing the interviews. The whare tapa wha theory recognises that the four dimensions, spiritual, physical and racial are interconnected and interdependent. I believe that it is a very useful framework which reflects Maori tikanga (culture) and is acceptable to Maori ways of doing research in that it takes due cognisance of the spiritual aspects of the main task, namely, the interview. This is especially appropriate given the organisation to which the informants belong as well as the issue of risk involved.

The students who assisted with the transcriptions signed a contract which guaranteed the confidentiality and security of the recorded material. These students collectively spent over 150 hours in transcribing the tapes. They were able to produce several computer versions, which included or excluded fillers such as ums and ahs or repetitions. However, it was still necessary to employ another person to edit the English sections of the transcripts. It was also necessary to contract a native speaker of Maori to transcribe a major section of the interview which was conducted almost entirely in Maori. Again each of these persons signed a contract guaranteeing the confidentiality and security of the recorded material.

I was myself involved in transcribing two complete tapes as well as the Maori sections of most tapes. I found this experience of transcribing time consuming and
tedious. Without the assistance of the transcribing team, it would not have been possible to produce the transcriptions in a suitable state for use in this thesis. I did not fully appreciate the time and effort that would be required to transcribe over fourteen hours of interviews. If I had known, I might have been tempted to complete fewer interviews for the purpose of this thesis. Perhaps I would have not followed the advice to tape as many senior clergypersons as possible. However, this taped material may prove to be one of the most valuable aspects of this research project. It certainly contributed to the qualitative aspects of this study.

Just before Christmas in 1998 I sent to those who had been recorded a covering letter, a tape and a draft transcription. These were sent somewhat hastily at the end of the working year. In the letter I requested that if the informant had any comments concerning the transcription, could these be forwarded to me by the end of January 1999. I also stated that if I did not hear from the interviewees, that I would assume that they were happy with the transcription. I met several of the informants at the summer schools in January 1999. I assured them that the draft transcription that was sent to them was an early one which would need considerable polishing.

I received one written response after January 1999. It stated that the informant was so upset by the transcription that he was reluctant to have any more to do with the project. He said that he had tried to work through the transcription correcting and editing where he could but he found the whole transcription so bad that he wished to scrap it. He stated that in its present form it would require some heavy editing for it to be used.
I responded to the informant by apologising for not explaining in my Christmas letter more about the process. I pointed out that the working draft that had been sent to the informant had been produced by two senior students. I had decided to forward it before Christmas to let him know how far I had progressed and to reassure him that the project was continuing. I admitted that in my haste to communicate with the interviewees I had overlooked to give a fuller explanation of the transcription processes. Later I stated in my letter that I was conscious of the fact that the transcriptions of all the interviews represented the written form of the spoken word. I also confessed that I was still discussing with my supervisors the recording of repetitions, fillers such as ahs and ums, pauses and speech marks.

The informant’s letter raises some very important issues in terms of transcription models. First, I am aware that there is a school of thought which says that the transcription should include every repetition, pause and filler – fully faithful to the oral recording. In other words that the transcription must be an absolute reflection of what took place at the interview. This school holds to the view that any attempt to edit or alter what happened or was said can be seen as tampering with the data. Second, there is another line of thinking which maintains that the transcription must be heavily edited in order to make it useable or easily readable. I suspect that the purpose of such editing is to make the transcription grammatical and more accessible in written English. Third, I have chosen to take a middle path whereby the repetitions, pauses and fillers are eliminated as much as possible but the flavour of the spoken word is retained. In other words, this approach attempts a minimum of editing to make the transcription easier to read and retains the essence of spoken language. In my opinion, the purpose of an interview is somewhat defeated if we
take the second path. If we had wanted grammatical written language, it would have been easier to ask the informant to send the researcher a formal written essay or article, though compliance with such a request might have been considerably lower, given the time constraints most of these informants felt.

This discussion does raise the question of why bother to go to the expense of interviewing informants. I believe that, although it is costly, the face to face interview is important in many kinds of social science research, and is essential in Maori research. It allows the researcher to explain the nature of his or her research personally. It also permits a discussion to take place which allows the informant to express his or her personal views, or ask questions, in ways which might not occur without the face to face contact. In Maori society, the personal contact is much more appreciated than a letter from a researcher. The interview assists the researcher to place the informant in a more meaningful context. It helps to humanise the research process. It produces fuller, clearer, better results.

After a lengthy process of transcribing and editing, I was able to return eleven of the twelve transcriptions to the informants in January this year. (Sadly, the twelfth informant passed away earlier. However, last year he indicated verbally that he was happy with his transcription). Accompanying these transcriptions was a letter which encouraged any comments by early February 2000. I also wrote that “if I do not hear from you, I will assume that you are happy with the transcript.” I received only two written responses and one verbal comment with suggestions for improvements.
3.6 Survey

In December 1998 I drafted a questionnaire. Initially I drew upon Te Mahi Rangahau Reo Maori, the 1995 National Maori Language Survey Personal Questionnaire, in order to begin writing the demographic questions. I also reviewed a questionnaire which I had drafted at Victoria University in 1989 and a questionnaire used in a market research project I was involved in at Massey University in 1990. Discussions were held with several interested persons including my supervisor, Professor Campbell. I do not intend to discuss here the rationale for the forty-eight questions included in the questionnaire. Suffice to say that the questionnaire was drafted swiftly in December 1998 so that it might be distributed at the summer schools in January 1999. I knew that I needed the approval of my thesis supervisor and the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee for the survey to proceed. This accordingly happened. I have already discussed above the process concerning the Human Rights Committee.

On Sunday, 20 December 1998, I trialled the questionnaire after the regular service at the Church of the Good Shepherd, Phillipstown, Christchurch. Five persons were selected – three clergy and two laity, one of whom was a kaikarakia (layreader). I explained the purpose of the questionnaire and reviewed the draft Information Sheet. I also asked each person, in addition to completing the questionnaire, to comment on questions that were not clear or what they would like to see worded differently. I also asked whether they might have any additional questions. Despite declaring that all comments on the questionnaire were welcomed, I received no requests for clarification of questions or rewording. The first person completed the questionnaire in twenty-five minutes. The last questionnaire was returned after forty minutes. I
suspect that the first person needed to leave the church because he said that “if I had more time I could do more justice to the questionnaire.” The majority i.e. three out of five completed the survey within thirty-five minutes. The verbal comments on the questionnaire were complimentary. I felt reassured that this survey would draw a reasonable response from Maori Anglicans.

I had contacted the Kaihautu (Manager of each Taapapa or Regional centre) of Te Whare Wananga o Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa, the Bishopric of Aotearoa’s tertiary institution. All five managers were very supportive and happy for me to bring the questionnaire to each of the regional summer schools held on January 1999. After the trialling, the questionnaire was finalised. With the consent of the University of Canterbury’s Human Ethics Committee, my supervisor and the regional centres, I then arranged for the printing of about 170 twenty-two page questionnaires.

On Monday, 4 January 1999, I arrived at Kokohuia Marae, Omapere, in North Auckland, at 11:30am. After a formal welcome or powhiri, lunch and a session on Total Ministry I was given the opportunity at about 4:30pm to address those clergy and laity who had gathered from different parts of the Bishopric of Te Tai Tokerau. After brief greetings I outlined my connections with North Auckland including my teaching stint at Motatau in the Bay of Islands and my great-grandfather who was last century a Wesleyan missionary at Mangungu, Hokianga. I mentioned my studies at St John’s College in Auckland and the background leading to the study. I also canvassed briefly the goals of the research. I asked for any questions a couple of times as we proceeded.
I explained that I was attending all five summer schools. I read through the information sheet and especially looked at the issues of confidentiality and anonymity. I then handed out copies of the sheet. I was asked my views about the nature of Maori research. I responded by saying that these questions would be better discussed after the survey because I did not want to influence the respondents. I also said that those present should feel free to write anywhere on the questionnaire including the back. The respondents began to fill in the survey at about 5:05pm. Most people took between 30 and 40 minutes to complete it. I was asked to clarify two questions. I was also asked about the possibility of raising issues or making submissions in the future. I drew attention to the address on the information sheet which I had already distributed. Any additional comments would be welcomed by the end of February 1999.

An issue which was raised was the question of regional dialects – namely the loss of northern dialects. Linked to this question was another – what is the Maori language? I was also asked about the connection between theology and language. I replied that I was still wrestling with those issues. However, I did say that given the language crisis it was no longer enough to teach the language but it was also necessary to explore where the language had come from, its current state and where it was heading. These comments were only made in the half hour after I had collected the questionnaires completed by twenty-one clergy and laity.

The other four summer schools were held in Christchurch, Rotorua, Otaki and Napier in mid January 1999. Due to space constraints, I do not intend to review the processes at each summer school. However, I basically followed the pattern as
outlined above at the North Auckland school. I tailored each presentation to fit with the context. At three of these schools those present started filling in the forms after 8:00pm in the evening. I was conscious at these schools that there were those who had travelled long distances to be present. It could be argued that completing the questionnaire at such times was not conducive to receiving as full and as useful a response as possible. Indeed I was conscious at three of these schools of a small percentage that had decided to opt out of the exercise. Considering, however, that the questionnaire was voluntary, the response rate was very high overall. At three of the gatherings the presiding bishop completed the questionnaire which served to encourage others. In one case the bishop present stood to support the research project.

While the informants were filling in the questionnaire, I was asked to clarify various questions. Most seemed to be able to finish answering the questions within forty minutes. However, I was aware at each venue that it took older students longer to complete the questionnaire. I tried at each summer school to give the perspective that this study was limited. Clearly any recommendations would need to be interpreted by the church in the light of such limitations or constraints. I did communicate to those who assisted the research, that it is my intention to provide some feedback to each hui amorangi (regional diocese) concerning the results of the research.

A total of 143 questionnaires were completed by clergy and laity. Due to constraints of time and space, it was not possible to include these research findings as part of this
thesis. However, it is planned to take account of this information in an additional publication in the future.

3.7 Archival sources

During the course of my research I was able to visit the Kinder Library at St John's College in Auckland several times. The first visit occurred in early December 1997. The purpose of the visit was to inform library staff about the topic of my thesis and to begin to search for suitable manuscripts and other papers. In early July and late November 1998 I returned to the Library to begin to review the papers of Bishop Manuhuia Bennett. I had received permission through the Librarian to peruse these papers called the Bishop of Aotearoa's Records of Ministry and Family Papers. An initial review did not unearth a great deal to do with the Maori language, policy or planning. However, there were papers connected to the Commission on Maori Work Amongst the Maori People held in the mid 1970s which looked at such language issues as the proportion of people who read and understand their language and facilities for people to learn the language. There were also papers associated with the Maori Translation Committee which met in the 1970's, reports of the church schools, submissions to the Provincial Commission on Maori Work, minutes of a meeting of the Maori Clergy Conference held in 1976 and papers associated with Hui Aotearoa and Hui Toopu in the 1970's. In addition to Bishop Bennett's papers, I also gained access to the Bishopric of Aotearoa records, which while interesting, had limited information concerning Maori language policies and planning.

As I researched the historical dimension, I became aware that it would not be possible to present a comprehensive history of the Church and its attitudes to the
Maori language within the context of the thesis. In many ways such an exercise
would represent a thesis topic in its own right. I decided after considerable thought
to select critical episodes or events in the church’s history which threw light on to
Anglican Maori attitudes. In other words, I decided to seek historical signposts
which might illuminate the path of the future.

A trip to Massey and Victoria University libraries revealed after a survey of
appropriate journals that very little had been written on the role of the church in the
revitalisation of endangered languages. I felt encouraged to continue with my
research, knowing that here was a virgin field relatively unexplored by other
academics.

While at St John’s College I was encouraged by two staff members to contact Mr
Phil Parkinson, who is a senior Librarian at the Alexander Turnbull Library, which is
situated at the National Library of New Zealand in Wellington. In late June 1998 I
visited Mr Parkinson who directed me to peruse the Early Maori Imprints which
references early grammars, tracts, prayerbooks and biblical translations. I also began
under Mr Parkinson’s guidance to review the synod and church board meetings of
the Diocese of Waiapu which were conducted in the Maori language. In early
December 1998 I returned to review more thoroughly the above meetings as well as
others in the Diocese of Auckland which were also conducted in Maori. In January
of the following year I completed preparing the above materials for photocopying.
Later in June and September 1999 I was able to examine the records of the Te Aute
College Students’ Association Conferences 1897 – 1910. On each of my visits Mr
Parkinson shared his knowledge of early Maori print literacy, especially treasures which he had managed to track down.

3.8 Miscellaneous sources

In early October 1997 Professor Campbell sent the following message on Linguist List world wide:

I am writing on behalf of Rangi Nicholson, a colleague in the Maori Studies Department who is writing a linguistics thesis on language revitalisation. It turns out that the church and religion play a very significant role in Maori language revitalisation in New Zealand, and Rangi needs to compare the role played here with information regarding any related cases elsewhere in the world.

This message on the Internet drew responses from Stockholm to Philadelphia, from Berlin to Vanuatu. Some of these were particularly helpful, for example, yielding useful bibliographies. Some other responses, however, were rather marginal. Yet it was worthwhile to have attempted to spread the net. What again became clear is that there are no definitive works available which explore the role of churches in revitalisation processes and that individual cases vary widely in their circumstances.

In 1997 I attended the Fourth Annual Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposium held at Northern Arizona University in Flagstaff, Arizona. This conference gathered together almost three hundred indigenous language experts, teachers and community activists to share information on how indigenous languages can best be taught. At this conference I became aware that there was little research into the role of churches concerning revitalising endangered languages. The closest were a couple of white
Americans who have been assisting the translation of the Bible into one Native American language. This couple were associated with the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

As the result of a casual conversation in 1998, I received a copy of a tape from an archive researcher, Ross Calman, of Nga Taonga Korero, Radio New Zealand’s Maori and Pacific Sound Archive. This invaluable tape contained recordings of a discussion on the Maori language among prominent Maori. These recordings were made at the Marsden hui held over Christmas 1964 to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the first Christian church service in Aotearoa.

3.9 Maori research

The description and analysis of the methods employed in this research project has tended to emphasise certain ideals, namely, fairness and transparency of process. It has also stressed cultural and social ideals in terms of the relevance and priority given to Maori language revitalisation. However, what I wish to do now is to locate this research within a framework of Maori research. To do this I refer heavily to a paper entitled A Framework for Addressing Maori Knowledge in Research, Science and Technology which was written by Mr Chris Cunningham, Director of Health Research at the School of Maori Studies, Massey University. It was delivered as a keynote address to the Te Oru Rangahau Maori Research and Development Conference which was held at Massey University on 7-9 July 1998.

This methodological review, like Cunningham’s paper, also “addresses Maori knowledge issues having made a fundamental compromise, in Maori terms – the
compromise of using the contemporary and western approach to RS & T (Research, Science and Technology) as the frame of reference. This paper could equally have presented these issues from within a Maori (epistemological) frame” (Cunningham 1998:394). This thesis also assumes that the reader has a limited knowledge of Maori tikanga (culture). Finally, the viewpoints in this chapter are those of the author. Clearly there will be a range of Maori views concerning the methods used in this research project. I acknowledge that there will be a diversity of Maori approaches to research. “There is no one Maori reality...” (Durie 1998:92). Such a diversity of approaches results in a range of expectations from those Maori who took part in this research project as participants, subjects and researchers (Cunningham 1998:395).

Cunningham explores a taxonomy or framework for Maori research. He distinguishes between research which is thought to hold no specific issues or interest for Maori, research which involves Maori and research which is Maori-centred. Clearly this thesis has involved Maori as participants, subjects and researchers. It has also involved Maori data in the oral form (interviews) and written form (statistics). Maori experts have been consulted in all phases. Documented Maori knowledge has been used.

This thesis also involves Maori-centred research. It has involved Maori as subjects, researchers and analysts. The researcher has focussed on Maori development and employed both Maori methods (such as hui) and other contemporary research methods (such as oral interviews and written surveys). Contemporary analytical tools have been used as well as developing Maori analytical tools eg. whare tapa wha
model. There is also a dual accountability as a result of both mainstream and, to a lesser extent, Maori control. In writing a thesis such as this one, the researcher must meet the expectations of the academic institution – in this case, the University of Canterbury and secondarily, the expectations of the Maori participants. “Maori knowledge is produced through this type of research, albeit measured against largely mainstream standards and methodologies (for example, refereed journal articles)” (Cunningham 1998:399).

Maori-centred research relies on Maori analysis which “places Maori experience at the centre of the theoretical base” (Cunningham 1998:400). This thesis accepts Maori research processes as a reality and places the experiences and needs of the researcher and the informants at the core of the theoretical base. In other words, it acknowledges that the locations of the researcher and informants are important. However, Maori-centred research has its limitations. Cunningham (1998:398), in his taxonomy, explores another type of research, namely, kaupapa Maori research where the research team is typically all Maori and where research primarily meets expectations and quality standards set by Maori. While such research is clearly beyond the scope of this thesis, it provides interesting and useful future signposts for the Maori Anglican Church as it considers developing its own research programmes and institutions.
CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

There is a story of a Welsh girl who came to London to work as a maid for a wealthy family. She lived with them, and attended a Welsh church and travelled many miles across London to worship in the language she loved. One day the master of the house invited her to worship at the local parish church with the rest of the family. She politely declined, and he said to her in a kindly way, “You know, Jesus was not a Welshman.” “I know that, sir,” she said, “but it is in Welsh he speaks to me” (Canterbury 1990:22).

This story was part of a sermon delivered in 1990 by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the senior bishop in the Anglican Church, at Llandaff Cathedral, Cardiff, Wales. The occasion was the eighth meeting of the Anglican Consultative Council, a body whose members represent the Anglican Church worldwide. The Archbishop also makes the point that God speaks the language of each individual – implying that God speaks all languages. He relates this biblically to the first Pentecost which is described in The Acts of the Apostles, chapter two, verses 1-12. This senior clergyperson claims that the Anglican Church places great value on cultural diversity as a reflection of God’s generosity and creativity (Canterbury 1990:23). He also warns against domination or submission and acknowledges the possibility of disagreement among sections of the Church.
In the 1970's the World Council of Churches (WCC) attempted to review its language policy as it acknowledged that "language is power and present WCC policy results in an unjust sharing of power" (Lewis 1978:2-3). Some of the members of the Council were concerned about remediable language problems as well as the dangers of "language imperialism." In 1976 the WCC decided that the acting languages of its institution would be English, French, German, Russian and Spanish for the time being. In 1977 the WCC language service consisted of six translators, two administrators and a Head of Service. It was in the context of the Ecumenical Movement in the 1970's that issues of language were raised and policy decisions made. Clearly, the links between religion and language have continued into the twentieth century with the WCC concern about linguistic imperialism which is a consequence or result of colonisation processes.

In the 1980's Theodore E. Mall worked for the Christian Ministries to the United Nations Community, an organisation that ministers to the international community at the United Nations. He was also a missionary in the Southern Baptist Church which is the largest non-Catholic religious group in the United States. He claims that the Christian gospel must ... be communicated in the hearer's cultural context and in a language common to his or her understanding. The Wycliffe Bible translators maintain that no one has ever effectively been reached with the gospel until reached in the language of his or her soul (Mall 1989:3-4).

In terms of communicating religious messages effectively, the language of the hearer ought to be used. In the 1990's the Bible, or parts of the Bible, were available in over 1500 different languages (Mall 1989:5). Not all these languages, however, are
Worldwide the Anglican Church and other churches are aware of the importance of linguistic and cultural diversity. Since early biblical beginnings, language and religion have been inextricably connected and interdependent. Throughout the ages clergy, such as St. Augustine in the sixth century and English missionaries of the nineteenth century, have acknowledged the power of language in furthering the mission of the Church. However, today not all languages are safe and secure. Where parents cease to pass on their language to their children, a language and culture can become endangered. In most parts of Aotearoa-New Zealand, especially the western and southern regions, the Maori language is dying or in a state of advanced decay. Fishman's (1991) reversing language shift model places most of Maoridom at stages 8 and 7 (where the Maori language speakers are either beyond child-bearing age or socially isolated, and Maori needs to be reassembled and taught to adults), since there are very few areas in this country where Maori is transmitted from one generation to another at the level of home, family, neighbourhood and community, which is stage 6. The Maori Anglican Church is faced with deciding whether to allow the Maori language to remain mostly a language for church services and public greetings, a kind of religious classical language, or whether it will strongly support the language becoming a much more vibrant vernacular. If it resolves seriously to pursue the latter solution, then it will become intimately involved in planning and policy-making which facilitates Maori language community building. International research would tend to confirm an important reversing
language shift (RLS) role for a non-governmental organisation such as the Maori Anglican Church.

The history of the Maori Anglican Church’s involvement with the Maori language over almost two hundred years also tends to confirm that it has an important role to play in Maori language regenesis. The development of a Maori language orthography and print literacy early in the nineteenth century, although part of the Church’s strategy for Maori conversion to Christianity, has contributed significantly to language regenesis. Without a writing system or a tradition of printing and publishing, the Maori language would not be so well placed today in terms of revival, revitalisation and reversal.

A major challenge facing the Maori Anglican Church would be to develop literacy programmes in Maori language. The Church could revamp existing organisations or establish new institutions to teach Maori language literacy to Maori children and adults. To some extent the Church schools and the two Church tertiary institutions are already involved in these processes. In addition, the Church may wish to build on its tradition of printing and publishing by producing Maori language books, journals and newspapers, which like Te Pipiwharauroa and its successors contained not only biblical and historical information but also critical analyses of pressing social, cultural, political and economic issues which empower Anglican Maori. In the medium to long term the Maori language content of such publications could be increased. Later in this chapter I will rate these suggestions in terms of priorities.
From descriptions of Church conferences and meetings which used Maori as the main medium of communication, emerges a well developed sense of the pragmatic. The Maori Anglican Church could not have functioned in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries without the use of Maori in its decision-making processes. The Maori language synods and Church board meetings provide glimpses of a long-term vision – a source of inspiration for the future.

The Maori Anglican schools pioneered the use of Maori as the language of instruction as well as Maori as an academic subject. While the attitudes of staff and parents towards the use of te reo Maori in school settings could be negative or positive, the church schools have provided leadership in terms of recognising the importance of Maori language and culture. This innovative leadership has been evident not only in the introduction of Maori into the curriculum, but also in the development of teaching programmes and practices, as well as the writing and publishing of textbooks for teaching the Maori language. It could be argued, however, that its most important contribution to Maori language regenesis in the education field has been the many teachers of Maori language in educational institutions who were products of these schools. In recent times there have been moves to continue this tradition of innovation with the development of bilingual and immersion programmes. While such moves have not been blocked by the Maori Anglican Church, there is a feeling in some quarters that the Church has not perhaps been as pro-active as it could have been to promote the learning and teaching of the Maori language in these schools.
The Maori tertiary institutions, Te Rau Kahikatea College, its successor - Te Whare Wananga o Te Rau Kahikatea - and Te Whare Wananga o te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa, have also contributed to the teaching and learning of the Maori language. While Te Whare Wananga o Te Rau Kahikatea teaches Maori as an academic subject within its degree programme, Te Whare Wananga o te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa has opted for immersion-based courses with specific learning outcomes. It may be useful to review Maori language courses at both institutions in terms of their usefulness for training for ministry and mission and in the light of Fishman’s model for language regenesis with its emphasis on Maori as the language of the home, family, neighbourhood and community.

An examination of the conferences of the Te Aute College Students’ Association (later known as the Young Maori Party) reveals that early last century there was considerable support among young Maori Anglican leaders for the retention of Maori language and tikanga. The description of a heated debate in 1905 in chapter two indicates the level of intellectual and emotional support that existed in the Association. The debate also evidenced the Church’s need for a vision for the language. One of Fishman’s major discoveries for language regenesis is that “every language needs an idea – a goal and a vision above the mundane and the rational to keep it alive” (Fishman 1989:397). The Church is well placed to provide such a vision, which will need to be appropriately marketed. According to Proverbs (29:18), “Where there is no vision, the people perish…” (Ko te Paipera Tapu 1992:1301). The Church should have such a ‘prophetic’ role. However, the vision it decides on for the language may or may not be acceptable to other Maori.
Nevertheless, it does have opportunities to influence and mould Maori public opinion. While the Association conferences were held mostly in Maori, they were to a large extent similar to the synods and church board meetings discussed earlier in chapter two. Such national and regional church meetings conducted in Maori are a medium to long term goal which the Church could adopt in the future.

In a discussion on the Maori language in 1964 a young clergyperson asserted that it was the parents’ responsibility to pass on the language, not the Maori Anglican Church’s. Certainly most of those twelve senior clergypersons interviewed for this thesis were exposed to the Maori language in their homes and indeed were Maori speakers as children. It appears that in Christian Maori homes in the 1920’s, 1930’s and 1940’s morning and evening services were held especially in the eastern and northern regions. Copies of the Rawiri were to be found in such homes.

The Rawiri and Bible were the main working tools of Anglican Maori ministers in the first half of the twentieth century. Mostly only Maori language services were held in churches and meeting houses. Today both English and Maori are more likely to be used, especially in western and southern regions of Aotearoa-New Zealand. Not all laypersons find the use of Maori in services easy to understand, even when parts are translated as in the new Prayer Book. Maori language is used not only in services but also in pastoral care situations as diverse as hospital visiting and social work.

The Church has played a major role in the last twenty years by supporting the establishment of kohanga reo, kura kaupapa Maori, iwi radio and Maori television.
Indeed, it can be asserted that the Church has attempted over almost two hundred years in its implicit or explicit policy-making to support the retention and development of the Maori language. Its new bilingual Constitution points ahead to a more promising future for te reo. Language regenesis is not a new concept for the Church, which will need to give serious consideration to its future role.

It is useful to apply Joshua Fishman's model to the history of the Church's involvement with the Maori language. It provides a method of deciding on short, medium and long term goals. The bilingual Constitution, Maori language church government, national Maori language church conferences, national Maori language church mass media, local/regional church government Maori language services, and local/regional Maori language work spheres among Maori and non-Maori are placed as stages 1, 2 and 3 in Fishman's model. These developments constitute medium or long term goals. From Fishman's perspective, "it would be far better to focus meager resources parsimoniously on stage 6 and then to aim squarely at stages 5 and 4a in terms of major new worlds to conquer" (Fishman 1991:246). Clearly stage 6, which involves Maori language medium services in homes, neighbourhoods and communities, could be considered a major priority. According to Fishman's comments, the Church should then focus on voluntary Maori language literacy acquisition and Maori language medium church schools and pre-schools which occur at stages 5 and 4a. However, does the Church have the mandate from its membership to undertake such moves? Given that this thesis focuses on clergy perspectives, do any of the twelve clergy support a brighter future for the Maori language? All the senior clergy interviewed appeared sympathetic to the plight of the Maori language. Certainly there was not one informant who expressed the view
that the language should be allowed to die. Clergyperson F believed that the language would never be lost. He cited a proverb in Maori: “Mate atu he tetekura, ka ara mai he tetekura.” This can be translated loosely as: “once a chief dies, another will come to take his place.”

Several informants believed that the Church has a responsibility to assist language regenesis. Clergyperson K claimed that the language would not be lost because of the younger generation now attending kohanga reo and kura kaupapa. He asserted that the Church needs to be alert to the needs of this group. His one concern was that a number of kohanga reo appear to be turning to atua Maori (Maori spiritual forces) despite the fact that earlier generations had moved away from such beliefs. According to Clergyperson H’s perspective, the Maori Anglican Church has a role, given its history over the last two hundred years, to ensure that the language continues. He advanced the view that not only should the minister be articulate and fluent, but also the congregation. Furthermore he thought that “this revitalising is not just something just for worship. But it would be something for their whole way of life.” Clergyperson C also supported the notion of language regenesis:

... there is ... very real responsibility that is upon the Church to maintain and revitalise te reo, and revitalising te reo will be a very important aspect of providing for people, Maori people ... a way through to their deeper being.

Clergyperson L maintained that, given the Church’s prominent role in the establishment of new educational initiatives over the last twenty years, the Church should continue to have a leadership role in language regenesis. Clergyperson J went
as far as saying that a person is not a member of the Maori Anglican Church if he or she does not know the Maori language. This informant asserted that the language has got to live now. “Don’t make it live yesterday. The past is gone. Make the language live now, because our young people are living in the now, not in the yesterday.” He claimed that, given the technology in homes, a Prayer Book on screen or television is far superior to the printed word. Here there would be more opportunities for creativity: “it’s the picture of the word … it’s the picture of the language and it’s the sound and the music of that, and the movement of that language, and the expression on the faces of people.”

Clergyperson A felt that the Maori language needed to become part of the language of the whole Church of the Province of Aotearoa-New Zealand. He believed that the new Prayer Book, which contains services in English and Maori, has to belong to all of the Anglican Church in this country if there is to be true unity. For him, Maori language can be seen as contributing to the total Church in this part of the world.

Not all informants have always seen the situation in the same way. Clergyperson E once held mixed views about teaching Maori language to Pakeha. However, today this informant is happy to encourage Pakeha to learn. Clergyperson H told stories about his experiences of the negative and positive attitudes of Pakeha clergy towards the language. According to Clergyperson G there are benefits for Pakeha in using Maori in their church services:

it’s not simply a question of language, it’s a question of being bicultural, and somehow in mouthing these Maori words you are
giving expression to attitudes that would seek to strengthen the
relationship between Maori and Pakeha in the life of the Church.

Clergyperson L placed such a relationship within the context of the spirit of the
Treaty of Waitangi. He believed that the Maori language needed to be shared to
“create a good atmosphere where we can use those things that are peculiar to each
one as our contribution to the total good of the people.”

Clergyperson L also moved beyond the shores of Aotearoa-New Zealand to discuss
an association of Anglican indigenous peoples who have been colonised by the
British, the Americans and others. This association, formed in the early 1990’s, has
met regularly to talk about common issues. The Maori Anglican Church has been
able to share its experiences of language and cultural regenesis as well as its
emerging vision. He also mentioned a developing relationship with Polynesian
peoples or peoples of the Pacific.

As the Maori Anglican Church contemplates its position in relation to Maori
language regenesis, it will be necessary to review its history not only to provide
signposts for the future but also to create a deeper appreciation of the processes
which have led Maori to speak mostly English at the start of the new millennium and
the full impact of this painful situation on Maoridom as a whole and on individuals.

If the Church is to make an effective contribution, then it needs to explore its past.
Hopefully this thesis begins to do this. Fishman (1991:87) claims that the causes
must be known, not just the symptoms, if the disease is to be effectively treated. It
has already been mentioned that there is a diverse range of Maori language situations
in Aotearoa-New Zealand which need to be either revived, revitalised or reversed.
Clearly where language decay is advanced, there will be more pain and it will require a good deal of sensitivity in the delivery of services to ensure that local language and cultural needs are met. The build up of a core of people who have some knowledge of the Maori language will also need to be carefully nurtured.

The question can be asked, why should the Maori Anglican Church be actively involved in language regenesis? The international perspectives which support such an involvement have already been mentioned briefly, and the Church’s commitment to the Maori language over almost two hundred years has been reviewed, and also the supportive views of those senior clergypersons who were interviewed have been canvassed. In addition, it can also be argued that there are good constitutional reasons for promoting language regenesis. The bilingual constitution contains the mission of the Church; it declares itself dedicated to proclaiming the Gospel, teaching, baptising and nurturing believers within eucharistic communities of faith, responding to human needs by loving service and seeking to transform unjust structures of society, caring for God’s creation, and establishing the values of the Kingdom. As discussed in chapter one, there is considerable scope for the Church to support language regenesis as part of this mission that it has assigned itself.

If it is accepted that the Maori Anglican Church should be involved in language regenesis, and, given the enormity of the task and its limited human and financial resources, it is necessary to follow Fishman’s (1991:413) advice to be very focussed and thus to attempt “to do a few crucial things well and early…” The third goal of this thesis, stated in the Introduction, is to make recommendations to Maori Anglican Church authorities about the Church’s role in the future regarding the Maori
language. Furthermore, the Introduction signals that an attempt will be also made
towards outlining some possible priorities for the future. In making these
suggestions, however, I am conscious that while Fishman’s model has been usefully
applied to the Church and Maori language, the review of the history is selective and
incomplete and that this thesis relies primarily on only the twelve senior
clergypersons who were interviewed. Younger and female clergy were
underrepresented and laity views were largely not reported. Hopefully the
questionnaire (mentioned in chapter three) which has been completed by about one
hundred clerics will provide a more comprehensive picture of clergy perspectives.
However, despite these limitations I feel confident that on the basis of the research
already undertaken in this thesis a few crucial things can be done well and early.
Indeed Fishman (1991:12) maintains that something can be done for each language
no matter how advanced the level of decay or endangerment. In other words,
something definite and concrete can be recommended for the diverse Maori language
situations that exist within the Maori Anglican Church in Aotearoa-New Zealand.

What are the few crucial things that need to be done well and early? First, I agree
with Fishman’s (1996:188) recommendation to the Stabilising Indigenous Languages
Symposium held at the University of Northern Arizona in 1995, that it is important to
establish an archival collection. For the Maori Anglican Church this would involve
recording as many native speakers of Maori as possible. Such recording efforts
would include audio and video as well as producing printed records or transcripts
from a range of informal and formal Maori language situations. Groups of native
speakers chatting, individuals telling their life stories and clergy officiating in church
services are several examples of such situations. Priority should be given to this kind
of activity because most of the native speakers of Maori in the Church are elderly. Such recordings will enable younger Church members in the future to approximate parts of the grammar, the sound system and vocabulary as well as the rhythm of the language. It would also enable them to "get some of the world view, some of the wisdom, some of the folklore, some of the belief system as well" (Fishman 1996:188). It could ensure also that a greater range of dialects and tikanga are retained.

In my own research I was encouraged, as mentioned in chapter three, by Maori academics to record as many senior clergy as possible. With additional funding the two Church tertiary institutions could be well placed to encourage the development of such initiatives. Students may need, however, to receive some training, in order to accomplish this. Hopefully this thesis could assist such processes in terms of recording strategies and a holistic approach to interviewing. In Fishman’s (1991:246) summation of the Maori situation, he claims that the "biological clock is ticking for Maori. Who can serve as models of native-like Maori language-in-culture … when all the grandparents are all gone?" His challenge to Maori is to hear this ticking clock and to collect recordings of as many models as possible. Such recordings would recognise native speakers as very valuable resource people in the Church.

The second major recommendation to the Maori Anglican Church is to build upon the initial whanau/kohanga reo/kura kaupapa/kura Maori successes and extend into "full-fledged, self-regulated and young-adult focussed stage 6, 5 and 4a operations" (Fishman 1991:246). How might the Church assist this process? In terms of stage 6
it may well mean encouraging clergy to develop Maori language services to be held in Maori Anglican homes, just as morning and evening prayers from the Rawiri were common between 1920 and 1950 in certain regions of Aotearoa-New Zealand. It may initially happen once a week in a home or neighbourhood but it would involve not only language but also culture. These services could be followed by formal speech-making in the form of greetings or thanksgiving to those who took the prayers. The real steps toward language regenesis involve the re-establishment of young families of child-bearing age in which Maori is the normal medium or co-medium of communication in the home, family, neighbourhood and community (Fishman 1991:91).

Stage 6, returning the language to the home, neighbourhood and community, is seen by Fishman as absolutely crucial. “... if this stage is not satisfied, all else can amount to little more than biding time” (Fishman 1991:399). Clearly Maori language speaking homes will need a level of support or care. Just as the Church currently has chaplains working in hospitals and prisons concerned with the health of patients and inmates, it may be necessary to develop, as Fishman (1991:94) has suggested, an “RLS Family Service.” Steven Chrisp (1998) has written about the practical aspects of the establishment of such a service to support the development of the Maori language among Maori households and community institutions. He discusses the nature of the service, who would provide or use it and how it could be supported financially. Various support groups for youth, men, women, and parents could be set up. The Church with its background of awhi whanau (family support) programmes could be well placed to establish such family services. Older Maori speaking clergy could be trained to undertake reversing language shift (RLS) awhi.
whanau. Pilot schemes could be set up in regions of the Church with suitable demographic concentrations of Maori-speaking Maori Anglicans.

Stage 5 involves voluntary literacy acquisition. Given the Church’s tradition of print literacy and publishing, the Church, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, could revamp existing organisations or establish new institutions to teach Maori language literacy to Maori children and adults. However, a major priority in this area could be the publication of Bible or Christian Maori stories in Maori, with suitable illustrations, for young families wishing to return the Maori language to their homes. Margie Hohepa’s (1999) PhD thesis explores Maori language regenesis and whanau book-reading practices. She maintains that there are benefits gained from book-reading in Maori at the whanau (family) level.

Such publications, written by Maori-speaking clergy, could not only assist young families but also be valuable resources at kohanga reo, kura kaupapa, kura Maori and Church schools. Attractive Maori language publications, especially if presented and introduced by clergy, would support these institutions, signal the position of the Church concerning Maori language regenesis and promote its mission. In addition, the Church could eventually produce appropriate videos, CDs, and other computer programmes. It could also provide rewards or incentives for young adults at Church schools who are learning te reo Maori. An example of such support could be total immersion courses for senior students sponsored by the Church’s two tertiary institutions and assisted by Maori-speaking clergy. These initial stage 4a initiatives focus largely on the contributions of clergy, especially those who are native speakers.
These suggestions are, however, preliminary, as there has been no major analysis undertaken of the one hundred responses received from clergy to a twenty page questionnaire which was completed at the Church's summer schools in 1999. Several of the forty-eight questions gave clergy the opportunity to suggest future possible directions for the Church in terms of Maori language development. It is certainly not the intention of this thesis to pre-empt in any way the findings of that research and the recommendations contained therein. Indeed, as mentioned in chapter three, it is planned to take account of this information in an additional publication in the future.

There may also be important questions which emerge as the result of future research which are not covered in the questionnaire referred to above. Certainly, it would be helpful to gauge how much Anglican Maori clergy and laity currently contribute to kohanga reo, kura kaupapa, kura Maori, Church schools and mainstream schools. While this thesis has focussed on the roles of clergy, clearly it is also vitally important for effective planning and policy-making in the future to ascertain the attitudes and contributions of laity to Maori language regenesis. Such fact-finding would need also to take account of the diversity of Maori language situations, including local, regional, national and extra national levels. As Grenoble and Whaley (1998:52-54) point out, economics can be seen as the major force affecting the Maori language. Also important is access to the language and culture, as well as the motivation levels of Maori communities. All these issues also need to be thoroughly researched.
According to Fishman (1991:380) it will be “the shrewd pursuit of appropriate priorities” that will be more important than just dedication for achieving really successful language regenesis. RLS efforts should only be undertaken after careful consideration of the goals, prospects and circumstances of the venture. In the case of the Church, how a goal will be attained could be influenced by varying philosophical and theological perspectives. While there is a need to work in concert, given the diversity within the Maori Anglican Church, there are likely to be some opponents of any attempts at Maori language revival, revitalisation or reversal. In addition to the tasks outlined in the first two recommendations, there will also be a need for the Church to continue its lobbying to transform unjust structures which oppress the Maori language and to encourage the Government and other non-governmental bodies to return the language to the home, neighbourhood and community. Linked to all these issues is the Church’s vision concerning its role in language regenesis.

In 1999 the Ngai Tahu Development Corporation set up a language planning committee to promote its vision “Kotahi Mano Kaika: Kotahi Mano Wawata” (One thousand homes: one thousand dreams) which encompasses a twenty-five year Maori language development plan. (Ngai Tahu is the dominant Maori tribe in the South Island). Its task is to undertake planning and policy-making to achieve the goal of returning te reo to one thousand Ngai Tahu homes by 2025. A Language Development Manager and a Language Development Officer have already been appointed to coordinate the language regenesis programme. Certainly, it is widely agreed by the planning committee that given the partnership provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi that the Crown’s or government’s agency, Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Maori (Maori Language Commission), should not alone undertake major language
planning on behalf of Ngai Tahu. Can the same be said for the Maori Anglican Church? Is the Church prepared to allow the Commission alone to make major decisions concerning the Maori language, without consultation? It is for all the above reasons that my third major recommendation is that the Church appoint a language planning committee to promote the Church’s language vision, to plan and recommend policies, to lobby appropriate bodies and to organise the Church’s language regenesis programme. Given Fishman’s views concerning the role of educational institutions and the importance of returning the endangered language to the home, family, neighbourhood and community, as well as Grenoble and Whaley’s recognition of economics as a major force affecting the language, it is suggested that this committee not be attached to any of the Church’s educational boards. Such a committee could reflect the composition of the whole of the Church in terms of clergy, laity, gender, and age. It is hoped that this committee would include not only those with a suitable educational focus but also those with legal and economic backgrounds, given the legal and economic implications of language regenesis.

In this thesis, first, it is clear that the Maori language is endangered and that a non-governmental organisation such as the Maori Anglican Church, and more specifically its clerical members, has a role to play in language regenesis. Second, it is also acknowledged that for almost two hundred years, the Church has contributed towards language regenesis through its governmental bodies, educational institutions, pastoral care and church services. A review of its history reveals a tradition which serves as signposts for the future in terms of selecting short, medium and long-term goals. Third, in terms of methodology, the location of the researcher and informants is placed at the core of the study. This approach to interviews explores a holistic model
which can be seen as a developing Maori analytical tool. Finally, three major recommendations to the Church attempt to outline a few crucial developments to be undertaken well and early.

The title of this thesis begins with *Hei Timatanga Korero*, meaning literally “as a beginning talk.” At the start, in the Introduction to this thesis, there is a quotation from St. John which talks about a beginning. I am conscious that although the Church has a history of support for the Maori language, it is also involved in new beginnings. I hope that this thesis can contribute to such beginnings as a catalyst for discussion and decision-making. I wish to leave the last words to clergyperson J:

I think that’s what it means to be ‘in the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God.’ It was living. It started in a very real way, out of chaos. It was, you know, vibrant life! I think good news comes in various forms...

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